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JPRS-EPS-84-132

26 October 1984

# East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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26 October 1984

**EAST EUROPE REPORT**  
**POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS**

**CONTENTS**

**INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS**

|  |   |
|--|---|
| Decreasing Sympathy for Refugees Reported<br>(RUDE PRAVO, 9 Oct 84)..... | 1 |
| Communique on Mongolian Delegation's Visit<br>(CTK, 10 Oct 84).....      | 2 |
| <b>Briefs</b>  |   |
| Kampuchean Delegation Arrives  | 4 |
| SRV Press Trained  | 4 |
| Military Ends SFRY Visit   | 4 |
| Husak, Jakes Meet  | 4 |

**BULGARIA**

|  |    |
|--|----|
| Quality of NATO Missiles Analyzed<br>(Andon Donchev; VOENNA TEKHNKA, No 8, 1984).....                        | 5  |
| Maintenance Measures of Artillery Equipment Recommended<br>(Ivan Berievski; VOENNA TEKHNKA, No 8, 1984)..... | 10 |

**CZECHOSLOVAKIA**

|   |    |
|---|----|
| Fojtik Compares American, Nazi 'Imperialism'<br>(RUDE PRAVO, 27 Sep 84).....                    | 14 |
| Demographic Survey of Czechoslovak Family<br>(Jiri Prokopec; NEDELNA PRAVDA, 31 Aug 84).....    | 23 |
| Antagonist Contradictions in Socialism Discussed<br>(Mikulas Sotak; RUDE PRAVO, 12 Oct 84)..... | 28 |

|   |    |
|---|----|
| CSSR Press on Siefert's Nobel Prize Award<br>(Various sources, various dates).....                        | 30 |
| GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC  |    |
| SED Message to GDR Citizens on 35th Anniversary<br>(Erich Honecker; NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 9 Oct 84).....     | 32 |
| Travel Restrictions Said To Cause Feelings of Imprisonment<br>(NEUE ZUERCHER ZEITUNG, 25 Sep 84).....     | 34 |
| Service With the Spade: Too Much or Too Little Freedom?<br>(GLAUBE UND HEIMAT, Vol 39, 9 Sep 84).....     | 36 |
| GDR Institute 'Sharply Attacks' FRG TV Programs<br>(DPA, 10 Oct 84).....                                  | 38 |
| Stoph Receives Cuban Award<br>(ADN, 8 Oct 84).....  | 39 |
| New Pontoon Bridge Construction Equipment Described<br>(J. Benzin; VOLKSARMEE, No 34, 1984).....          | 40 |
| HUNGARY   |    |
| Ovari Discusses Foreign Policy, Domestic Economic Situation<br>(Miklos Ovari; PARTELET, No 10, 1984)..... | 42 |
| Public Opinion Research on Second Incomes<br>(Endre Vilmos; HETI VILAGGZDASAG, 22 Sep 84).....            | 50 |
| Kornidesz Notes Propaganda Failures on Several Fronts<br>(Mihaly Kornidesz; PROPAGANDISTA, 8 Apr 84)..... | 54 |
| Nation's Rich Not So Rich<br>(ELET ES IRODALOM, 7 Sep 84).....  | 56 |
| Not as Privileged as Some Say, by Katalin Mogyoro<br>Place of Rich in Society Analyzed, Editorial         |    |
| NEPSZABADSAG Notes Mass Popularity of Factual History<br>(Jeno Szanto; NEPSZABADSAG, 25 Mar 84).....      | 64 |
| POLAND  |    |
| Internal Party Control Discussed<br>(Jerzy Urbanski Interview; ZYCIE PARTII, No 18,<br>29 Aug 84).....    | 67 |

|  |     |
|--|-----|
| Gen Paszkowski Discusses His Term as Katowice Governor<br>(Bogdan Bartnikowski; ZOLNIERZ POLSKI, No 27, 1 Jul 84)...             | 75  |
| 'NOT' Leaders Seek To Boost Image of Sci-Tech Professions<br>(PRZEGLAD TECHNICZNY, No 33, 12 Aug 84).....                        | 81  |
| Legislative Tasks Outlined<br>(Stanislaw Gucwa Interview; TRYBUNA LUDU, 19 Sep 84).....  | 83  |
| Payscale Inequities in R&D, Academic Professions Detailed<br>(Anna Ilona Brandys; PRZEGLAD TECHNICZNY, No 35,<br>12 Aug 84)..... | 85  |
| Excerpts From Urban Press Conference on Economy<br>(Jerzy Urban; RZECZPOSPOLITA, 21 Sep 84).....                                 | 91  |
| Dissident Attorney Assails Amnesty Law<br>(Wladyslaw Sila-Nowicki; PRZEGLAD KATOLICKI, No 9,<br>19 Aug 84).....                  | 98  |
| Excessive Proliferation of Public Inspection Organs Noted<br>(Jerzy Slawomir Mac; PRAWO I ZYCIE, No 34, Aug 84).....             | 101 |
| New Military Employee Union Discussed<br>(Piotr Bogusz Interview; ZOLNIERZ POLSKI, No 22,<br>27 May 84).....                     | 108 |
| Effectiveness of Law, Order Campaign Assessed<br>(Jozef Bem Interview; RZECZPOSPOLITA, 19 Sep 84).....                           | 112 |

DECREASING SYMPATHY FOR REFUGEES REPORTED

AU111259 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 9 Oct 84 p 6

[Unsigned report in "Said--Written" column: "Austria Objects to Emigres"]

[Text] They sell newspapers to drivers of automobiles stopped at the lights; they wash the floors of hospital corridors. They work on road asphaltting crews and they clean public lavatories. They are Asians or Africans who fled from poverty; they are Lebanese or Iranians who have tired of war, or they are Europeans--and there is no difference between them. The presence of foreigners is dangerously increasing the competition in the fight for jobs. The escalating unemployment in Austria is evoking hostile attitudes toward immigration, the Milan periodical, EUROPEO, states.

Austria has become less lenient toward emigres because the Vienna Government is finding it increasingly difficult to enable many of them to leave for other countries. The difficulties are cropping up particularly in negotiations with the United States: 2 years ago, President Reagan warned Vienna that he is no longer willing to accept all refugees indiscriminately. Australia and Canada, too, have announced that they would receive only a limited number of refugees; one must wait at least 1 year for a permit to depart. Austria is accepting fewer and fewer emigres. Several years ago it accepted 7,000; last year only 5,900.

The economic crisis and the growth of unemployment that is connected with it--particularly among the youth--have produced a defensive reflex against foreigners. It exists not so much among the population as on the part of the authorities who are making it impossible for the refugees to integrate into the society and who are striving to force them to leave the country.

It is a long and difficult process to acquire a work permit, and the results are uncertain. And, in fact, the number of emigre workers has dropped strikingly in the last 3 years--from 181,000 in 1982 to 140,000 this year.

Although the foreigners, for the most part Yugoslavs (more than 80,000 of them) are Turks, are doing inferior work that the Austrians do not want to do, the labor offices are most unwilling to give them a working permit. Often the employees of these offices express their disagreement with the employers who are stubbornly employing foreigners instead of Austrian workers, EUROPEO writes.

COMMUNIQUE ON MONGOLIAN DELEGATION'S VISIT

LD102045 Prague CTK in English 1637 GMT 10 Oct 84

[Text] Prague, 10 Oct, (CTK)--The necessity to increase action unity of the progressive international trade union movement and the determination to deepen cooperation with all progressive trade union organizations in the world were expressed in a communique on talks between the Czechoslovak and Mongolian trade union delegations, issued here today.

The delegation of the Central Council of Mongolian Trade Unions, led by its chairman, Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party Central Committee alternate member, the People's Hural Presidium member Bat-ochiryn Luvsantseren and the delegation of the Central Council of Czechoslovak Trade Unions, led by its chairman, Communist Party presidium member Karel Hoffmann expressed satisfaction with the successful development of friendly relations and concluded a new agreement which is the first step toward even better contacts to the benefit of the two countries' working people.

The communique said that the two organizations want to support creative initiatives of workers in order to meet the growing economic, social and cultural needs of their countries' people.

Both sides expressed deep concern over the growing threat to world peace, incited by the aggressive policy of reactionary imperialist forces headed by the Reagan administration. They condemned the deployment of new U.S. nuclear missiles in Western Europe and U.S. attempts aimed at militarization of outer space.

Representatives of the Czechoslovak and Mongolian trade unions supported peace initiatives of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. They voiced firm determination to take an active part in the struggle for the safeguarding of peace, for disarmament and the relaxation of tension in the world.

Voicing anxiety over the escalation of tension in Asia, Africa, Latin America, and the Middle East, the delegations expressed solidarity with the struggle of all progressive forces in the world. They pointed out the significance of Mongolia's constructive proposal to conclude a convention on mutual non-aggression and on non-use of force between the states of Asia and the Pacific, and the appeal of the 12th Congress of Mongolian trade unions for peace and security in Asia.

The two trade union centers will continue to strive for the development of dialogue between trade union organizations of different international membership and ideological orientation, for the convocation of a world trade union conference on peace and disarmament and of the 5th European trade union conference. They support the holding of an all-Asia trade union conference on development and the new international economic order, the communique said.

CSO: 2400/25



## BRIEFS

KAMPUCHEAN DELEGATION ARRIVES--A party and government delegation of the People's Republic of Kampuchea arrived today for an official friendly visit to the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic at the invitation of the CPCZ Central Committee. It is headed by Chan Si, member of the Kampuchean People's Revolutionary Party Central Committee Political Bureau and chairman of the Council of Ministers. [Text] [Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 1300 GMT 11 Oct 84 LD]

SRV PRESS TRAINED--The third course for foreign journalists from the SRV was opened on 26 September in the School of Solidarity attached to the International Journalists' Organization in Prague in the presence of Dao-Tung, the organization's deputy chairman and secretary general of the Union of Vietnamese Journalists. [Summary] [Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 27 Sep 84 p 2 AU]

MILITARY ENDS SFRY VISIT--A delegation of the Czechoslovak People's Army [CSLA], headed by Colonel General Antonin Brabec, chief of the CSLA's Main Political Administration, ended its official friendly visit to Yugoslavia on 27 September. [Text] [Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 28 Sep 84 p 7 AU]

HUSAK, JAKES MEET--Gustav Husak, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee and president of the republic, received in Prague today in the presence of Milos Jakes, member of the Presidium and secretary of the party Central Committee, Ilie Verdet, member of the Political Executive Committee Permanent Bureau and secretary of the RCP Central Committee. In a cordial and comradely talk they exchanged information on the work of the two fraternal parties in the construction of the socialist community and on progress in the implementation of the conclusions of the 16th CPCZ Congress and the 12th RCP Congress. They also assessed topical issues of mutual relations between the two parties and countries. The two sides expressed determination to strengthen the Czechoslovak-Romanian friendship and to continue to develop cooperation in the political, economic and scientific-technical areas, serving the interests of the countries of the socialist community in their struggle against the aggressive policy of imperialism, for averting the threat of war and for lasting peace in the world. [Text] [Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1530 GMT 10 Oct 84 LD]

CSO: 2400/25

## QUALITY OF NATO MISSILES ANALYZED

Sofia VOENNA TEKHNKA in Bulgarian No 8, 1984 pp 36-38

[Article by Engr-Maj Andon Donchev: "Prospects for Development of Air-to-Air Missiles"; "according to foreign press materials"]

[Text] Militarist circles in the NATO capitalist states continue to pursue their aggressive course aimed mainly at the participating countries in the Warsaw Pact, constantly increasing the might of their armed forces and at the same time giving special attention to the development of new airborne missile weaponry.

In the past few years as a result of the continuous arms race, the air forces of the developed capitalist states have received a great number of modern aircraft and helicopters armed with a new generation of guided SRAAM (Short-Range Air-to-Air Missiles), MRAAM (Medium-Range Air-to-Air Missiles) and LRAAM (Long-Range Air-to-Air Missiles).

The experience of the fighting men in Vietnam and the Near East showed that the airborne missile weaponry with which aircraft were then armed did not measure up to the increased demands of modern air combat. Downed aircraft during these wars were primarily the doing of onboard gun mounts, and that with air pursuit.

Characteristically, the first generation of air-to-air missiles spanning the 1960's was derivative from the weapons of the 1950's. They were simple in operating principle and were designed, for the most part, for destroying bombers. No demands whatsoever were made on them for high-speed reactions, high maneuverability, attack aspects, firing at close air targets, firing at low flight altitudes and for high-speed interception of complex targets. These first missiles were designed entirely as a modification of the semiautomatic airborne gun mounts to deliver long-range fire on single high-altitude targets. This they did effectively.

A typical representative of the first-generation medium-range air-to-air missiles was the AIM-7E Sparrow missiles, put into series production in 1963. They have a homing radar system, a warhead weighing 30 kg, and a maximum target-destruction range of up to 26 km.

During the period from 1965 to 1968 the average coefficient of destruction attained by the AIM-7E missiles was approximately 0.09. In 1969 the Sparrow AIM-7E-2 modification, which offered certain advantages in respect of maneuverability and minimum missile-launch range, was adopted for service.

The AIM-9 Sidewinder missiles were another typical representative of the first generation of short-range air-to-air missiles. They proved much more effective than the AIM-7 missiles during the military operations in Southeastern Asia. The average value of these missiles' coefficient of destruction was 0.2 during the period from 1965 to 1968. The missiles of the AIM-9 modification had a better construction, a simple homing system and low weight. The first models weighed 75 kg and had a payload weighing 11.4 kg. They were especially effective at very short firing ranges owing to the infrared homing system.

The deficiencies of the first-generation air-to-air missiles were uncertainty in target identification, the necessity of constant target illumination by radar aircraft until the missiles reach the target, the short range of action and the considerable time from target interception to missile firing, the necessity of transporting them in a "warmed-up" state, the significant share played by the human operator in tracking the launched missile, etc.

Western specialists believe that the low tactical and technical characteristics of the first-generation air-to-air missiles are due to the continuity of the old systems in competition with the new ones.

The second generation of air-to-air missiles span the period from the end of the 1960's to the middle of the 1970's. Missiles of this generation are characterized by improved tactical and technical features such as improved maneuverability, improved launch characteristics, good electromagnetic shielding, improved reliability of the homing system, improved attack aspects, sure identification of detected targets, improved precision regardless--in principle--of firing range, and inability of the operator to affect missiles after they are launched.

The medium-range AIM-7F Sparrow and the short-range AIM-9G Sidewinder are typical representatives of the second-generation air-to-air missiles. The AIM-7F missile is characterized by improved construction and layout of individual assemblies. Its warhead (41 kg) is heavier than that of the AIM-7E, which presupposes greater effectiveness in enemy target destruction and its maximum effective range (44 km) is considerable. The AIM-9G missile has an infrared warhead and is smaller in structure than the AIM-7F. It has a homing capability in a greater angular range and an average coefficient-of-destruction value of 0.5.

Among the deficiencies of the second-generation air-to-air missiles must be pointed out the inadequate jamproofing of the homing systems; the fact that their maneuvering capabilities do not permit launching at all the speeds that the carrier aircraft may attain; that they have a low load factor, which is of special significance in the delivery of fire on suddenly maneuvering targets, and uncertain selection of a given target from targets flying close to it; that it is impossible to make a group launch against complex targets, etc.

Third-generation air-to-air missiles span the period from the middle of the 1960's to our day. They are characterized by high tactical and technical features. For example, the Magis missile can be fired at any speed, altitude and load factor that the firing plane may reach, and its load can exceed a value of 50 g with maneuvering targets. Moreover, it can be used to destroy targets at long range up to 10 km (at a high flight altitude) and at a minimum range of 500 m.

The typical medium-range representatives of this generation are the AIM-7M Sparrow, and the typical short-range representatives the AIM-9L and AIM-9M Sidewinder. According to Pentagon sources, only the AIM-9L, AIM-9M Matra 550 Magis and IAI Python-3 can support an attack of aircraft whose engines are operating without afterburning. The British Aerospace Company is the basic contractor for the third-generation medium-range Sky Flash missiles, which are a modification of the Sparrow missiles. These missiles are intended to support Phantom, JA-37 Vigens (Sweden) and Tornado F-2 aircraft, but can be fired besides by F-16 aircraft. It is expected that the Sky Flash missiles will also be mounted in hatches under the wings of Sea Harrier aircraft. What is especially characteristic of Sky Flash missiles as regards their tactical and technical features is that they can support interception of targets at any time of the day or night and under any meteorological conditions, not only of single, but also of group targets maneuvering and creating both high- and low-level jamming interference. Moreover, they make possible the delivery of fire on targets flying at altitudes 6100 m higher or lower than the carrier aircraft. Another distinguishing feature of the Sky Flash missiles is their launch characteristics. Whereas first- and some second-generation air-to-air missiles have to be transported in a "warmed-up" condition," the Sky Flash avoids this deficiency. The missile's warhead is supplied with an active radar fuse, and the onboard single-pulse homing system makes possible long-range tracking and selection of a given target out of several others.

The Matra Super-530 missile is a comparatively heavier system with significant capabilities for damaging supersonic targets that nose up suddenly. It is supplied with an exceptionally powerful engine plant enabling it to reach an altitude up to 8400 m. It has been adopted for service in the French Air Force as Super-530F and 530D. Apart from the improvement of air-to-air missiles intended for supersonic aircraft, the attention of designers has also been given to the betterment of the missile armament of combat helicopters. Special importance now attaches to the adaptation of existing light portable antiaircraft missile systems for the needs of helicopter armament. The leader in this field is the General Dynamics Company with its FIM-92A Stinger portable missile system, which has an infrared homing system, weighs 15.1 kg and has a range of 5000 m. Also suitable for adaptation to air force needs are the short-range missile systems: the GLOS--guided Shorts Blowpipe, weighing 11 kg and having a range of 3000 m, and the Bofors RBS-70 with laser guidance, which weighs 15 kg and has a range of 5000 m.

With a view to taking the AIM-9L missiles out of service in their armies, Great Britain and the FRG are making a study of an improved type of ASRAAM (Advanced Short-Range Air-to-Air Missile) in accordance with an MoU [expansion unknown; possibly memorandum of understanding] signed by the United States and France in

1980. The leading companies in this initiative are British Aerospace and Bodenseewerk Geraetetechnik, which are included and participate in the production of AIM-9L missiles. The aim of the ASRAAM project is to provide the NATO armies with missiles which will replace the AIM-9L missiles by the end of this decade. Characteristic of these new missile modifications is the great number thereof on board the respective aircraft. They will be able to intercept targets at large angles to the longitudinal axis of the carrier aircraft and deliver salvo fire on group targets. These missiles are still in a very early stage of development and it must be borne in mind that neither their configuration nor the form of their launcher is known or settled upon. According to existing data, the development of a new AIM-9Z missile is under way, regarding which it is assumed that it might compete to a great extent with the ASRAAM project.

The British Aerospace Company for some time has been launching short-range air-to-air missiles of the SRAAM category (in accordance with the QC434 program), which are wingless and are fired from tube launchers. Their infrared homing systems make it possible to hit highly maneuverable low-flying short-range targets. To determine the present position of the missile, new principles and solutions are employed, taking into account the low precision with which their angular speed can be determined. The QC434 program is not new. It was started several years ago and frozen due to financial difficulties in 1974.

Two other short-range air-to-air projects of the British Aerospace Company are FAAMS (Future Air-to-Air Missile System) and FLAME (Future Lightweight Air Missile System).

The first project--FAAMS--occupies an intermediate position between SRAAM and ASRAAM, while the second--FLAME--is conceptually at a lower level than ASRAAM. Additional development is impending for both projects.

What directions will the development of air-to-air missiles take? One is the size and weight reduction of missiles with preservation of excellent launch characteristics. This will permit a significant increase in the carrier aircraft's armament. It is anticipated that the number of AMRAAM medium-range missiles carried by F-14, F-15 and F-16 aircraft will be as great as eight, and by the F-18 as great as 10, with six missiles launched simultaneously at a multiple target. Through the application of the latest technologies in digital equipment and solid-state electronics a reduction in the price of the missiles will be made possible and their maintenance will be made easier. It is anticipated that highly reliable combined inertial- and active radar-guidance systems will be used in the final stage of missile flight. There is a trend towards an increase in the flight speed of missiles, an improvement of their characteristics in fire at low-flying targets, and a rise in their coefficient of destruction through the use of proximity laser and infrared multibeam fuzes.

It is anticipated that the sphere of air-to-air missile utilization will be expanded through their employment, apart from air target destruction, for the interception of low-orbit space targets. Western specialists believe that the last years of this decade will be characterized by the fusion of work on the defense of piloted bombardment aviation and diverse space weapons, which will

probably include the use of power systems for direct target irradiation and destruction, playing a special role in the upper strata of the atmosphere and outer space. It must be pointed out that for any action of the NATO countries the Warsaw Pact countries will take measures not only to counteract, but also to surpass it in any field of armament and equipment.

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CSO: 2200/205

## MAINTENANCE MEASURES OF ARTILLERY EQUIPMENT RECOMMENDED

Sofia VOENNA TEKHNKA in Bulgarian No 8, 1984 pp 29-31

[Article by Col Ivan Berievski: "Are We Using Maximum Capabilities of Artillery Armament?"]

[Text] It is of considerable importance for the combat readiness of artillery subunits to maintain armament, optical and electron-optical instruments and ammunition in a state of constant technical serviceability and high reliability for maximum utilization of the tactical and technical characteristics they embody. The great capabilities of these resources can be fully and purposefully employed in combat only by those soldiers and commanders who have studied them and excellently mastered the practical habits and skills of working with them.

The favorable experience of the best artillery subunits attests that in the very first days of every stage of training soldiers, individual specialists, gun crews, tank and plane crews and subunits as a whole systematically and methodically study armament and ammunition in conformity with the combat program. The main attention of the commanders of these subunits is aimed at the rapid mastery by trainees of the construction and operating principle of the mechanisms and assemblies of armament. Only service personnel who have acquired a good mastery of the materiel and successfully taken an examination are cleared to work with it. During officer's school and instructor's methods classes, in the hours of self-training and during the assemblies and courses that are held, officer personnel thoroughly study armament, the combat capabilities of every system, its structural features and operating principle, regulations for operation, and the basic documents governing the organization and supervision of operation.

In practice, however, commanders are also sometimes encountered who do not have a good enough knowledge of armament and its combat capabilities. Therefore they assign limited tasks to their subordinated subunits. There is also another category of commander who is satisfied with only knowledge of the tactical and technical characteristics of armament, but this does not enable them to make the fullest use of its combat capabilities.

Always as a result of the study and mastery of armament the knowledge of ammunition and its capabilities takes on great importance. Every artillery system is made up of ammunition with a differing kind of effect. The right determination of the kind of shell, charge and fuse for the destruction of a particular target

is an important condition for using the maximum capabilities of AMCh [artileriy-skata materialna chast; artillery materiel].

Another important prerequisite therefor is the timely and first-rate preparation of AMCh for combat use. Modern combat operations compel subunits to make shifts of long duration and distance, rapid marches and frequent changes of firing positions and deployment lines. The existence of powerful and fast-moving tractors and basic vehicles requires commanders to give greater and greater attention to the preparation and inspection of materiel before and during a campaign. Therefore, before a campaign good and experienced commanders make a thorough check of running gear--suspension, securing of gun groups in traveling position, condition of rubber wheels, proper and reliable operation of air and hand brakes, etc., and, in the event of the discovery of defects, take speedy and effective measures to eliminate them.

The first basic task of the excellent artillery commanders Captain Ivanov, Captain Georgiev and Senior Lieutenant Petkov on occupying their areas is the technical preparation of armament for combat employment. This consists in getting the armament, instruments and ammunition ready for operation and in determining the individual corrections of guns and optical instruments. The documents regulating this activity categorically require that the preparation of armament for combat operation be supervised by subunit commanders and that they themselves must be personally satisfied of the quality of the measures taken by their subordinates. In the practical work of some commanders cases are still frequent where this important activity is left to artillery armament agencies, which is not right.

Subunit commanders Officers Tsankov, Ananiev and Kabakchiev have a sense of responsibility and personally supervise the preparation of armament and electron-optical instruments for combat operation. That is why the results of the firing exercises with authorized rounds, conducted with their subunits, are always excellent. Officers Peserov and Petrov, however, do not take this attitude towards the matter. They underestimate these important measures; the results in their case, therefore, are unsatisfactory, and the personnel lose faith in the reliability and combat capabilities of the armament.

The preparation of every artillery armament system in the subunit where Officer Karakolev serves is carried out in strict conformity with the requirements of the relevant service manual that takes the specific features into account.

The main efforts of the crews of artillery systems there are directed towards execution of the following measures to prepare them for firing: inspection of gun group and checking on the operation of all mechanisms; check on recoil mechanisms; check and, if necessary, adjustment of sighting equipment.

It might be as well, in our opinion, to make a more detailed analysis of the last two measures.

A check on the recoil mechanisms consists in determining the amount of fluid and air (nitrogen) pressure in the recuperator and brake. Insufficient or excess fluid in the recuperator, as well as insufficient or excessive pressure results



in abnormal operation of the recoil mechanisms and even in putting them out of action.

Precision of fire and target damage with first rounds depend to a very great extent on the checking and preparation of sighting equipment. A perfunctory and superficial check of sighting equipment may result in significant errors not only in line but also in length, and in some cases in inflicting losses on friendly troops. That is why the check on sighting equipment, consisting in the determination of the play of the mechanisms of the elevating sight and the panoramic sight, the transverse and longitudinal travel of the sight, zero setting of the sight, check on the line of sighting at zero settings, etc., is an important and crucial task which crews must perform under the direct supervision of their commanders.

Officers Kanlukov and Kataliev, whose subunits perform excellently in field firing and firing for record, do a good job of organizing and supervising firing. But wherever these measures are conducted superficially, the results are unsatisfactory. Weaknesses and a perfunctory attitude are tolerated in the subunits where Officers Angelov and Baltadzhiev serve.

No less important is the task of ammunition checking and preparation. It is carried out back at the depots under the direct supervision of the ordnance officer. At the firing position or in the combat squad ammunition is issued in final projectile form (except projectiles for rocket-launching artillery). The senior officer of the battery accepts the ammunition, makes a technical inspection and arranges for its storage.

Officer Kataliev says that precision of fire depends a great deal on the proper storage of ammunition at the firing position. That is why he never permits ammunition to be directly exposed to the sun's rays and takes measures beforehand to protect it from bad atmospheric conditions (snowfall, rain or frost). In the event of nonobservance of these requirements, deviations from the normal performance of projectiles and charges always result.

Proper preparation for firing profoundly affects the assurance of target damage with the first round and the maximum utilization of the combat capabilities of artillery armament and optical and electron-optical instruments. The experience of those artillery subunits has been favorable where, after the AMCh is cleaned, the free play in the lifting and traversing mechanisms is checked and zeroed. The extension of the powder chamber (in scored gun groups) is measured, and the wear of gun groups (in smoothbore systems) and the wear of the sliding block are determined. The condition of pins and recoil mechanisms is checked. The fastening and operation of day- and nighttime sighting and fire control equipment are likewise checked. The line of sighting at zero settings is checked against a distant point or target 1.5 x 1.5 m in dimensions, painted red in winter and white in summer.

Special attention is given to night vision instruments. A check is made on the accuracy of the transmission of gun angles to the night sight, the night sight is coordinated with the day sight and its zero line is checked.

In the final phase of the preparation of armament and sighting and observation instruments (day and night), searchlights are coordinated with their respective instruments. Usually in the daytime this is done with a telescopic sight that is provided, and by night using a white or red light. When it is impossible to select a distant point and start up the searchlights, the armament is zeroed on a control target. In some subunits "standard" or "general" targets are employed, which leads to misalignments of sighting devices and great dispersion error in firing.

An important condition for the constant serviceability of armament and for full use of its combat capabilities is first-rate servicing thereof after firing, marches and training exercises. Cleaning of the barrels of small arms and of artillery and tank gun groups with RChS [expansion unknown] solution must begin at once after firing. After that they are lubricated with GOY [expansion unknown]-54 or RZh [expansion unknown] lubricant. The breechblocks and moving parts of armament are cleaned and lubricated. The number of issued rounds, kilometers traveled and motorized hours of practice are reflected in the appropriate personal identification books.

If the situation prevents the start of armament cleaning immediately after firing, the bores of gun groups and howitzers (combat vehicles) are lubricated with GOY-54 lubricant and after they are assembled in a permanent parking space or in the camp area, complete cleaning and servicing of the armament begins without delay.

Gun groups once lubricated with GOY-54P lubricant are cleaned only by expulsion, i.e., by driving a wooden block through the bore with a blow. It is impracticable in this case to use RChS solution since the effect is poor and cleaning time is lengthened.

First-rate and timely technical servicing of armament is an important condition for its maintenance in constant technical serviceability. That is why only serviced and technically serviceable armament remains stored in parks, depots and emplacements.

The question of maximum use of the combat capabilities of armament is complex and dependent on many factors, which naturally cannot be fully explained in a single conversation. That is why only those which are of the most essential significance from the viewpoint of knowledge, combat employment and technical servicing of armament have been considered.

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CSO: 2200/205

FOJTIK COMPARES AMERICAN, NAZI 'IMPERIALISM'

Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 27 Sep 84 p 3

[Excerpts] One of the speakers at a statewide seminar, held last week on the 40th anniversary of the culmination of the Czechoslovak peoples' liberation struggle and liberation of our country by the Soviet Army, was Jan Fojtik, Politburo candidate and secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee. Herewith we offer a substantial portion of his address.

What did the course of World War II teach us and what, mindful of this glorious anniversary, must we focus attention in our ideological work?

Without doubt it is, first of all, the fact that the war indicted imperialism, this final stage of capitalism, of dangerous tendencies toward reaction and aggressiveness through which it can imperil human civilization. It also provided direct evidence that a hopeful future for humankind lies in socialism, which is organically linked with real democracy and the desire for a peaceful arrangement of relations among nations, regardless of their social systems.

Socialism is the lawful result of the revolutionary process of this century. The revolutionary transition from capitalism to socialism, started by the Great October Socialist Revolution, is irreversible. Our conviction of the permanent nature of this development stems not from some mystical fatalistic faith in "history," but rather from the fact that masses of hundreds of millions of people and entire nations have risen up in conscious social activity, that they demand a just life devoid of exploitation and repression, while uniting in a struggle for the necessary prerequisites for such a life. They increasingly accept the truth of Leninism, the ideology of real humanism, which has demonstrated its life-giving strength and overwhelming supremacy over the vile ideology of the most reactionary form of imperialism, Hitlerite fascism.

Those who unleashed the Second World War believed that they could eradicate, once and for all, socialism in the Soviet Union and the revolutionary workers movement. The Soviet people, however, led by its Leninist communist party, successfully defended their social system. Not only was socialism not defeated but it significantly strengthened its positions. It became a world system which assumed the historic initiative which imperialism had lost.

Socialism--thanks principally to the enhanced power and authority of the Soviet Union--has become the bulwark of progress and peace throughout the world. The colonial system of imperialism collapsed and was replaced by dozens of independent states. The communist movement, whose growth is the expression of a sharpening struggle of the working class with state monopoly capitalism, has become the most influential force in the contemporary world, despite all the difficulties it must yet overcome.

Yet, the imperialists have never willingly accepted the loss of their positions. They would like to obtain revenge for the revolutionary and progressive changes which have taken place since the Great October Socialist Revolution.

It is precisely at the present time that we are witnessing highly dangerous attempts at a new counter-offensive, which they have unleashed with the aim of reversing the positive results of the Second World War. In the name of a bloc of international reaction, the President of the United States, Ronald Reagan, declared--as did Hitler in his time--a "crusade" against the Soviet Union, real socialism and communism. Unfortunately, this campaign goes beyond rhetoric. Reagan's call, addressed especially to America's allies in NATO and remilitarizing Japan, is elaborated into a detailed so-called action program of defending democracy against an alleged Soviet and communist threat. In reality, this is a program of expansion aimed not only at the liquidation of socialism ("liberation of nations in Central Europe and East Asia") and the communist movement, but also at neocolonization and the restoration of American imperialism's hegemony in the world.

From this stems the already initiated and partially implemented counter-offensive. It is determined by a policy of strength, an effort to achieve military superiority of the United States over the Soviet Union, of NATO over the Warsaw Pact.

In the preparations for war with the use of the most destructive weapons, Washington is clearly assigning a special role to the European continent. They apparently believe that a new war would not affect the territory of the United States. The White House and the military staffs in the Pentagon in their insane plans obviously envisage the sacrifice of Europe. A highly dangerous step in this direction was taken when they began deploying in Western Europe offensive missiles armed with nuclear warheads, the infamous Pershings and the Cruise missile. The placement of these weapons was preceded by a strengthening of reactionary conservative forces in the German Federal Republic and Great Britain. The governments of both these countries subjected the peace and antiwar forces to unprecedented repression. It is characteristic for this perilous and tense international situation that, along with the march of imperialism's reactionary forces, there is also a resurgence of revanchists, ultra-rightwing and neofascist elements.

The action programs of the so-called defense of democracy are, in fact, directed against democracy. This is also reflected in other typical features of the imperialist counter-offensive.

Along with overt preparations for war with the use of weapons capable of wiping out whole nations, the imperialists have raised gross interference in the affairs of sovereign nations, breaches of their independence, threats, extortion and even terrorism to the level of national policy. To an extent greater than ever in the past they abuse economic and trade relations with certain states; in fact, they are waging economic war against them. They have turned the ideological struggle into a merciless psychological war, the principal aim of which is the incitement of anti-Soviet hysteria. In the unprecedented incident with the so-called South Korean airliner, the American imperialists have demonstrated just how far they are ready to go in the psychological warfare and what insidious methods they are prepared to employ.

In all this, it is significant that these psychological operations involve top United States officials, as well as frequently the highest representatives of other capitalist states. This fact alone forces us to re-examine many of the methods of our ideological work and confirms the need to create a thoughtful and effective system of counter-propaganda, taking into consideration these new realities.

It is no wonder that many people today are asking whether the reactionary forces of contemporary imperialism, in their yearning for the laurels which have eluded Hitler, might not be characterized through their efforts as the continuers of the aggressive policies of those who drove the world into a Second World War.

There is more than ample evidence leading us to compare the most reactionary representatives of contemporary American imperialism with the behavior of the Hitlerites. And this is not just in recent years alone, nor is it of a transitory nature. After the war, the United States has indeed become the "gendarme of world reaction." While protecting many war criminals, murderers and torturers who had managed the concentration camps, they brutally suppressed revolutionary and liberation movements born out of resistance to fascism. Many of these were drowned in blood. The support of the most reactionary military and police regimes and export of counter-revolution, installation of puppet governments, the brutal war of extermination against the Vietnamese people, the Israeli aggression and genocide of Palestinians (which is no better than the genocide of Jews in Hitler's camps), the racist apartheid--all this bears the brand "made in the USA," all this is the product of an expansionist policy of the most powerful imperialist state. And if foreign policy is a reflection of internal affairs, then there is certainly a connection between the murders of Patrice Lumumba and Martin Luther King. The crocodile tears shed today over their heritage can hardly conceal this fact.

It is downright suspicious how desperately bourgeois historians and propagandists try to reduce one of the most serious questions, namely, who caused the war and helped those who started it, to a collection of accidents and circumstances which cannot be repeated. Thus, for instance, they dwell on Hitler's pathological traits, or on the wounded pride of a defeated nation burdened by the Prussian tradition, a nation allegedly wronged by the Versailles Treaty. This is a brazen attempt to conceal imperialism's responsibility for the slaughterhouse of World War II.

It is precisely we, who have paid so dearly for the trafficking of Western reactionary governments with Hitler's Germany and were from the beginning the subject of the latter's threats and manipulation and finally one of its first victims, who have the duty to point a finger at the real instigators of the Second World War, their helpers and the propitious atmosphere in which fascism was hatched. We must be vigilant to make sure that such an atmosphere does not recur, even if in different forms; we must carefully watch those who might have the greatest interest in such an occurrence. For fascism was and is a product of imperialism, a product of the deepening and sharpening general crisis of imperialism. It is the armed fist of imperialism which concentrates in it all that is reactionary and obscurantist, and all that imperialism needs to mobilize to prevent the liberation of the masses and nations, as well as its own demise. We must, therefore, not only talk about the past. It is characteristic of imperialism that it bases its methods on brute force. Nothing in this fact can be changed by demagoguery operating with terms such as democracy, freedom, human rights, and others. Its ideology is basically antihumanist, disdainful of human life, operating on the cult of violence, brutality, warmongering and superiority.

The fascist bloc which unleashed the Second World War clearly demonstrated of what imperialism is capable whenever it attempts to reverse the wheel of history in handling the conflict between socialism and capitalism, between reaction and progress, by military confrontation.

The crimes of fascism in the Second World War, which affected four-fifths of humankind, should never be forgotten. While in the First World War civilian losses were only 5 percent, in the second they rose to a full half and, according to most reliable research, amounted to 50 million people. Of this, 40 million were lost in Europe, and a full half of that in the Soviet Union! The United States and Great Britain together lost 670,000 people. The losses suffered by the Soviet Union were caused by the fact that it had to bear the brunt of the aggressor's strikes. We should also remember that against the Soviet people the fascists applied a vile policy of mass extermination with untold bestiality, not only on the territory of the Soviet Union itself. With unimaginable brutality, the fascists abused Soviet prisoners of war. Eighteen million people were dragged by the Hitlerites into concentration camps, where more than 11 million of them were killed. Of these, most were Soviet people.

Material losses suffered by the occupied states were also enormous. Here again, most were borne by the Soviet Union, where the fascists applied a scorched earth policy. Values created by entire generations were looted or ruthlessly destroyed.

The fact that an enormous portion of all war losses was suffered by the Soviet Union was, of course, also due to policy of the reactionary forces in the West, who consciously allowed the aggressiveness of the fascist bloc to be focused against the Soviet Union. These forces, having placed their hopes on fascist Germany, not only rejected all Soviet proposals for a joint approach to avoid the threat of war to begin with, the creation of a system of collective security, but after the attack on the Soviet Union by the Hitlerite hordes, allowed it to bleed so that it would be weakened as much as possible.

It is this shameful game of the West with the fascist card which had brought about the Nazi occupation and the fact that it lasted so terribly long, a full 6 years, not counting the period of our suffering, uncertainty and degradation between September 1938 and March 1939. Fortunately, the Soviet Union did not weaken and was not brought to its knees. Its heroic armed forces raised the red banner over Berlin and liberated Czechoslovakia, having saved the city of Prague, following a popular uprising there, from total destruction and our nations from the terrible fate planned for them by the fascists, involving their eventual utter liquidation. Some of our people were to be Germanized following fascist victory, others exterminated, and the remainder removed from "German territory" which, in the eyes of the Hitlerites, extended not only throughout the so-called Greater Germany but all the way to the Urals.

Our own position was, of course, not unique. We were merely to share the fate of all the "lower" and "undesirable" nations and races. The 360,000 murdered during the occupation--among them a full one-third of the party membership, the best and bravest sons and daughters of our nations--were to be only the beginning of a tragedy which, fortunately, was not played out to the end.

And today in the German Federal Republic they have the effrontery, characteristic of those who are imbued with the "master race" ideology and have learned nothing, to publish with official blessing some sort of voluminous "document" on "injustices suffered by the Germans" (even the terminology is Hitler's) and allegedly committed toward the end of the war and afterwards in the expulsion of German nationals who had served fascism and actively promoted and shared in its policies.

The fact that they had to leave our country, where they had behaved as conquerors, is today presented by the so-called "expellees" as one of the greatest injustices and wrongs. In fact, this was only a miniscule penalty for the enormous suffering to which fascism had subjected our people. It will soon be four decades since the end of the war. Year after year, however, we have been witnessing demonstrations of various revanchist organizations. At their meetings we hear attacks on our homeland, socialist Czechoslovakia, even in the presence of high-positioned personalities of the German Federal Republic or Austria. This year the revanchists were granted support even by the FRG president and Chancellor Kohl. The latter--and he is not the only one--denies the existence of any revanchism in the FRG, yet he does not deny and himself advocates the crucial thesis of the "openness" of the so-called German question and the affiliation of the Eastern European countries with a "free Europe."

The problem is further exacerbated by placing in doubt--indeed, direct denial of--the validity of the Yalta and Potsdam Agreements, on the basis of which a peaceful arrangement in post-war Europe was achieved and which were confirmed by the Conference on European Security and Cooperation in Helsinki in 1975. Such doubts and denials are heard today even from very responsible Western officials. Recently, these agreements were attacked on two occasions by Ronald Reagan himself.

In contrast with Chancellor Kohl, who would deny the nose on his face, there are many bourgeois politicians in the FRG who admit the existence of revanchism. Mostly, however, they claim that this is not a "political force" which needs to be taken seriously. According to these individuals, it is a sort of delayed echo of the past. It would indeed be ludicrous to overestimate the noise produced at the revanchist assemblies. Yet, this is not a case of harmless folklore or a parade of dusty symbols of the old Reich. The nature and danger of a current can be judged by the ripples it produces, and it is beyond doubt that the undercurrents characteristic of the overall development of political life in the FRG and the other states of contemporary capitalism warn against indifference. The attempts of the reactionary forces of imperialism to negate the results of the Second World War must seriously disturb all those who give thought to current world developments.

If we examine the road taken by our people, led by the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, over the past four decades, if we evaluate the results they have achieved, we cannot evade the question of the extent to which we have really been and remain true to the ideals with which we have won our freedom and with which we started out, full of hope and enthusiasm, into the new era, an era of real democracy and socialism.

Have these ideals been fulfilled or have they receded as unrealistic, as our rightwingers and enemies of socialism tried to prove, notably in the 1960's?

Anyone who is in the least capable of objective thought, who in his assessment of social phenomena maintains a historical perspective and is able to distinguish between the essential and the marginal, cannot harbor the least doubt that our reality, fully entitling us to take pride in our socialist accomplishments, not only reflects the vision and aspirations of the pioneers and first builders of socialism, but in many ways reaches beyond them.

This is not an overstated or exaggerated assertion but rather a great and immensely precious and true fact. Under the weight of cares and concerns of mastering our current problems, which often appear overly difficult, few of us are really conscious of this fact, since much of what in the past must have appeared as an unattainable ideal, something that generations past only dreamed about, has become common daily experience. No revolution can succeed without revolutionary enthusiasm, and its accompanying features always was and remains a certain amount of illusion. Perhaps no one has as emphatically warned against this harmful phenomenon (be it in the form of underestimating the perseverance and deviousness of the class enemies, or in the impatient sectarianism of ultraleftist radicals) as V.I. Lenin. Periods of revolutionary growth alternate with those of cold reflection. The question is, however, whether a necessary reassessment of methods and the style of work leads to an abandonment of principles, or to reducing the impact of subjectivism and voluntarism, to substance and creative effort, to an even more determined pursuit of the set goals of a scientifically justified program.

It is certainly not by chance that the attempts of imperialism to make basic changes in the post-war world arrangement, frustration at the revolutionary and progressive movement's achievements, the weakening and liquidation of



socialism, and the restoration of rule by capital have been and still are accompanied by the efforts of the internal enemies of socialism in a given country (especially one that has been picked as a special target of a concentrated assault by the anticommunist forces) to question and blacken its road to socialism, to denigrate and demean the results of an enormous effort and sacrifice of millions of people devoted to socialism.

We have lived through such events in the past, and in the 1960's the price we had to pay was almost fatal. The shouts of "loss of illusions," strangely enough, were raised by those who had none, and if they pretended otherwise, it was obviously merely to justify their irresponsible, dogmatic and sectarian behavior of the late 1940's and early 1950's. This was not a question of a painful process of loss of illusions, but rather a gross abandonment of the ideals rooted in the efforts of millions of our citizens in the building of a new society.

In all their efforts to discredit our road to socialism, even the most rapid and dogmatic enemies cannot deny that even when we started on this road our national and democratic revolution and its transition to a socialist revolution really had the participation of the broadest masses of the working people, and that the building of socialism in our country has brought unprecedented progress in all segments of our society.

First of all, there was a total change in the social position of the worker class, peasants and intelligentsia. The people really became managers of their own property, there was attainment of socialist ownership and the people became masters of their affairs. All else belongs to the dim past and gone forever are the days when the worker had to assume a demeaning position before the masters, the factory owners, kulaks and their cohorts. The profound democratization of the life of our society, possible only in a socialist system where private ownership and class antagonism have been abolished, significantly changed relations among people, the social atmosphere, and the criteria for assessing a human being. Not without difficulties, yet irreversibly, we have nurtured the principle--one which is very important and inherent to socialism--of respecting people according to their contribution to the welfare of society, according to what they are able and willing to give to society, rather than according to their wealth or social origin.

There were also changes in relations between our nations and nationalities. A socialist state does not permit the incitement of suspicion or hatred toward anyone merely because of national origin. And if they claim in the West (recently, since the United States has unleashed its infamous "protection of human rights" campaign, this often occurs) that we allegedly discriminate against citizens because of their nationality or religious affiliation, they are only pursuing one goal, namely to soil the good name of socialist Czechoslovakia. In some cases, they are trying to exert certain specific pressures. They would like to create freedom to maneuver for certain elements engaging in unlawful antisocialist activity. This, however, is a different question. A caring planter does not allow his field to be threatened by pests. Thus, a socialist society also has not only the right but, equally, the responsibility to protect the gains of the working people against their enemies.

We have ample and convincing material at our disposal attesting to the overall progress in our society, in the economy, social sphere, culture and artistic creativity. This documentation provides testimony that our socialist state has invested enormous means in the development of our society, that the people's welfare and happiness are the center of attention of the communist party, the socialist state, and all organizations of the National Front.

Let us take, for example, our education and cultural upbringing systems. Even a random glance at the development of the material, technical and cadre base of this important segment of our society shows that Czechoslovakia, which even before the revolution had a reputation of a highly cultured state, has especially under socialism achieved momentous positive changes which made it possible to realize the old dreams of Comenius, our national revivalists, and pioneers of socialism, namely an extensive democratization of our educational system.

Before the war (1936-1937) there were in Czechoslovakia 27,000 students at institutions of higher learning. Today (1983-1984) there are almost 7 times that many, that is, 181,000. The growth of institutions of learning and pedagogical staffs also reflects this fact. Higher outlays for higher education are also keeping step. The number of students at secondary schools is four times higher than in the pre-war period.

We should give some thought to these realities, which only partially reflect the contradiction between the two social systems, in order to realize not only that the difficulties we are encountering in our society are of an entirely different nature, but also that our society is dealing with them with one single goal in mind, namely to improve the life of the worker and create the requisite conditions to satisfy his legitimate needs.

In the building of socialism we cannot, with the best of will, avoid unpopular measures, since people have become accustomed to the fact that everything is too easy and, consequently, raise their demands without caring where the means of satisfying their higher requirements will come from. It is especially in such situations that propaganda and agitation must show their persuasive force. Everyone of us should understand that problems must be resolved before they accumulate, that the greatest threat to socialism is delay and the type of pragmatism which ignores tomorrow.

Looking at the overall development in our society from the time of liberation to the present, we may state proudly that the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia has basically mastered successfully even the most complicated situations that have confronted it and that it had to resolve in the building and strengthening of socialism. The mistakes which we have committed are not insignificant, we had to pay for all of them in the 1950's and 1960's. Nevertheless, and this is the most important factor, we were able to learn from these mistakes and draw appropriate conclusions in correcting them.

We always have had to fight to gain the workers' confidence, not through concessions to the reactionary remnants, not through demagoguery, but through a mobilization of forces ready to engage in constructive labor. For our propaganda and political education this means that priority attention must be given to formulating a firm socialist conviction in the minds of people, a faith that will resist when something goes wrong and when we encounter problems for whatever reason.

In the historical confrontation with capitalism, the Marxist-Leninist truth is potent and uncompromising. As the positions of socialism become stronger, so will the life-giving influence of the revolutionary ideology of the workers class, the ideology of a social system that serves people in their overall development and envisions liberated labor and peaceful relations among states as its principal goal.

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CSO: 2400/16

## CZECHOSLOVAKIA

### DEMOGRAPHIC SURVEY OF CZECHOSLOVAK FAMILY

Bratislava NEDELNA PRAVDA in Slovak 31 Aug 84 pp 4-5

[Article by Dr Jiri Prokopec, Psychiatric Research Institute, Prague:  
"Our Contemporary Family"]

[Excerpts] If we want to discuss today's family, we must consider the causes and reasons for the changes of its function, the changing attitudes of family members, and, last but not least, the population growth as affected by the population policy, its plans and prospects.

First, some statistics. According to the census, Czechoslovakia had 15,283,000 inhabitants (10,292,000 in the CSR and 4,991,000 in the SSR) in 1980. In both our republics the urban population predominates--66 percent in the CSSR and 52 percent in the SSR. Slovakia still shows a relatively higher birth rate than the CSR. Compared with the 1970 census, the number of people of productive age has grown by 12.4 percent in Slovakia but only by 3.5 percent in the CSR. At the same time, Slovakia has seen almost a 9-percent increase among people in postproductive age. The number of senior citizens dropped in the CSR between these two censuses.

Classification according to family status shows that the number of singles has been falling, whereas the number of married citizens is on the rise. The share of divorced women has grown faster than the share of divorced men who remarry after a shorter hiatus.

Half of the women marry as early as age 20, while 80 percent are married by age 23 (CSR) or 25 (SSR). Half of the men are married by age 23, 80 percent by age 28. There is no indication of a trend toward shunning family and leading a married life, but quite the opposite.

Education plays a significant role in the decision to establish a family. The census has confirmed that education is increasing faster in the SSR where, between the two censuses, the number of people with university education has grown by approximately 90 percent and those with secondary education by 58 percent. This is, of course, related to the different socioeconomic development in the two republics in the period prior to 1945, when basic education in Slovakia predominated. Today, we can observe two large groups divided by age: those who are over 40 years old and have

more education in the CSR than in Slovakia; among those who are below the age of 40, the Slovaks are more educated than the inhabitants of the CSR.

It is also necessary to add that the share of women in all sectors of the national economy (except agriculture) has increased further. Most women are employed in the service industries, whereas construction and transportation show the smallest number of women.

#### Demographic Picture

Most families consist of parents and children. However, there is an increasing number of single-member households and of single parents with children. This situation is related to the growing divorce rate as well as the actual disruption of family life, including that of separated husbands.

In 1982, there were approximately 117,000 weddings and 34,000 divorces in Czechoslovakia. The number of newborn babies exceeded 234,000, and the number of deaths 181,000.

In the CSR, there were nearly 77,000 weddings and 27,800 divorces, 141,700 newborn babies and 130,000 deaths. In the SSR, the number of weddings in 1982 was approximately 40,000, and that of divorces 6,500. A total of 92,600 babies were born and 50,300 people died. A comparison of these figures with previous years--for example, with the years after 1970--shows a significant growth in the birth rate in both the CSR and the SSR between 1970 and 1975, which was a consequence of the population measures adopted at the 14th CPCZ Congress. Since 1975, we can observe a slower birth rate, which is more significant in the CSR than in the SSR.

In this connection, let us also plan for a moment to consider the results of the demographic poll undertaken by the Federal Statistical Office in 1981. This survey dealt with the reproductive aspects of our women, namely, it tried to find out how many children our young women want to have. This poll was conducted in the entire republic and involved over 300 married women aged between 18 and 39.

On the average, women in this sample had 1.31 children, including 1.29 in the CSR and 1.34 in the SSR. However, at the time of their marriage they planned to have more children. The average number of planned children was 2.20 (CSSR), 2.16 (CSR) and 2.29 (SSR). In all cases these figures were lower than during a corresponding survey taken in 1977.

When it was eventually ascertained how many children the women in the CSSR have between the ages of 15 and 49, the figures showed an average of 2.15 children in the CSSR, 2.07 in the CSR and 2.32 in the SSR in 1980. But in 1980 only 68 percent of women described their latest pregnancy as planned.

This finding indicates a change in the population rate disclosing a lower number of children, not only in Czech but also in young Slovak families. A family with three children is almost an exception. Most families have two children.

At the conclusion of this poll the women were asked what kind of social-population policy of state assistance to families with children should be adopted in the future.

The women thought that the most important thing for them was to have time to bring up their children and to work shorter hours but with a full wage. The second priority was given to adequate housing and the third priority to more places in nurseries. Direct financial aid to families was listed after these priorities.

### Marriages

The average age in which today's young people marry is lower than was the case with our grandparents. It is approximately 24 years in the case of men and approximately 20 years in the case of women. The reason for that is, first, the reduction of the majority age from 24 (at the beginning of the century) to 18 now and, second, improved social and economic conditions, which make it possible to start a family sooner than was the case in the past.

However, one should not forget that the social maturity of certain groups of young men and women who are engaged--in spite of the aforementioned improvement--indicates a certain drop. This seeming contradiction can be easily explained, however: the number of young people, especially women, who have secondary technical and university education is on the rise. This group, which completes its university education at the age of 24 or 25, is not fully prepared for married life. Female university students are not being guided by their parents to learn to take care of household chores. This group is also not in the best situation as far as savings, material security, etc, are concerned. Young people who enter the labor market at times 5 years earlier than this group are in a significantly better situation. The consequence of this is that university students are marrying later than the national average and that number of children they plan is lower in the case of female university students than of women with less education.

Another fact also deserves attention: in the past, there was in our country a large number of unmarried women who remained so. Today, their number is declining. For example, in the generation of women born in 1893 some 10 percent remained permanently single. During this century, the percentage has been dropping steadily and today it represents only 4 percent.

It is difficult to state with precision whether the women--and also men--remain single voluntarily or because they cannot find a suitable partner for one reason or another. During the 1980 census, we were able to find that in most small communities there was an imbalance between the number of young men and young women. Young women more often leave for cities, where there is a disproportionately higher number of secondary school or university female students than in the villages today. This causes serious problems in establishing steady relationships.

Also, interest in personal ads--both ads for prospective spouses and computer personal matching--indicates that many women and men are single involuntarily. The analysis of a sample group seeking a partner with the help of a computer--the number of interested persons is over 20,000 a year--showed that the highest interest occurred among a group which should not have any difficulty finding a partner, namely, men and women below the age of 30.

### Second Marriages

The number of second marriages has been rising in proportion to the number of divorces. Between 1975 and 1979, 102,312 men and 97,487 women married for the second time. Marriages where at least one of the partners is divorced now represent over one-fifth of all marriages.

Between 1950 and 1954, 10 percent of all marriages involved one divorced partner. In 2.6 percent of the marriages both partners were previously divorced. Between 1970 and 1975, 14 percent of the marriages involved one previously divorced partner and another 7.7 percent of marriages involved both previously divorced partners.

### Is Divorce a Solution?

Divorce is nothing new. It has been in existence since ancient times, even if its conditions and reasons were very different and are further changing in the present world.

The current legal regulation making it possible to end a marriage through divorce has been in effect since 1964. The important thing for the court is to ascertain whether "...the relationship between spouses is so seriously disrupted that the marriage cannot fulfill its social goal..." If this is so, the court can grant a divorce.

Ever since the 1920's our country has been witnessing a rising number of divorces, especially in the cities.

The present situation is not simple because, among other things, one cannot change his or her moral attitudes or fulfill his or her desires of this kind in a single day. In the same way, it is not possible to deal quickly and without conflict with the tremendous changes accompanying the emancipation of women and the sharp and unusually rapid growth of education and democratization of society. One of the consequences of the effects of these and other drastic changes on the behavior of individuals at the present time, which is not simple and which is characterized by many fast changes, is obviously a high rate of divorce. In the final analysis, this is not a Czechoslovak peculiarity. This phenomenon is also evident to a greater or lesser extent in other advanced countries.

## Family Goes on Developing

Today, it is fashionable to speak about the alleged family crisis as an institutional crisis. For this reason we can witness numerous dramatically written reports on marriage stresses, conflicts, and splits. The conclusion is that today's family is characterized more by errors and shortcomings than by positive aspects and advantages. Let us, however, be realistic: in spite of the tens of thousands of divorces, there are hundreds of thousands of tightly knit families. And within these families, in spite of insignificant differences and arguments (and it cannot be otherwise), all family members seek and find their life's fulfillment and security. In the end, both the high number of individuals who are part of complete families as well as the desire of many divorced individuals to remarry and establish a new family prove that the family as an institution is not being rejected, as it may seem from certain pessimistic reports. However, we must avoid extreme evaluations and try for a dialectic view of the entire problem. We cannot do without such a view, without the ability to comprehend the meaning and causes of the contradictions in the development of the contemporary family.

In spite of all the changes, the family remains an emotional haven, offering security and confidence to its members. And something else: the smaller the family becomes, the more important are the mutual relations of its members and the more significant each family member is for the rest of the family.

1277

CSO: 2400/447



## ANTAGONIST CONTRADICTIONS IN SOCIALISM DISCUSSED

AU161453 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 12 Oct 84 p 4

[Article by Mikulas Sotak, "worker" of the CPCZ Central Committee: "The Transforming Force of Materialistic Dialectics; The Core of Our Weltanschauung"; passages between slantlines published in boldface]

[Excerpts] /Marx's explanation of the necessity of mankind's transition from capitalism to socialism--as attested to by the world revolutionary process and everyday practice--has become a profound, irreversible truth, the main objective law of the current era. Real socialism constitutes the decisive force of our time. Marxist-Leninist teaching is the theoretical foundation and spiritual weapon on the workers class and all progressive forces in the struggle for a revolutionary transformation of the world. Materialistic dialectics, as the core of the Marxist-Leninist weltanschauung, has a particularly important place in this process. As V. I. Lenin has written, "dialectics constitute the pillar of scientific materialism."/

The dialectics of the development of socialist society, its class, Marxist-Leninist analysis, the elaboration of the dialectics itself on the basis of facts regarding social processes and the latest scientific findings is, understandably, only just developing.

/The main special feature of the dialectics of the development of socialism, as formulated by Lenin, lies in the position that "antagonism disappears, but contradictions remain."/ Here lies the core of the interpretation of the essence of the law on the transition from antagonist to nonantagonist contradictions. Therefore we cannot pose the question of the existence or non-existence of contradiction under socialism, but only the question of the character of these contradictions. Here belong /the contradictions which socialism inherits from the old, capitalist society, the overcoming of which requires a certain time, as well as the contradictions intrinsic to the process of the construction of socialism, for example, the contradictions of the socialist production process, the contradictions between the phenomena of the foundation and the superstructure of socialist society, between social existence and social awareness, between physical and spiritual work, and many other things."/

The law of the unity and the struggle of contradictions as the general law of dialectics also applies under socialism. Contradiction is nothing else but a unity and struggle of contradictions. In the socialist society the solution of contradictions means the development of that society, the strengthening of it. The instruments for resolving contradictions in socialism are, above all, the identifying, programming, organizational, and educational activities of the Communist Party and the socialist state, and the application of the principles /of the Leninist style of work./

However, when analyzing this problem, one must not lose sight of the fact that there is no insurmountable gulf between antagonistic and nonantagonistic contradictions. /The historical practice of real socialism affirms that in case of incorrect political activity, for example, through the inconsistent application of the general laws of socialism and other political errors during the construction of socialism, the nonantagonist contradictions become aggravated and can, under certain circumstances, transcend into antagonisms, they create serious conflicts./

An internal antagonism of classes is not the essence of socialist society. However, society's struggle against antisocial criminal elements--as noted by Soviet authors in the work *Materialistic Dialectics* (SVOBODA Publishing House, 1984)--has an antagonist character. It would be incorrect to regard the relationship of society vis-a-vis murderers, thieves, robbers, pilferers of common property, and traitors of the fatherland as a nonantagonist contradiction. The Letter of the Presidium of the CPCZ Central Committee To Party Agencies and Organizations on Deepening the Effectiveness of the Struggle Against the Violation of the Principles of Socialist Legality, Ethics, and Discipline stresses that /"antisocial activity is a gross violation of the ethical and legal principles of the life of socialist society. It is a manifestation of the vestiges of the capitalist order and a relapse into petit bourgeois ways."/

These antisocial phenomena do not mean that there exists class antagonism within society, however. Otherwise one would have to assert--as P. N. Fedoseyev correctly points out in the *Dialectics of the Current Era*--that society does not consist of social groups, but of citizens who observe the law, and of criminals. Such an interpretation of contradictions would distort the scientific approach to the social structure of society. The dialectics of socialism is the dialectics of strengthening the sociopolitical unity of society, of overcoming contradictions within the framework of that unity.

CSO: 2400/33

## CSSR PRESS ON SEIFERT'S NOBEL PRIZE AWARD

AU151836 [Editorial report] On the occasion of the awarding of the Nobel Prize for Literature to Jaroslav Seifert on 11 October, the CSSR press devoted various articles and reports to the man and his work.

Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech on 12 October on page 7 carries the following 50-word Stockholm/Prague-delivered CTK report: "According to press agency reports from Stockholm, the 1984 Nobel Prize for Literature was awarded on Thursday to National Artist Jaroslav Seifert."

"Meritorious Artist Jan Pilar, director of the Czechoslovak Writer Publishing House, personally congratulated Jaroslav Seifert on this honor. Jaroslav Seifert is currently undergoing hospital treatment."

Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak on 12 October, on page 7, carries a 20-word CTL Stockholm dispatch, entitled "Nobel Prize to Czechoslovakia." The Bratislava PRAVDA report is identical with the first paragraph of the RUDE PRAVO report.

On 13 October, on page 2 in each instance, both Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech and Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak carry a 250-word CTK report on Czech Minister of Culture Milan Klusak's congratulations to Seifert and the state of the poet's health. This report is identical with the referent CTK English item.

In addition, Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech on 13 October on page 5 carries excerpts, totaling 900 words, from Seifert's memoirs. The passages reprinted by RUDE PRAVO concern Seifert's memories of fellow Czech writers (Hrubin, Vancura) and the atmosphere in Prague during the days of the Prague Uprising against Hitler in May 1945. The excerpts for the memoirs are preceded by the following "CG"--signed introduction: "National artist Jaroslav Seifert, who was awarded the Nobel Prize for Literature on Thursday [11 October], was born on 23 September 1901 for Prague-Zizkov. His development as a poet and citizen was not straightforward. At times, it was full of contradictions, about which, incidentally, he himself writes in his memoirs. However, the importance of his work for our poetry is indisputable. (In RUDE PRAVO, we examined his work in detail in the article "Jubilee of National Artist Jaroslav Seifert," which was published on the day of his 80th birthday, on 23 September 1981).

"In his first collection of poems, distinguished by social empathy and a verse that was free of pathos, Seifert created a special type of proletarian

poetry. Together with J. Wolker, V. Nezval, and K. Biebl, he figured among the foremost representatives of the youngest Czech poetry. After some time, he parted ways with the ideas of revolutionary poetry; toward the end of the thirties, however, he stood in the front line, together with those who wanted to defend the republic, their homeland, against fascism. His verse was giving strength to the nation also in the difficult time of occupation.

"After the war, he celebrated the heroes of the Prague Uprising, the Red Army, his mother, the moments of childhood, his home, and his native country.

"These days, attempts have appeared in the West in connection with Seifert's name to abuse our prominent poet for slanderous attacks on his fatherland and to make his name part of the psychological warfare being waged against the countries of socialism. These are cynical attempts deserving condemnation. It is a fact that Seifert's poems have become a permanent part of our poetic treasury and that he ranks among our most frequently published poets. In the 1971-84 period, for example, our publishing houses published 18 Seifert volumes, their total edition amounting to 178,000 copies. Recently, the following original anthologies of his poems were published: "Umbrella from Piccadilly" (1979); "Plague Column" (1981); and "To Be a Poet" (1983). The year 1982 saw the publication of his "Memoirs and Stories," which is the subtitle of his book "All the Beauty of This World," from which are taken the subsequent excerpts.

"On his 80th birthday, CSSR President Gustav Husak sent national artist Jaroslav Seifert a letter of congratulations, in which he expressed appreciation for his life-long work as a poet, through which he significantly contributed to enriching Czechoslovak culture and art."

On the same page, RUDE PRAVO also publishes Seifert's short poem "Song of My Native Country," from the 1938 collection of his poems "Switch Off the Lights."

CSO: 2400/33

SED MESSAGE TO GDR CITIZENS ON 35TH ANNIVERSARY

AU101421 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 9 Oct 84 p 1

[Sed Central Committee message signed by SED General Secretary Erich Honecker: "Thanks to All GDR Citizens"]

[Text] On the 35th anniversary of the founding of the GDR, the SED Central Committee received thousands upon thousands of letters from working collectives, party organizations, and working people from all parts of the country and from all social areas. They bear the signatures of workers, cooperative farmers, intellectuals, members of the armed forces, men of art and culture, craftsmen, trades people, and veterans of work. In those letters, collectives, that had been awarded banners of honor of the Central Committee and high state distinctions express their joy and great satisfaction at the party's and state's recognition of their achievements. The letters written by students, pioneers, and youth collectives are particularly warmhearted.

These letters repeatedly stress that it has become a matter of honor to always set high goals to strengthen socialism and to publicly report on results. This proves that the call launched by the SED Central Committee, the GDR Council of Ministers, and the National Council of the National Front has taken concrete shape in the deeds with which our people are implementing the party policy aimed at their well-being.

The SED Central Committee expressed wholehearted thanks to all friends and comrades for the trust in the party expressed in their letters and for their deep bond with our peaceful, socialist country. The excellent achievements in honor of the 35th anniversary of the foundation of the GDR reflect the conviction that the positive development of our worker-peasant state is a prerequisite for the happiness of each family and each individual and the conviction that deeds aimed at strengthening it are equally decisive for our policy of peace. All this represents a guarantee for the further successful implementation of our main goal aimed at unity in the economic and social policy.

The mass movement on the preparation of the 35th anniversary has led to an unprecedented increase in efficiency in all social areas. We have thus progressed along the road to implementing the 10th SED congress decisions a significant amount.

Many of the collectives report on new tasks focusing on making the new stage in the party's 1985 economic strategy completely efficient. We are convinced that the important tasks devolving upon us can be dealt with creatively, with courage, and on the basis of what we have already achieved. Thus the efficiency and potential of our republic will continue to increase.

The SED Central Committee wishes all working people great success, happiness, and well-being in their future joint work to the benefit of our socialist homeland and in the struggle for safeguarding peace.

Central Committee of the SED

E. Honecker, general secretary and chairman of the GDR State Council

CSO: 2300/50

TRAVEL RESTRICTIONS SAID TO CAUSE FEELINGS OF IMPRISONMENT

Zurich NEUE ZUERCHER ZEITUNG in German 25 Sep 84 p 3

[Article: "Call fo GDR Church for More Personal Courage"]

[Text] SK Berlin, 23 Sept 84. The leadership of the Evangelical Church in the GDR called on the population to exhibit more personal courage at the weekend meeting of the synod of the League of Churches in Greifswald. At the same time, it criticized travel opportunities for GDR citizens which were considered inadequate and the treatment of conscientious objectors.

According to a report by the Evangelical News Service, the leadership of the Evangelical Church in its annual report to the council meeting in Greifswald asked that "the virtues of tolerance in the cause of peace and the potential for conflict" as well as the capacity for achieving mutual understanding be more clearly developed and used more effectively. This also calls for personal courage. It was emphasized in this context that peace in the foreign arena also requires domestic peace.

Discrimination in the Field of Education

According to the Church leadership, conditions in the state educational system are still unsatisfactory. The report stresses the need to follow up on all cases of discrimination against Christian citizens. The Church leaders criticized the official attitude toward the Church in the field of education very cautiously. Each negative experience of Evangelical Christians in the GDR could raise doubts about the state's church policy. What needs to be clarified above all, is how the proven principles of equal rights and equal respect can be secured, given the state's undisputed authority over the school system.

Strong language was occasionally used during the discussion with regard to discrimination against Evangelical Christians in the state educational system. The point was raised that it was incomprehensible that the promises Honecker made during his discussion with the executive board of the League of Churches on 6 March 1978 should remain "removed from reality and without a basis for their implementation." There appears to be a "deep schism" which is not being bridged. The SED leadership was urgently requested to make its real intentions clear.

## A Feeling of Being Imprisoned

The League of Churches' list of demands for the state includes a request for unequivocal and reliable regulations for visits to foreign countries and for "reasonable requests for emigration." The report of the Church leaders reflects the persistent dissatisfaction of parts of the GDR's population and the resulting feelings of being imprisoned. While the Church warns against dramatizing the problem, it nevertheless feels that it must be taken seriously now as before. Among the reasons for the large number of applications for exit permits, the report cites "negative experiences within the GDR," inadequate opportunities for travel, and the "fascination with the prosperity" of the Federal Republic. Participants in the synod pointed out that the restricted opportunities for travel have led to considerable frustration, disappointment, and bitterness.

Stolpe, the deputy chairman of the League of Churches, appealed to the SED leadership to improve travel opportunities. Such an act, he pointed out, would be statement regarding the stability of the state and its desire for peace. East Berlin, however, does not appear to find this necessary. During a reception given by the Greifswald synod, Under Secretary Gysi from East Berlin who is responsible for religious matters compared the GDR to a house in which one can feel comfortable.

## Peace Problems

The report of the Church leaders suggests indirectly that young GDR citizens who refused armed military service for reasons of conscience, have nevertheless been assigned to armed military service. The report notes that assignments to military tasks consistently lead to conflicts of conscience, disciplinary problems, and unnecessary pressures. The subject of peace played only a secondary role at the meeting of the Greiswald synod in contrast to the occasionally fierce discussions within GDR's Evangelical Church following the new deployments of medium range missiles by East and West. With regard to the Church's contribution to peace, it was merely noted that the "policy of a dialogue" and the "coalition of reason"--carried out by the SED to limit the damage caused by the deployment of missiles--was considered an encouraging sign.

12628

CSO: 2300/17



SERVICE WITH THE SPADE: TOO MUCH OR TOO LITTLE FREEDOM?

Jena GLAUBE UND HEIMAT in German Vol 39, 9 Sep 84 p 1

[Text] No one underestimated the fact that for 20 years now young men have been able to refuse armed military service and instead join the special construction units of the National People's Army (NVA) for their compulsory military service. The mood at the service in remembrance of the event, held in Berlin on 1 and 2 September--jointly organized by the Jungmaennerwerk [Young Men's Service Organization] and the League of Churches--was nevertheless not festive. The reason was that even the construction soldier is not in a position to act "purely" and completely in accordance with his conscience. He too must cope with compromises and half measures.

This realization does not diminish one's feelings of gratitude for the fact that by establishing the construction units in 1964 the GDR has created a significant opportunity for paying homage to the concept of peace in a special way without violating the law. Before an audience in Berlin's Church of Sophia, the president of the consistory, Manfred Stolpe (Berlin), recalled the first state-church discussion which took place in 1962, after the GDR had also introduced compulsory military service, and the relief granted 2 years later when the National Defense Council promulgated the construction servicemen ordinance. This set in motion a process in which freedom of religion and conscience was both granted and practiced in a very special area and which still continues 20 years later.

It is indicative of the seriousness of the problem that construction soldiers related their experiences in the peace service during a closed session of the Berlin construction soldier seminar on Saturday and during a public church service and before a discussion group on Sunday. This revealed some of the tensions created for the construction soldiers by an environment of often diametrically opposed objectives. A source of conflict is the fact that some authorities, representing society and the state, regard the construction units as "institutionalized sources of unrest" despite their solid legal basis, while young Christians perceive the military environment, which of course also includes the construction units, as encroaching on their conscience. This is the opinion of Berlin's General Superintendent Guenter Krusche who emphasized in this context that the service of construction soldiers is part of the service for peace of the entire Church. (It was repeatedly stated that this argumentation does not suggest that the Church is "pocketing" those construction soldiers who do not regard themselves as Christians.)

Well-known attorney Wolfgang Schnur expressed himself clearly with regard to another area of conflict: The reality of existing laws must not be allowed to obscure the vision of a world in which swords are forged into plowshares (or, in this case, into spades of construction soldiers). No one in the GDR has the right to refuse military service. But the jurist recommended that full advantage be taken of the opportunities offered by the construction soldier ordinance and to search for solutions to conflicts cautiously and persistently.

One of the most serious sources of conflict for the construction soldier is the fact that the choice he must make is not a "Christian" choice pure and simple: both absolute refusal to serve in armed units as well as accepting such service represent questionable choices, each in its own way.

The Berlin meeting illustrated that one does not shy away from uncomfortable questions. It clearly revealed that even the construction soldier cannot bring about the total peace he envisions. Yet, he creates a symbol for the world of tomorrow in which God himself can still forge the half measures and discords of man into a whole. And this we cannot forego.

12628  
CSO: 2300/17

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

GDR INSTITUTE 'SHARPLY ATTACKS' FRG TV PROGRAMS

LD101059 Hamburg DPA in German 0959 GMT 10 Oct 84

[Text] Berlin, 10 Oct (DPA)--The GDR Institute for International Politics and Economics has sharply attacked ARD [Working Association of the Statutory Broadcasting Corporations of the FRG] television programs. The station intends developing "antisocialist positions" among the GDR populations, and in its news and political magazine programs is spreading "tendentious comment," the institute writes in its house magazine according to the Information Bureau West.

In the institute's view, the political magazine program "Kontraste," for example, reduces information from the socialist countries mostly to "unsolved problems and difficulties, which are intended to convey the overall impression of discontent and insecurity." Other ARD political programs, too, offer "a broad propagandistic platform for anticommunist attacks." In many programs, attacks on the GDR state borders are glorified.

The East Berlin Institute accuses ARD entertainment programs of expressly greeting "citizens from the other part of Germany." Television advertizing "consciously promotes the capitalist system as a 'consumer society'" and tries to arouse discontent with life in the GDR.

CSO: 2300/44

STOPH RECEIVES CUBAN AWARD

LD081705 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1020 GMT 8 Oct 84

[Text] Berlin, 8 Oct (ADN)--Willi Stoph, member of the SED Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers, on Monday received the Jose Marti order, which was conferred to him on the occasion of his 70th birthday by the Council of State of the Republic of Cuba. He received the high award from Guillermo Garcia Frias, member of the Communist Party of Cuba Central Committee and vice president of the Council of State and deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Republic of Cuba.

During the festive event in the Council of Ministers building Guillermo Garcia Frias praised the militant life of Willi Stoph, who, together with the other members of the party and state leadership, has led the GDR people along the victorious path of socialist construction, in which important successes were achieved in the economic, political and social sphere. "Our people are aware of all these facts and recognize the manifestations of your staunch friendship for the socialist revolution of Cuba," he said.

Willi Stoph expressed his warm appreciation and said: "The GDR people, who, like the Cuban people, are confronted by imperialism on the front-line, are glad to be allied to socialist Cuba in firm friendship." He described the high honor paid to him as a tribute to the close relations between the two fraternal parties and states.

The conferment of the award was attended by SED Central Committee Politburo members and First Deputy Chairmen of the Council of Ministers Werner Krolkowski and Alfred Neumann, Deputy Chairman of the Council of Ministers Dr Gerhard Weiss, and Deputy Foreign Minister Bernhard Neugebauer. The Cuban side was represented by Deputy Foreign Minister Jorge Bolanos and Ambassador Julio Garcia Oliveras.

CSO: 2300/51

NEW PONTOON BRIDGE CONSTRUCTION EQUIPMENT DESCRIBED

East Berlin VOLKSARMEE in German No 34, 1984 (signed to press 20 Aug 84) p 8

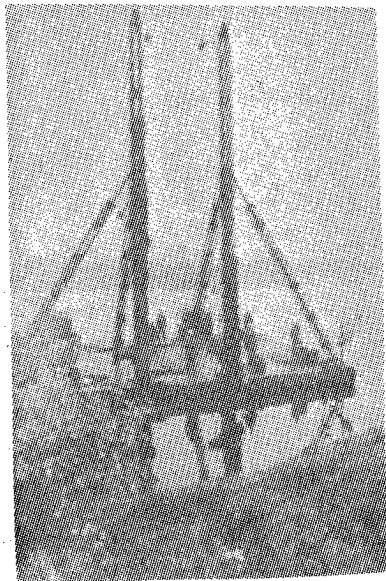
[Article by Lt Col J. Benzin: "Modern Equipment for Bridge Construction Engineers; the Heavy SRF-1250 Pile Driver--a New Development of NVA Driving Technology"]

[Text] The construction of emergency bridges on pilings will remain of importance in military bridge construction despite the availability of modern bridging equipment, auxiliary bridges and pontoon bridges. For longer-term use, the construction of railroad or road bridges is required which permit ship traffic and which must be able to resist ice floes. This requires pile driving equipment suitable for pile driving in water and on land. The National People's Army (NVA) is making great efforts in the development and improvement of versatile pile driving equipment.

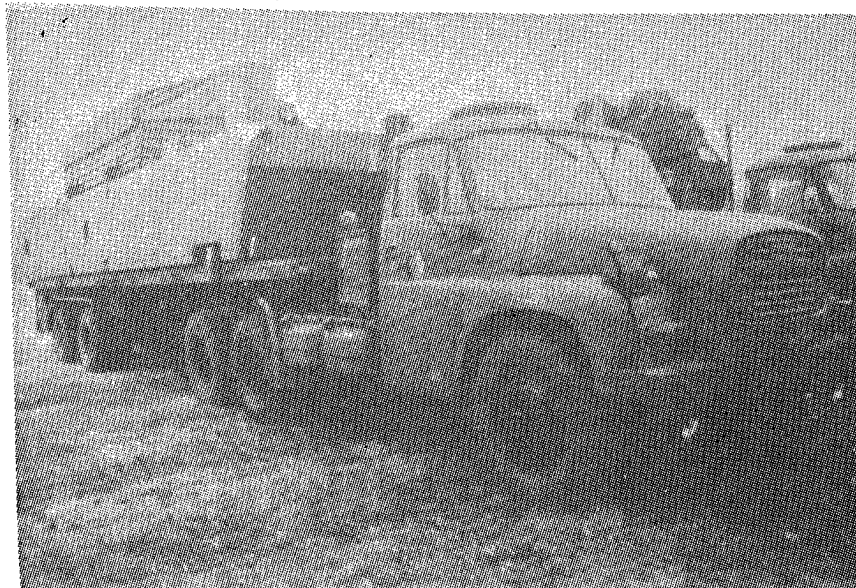
The SRF-1250 Heavy Floating Pile Driver is a new piece of equipment in this area. It is designed primarily for the construction of railroad bridges. Its development was based on the Soviet UR 2-1250 Diesel Pile Driver (drop hammer weight 1,250 kg). It can sink heavy pilings weighing up to 3 tons, with a maximum length of 17 meters, at a water depth of up to 8 meters. The principle of the SRF-1250 consists of mounting, on top of a pontoon-borne raft which was especially developed for this purpose, two 12-meter pile driving sections on swivels which permit pile driving either straight or at an angle. The pile driver raft rests on six pontoons.

While the pontoons of conventional pile driver rafts serve only that particular purpose, the SRF-1250 pontoons can be used for a number of things. They can for instance be used, joined together, without the pile driver section, as a ferry or as one link of a floating bridge. They can easily be attached to the Soviet PMP pontoon bridge park. The SRF-1250 can also be separated into two pile driver rafts with one pile driver section each. Pontoon groups can be combined into rafts consisting of two, three or six pontoons. Depending on the purpose for which they are to be used, these combinations can be equipped with an anchor, hydraulic device, pile driver sections, scaffolding and a towing device. One or two transportable diesel-powered electric generators are installed to supply electric power. With the use of three Soviet BMK-130 M tow boats, which are part of the complex, secure maneuvering and operation is guaranteed in water flow rates of up to 2.5 meters/sec and winds of up to 10 meters/sec. With their newly developed one-ton-plus "hammer" the military bridge builders are able to sink 46 cm diameter wooden pilings, steel or prestressed concrete pilings of up to 34 cm, steel pipes with diameters of up to 53cm, as well as iron sheets and other sheet piling profiles.

Road transport of the SRF 1250 is accomplished by Tatra-148 vehicles, equipped with tractor trailer carriers for the pontoons and pile driver sections, as platform trucks for the pile driver and accessories. For rail transport, the components of the SRF-1250 and the vehicles are loaded separately on flatbed cars. Another part of the pile driver raft complex is the Soviet KS 4561 automatic slewing crane which, when equipped with a pile driver mast and a UR 2-1250 pile driver, can be used as a dry-land pile driver; otherwise, it is used for assembly and loading functions.



Heavy SRF-1250 Pile  
Driver Raft



Tatra 148 With Pontoon for the Pile Driver

9273

CSO: 2300/6

## OVARI DISCUSSES FOREIGN POLICY, DOMESTIC ECONOMIC SITUATION

AU120827 Budapest PARTELET in Hungarian Issue No 10, 1984 pp 3-8

[Address by Miklos Ovari, MSZMP Politburo member and Central Committee secretary, at the 3 September diploma-awarding and school year-opening ceremony at the political academy of the MSZMP Central Committee: "On the Significance of Ideological Clear-sightedness"]

[Text] In general, a school year-opening ceremony is not an extraordinary event in the life of the political academy. Nonetheless, I think that this day as a particular significance for all the comrades who, after 3 years of work, can now receive their deserved diplomas and also for those who are now beginning a momentous undertaking of their lives, the acquisition of additional theoretical and political knowledge for their work.

It is an important task of the academy to keep its finger on the pulse of reality at all times and be an active participant in social processes. What is required is for you to know and propagate the party's policy and, having practical experiences at your disposal, for you, yourselves, to participate in the shaping of policy. The academy is the most prestigious forum of party education, its center of spiritual emanation. It is therefore necessary for it to help the party's propaganda activity more intensively.

It is an important task of the academy to strengthen its positions in scientific public life. It should encourage the available scientific forces primarily to solve issues that foster the accomplishment on a high standard of the tasks that confront the party. It is our joint task to continue pondering over the transformations of the educational structure in keeping with the present requirements, the perfection of the system of postgraduate training, and the improvement of prerequisites for participation in scientific public life.

The year facing us will be particularly important in the life of the party and the country. As is known, preparations have begun for the 13th party congress. In the course of this work, it will be necessary to review the implementation of the resolutions of the 12th congress, analyze the country's position, strengthen everything that has proven correct and foreshadows progress in party policy, and provide answers to the questions that preoccupy the party, the country, and the population most. This is a task not only for the Central Committee, but the party as a whole as well.

It is natural that debates will become brisker in the course of the preparations. This, itself, does not matter. The best solutions are always arrived at by working hard to find them in debates. What is important is that these debates should always take place within party-minded frameworks, foster the finding of socialist solutions that best suit our conditions, and serve the strengthening of the party's ideological and political unity.

Therefore, I would now like to address two issues in particular. One is our main political line and the other is the main content and goal of our socialist constructive work. There must not be the least uncertainty in these issues in the course of the preparations.

It is a platitude to say that the international situation is tense. It is also a platitude to say that the main reason for this tension is the policy of the current ruling circles of the United States, their endeavor to obtain a superiority of strength in the world. It is also another platitude to say that in this, a more difficult international situation, we are doing everything possible to insure a continuation of the trend of peaceful coexistence.

Still, I would like to say a few words about what this "everything possible" means that we must do in the interests of preserving peace and a continuation of the policy of peaceful coexistence. Of our tasks in international politics, we must mention in the first place the fact that everything possible must be done to preserve the balance of power, for, if we review the path of the nearly 4 decades that have been covered since the end of World War II, we can conclude that, despite every previous international tension and embroilment, peace has been successfully defended for almost 4 decades now in Europe, and primarily because there was a certain state of equilibrium between the opposing forces. This balance of power that has historically developed following World War II constitutes a fundamental factor in the peace era, which can be called for a long one.

Still, what is one to understand more specifically by the balance of power? I think it is natural for us to think of the parity of military forces. However, the balance of power is more than a numerical equilibrium of the military forces of the two alliance systems. The unity of the socialist countries has an outstanding role in this balance of power. The socialist countries' unity, cooperation and collaboration constitute an integral and indispensable part of this balance of power. Therefore, if we want this balance of power to continue, we must pay particular attention to strengthening cooperation among the socialist countries.

The balance of power and, in particular, the struggle to preserve the balance of power imply that, as before, we cannot dispense with appropriate negotiations in the future, either.

[AU120828] I would like to recall the fact pointed out by Comrade Chernenko not long ago that there is no need to convince the Soviet policy of the usefulness of negotiations. Some people in the West would like to pretend that they are urging for negotiations while the Soviet Union and its allies wish to avoid these negotiations. The difference--and a rather big difference,



unfortunately--between the two positions lies in who means what by these negotiations.

We regard negotiations as useful and necessary, and we take part in all negotiations that concretely advance in practice the cause of peace and of arms reduction. We cannot take part, however, in negotiations under whose mask it is possible to calmly continue the arms race.

The country's internal situation plays a very important role in this balance of power. All of us have, must have--unfortunately the international situation dictates it--elementary military knowledge; and it is also a fact of elementary military knowledge that the firmness of the front depends to a large extent on the homefront's strength. Therefore, when we talk about maintaining a worldwide balance of power, we must think of this, too. An important factor in this respect is the political stability of our country, its economic strength and development, and the development of the ideological position. I am thinking of these when I recall the most important tasks.

Concerning the practical steps, we can all experience how much brisker the foreign policy activity of the Hungarian People's Republic has become. Our country's and party's relations with the socialist countries and their leading parties assume an outstanding position in this great diplomatic activity. I would only like to recall that top-level meetings were held with the leaders of the Soviet Union, the GDR, CSSR, Poland, Bulgaria, Yugoslavia and most recently the DPRK. Other high-level meetings have often taken place between the representatives of the Hungarian People's Republic and other socialist countries. Quite recently, three high-level leaders from Romania held talks with the representatives of the MSZMP. This is our main foreign policy guideline, the main trend of our foreign policy activity.

At the same time, it is also a fact that frequent high-level meetings were held not only with the representatives of the socialist countries and of their parties but also with many other leading politicians of the world, mainly of Europe.

In my opinion, this foreign policy activity also shows that the Hungarian People's Republic today has considerable international prestige. It is worth analyzing the explanation for this prestige.

I would like immediately to conclude that today socialist Hungary, and not the country somehow deviating from the socialist norms, is the one that has great international prestige. What is the reason?

I believe there are many reasons for this. I think that among these reasons, from a historical point of view, there is obviously the fact that we consistently carried out a struggle in 1956, and then, after a relatively short time, we succeeded in emerging from a very deep crisis, succeeded in getting on our feet, and succeeded in consolidating the socialist regime; some people even called it a "Hungarian miracle," which, of course, was no miracle. And I believe that, a contribution was also made to this international prestige by the fact that--according to my conviction--in Hungary we succeeded in

correctly applying the teachings of Marxism-Leninism to the domestic characteristics and endowments. In our policy, we have always tried to take the realities into consideration. Although we communists--like all people in general--also have desires and dreams, we never start from these when we have to make political decisions, but have always considered our real possibilities.

Obviously contributing to our international reputation is also the fact that we are open. Not only in the economic sense--we are also open to our own experiences and to others' experiences. We have the courage to make changes if we consider that change is necessary and it takes us ahead, that is, closer to our socialist goals. We have the courage to try, accepting also the risk that one or the other element of our changes might not work--but that is still better than immobility.

We are also open in the sense that we are leading an open policy: We represent the same position in Budapest and Moscow for in another socialist country's capital, and the same when we are negotiating with Western partners. That is why we are respected not only by our friends but also by our political adversaries; they know where the Hungarian People's Republic stands, on what they can count on, they know that when we say yes, we mean yes, and when we say no, we mean no.

Our policy is therefore predictable, and this predictability is of great value in a world fraught with uncertainties. Therefore, they respect us, not because we "deviate" from our principles, but because we are honest and consistent.

Last, and obviously not least, we are respected for our achievements; for example, the ones attained in agriculture since the socialist reorganization of the agricultural sector. But I think we are also respected for the development of our economy as a whole.

[AU120829] We in this country know--and we must always know--how many deficiencies, worries and problems still remain. We must also realize, however, that despite them we have accomplished tasks that were by no means small ones with a high standard.

The ability of our people's economy to revive itself--with which we are, incidentally, rightly dissatisfied--is appreciated. Our system of economic macromanagement is appreciated, and also the fact that we are prepared to further develop it and attune it to the present tasks is appreciated. And I think that, no matter how dissatisfied we are with the development of the standard of living, the respectable standard that this country has attained in 4 decades is appreciated.

Our political stability, including the firmness of our state power, the unity of our people, and our policy of alliance, together with our church policy, is appreciated. And the stability of the party's policy is also appreciated. I could formulate it by saying that it is appreciated that following a very intense phase of the class struggle, we have brought a social reconciliation, we have created unity with regard to the most important political questions.

Thinking realistically, we must also take into account the fact that an endeavor to loosen our ties exists as well. There is an attempt to pit us against other socialist countries. We should be surprised if there were no such endeavors. Whether it is openly declared or not, this endeavor did exist, does exist, and will also exist in the future. Pertinent to this is the fact that the jointly developed and accepted policy is always unequivocally and clearly represented by representatives of the Hungarian People's Republic. So much about international matters.

Of the tasks of our domestic constructive work, obviously economic tasks are in the foreground. Briefly summarizing the situation, I would say that for 10 years the Hungarian people's economy has been resisting extremely heavy pressure. In these 10 years we have preserved the equilibrium of our people's economy and have even improved our state of equilibrium in some important areas. We are not yet beyond the difficult phase, but we have endured the difficult years and every prerequisite is at hand to enable us to stand our ground over further difficult years as well.

The rate of economic growth has slowed down in recent years. The regular improvement of the standard of living--to which we have become accustomed over the decades--has ceased, indeed, the situation has even deteriorated in certain respects. For instance, real wages have diminished in recent years.

Part of this situation is the fact that the Hungarian People's Republic has great burdens: Interest on and due installments of the large debts that accumulated around the middle of the seventies must be paid. Therefore, we were obliged to say at the end of 1978 that the process of becoming indebted had to be slowed down, halted and reversed. Subsequent to this, there was no other way than to assign priority to preserving solvency and safeguarding the standard of living in our practical economic activity and to make them the cardinal tasks.

In this situation, we must consider how long this defensive attitude, which is inevitable in a certain respect--safeguarding solvency and the standard of living--will continue. I think that this defensive attitude as a program would not be correct in the long term. In the opinion of the Central Committee, our system is capable of more than this. Therefore, it is necessary and possible for us to find ways of intensifying the rate of economic growth.

There is a very important and, at the same time, very difficult task of the party congress ahead of us in working out a program that foreshadows progress and insures most dynamic economic development and in mobilizing the working masses for the implementation of this program. This will make it possible for us to find the path--even if not overnight--leading out of the present difficulties.

This objective has already been served by the resolution passed on the further development of the system of economic macromanagement, which was endorsed by the Central Committee in April. The essence of this resolution is to find the most effective socialist solutions for the accomplishment of our economic

tasks and the assertion of economic policy. We could also say, more simply, that it should foster the pursuit of economic activity in a socialist manner. It would be a good thing if no uncertainty remained and unity in work to prepare the congress were also to grow stronger with regard to this question.

Why do I emphasize that we are seeking a socialist solution and not a solution deviating from it--as one can read in some, by no means few, Western organs--for the problems of our economy? In my opinion, the most essential feature from a political viewpoint of these already introduced or planned measures is the fact that they put traditional socialist values more to the fore. Thus, they do not mean an infiltration of some kind of capitalist way of thinking, but the putting of our traditional socialist values into the foreground.

[AUL20830] What do I have in mind? The appreciation of work, of which one cannot say that it is equally understood or valued by everyone. Traditional socialist values are a consciously organized state of society, a voluntarily assumed discipline of the working people, rational economization of community assets, enhancement of the role of working collectives in shaping their own destiny and in the country's socialist development, and a more resolute and consistent enforcement of the socialist principle of apportionment according to work. These introduced and planned measures, through the compulsion of economic regulation, spur on to qualitatively better work and work more useful for society.

This economic macromanagement system--it is perhaps superfluous for me to say this, but nevertheless it can do no harm if there is no uncertainty in this matter--does not affect the party's leading role in society: The development and enforcement of economic policy is the task of the party, and so is mobilization for implementing the approved economic policy. Supervising the realization of economic policy is also the party's task. These measures do not alter the fact that the state has an indispensable role in the organization of the economy in the entire period of socialist construction.

The Central Committee's April resolution has been received positively by the party and the country's public opinion. It has been positively received because this resolution does not seek a way out in additional economic restrictions, but tries to improve the situation through some efficient economic activity. It has been positively received by public opinion because it has put social values more to the fore than previously. The implementation of the resolution is closely linked to our consistent liquidation of the wildings that exist irrespective of the economic macromanagement system--those wildings that can be liquidated should be, as early as the phase of preparations for the congress.

This system of economic macromanagement enhances the interest of the working people in better work, as well as their possibilities for expressing their views. I think that there is a positive response also to the fact that we are not applying some radically new macromanagement system, but that a further perfection of the policy that has been integrally and consistently pursued since 1956 is involved. It is an advantage of the April resolution that, through its implementation, propaganda and interest are making an impact in the same direction.

I have mentioned already that the past years have not been easy. It should be added: These more difficult years are not yet over, so that there is a continued need for steadfastness, work and discipline. Finding a way out is not an easy task, and traversing this path constitutes an even more difficult task. We can accomplish these difficult tasks only if there is confidence in each other and in the party and if we have self-assurance as well--of course, well-founded self-assurance.

Our party, which is 66 years old this year, and our people have gone through a great many kinds of difficulties and have accomplished many tasks, some of which were more difficult than the present ones. This party struggled under the conditions of illegality and represented the socialist ideals and struggled for the interests of the people in the era of fascist terror and the most merciless oppression.

Our party worked with tremendous vigor in the year of the liberation and the following years, when we were a political minority and yet were able to accomplish our tasks.

Subsequently, this party--and by the party I always mean all party members--worked in the very difficult years of the personality cult, when its work was made more difficult by grave mistakes and sins. With the self-sacrificing work of the party and the people, socialism was built in those years too, with needless difficulties and sacrifices.

It worked then, in the complicated years between 1953 and 1956--there will be a fair number of people who remember this--when the party's functionaries were given one kind of resolutions one day and resolutions contrary to them the next, when these meanderings in politics made a resolution's acceptance more difficult and its implementation even more so. Still, we did work even in those years.

[AU120831] And we also worked in 1956, in the period of armed counterrevolutionary attack: The party also made its voice heard in the midst of pronouncedly hostile surroundings. At that time, too, it was able to win over followers quickly and at an increasing rate, and solved the complex tasks of consolidation.

We were working under completely different conditions in the years 1959-1960-1961, in a relatively consolidated period, when we had to argue with our class brothers, the peasants, making days out of nights, and to organize socialist agriculture. We had solved this extremely difficult and complex task, too. Then came less difficult years, faster development in industry, agriculture, sciences, arts, in the sphere of ideology, and not least in the standard of living, too. But remembering these "easier" years--the achievements in these years, too, were made by very hard work because there is no other source of achievements.

Then from the middle and the end of the sixties, another period followed with other kinds of difficulties, because there is a need to solve two great and difficult tasks in themselves at the same time. We began the changeover

in economic development from its extensive phase to its intensive phase; today we already know better than then how complex and how difficult a task this is. And in addition to this difficult task in itself, we also had to adjust to the changes the world economy was undergoing.

At present we are living in a period of increased uncertainty, there is more concern as a result of the international situation and also due to economic problems--but we also have to hold out in this situation. And in order to be able to hold out, there is a need for ideological clearheadedness, greater unity, more courage, a firm stand, and better persuasive work. What is needed is for everyone to fulfill his task at the highest possible level, completely, in his or her place.

CSO: 2500/29

## PUBLIC OPINION RESEARCH ON SECOND INCOMES

Budapest HETI VILAGGAZDASAG in Hungarian 22 Sep 84 pp 4-7

[Article by Mrs Endre Vilmos: "Supplemented Income"]

[Text] How do households try to ward off the price increases in the past years? This the National Market Research Institute tried to clear up by an examination carried out in the summer of 1984.

The replies given by the 1,266 households interrogated supported the experience that the ever increasing prices do not mean a uniform burden on the people living in different financial situations. They also show, however, that the increase in the cost of living elicits in the several households attitudes and economic efforts differing from those that were previously customary. People adjust themselves or have to adjust themselves to the changing surroundings in one way or in another, according to their own demands and opportunities.

There are two ways of putting up with the economic conditions becoming more and more difficult: families are either forced to cope with more economic housekeeping or, instead of trying to save money, to seek sources yielding a surplus income by which they can balance their surplus costs. There are, of course, families which, owing to their living standards already reached, their previous way of life, and perhaps on account of their judging objective reasons and according to their own subjective considerations do not make changes.

"How do you try to ward off the price increases of the past years?"--was the first question. The replies can be ranked into four groups: 24 percent try to get some surplus income, 32 percent combine the acquisition of surplus income with more economic housekeeping, 34 percent try to cut down their expenses and go in for saving and finally, 5 percent do not change their earlier habits of income and expenses.

Consequently in 60 percent of the households interrogated there is one or more family members who, in addition to their basic income, try to find also other opportunities for getting some income. In their majority--to the extent of 72 percent--they do find for themselves opportunities for additional earnings, but for 28 percent this remains merely a wish. To the latter group

there belong to a great extent, to 38 percent, working people with intellectual occupations, living in the capital. On the other hand, there can be found in this group to a small extent agricultural workers and peasants--totalling 13 percent. Pensioners, however, are forced to resort to a more economical way of life. Fifty-eight percent of the pensioners are forced to economize, and every second tries to complement his pension by undertaking some work.

Sources of Acquiring Surplus Income (%)

|                                     | <u>Supplementary income resulting<br/>from employment</u> |                              |             |              |
|-------------------------------------|---|------------------------------|-------------|--------------|
|                                     | <u>In principal<br/>occupation</u>                        | <u>Second<br/>Occupation</u> | <u>Both</u> | <u>Other</u> |
| <b>Income per head of family</b>    |   |                              |             |              |
| Below the average                   | 25  | 21                           | 4           | 50           |
| Average                             | 18  | 19                           | 7           | 56           |
| Above the average                   | 25  | 21                           | 7           | 47           |
| <b>Occupation of head of family</b> |   |                              |             |              |
| Worker                              | 32  | 19                           | 9           | 40           |
| Peasant                             | 11  | 13                           | 4           | 72           |
| Intellectual                        | 27  | 27                           | 7           | 39           |
| Together:                           | 23  | 20                           | 6           | 51           |

As the method of acquiring an income over and above basic earnings every second person asked indicated the "Other" category. Sixty-eight percent of them meant thereby work on household plots, 32 percent odd jobs. In secondary or second occupations mostly those can be found who do also otherwise intellectual work. Those who mentioned as the source of their supplementary income a second occupation work, to an extent of 33 percent, in economic work communities or enterprise economic work communities, and 6 percent undertake permanent work at home for craftsmen, 4 percent go in for transport work.

Another 33 percent of those working in secondary or second occupation carry on very variegated activities: work as taxi drivers, do typing work, go as cleaners, interpret, teach languages, act as experts or designers, work shop-assistants with private merchants, and to household work for others. An interesting item is also that 21 percent of the interrogated did not give details as to how they earn their "second bread".

Three-fourths of the families interrogated that offered their opinion on the conditions of life tries to acquire a surplus income to keep the previous level of their standard of life.

This general assessment--which in any case may in its entirety be regarded a subjective value judgment--covers comparatively great differences between the several strata of the population.



The Aim of the Utilization of the Surplus Income in  
Several Strate of the Population (%)

|                                      | Standard of Life                    |         |                            |           |
|--------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|---------|----------------------------|-----------|
|                                      | Preserving<br>the level<br>attained | Raising | Lessening its<br>reduction | Undecided |
| Income per head of the family        |                                     |         |                            |           |
| Under the average                    | 72                                  | 10      | 7                          | 11        |
| Average                              | 79                                  | 7       | 10                         | 4         |
| Above the average                    | 69                                  | 14      | 10                         | 7         |
| Occupation of the head of the family |                                     |         |                            |           |
| Worker                               | 75                                  | 11      | 7                          | 7         |
| Peasant                              | 65                                  | 24      | 2                          | 9         |
| Intellectual                         | 71                                  | 10      | 13                         | 6         |
| Pensioner                            | 76                                  | 6       | 14                         | 4         |
| Other                                | 72                                  | 10      | 10                         | 8         |
| Domicile of family                   |                                     |         |                            |           |
| Budapest                             | 75                                  | 8       | 13                         | 4         |
| Town                                 | 74                                  | 9       | 10                         | 7         |
| Village                              | 73                                  | 12      | 6                          | 9         |
| Together:                            | 74                                  | 10      | 9                          | 7         |

The figures show that plus work in the interest of better living is undertaken in the first place by those working in agriculture. Pensioners and intellectuals, on the supplementary income derived from the second economy for the purpose of slowing down the deterioration of their standard of life.

Owing to the increase in consumer prices and in the services for the population, 54 percent of those interrogated had to renounce for good purchases planned in advance and to avail themselves of services of a higher order. In the course of the assessment the slightest drop in purchasing power was indicated--to an extent of 39 percent--by those working in agriculture, while the greatest extent in the decline of their purchasing power--to an extent of 58 percent--was mentioned by intellectuals.

Households with 1 or 2 persons were forced to keep back purchases to a lesser extent than the average, while in families where more than 3 persons live together--independently of the number of family members--this had to be done to a much greater extent.

What did those renounce who were forced to modify their preliminary plans:

- trips abroad, 26 percent
- travelling inside the country, 24 percent
- the purchase and exchange of durable consumer goods, 16 percent
- purchasing furniture, 11 percent
- building operations, the starting of modernization, [percentage indistinct]
- purchase of color TV sets, 8 percent
- other products--household textiles, clothing and similar commodities, 10 percent

According to this public opinion research, travels hold first place, On the other hand the experience of experts and also figures show that neither in Hungary nor in other countries affected by recession there was declined the mobility of the population, and their participation in recreation. All this indicates beyond doubt that the growing polarization of income has led to the development of strata who are continuously able to spend their holidays in alien surroundings, at home or abroad. At the same time, however, the answers given by the households interrogated also show that there has become permanent a circle of those who, though they crave for it, are hardly able to avail themselves of this form of relaxation. This fact is, otherwise, also borne out by a number of earlier examinations. The public opinion research of the National Market Research Institute--based on the replies of people to only a few questions--obviously cannot analyze the phenomena in their details, it rather serves the purpose of drawing attention to these problems and proves the necessity of profounder research.

CSO: 2500/31

## KORNIDESZ NOTES PROPAGANDA FAILURES ON SEVERAL FRONTS

Budapest PROPAGANDISTA in Hungarian 8 Apr 84 pp 5-13

[Excerpt from a speech by Mihaly Kornidesz, President of Hungarian Television, on 19 Apr 84 for Lenin's birthday celebrations: "Lenin and Propaganda"]

[Excerpts] We frequently state and emphasize nowadays that the significance and responsibilities of agitative, propaganda and informative activities have increased. I am afraid we are not always aware how important a truth we are expressing with this. I would also add that these responsibilities have become more subtle. Propaganda never is self contained and autotelic--its contents and responsibilities are defined by the demands of the age and the necessities of socio-economic development.

As we have come to know from Lenin as well as from our experience, the building of socialism is an activity which involves desperate struggle and unremitting work, a historical process which has its successes and failures. There was a time when we directly felt the pathos of this statement. It is quite another matter that it is the reverse and parody of this feeling which is being frequently and unjustifiably presented nowadays. The manner in which the 1950s, with their difficult, tormenting problems, are presented, results in an incomplete image, and negatively influences the public mood.

In our present society, millions of people do not have the extraordinary experience of living through a historical period. Rather, our experience is that we are living in difficult times. These difficulties are in part connected with global politics and world economics, and in part with our domestic situation, our worries and possibilities.

We must explain the problems of global economy and politics, which exert a thorough influence on our country in such a manner that it should become clear what our own problems are which we should solve ourselves, and what are the effects streaming in from the outside, against which we should defend ourselves. One-sided explanations usually do not find acceptance. "Apologizing" for the problems is a defensive behavior bringing dubious results. What we need is propaganda work which is oriented toward tasks.

Our real problems are made even more difficult by the fact that on a number of issues ideological-conceptual confusion and uncertainty prevail, in nearly every social class, and in connection with several issues.

Our propaganda efforts must address these and other issues more effectively.

Propaganda work must never become defensive. We must not let ourselves be detained from the tasks of today. For this, however, we need to be thoroughly prepared.

I would like to mention only one actual example--and this is the economy, the situation of our economy, the issue of further developing our system of governing our economy. There is no Hungarian citizen who is not touched by this issue in some manner; and similarly, there are few people who are not interested in the questions connected with this. The open debates and announcements made in connection with this topic provide good illustrations for the conflicts, passions and efforts involved. I believe it is sufficient to refer to the events of the last two or three months.

The leading authorities of our party have always paid, and continue to pay, great attention to these questions. It was during this week that the Central Committee discussed the question of further developing our system of economic supervision. Our past experiences tell us, and knowing the present situation we can surmise this time as well, that the announcement of the Central Committee will not solve and put an end to the entire issue. Rather, it will be the starting point and basis for starting the work, during the early and later portion of which one of the most important functions will be to explain the tasks, to have them accepted, and to mobilize the people in order to carry them out. Just in connection with this one issue, serious, important work awaits those connected with propaganda.

The good propagandist, the good agitator does not merely relay ready truths to the people. Good propagandists are independently thinking, searching individuals themselves who creatively contribute to the analysis of reality and to the definition of our point of view. This is the only way their work can be effective. Furthermore, it is an organic part of their work and their mobilizing activity to discover, summarize and relay the experiences and goals of the masses. Thus they greatly contribute to the strengthening of ties between the party and the masses, assuring the success of our policies.

From the point of view of our alliance policies, gaining the support of youth is especially important. The saying "Whoever has the youth, he has the future!" may never have been as true as today. In order to work with the young, we must be well acquainted with their specific problems. We must realize that several "peace generations" have grown up, who--understandably--lack political experience, which of course means that their threshold of tolerance is lower and they are less understanding of negative phenomena. They generalize easily, and some of them may come under influences which are alien to their world view. One manifestation of this is the simplification of politics, a frequently unrealistic, often purely idealistic debating about the so-called question of Hungary's fate, or about our historical past, or, for that matter, about the different models of socialism and about our international progress.

12588  
CSO: 2500/612

## NATION'S RICH NOT SO RICH

## Not As Privileged As Some Say

Budapest ELET ES IRODALOM in Hungarian 7 Sep 84 p 5

[Article by Katalin Mogyoro: "The Poor Rich"]

[Text] The rich and ES [ELET ES IRODALOM] seem to be having irreconcilable differences. Regular readers are almost certain to find a reporter or commentator writing on schedule and citing examples from the "swamp" of affluence. For example, Gyorgy Andai's recent article in two installments, entitled "Life Is Pleasant." One cannot help but wonder whether this "drive" against the affluent is a part of the literary weekly's deliberate program or merely the personal undertaking of a few pen-pushers. In either case, it cannot be regarded as the private concern of an editorial office. For the attitude these writings reflect, and the impact they may have, harbor political danger. In particular, the message emerging from the writings on this topic is that the more liberal economic environment of the past decade has produced a parasitic stratum that is a threat to socialism. As proof of this, the reports present a series of characters, without identifying them by name and address, or perhaps even without mentioning their occupations and sources of income. But this is probably enough for those who are seeking arguments against Hungary's experimenting economic policy.

When writing about, say, marital infidelity or love affairs, it is the author's sovereign right to choose his ratio of fact to fiction, to decide whether to base his information on gossip or the court records of a divorce case. The "exaggerations" in this area regarding men or women will at most enhance our national reputation. However, the domestic opportunities to get rich and their reporting cannot be treated so casually. In a socialist country it is not indifferent who is able to accumulate wealth in the millions, how wide is the gap between society's poorest and its richest stratum, whether the advantages can be passed on through inheritance, and has a stratum emerged able to neutralize itself against domestic reality. Such weighty questions cannot be presented to the public on the basis of sight-seeing on Rozsadomb [Budapest's 2d District] and who-said-what gossip, nor can they be illustrated by the characters of a "literary" report whom the author has vested with the traits of five or six wealthy persons, and with whom he may not even be acquainted.

Many journalists feel that they are experts on the subject of getting rich, but I perhaps have greater claim to such expertise: the Institute of Sociology had commissioned me to conduct a study of the especially well-to-do in Budapest and to write a report on them. I reviewed the tax returns filed in the 2d District, the Budapest district that statistically is the most affluent. And I also interviewed in depth a good many subjects belonging to this "circle." On the basis of such experience, I venture that the world of the domestic rich is entirely different from how the authors in ES describe it. The reporters and commentators who have written on this topic--there are also exceptions, e.g., Istvan Lazar--operate with the stereotypes that public opinion fosters and even exaggerate them, instead of confronting these stereotypes with reality.

Perhaps the best proof of how strong an impact the picture of the "rich man" emerging from the press has is the fact that initially even the managers of research on social stratification at the Institute of Sociology believed, as I did, in the existence of the Hungarian "phantom millionaire" who lives in a luxurious villa, rides a shiny Western limousine, gives parties, vacations every year overseas, purchases mink coats and expensive jewelry, and squanders his money and ample leisure time in night clubs. At the start of my research, we were under the impression that I would find such "subjects" one after the other, in the fashionable belt of Budapest. But although I selected my interviewees from among the owners of expensive real estates and luxury cars, and from among persons with high incomes, I encountered only "poor rich" Hungarians who would not qualify even as prosperous middle class in a capitalist country. Just consider what an especially well-to-do person in Hungary actually has. Say, a five- or six-room house. A home of this size is regarded as the average family's natural requirement in Austria, or even in the GDR where housing standards are higher than in our country. In the capitalist countries even the regularly employed skilled workers are able to afford most of the Western makes of cars operating here. Or to cite another socialist example: when the GDR imported two lots of 10,000 West German cars each, outstanding skilled workers were said to have the best chance of buying one. The highest incomes in Hungary are simply not comparable with the highest incomes in the West. Income tax is so progressive that nobody is able to legally retain more than 30,000 to 40,000 forints a month. If from this "large income" the recipient pays over 6,000 forints a month as his social-insurance contribution and also helps his children or grandchildren, then we really cannot say that he has much money left to squander. I realize, of course, that the standards of wealth and poverty are different in every country. Anyone who does not have an apartment will find it shocking that some people are living in spacious homes. The person who has to wait 6 years to get a Trabant probably hates every Mercedes owner. And who earns only 3,000 forints a month will regard even 10,000 forints a month as fantastic income. But when a writer undertakes to evaluate what "threat" the domestic rich pose, he must set aside the envy stemming from his personal situation or frame of mind, and it also helps if he has at least some international outlook.

Anyone who has met truly rich people in the West, and then becomes acquainted with a few of our domestic millionaires, must realize that "ours" are entirely different--they are sort of "socialist rich." In a capitalist country, adherence to expectations is possible practically as a matter of course. Each

person's income enables him to live in the district, rent the home, buy the car, and live the life that befits his social status. In Hungary, nobody can fulfill his expectations in this manner. Many things are not included in wages and salaries, and therefore a person's financial situation may depend on a number of factors other than his performance: on his inheritance, clever use of opportunities, a possible official trip abroad, and what he gets in social benefits. In Hungary, I have not met a single wealthy individual with all the trappings of wealth. Most owners of villas in "civilian occupations"--i.e., people whose performance is not outstanding, and who do not earn much--are thrifty sit-at-home types; their car, if they have one at all, is an old jalopy; and they derive income from a part of their homes by taking in tourists. The owners of luxury cars come from an entirely different social environment. Most of them acquired their cars when they were working abroad. Some of them (in my experience, mainly the attorneys) were able to buy second-hand Mercedes cars from the state, at a low price. The owners of luxury cars usually live in council-owned apartments, and they are not even interested in acquiring real estate of their own. Only a very small group of people, who have been earning high incomes for a long time and have had cumulative advantages, own valuable real estate and a Western car as well. But the "pleasant life" that, in Gyorgy Andai's report, meant designer clothes from the West, supported mistresses, African safaris, and night clubs, is not typical of them either. On the basis of my selection criteria, I did not meet or could have met a group within society that had much leisure time and money to squander. Perhaps I could have found such a group had I sought my interviewees in gambling dens and night clubs. But their denizens probably own neither expensive cars nor luxury villas. Their high incomes can stem only from crime, because the recipients of reported high incomes--be they artists or private entrepreneurs--must work hard to earn them.

Of course, I could have used the interviews as material for a report against the rich. Merely by focusing the lense at a narrower angle and "photographing" that "side" of my subjects which would have supported what I decided to say in advance. About the electrical engineer, for example, I could have listed the many things working in his favor. He inherited valuable real estate, had a wealthy father, his invention was accepted in the 1950's and, for good measure, he married a mason's daughter. This is how the villa on Rozsadomb was built, and it has been producing substantial income during the past two decades or so. A part of it is let to tourists, and the garden is being used to grow produce under plastic. But I also learned that this man is working at a large enterprise that lately has been doing poorly. Although he is 53 and a development engineer, his monthly salary is barely more than 6,000 forints. He keeps submitting ever-newer inventions, but the factory's managers are not interested; they prefer to travel to Japan to buy licenses. To him it is not a matter of pride, rather of shame, that the two rooms they rent produce more income than what he earns through intellectual effort. I noticed also how shabbily he was dressed. His children informed me that he spends his leisure time at home. But he has fairly little leisure time, for he commutes 3 hours by bus daily to his workplace and back. (By virtue of his civic right, for 110 forints, Gyorgy Andai would add sarcastically.)

Perhaps the 43-year-old architect would have been a more ideal subject. He too is indeed lucky. His one-time employer, a construction enterprise, gave him a council apartment along the Danube, one room and two alcoves, in a building he had designed. Then the enterprise sent him to Africa for three years, where he saved up enough for a Volkswagen and all kinds of hi-fi equipment. The ES reporters would probably catch him at home when his hi-fi was blaring. That was the case also when I visited him. But what I discovered in that situation was the overcrowded apartment, and not the joys of a pleasant life. The family of five, including two teenagers and a paralyzed grandparent, was crowded onto barely 60 square meters of floorspace. To trade for an apartment of suitable size, the family would have to pay an asking price of 400,000 forints, an amount it probably will never have.

However, it is not my intention to write sketches describing the "poverty" of intellectuals. The editors of ES have already done that many times. I recall a touching story in which the private entrepreneur's Mercedes and the Trabant of the actor playing Hamlet are parked next to each other on the street. This is how the author illustrated what supposedly was one of the greatest contradictions of our time. But I have seen the tax returns of actors. They show that popular actors in their thirties earn 150,000 to 180,000 forints a year, in addition to their regular salaries. And the great old actors earn as much as 300,000 to 350,000 a year. I wonder whether one ought to reveal the size of incomes in one's own profession. Gyorgy Andai placed so skillfully on record his complaint that he, a journalist, could not afford even a trip to north Hungary, whereas the private entrepreneur could spend his vacation in Africa. A more differentiated picture must reveal also the fact that most of the private entrepreneurs whom I interviewed do not travel abroad at all but spend their vacations in Hungary. On the other hand, I and colleagues of my age (i.e., in their thirties) admittedly work hard, but we are able to afford a few things: a trip to the West and occasionally perhaps even overseas, some good clothes, and a car. With their regular salaries and extra income, the popular oldsters in our profession are up there in the highest income bracket in Hungary, between 30,000 and 40,000 forints a month. Together with the prominent writers, conductors, pianists, institute directors, professors, scientists who act as consultants and publish extensively, doctors in private practice, and successful attorneys. In addition to these professional groups, there were conspicuously many engineers, chemists and physicists among the villa owners.

I find it important to state these facts because I feel that some of my colleagues are abusing the power that publication gives them. One way of turning public sentiment against entrepreneurs in Hungary is to contrast the poverty of intellectuals and the underrating of knowledge with the "easy prosperity" of entrepreneurs. However, not every diplomate earns a low income, just as not every entrepreneur is prosperous.

In my opinion, the press has spread also the general belief that some people have become conspicuously rich in recent years. But my interviews with villa owners, private entrepreneurs and intellectuals alike, revealed in one case after another that already their parents had been wealthy and had been able to pass on to their children valuable real estate properties, art treasures and



jewelry, in spite of all the countermeasures of the new social system. Among the villa owners there was only one from a poor peasant family who started at the very bottom of the ladder, but was able to advance thanks to his special artistic talent. However, it took him several decades to attain his present financial situation.

There are also views to the effect that the present economic environment is conducive to various violations of the law and to acquiring wealth illegally. The interviews in depth revealed that some of the interviewed subjects had increased their wealth by such means also in the 1950's and 1960's. But since there were more restrictions then, it was also easier to run afoul of them. For example, a vegetable dealer whom I interviewed worked for a time as a truck driver in the 1950's. He was making home deliveries of freezers, which were a novelty at that time. At his customers' request, he undertook to deliver the freezers in the evening, and to install them. For this service--now regarded as excellent, but still something one can only wish for--he was sentenced to prison because he had "demanded" a gratuity for his extra work.

Wealth has its "price" in every family. The diplomat said that his children had not chosen to follow his profession because of the many restrictions. The private entrepreneur's son was not willing to work the long hours. The attorney's daughter joined a gang because nobody had any time for her. The physician's daughter simply refused to study. The storekeeper's son was shattered by the experienced risks. In other words, the children everywhere have turned away from their parents' careers, which they disliked for some reason. They are working in insignificant jobs, for low pay. They will not be able to even preserve their parents' wealth, let alone add to it.

In Hungary, perhaps despite numerous superficial signs to the contrary, there have been and still are many obstacles to getting rich. These range from the statutory regulations restricting the acquisition of wealth, to strongly progressive taxes and the high costs of maintaining material goods. And, in my experience, nobody is able to emancipate himself from the depressing manifestations of domestic reality. A physician whom I interviewed, for example, holds a top position and has a very influential patient, yet for six years he has been unable to get a telephone installed on Rozsadomb. A retired ministry official and his wife fear what will happen if they become unable to care for themselves, because they do not find very reassuring the present level of care in nursing homes and homes for the elderly. In other households and for similar reasons, the care of elderly parents presents almost insurmountable problems.

On the basis of these and similar findings, I do not feel at all that the attainable level of wealth in Hungary "demands action." However, it is another matter that the work of the tax authorities and internal control should be improved. I too found it striking how little certain professional groups were earning, to the council's knowledge. For example, the richest of the doctors in private practice officially had an annual income of 90,000 forints. But even this amount resulted from the tax authority's quadrupling the income that this doctor reported. At 500 forints an office visit, it is unlikely that the doctors in private practice are earning so little. But in the years under investigation, I found only relatively low-income private architects, artists,

industrial designers and retailers in the 2d District, and I did not find a single language teacher who was paying taxes. Also my visits to the luxury villas of some of the persons in these occupations convinced me that there is something wrong with how some of these groups are paying taxes. And it is obviously unfair that gratuities, which in some instances may add up to a substantial amount per month, are not taxable income.

Of course, I too have encountered wealth that stemmed from crime. Among the persons I interviewed, however, there was only one of whom there was reason to suspect this.

Naturally, crimes have been committed for personal gain since ages. Therefore I do not think that it is a good approach to wage war against the rich in order to uncover also the criminals and tax evaders among them. We must crack down on such people in the interest of legality and equitable sharing of the tax burden, regardless of whether or not they have already accumulated great wealth.

Knowing so many Hungarian "poor rich," the journalist should fight not against the wealthy, but for getting rich. So that as many people as possible may have spacious homes, good cars and high incomes, earned through honest work.

#### Place of Rich in Society Analyzed

Budapest ELET ES IRODALOM in Hungarian 7 Sep 84 p 6

[Editorial: "Poor Rich We Are But We Live Well"]

[Excerpt] Gyorgy Andai has acquainted the reader with this many [13] Hungarian millionaires, after gathering his material for 18 months. He does not accuse any of them of having gained wealth dishonestly, illegally or by crime. Practically all the subjects in the report are working, some of them very hard. That is good. They can attribute their wealth partially to their good fortune (wealthy parents), and partially to special skills. As a rule, their life-style--and this is what the report is all about--is not conspicuous consumption, "merely" an affluent life. The kind that many people in this country long for, but which only very few are able to attain. Naturally, we may regard as reprehensible Eva T., a supporting character in Andai's report. For a monthly allowance, an apartment and a car, she is the concubine, companion and, when necessary, chauffeur of Doc K., who is married and 30 years her senior. But would she be morally better if, essentially under the same conditions, she had persuaded him to marry her? And, of course, we would hesitate to set Rozsika's "boyfriend" as an example for youths of tender age to follow. But it is not they we are concerned with at present.

Also for this reason it is incomprehensible why Katalin Mogyoro thinks that Gyorgy Andai condemns in advance the particularly well-to-do, and wants his readers to condemn them as well. It is incomprehensible what passions lead her to declare as false the facts described in the report, even though Andai's estimates of wealth and the monthly maximum income in the polemical essay, for example, can be reconciled without any difficulty. Andai writes of monthly

incomes five to twelve times greater than the average; this amounts to between 20,000 and 48,000 forints. Katalin Mogyoro estimates that the maximum retainable income is 20,000 to 30,000 forints. Assuming today's prices and salaries, consider X who for the past 30 years has averaged 40,000 forints of net income per month after taxes. According to Katalin Mogyoro, he pays 6,000 forints from this amount as social-insurance contribution, and he supports his low-income relatives (parents or children) by about as much. That leaves him 28,000 forints a month, which he is able to invest in the goods that Andai listed: house, car, shop, furniture, and life-style. In 30 years the wealth of the Peter mentioned in the report, for example, amounts to 28,000 x 12 x 30 or slightly more than 10 million forints. And if to this we add luck, inheritance, a rich wife, cleverness (possibly bordering on trickery), and perhaps the absence of relatives in need of support, then the 10 to 15 million forints the reporter estimates does not seem exaggerated. And there is no question of any violation of the law.

After this clarification of the details, we probably have to ask ourselves also the question that is really at issue: Amidst the worsening economic conditions that have led to the stagnation and even decline of quite a few people's living standard, is it really so shocking that others are living far better, although they have acquired their wealth not by exploiting the less fortunate, but by their own sweat (or perhaps only through the more efficient utilization of their own labor power) and through good fortune and cleverness? Are we not automatically equating wealth with exploitation? Is there not a measure of unadmitted envy in this? Does it not include the idealization of compulsory poverty (i.e., of poverty that follows from the historical antecedents) as a virtue; the lie that such poverty is of moral value?

In the reports and commentaries that ELET ES IRODALOM publishes, their authors are concerned primarily with the important questions of present-day Hungarian society. We regard as such questions also the individual's opportunity to prosper, and the ways of acquiring wealth. We do indeed discuss frequently these questions, just as we often write about the poor on the (other?) edge of society's life. Deviance and special talent, bureaucracy and the housing situation, the future of the towns, villages and farmsteads, the life-style of occupational groups and age groups, the demographic situation and the contradictions of democracy, etc.--these are the kind of subjects on which the commentators of ES express opinions, based on their personal experience. In the opinion of the editors, these are manifestations of society's life and are vital questions, even though they differ in their weight. We do not think that where it is (finally) permissible and (for that very reason) even an inescapable duty to speak of the cumulatively disadvantaged minority, it would be prohibited (for whatever considerations) to speak of those who are cumulatively advantaged.

Although Gyorgy Andai's report dwelt primarily on the life-style of the rich, and not on the sources of their wealth, it revealed that most of these people --contrary to the simplistic conception of them--are not idle parasites. It turns out that, as a rule, the great wealth often stems from their having recognized an effective demand in due time (and sometimes ahead of time), and from their being first to supply this demand. What they offer is usually a

shortage item; those who pay for it generally feel (justifiably) that it is worth the price. With certain reservations, the axiom that one of the subjects brought up whom Gyorgy Andai interviewed ("What is good for the national economy is good for me as well") could be switched around to read: "What makes them money is good for the community as well."

It is an entirely different question that commensurately greater performances are lacking (necessarily) behind the outstandingly high incomes. In this sense such incomes are always unfair and may irritate those who must cope daily with petty problems. But is it not more irritating when there are only rumors about these things, and the press is silent?

Any large-scale accumulation of capital demands a realignment of society's energies, efforts and traditional values. It is a textbook cliché, for example, that in England, the seat of the British Empire, entire social strata lost everything they possessed during the period of original capital accumulation, while other (naturally smaller) strata appropriated huge assets, thereby providing one of the prerequisites for the concentration of modern industry. And it is likewise common knowledge that capitalist development in Eastern Europe was late and disturbed by many external factors. Capitalist concentration was never separated entirely from the feudal estate. We cannot speak of original capital accumulation in the classical sense. A "drawback" of which was not only that private estates never developed on the same scale as in America or England, but also that entrepreneurial behavior and its ethic, life-style and culture likewise failed to develop (or did so only in an aborted manner). Furthermore, in the light of our recent experience it seems probable that also the socialist community's economic ethic, culture and life-style could only be poorer and diminished without the entrepreneurial type of individual, his dynamism and culture.

But a superior culture, life-style and ethic can develop only if we do not regard as society's scourge, its public enemy, or at least its unmentionable shame, the risk-taking entrepreneurs who recognize demand when it is just forming and hasten its development by offering to supply it. Not even if we occasionally envy them their affluent and care-free lives, and if occasionally we feel irritation when comparing their lives with our much poorer and usually not at all care-free lives.

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## NEPSZABADSAG NOTES MASS POPULARITY OF FACTUAL HISTORY

Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 25 Mar 84 p 3

[Article by Jenő Szántó: "Now This Is Really History"]

[Text] The words in the title can be said with two different intonations. Clucking your tongue, that well, well, indeed, that is already history--as if acknowledging some accomplishment; or with a small sigh, that, yes, this time period does not belong to today anymore, it is history. I have to confess both intonations slipped out of me while I watched and listened to the quarter and semifinals and finals of "Who Knows What?" wondering about the preparedness of the participants. The events that changed the fate of people 40 and 30 years ago are for them only periods of written history not lived through, like, let us say, the millenium for an old veteran today.

I do not know how many books the brilliantly knowledgeable students read, what they got out of compulsory school books, what from recommended readings, what from their teachers--deservingly mentioned on the TV screen by name--but one thing is sure: their generation is enviable. They can already judge without personal emotion, they do not have to rend their garments or seek self-justification when speaking about the Hungarian role in World War II or about a few years which have a meaning condensed with the label: the Fifties. And the way they talk awakens in me the belief that after all it is possible to get one's bearing concerning these so often argued questions.

It was possible to see--thanks to the cameraman and the good eye of the director of the show--how joyful smiles appeared in the corners of the mouths of the members of the very distinguished examining body (oh, pardon me, jury). I, too rejoice when I hear well-orienting answers presented with eloquence which say a great deal to the receptive ear of an adult. For example, last week I enjoyed the narrative of evocative power of two young men, when travelling by stagecoach from Pest-Buda to Vienna. Yesterday we still dawdled in the age of King Matthias in the seventeenth century. Later on, returning to the present again, it seems that now as we--one time contemporaries, acting persons. even history makers--saunter away, we are slowly, slowly turning decades--discussed here and there--of the turbulent twentieth century over to history.

But before anybody thinks that I believe this knowledge of history which the young "scientists"--rather, prospective candidates for scientists--disclosed, is general, let me tell you: I also have other impressions. One can read in magazines or other scientific articles data about everything high school students, or even youngsters taking the entrance examinations to the universities, do not know. Like who was Miklos Horthy, Ferenc Szalasi, Matyas Rakosi, Laszlo Rajk, Bela Kun, Imre Nagy and so on. Not to mention dates...

Recently I spent a few days in one of our well-known resorts. One afternoon an intellectual contest was announced. I would not say that there was a crowd, but a dozen or so people gathered together. Among the many sets of questions covered, historical questions cropped up. One of the questions was: Since when has Hungary been a people's republic? Believe it or not, the organizer of cultural activities who directed the game, certainly a qualified cultural-educational professional, accented an answer which said: Since 20 August 1948.

Although it was unseemly, I interrupted, "Didn't he want to say 1949?" To which he replied with supercilious self-confidence, that I was wrong, that indeed it occurred in 1948. I had a few words to say, but I came increasingly to realize that it was useless. And for several reasons. First of all, because among the adults present no one, but no one, stood up for, not me but for the objective truth. Second, should I have explained that I--being, unfortunately, a member of the older generation--know this kind of data, not from studying, but because I lived through it? Third, I gave up--and this is the most important reason in view of my article--because one of the game participants dropped the remark: "Isn't it one and the same: 1948 or 1949, what is the difference? It is a prehistoric age, so drop it!"

Suddenly, I came to understand where history begins. There and then, when someone is familiar with a process or date only from written sources or hearsay. Such a bumptious treatment of facts is even more striking, because, as we all know, interest in history in our country is quite great. It is typical that a popular history magazine was launched and soon became very well known; that repeated editions of volumes of memoirs are published; that TV shows, like the former CHRONICLE, generate great reactions; people bring up what was said in the conversations in the Scientist Club, in the poll about the fifties in the March issue of PARTY LIFE for days; many compare what was written in papers and magazines about March 19th, about the German occupation; Gyorgy Szaraz's articles, one prior and the latest one printed in VALOSAG, are conversational subject; and so on. History has become fashionable, and not only the history of the recent past. Who would have thought a few decades ago that in the last third of the twentieth century it would be worthwhile to write a book about whether the defeat at Mohacs, a date which almost every high school student knows, was indeed a historical turning point. Educated people also discuss the year in which the constitution of the people's republic was adopted.

Why is it this way, I do not know for sure. But I suspect that the so-called lexical knowledge requirement has been stressed too heavily which may be a mistake, when it lacks content, essence and leads to mechanical grinding. In this regard, the baby has been thrown out with the bath water more than once.

One date may recall a whole event, an atmosphere. March 15 brings the same things to every Hungarian mind; March 21 recalls the anniversary of the proclamation of the Hungarian Soviet Republic; April 4 our greatest national holiday--the anniversary of the Liberation. But a great many people remember dates like March 25, 1948--the nationalization of factories which employed more than 100 workers, and if you go to any city in our country, anywhere one or two men turn up with good memories who know exactly the date when the carpet bombings and other horrors took place in 1944--mutual experiences, joy or sorrow are tied to everyone.

I think maybe the TV organized the "Who Knows What?" show during the time of the Days of Revolutionary Youth not completely accidentally. It was an important youth policy and educational act. It is also superb to prove to older people that their fight for today was not in vain, and I hope it was an influential stimulant for other young people to understand with this kind of deep knowledge the earlier life experiences of their parents and grandparents, which for children and grandchildren are already history. As a past, their past lives are closed, but as a future, it is history which can be created by them.

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INTERNAL PARTY CONTROL DISCUSSED

Warsaw ZYCIE PARTII in Polish No 18, 29 Aug 84 pp 3,4

[Interview of Jerzy Urbanski, chairman of the Central Party Control Commission, by Jan Czula: "Personal Example Is Most Convincing"]

[Text] [Question] Mr Chairman, what would you designate today as most important in the operations of the Central Party Control Commission (CKKP)?

[Answer] I believe it to be indispensable that the party control commissions at all levels should more actively than heretofore affect the attitudes of PZPR members, effectively exacting personal responsibility of all comrades, especially those to whom the party has entrusted executive functions, for the results attained in the sector of plant and community work.

The personal example of the PZPR member, his activity, discipline both at the plant and in the community, modesty, straightforwardness, high moral values, ideological and political principles: these are the most convincing arguments that reinforce the authority of the party. I believe it is on just this road that the leading role of the party in society must be firmly set, particularly now when there will be greater activity in transforming our ideological and socioeconomic principles into positive facts, winning the approval of the workers.

Party control commissions, within the framework of their statutory authority and responsibilities, undertake necessary activities to strengthen the PZPR. At the same time all actions that would attempt to undermine the ideological or organizational principles which guide our party, actions in obvious contradiction to Marxism-Leninism, will be met with firm counteraction.

Recognizing that the most certain guarantee of party influence in society is its worker character, the commissions will continue to give maximum support to activities undertaken by organizations and party echelons that have as their purpose reinforcing the class make-up of PZPR.

In the economic sphere, the commissions will counter tendencies that become apparent here and there in the attitudes of certain management personnel, including party members, who seem to make the role of economic mechanisms into a fetish, expecting them to resolve the collective economic and social



problems of our country automatically, with no personal involvement or effect.

The entry in the statute adopted at the Ninth Extraordinary PZPR Congress authorizes the party control commissions to present their evaluations and conclusions resulting from their activities to the party committees. We must strengthen our activity in this sector since this would make it possible to warn the party echelons involved, in due time, of potential danger, particularly in intraparty life. This kind of activity of the control commission should be given a higher rank so that, together with organizations and party echelons, they would be able to work out more effective means that would make it possible to avert the conversion of isolated detrimental manifestations into tendencies harmful to the party, as for example, cases of dissuasion from manifestations of arrogance, bureaucratism, or violation of ethical and moral principles.

In the face of growing demands that arise from strategic goals contained in the resolutions of the Ninth Extraordinary PZPR Congress and subsequent plenary meetings of the Central Committee, further consolidation and activation of all party centers and its individual members continues to be of key significance for the party.

Having this in mind, the control commissions at all levels must exhibit maximum adherence to principles so as to be able to participate actively in the realization of these goals, particularly in further reinforcement of ideological unity and party discipline as well as concern for the morale of party members.

Here I would like to add that our task is not just to complain about the fault of a comrade and to impose party penalties. We place much weight on prophylactic-educational activity that may forestall infractions against the norms of intraparty life specified in the statute. In other words, timely help to certain people to turn them away from a wrong road, if they have not gone too far. It is this activity that we are developing ever more effectively. Evidence of this is, among other things, the fact that in the first half of this year, party control commissions had almost 2800 cautionary conversations with members of our party.

We also want to give more attention than heretofore to giving help to basic party organizations, primarily all of those in the area of their independent battle against evil. Here I have in mind a further enlargement of the POP role in party judicature.

[Question] How do you evaluate some of the results of the activity of the party control commission thus far?

[Answer] Our activity has a mainly intraparty character. It touches the sphere of the human psyche and consciousness. It is difficult, therefore, to measure or weigh. I can, however, say that we are making efforts to carry out

as best we can the responsibilities entrusted to the commission, particularly those contained in the PZPR statutes and the CKKP regulations. Progress in our activity, beginning with the Ninth Extraordinary Congress, has been more evident every year. We were equal to the many difficult tasks which confronted the control commission during that whole period. But we are not satisfied with everything. We have an attitude of self-criticism with respect to our activity, something of which we speak in a sincere and open manner at plenary meetings of the CKKP, at presidiums, or consultations with leaders of the provincial party control commissions or with political workers of the office of the CKKP.

As is known, commissions consider public affairs. For this reason, as I have stressed above, the effects of our work cannot be measured exclusively by quantitative measures, although these cannot be altogether overlooked either. The rulings of the control commission will certainly not satisfy everyone. We are concerned most of all that they be in agreement with the statute, thoroughly discussed and maximally objective. This requires tedious work, carrying out of basic analysis of all aspects of the matter under consideration, before a decision is reached. Only a ruling of the control commission based on such premises can have positive results, both political and educational. This is also the road that will make it possible, perhaps soon, to decrease the number of appeals, which frequently wander sometimes from POP to the control commission at a basic level, then to the provincial party control commission, and finally find their way to the adjudication unit of the CKKP before they are finally resolved. Meanwhile, this whole "pilgrimage" could have been avoided, without in any way infringing on the requirements of intraparty democracy, if the matter had been considered with sufficient acuity from the very beginning.

As I have already said, we are not wholly satisfied with every area of our activity. We are aware of existing shortcomings. We recognize, for example, that not all regional control commissions are sufficiently active. Inspections by the CKKP confirmed that side by side with the control commissions that are working well, there are also those that react a bit slowly to signals indicating improper behavior on the part of certain party members. They point to activity that is still inadequate in disclosing this kind of irregularity on their own initiative. We want to eliminate instances of such manifestations due, in a sense, to the passive waiting until some matter finds its way to the commission.

[Question] How do party control commissions find out about improper behavior of certain party members?

[Answer] Among other things, we receive such information as a result of inspections undertaken both by the party control commissions and by review commissions of our party. Some signals are sent us by POP, especially with regard to more complex matters that require special investigations, sometimes involving not just a single plant or department, but the institutions that supervise them.

Letters from workers, party members and nonparty members, contain much information. This is a rich source of information on grievances and doubts that trouble the letter-writers, and also on the attitudes and behavior of certain party members. Obviously, there are also false signals and malicious and baseless accusations. Finally, CKKP checks the operation of more than a dozen provincial party control commissions and investigates the method of their settling the matters that come to them in letters. We have confirmed that, in general, the course of action of the control commission is proper. But at the same time, we believe that party control commissions must increase their supervision over what happens to matters they transmit to appropriate state administrative or management organs. We cannot be satisfied with the protracted consideration of complaints that sometimes occurs, with making informal responses. If the party wants to regain true confidence of the people, people's affairs must not be reviewed superficially. In keeping with the resolutions of the 9th and 16th Plenums of the Central Committee, decided reaction to concrete instances of infractions against the principles of socialist social justice will be treated as our basic party obligation.

We are waging and will continue to wage uncompromising battle against all manifestations of disturbing the moral norms that are binding in the party. We react harshly to every instance of such kind, even to expelling from the party persons who compromise it by their behavior. There can be no indulgence with respect to this kind of infraction. The party paid a high price in its time for not reacting harshly to instances of infraction of ethical-moral principles by certain party members. For this reason, too, we are acting effectively today against every attempt to renew the old habits and practices. In the first 6 months of this year, 476 persons have been expelled from the party for infractions of this kind.

All our commissions maintain regular contact with state control organs, particularly with the Supreme Chamber of Control. If these organs present facts indicating improper behavior of party members, we are informed of this. Signals from this area also come to us from the press, radio and television. But, as I have said, reaction to these signals by the party control commission at all levels must be faster and more effective.

[Question] In the activities of the party control commission, much attention is given to economic problems, the battle against poor management and wastefulness and the problem of plant discipline. Why is so much attention given to just these matters?

[Answer] The economic front is the basic key to resolving economic, social and political difficulties in our country. It is true that in overcoming economic difficulties that inhibit the development of our economy we meet with many objective barriers, as for instance, western restrictions. But much depends here on the subjective factor and, therefore, on using work time honestly, on thrifty management and, what is linked with this, on a decrease in costs of production, improvement of quality, better discipline and more

efficient organization of work. Improprieties in this area are, of course, directly reflected in the living conditions of workers in our country. If we can overcome or limit the subjective causes of these irregularities, then the living conditions of workers will also be improved, and this will result in an improved social atmosphere.

I believe that the greater the objective difficulties are, the more rigorously we must fight our own weaknesses and remove inadequacies of a subjective character. An important task of party organizations is to counteract, directly in the plant, the manifestation of material losses for which not only the administration is responsible, the engineering-technical supervisors, but frequently also the rank-and-file workers, those at the workbench. How much indifference, insouciance, and even common carelessness can be observed in this area. How many times, and this we learn from mass media or determinations of various state and social control organs, local particularism prevails over arguments for the common good. It is for this reason that control commissions react to manifestations of subjective neglect in these areas if party members are guilty of them. For this reason, too, we are interested in these problems.

[Question] The questions you raise involve to no small degree the need to implement an appropriate personnel policy.

[Answer] Obviously. For this reason too the party control commissions, taking advantage of the authority that was given them in the "Primary Principles of PZPR Personnel Policy," adopted by the 13th Plenum of the PZPR Central Committee, are making an even more effective effort to support party echelons in this area. We are concerned here as much with advancing capable and deserving people as with timely removal from administrative positions of persons being punished by the party. Party control commissions in substantiated cases ask appropriate party echelons to rescind a nomination to an administrative post.

Nevertheless, recalling such persons sometimes still takes too long. Here and there, so-called agreements come into play, or, as once was commonly said, "One is sorry for the person." One may be sorry for the person, but is not this the result of his incompetence, carelessness, or lack of organizational ability, inadequate professional qualifications, or ideopolitical attitude? Instead of the expected effects, there are losses in the economic unit that this person manages. The incompetence of such people has a detrimental effect on our economy or on government activity, and, by the same token, on interpersonal relations. On this basis, the concern of party echelons and organizations and of the control commission must be the strict observance of the principles of personnel policy established by the 13th Plenum of the Central Committee.

I would like also to say that control commissions are also confronted by instances of slander against some comrades, particularly among administrative personnel. Most frequently this involves anonymous information. Frequently

this pertains to persons who demand productive, disciplined work, are good experts, and are, at the same time involved social and political activists. After the matters are elucidated, these persons are defended more and more often by the control commissions. In the first half of this year, the control commissions exonerated 178 comrades of various kinds of accusations motivated by low moral impulses. We see these things also; community life is, as we know, a very complex fabric.

[Question] Speaking of the activities of the party control commission, thus far in our conversation, you accented mainly the moral and economic problems. Now I would like to ask for a few reflections in the area of the battle that you are waging with respect to the ideological and political purity of the party ranks.

[Answer] As a matter of fact, I mentioned this at the beginning of our conversation. I will add that on the basis of the PZPR statutes, the resolutions of the 9th Extraordinary Congress and the resolution of the 13th Plenum of the Central Committee, we removed many from the party ranks who, if one might express it in this way, were oppressed by the Marxist-Leninist ideological and political principles of our party. We also act against those who have views that are incompatible with the resolutions of the Ninth Extraordinary Congress, the statutes and organizational principles that guide our party. This pertains as well to those who mask their opportunistic attitudes and especially their behavior with a spurious concern about the renewal and the good of the party, and those who act from leftist positions that have the marks of political adventurism. We analyze these kinds of attitudes particularly carefully. In many cases, if the infraction is not serious or if it is accidental, we stop with cautionary conversations. But where it affects party unity and its ideological principles, we apply more severe party sanctions. For example, in the first 6 months of this year, there were 1115 cautionary conversations. In addition, during the same period, party echelons and control commissions expelled 550 persons from the party for the same reasons.

The party statutes, of course, stipulate that intraparty democracy, freedom of discussion and criticism cannot be used for purposes that are incompatible with party ideology, its policies and organizational unity. Party control commissions were selected to stand guard over the ideological and organizational principles of the party, to attend to the proper fulfillment of statutory obligations by all its members. We cannot, therefore, declare ourselves to be Marxists and at the same time not maintain party discipline and norms of behavior of party members as defined in the PZPR statutes.

[Question] But an unequivocal resolution of the questions discussed here is probably neither easy nor simple.

[Answer] It is probably for this reason that we attach so much importance to guarding the statutes and resolutions. If we are to be a party capable of action, then we will have to be disciplined, we must respect the resolutions

that we have made and must embody them effectively in life. We are living in somewhat complex and unusually difficult times, here I have in mind also the general political situation in the world, to be able to allow ourselves the luxury of treating indulgently, or even tolerating people in the party who try to introduce ideological confusion into its ranks. All the more so since our party is confronted by many difficulties. We are still faced with long-term, strenuous and persistent ideopolitical, economic and organizational activity that has as its purpose the solidification of positive and stabilizing trends in the social life of the country.

[Question] You touched on the paramount problem of mutual dependence, for certainly it is not opposition that should exist between the principle of freedom of discussions and the requirements of party discipline. Could you be more specific about this?

[Answer] At the Ninth Extraordinary Congress, the party unequivocally spoke for freedom of discussion and criticism at a party forum, for argumentation and controversy when strategy and tactics, the general party political line, are being planned. Without such a discussion, I would stress, there cannot be a development of theoretical thought at a party forum and improvement in the practical activity of the party. But when this strategy, when the general party political line and its statutes are developed and democratically adopted, then it is time for action, for their loyal and disciplined implementation. This does not at all mean, as some in a simplistic or malicious way maintain, that in the interim between congresses there is an interdiction against matter-of-fact criticism, sincere expression of thinking at party gatherings, meetings of echelons or of their problem commissions. Nothing of the sort! It is necessary, however, to distinguish between criticism dictated by concern for party matters and total negation of everything and everyone, from politically irresponsible babbling not supported by any rational premises compatible with reality and the conditions under which the party is working.

It is clear that every regular congress introduces certain corrections into the direction of party activity that are the result of accumulated experience and considerations linked to the actual situation in the country and requirements of building socialism at a particular stage. But there is an appropriate place for these discussions: the appropriate party forum.

In conclusion, I would like to emphasize that, as experience with the workers' movement teaches us, revisionist and rightist opportunism, if they are not stopped in time, will, sooner or later, but always, lead to ideological and political capitulation with respect to enemies of our government, and leftist adventurism cuts the party away from the working class and the progressive forces of the community and in that very way weakens it in its battle with opponents of socialism.

[Question] From what you have said, Mr Chairman, the multidirectional activity of the party control commission is obvious, particularly the burden of

great political and moral responsibility that the members of this commission carry.

[Answer]: This is really true. We are trying to be equal to all of these demands in the best possible way. We can do this because of the great involvement of thousands of comrades acting in party control commissions at all levels and because of the social activists concentrated around them.

[Interviewer] Thank you for the interview.

2950

CSO: 2600/1273

## GEN PASZKOWSKI DISCUSSES HIS TERM AS KATOWICE GOVERNOR

Warsaw ZOLNIERZ POLSKI in Polish No 27, 1 Jul 84 pp 5, 14

[Article by Bogdan Bartnikowski: "Lt Gen Pilot Roman Paszkowski, Demanding, Efficient, Just--Governor of Katowice; Provincial Position of Command"]

[Text] "He is a demanding person, quick, supervising the careful execution of whatever order he may have given, hence he will not be a pushover in Silesia. I am very curious as to how the general fares in the role of governor, which is certainly new to him. Throughout his whole life he has been accustomed to issuing orders, to a specific, tested method of commanding, but one certainly difficult to accept in civilian life, where the most varied of matters are decided individually, quickly and decisively..."

That is what I wrote in January 1982, shortly after Lt Gen Pilot Roman Paszkowski was assigned to the position of governor in Katowice. A general-governor. Nothing unusual for Silesia. Immediately following the war, from 1945 to 1948, Gen Aleksander Zawadzki was the Silesian Dabrowa governor. In the 1970's, Gen Jerzy Zietek was governor in Katowice. Gen Roman Paszkowski is already, therefore, the third Silesian governor in a general's uniform in People's Poland.

Is this now a tradition? Perhaps not. Silesia is a region that is very important to the entire country. More than 3.5 million inhabitants reside in this areally rather limited province (6,650 km<sup>2</sup>). It is the most strongly industrialized province in Poland. Here lies the industrial heart of the country. Located here is the very strongly developed center of the fuel-energy, metallurgical, electromachine, chemical and automobile industries. Here, to a considerably greater degree than in other regions of the country, all the complex problems of work and life are visible.

Gen Roman Paszkowski took over the post as governor of Katowice in an unusually difficult period, just before the introduction of martial law. He did not have time to get adequately settled in this position when 13 December 1981 arrived and the administrative authorities suddenly found themselves in a completely new situation. And perhaps it was well that precisely in that erratic situation was the governor of Katowice a general, a man accustomed to commanding, to making quick decisions.



One might say that a general, molded throughout his lifetime along military lines, is good in the army; the civilian population governs itself in a different manner...

This is true, but with one reservation. A commander in our military forces is not involved with military matters exclusively. Being personally responsible for the supervision of his unit, for vital matters--in a word, for everything to do with how the unit subordinate to him subsists--he tends to see problems concerning the duties and life of his soldiers very comprehensively. A high-level commander has problems similar in the range of vision to those of a high-level administration director. Of course, that is why when assessing the merits and experience of the general, he has been entrusted with this so very important provincial office. There is one more observation--an official holding such a high post does not function alone. He has at his disposal a staff of advisors and specialists. He is personally the coordinator of activities, and is the intermediary for plans and decisions between the province and the central government.

The general-governor is a man of quick decisions. But then--that is the result of soldierly indoctrination. As a pilot he repeatedly had to make immediate decisions. As commander of the National Air Defense Forces [WOPK] ...after all, that is--as is nicely stated--"the force of the first 5 minutes of war." Armies over which the threat of war always hangs during every minute of our 40 years of peace. The command of such armies likewise entails the art of making quick decisions, the art of coolly analyzing various modes of action with the speed of a computer.

In January 1982, when I spoke with the general-governor, he told me at the conclusion of the interview that he had set as a goal for himself the improvement of all spheres of life and order. We have the opportunity to render good work. We must take advantage of these opportunities.

Two and one-half years have passed. During this period of time many changes have occurred in the country. We have made many improvements, but many tasks still stand before us. A whole series of very important matters concerning people's lives and the economy remain unresolved in the province of Katowice. Some of them are evidently "for yesterday." There is urgent, continuous industrial progress here. There is a very serious array of problems surrounding the protection of man's environment here. "Silesian chimneys are smoking..." was the theme of post-war Polish songs. And indeed the sun is not often visible through the smog. Pollution of the atmosphere. Water pollution. Mining damage. Experts can mention still other menaces. But the most important matters of all confronting the regional administration are matters concerning people. More than 3.5 million Poles inhabit the limited area of the province. They all require provisions for study, work and rest. They must all get to and return from work, make purchases, rest... Problems dealing with the lives of inhabitants of the province are without exaggeration "for before yesterday."

A person approaching 60 years of age customarily is given to taking an account of his life and to seeking quietude in which he can rest following

40 years of toil. With the general-governor it turned out somewhat differently--now, having years of commanding and foreign service behind him, a life assignment has been placed before him. He has been performing it for 3 years already.

How do people with whom he has daily contact perceive the general? Marianna Skrzypek, secretary of the provincial League of Polish Women's organization, first spoke with Gen Roman Paszkowski during the initial days of his administration:

"This was a very difficult period for our organization. Actually, it was being regenerated during a time of most intense crisis. We women went through hard times during those days. From the first moments the women's organizations enjoyed the general's support. I shall not forget the memorable commissioners' conference, in December 1981, to be precise. At that time the governor lent us his full support. Later there was no matter in which he would not aid us--and this includes the entire gamut, from trivial matters to the very important.

"During the course of those 2 years we had many meetings with the general. He does not avoid meeting with us, and I know well that not all activists are fond of conversing with 'old ladies...'

"Recently, during the observance of Mother's Day, he invited nearly 100 women to his home. And he had a kind word for each of them.

"Every social activist has sympathizers and antagonists--I suppose this is normal. And usually the amount of one and the other is approximate. I think that the general-governor has many, many more sympathizers here than antagonists."

I interviewed Mariusz Dubiel, chairman of the Plant Board of the Polish Socialist Youth Union in the Zgoda Technological Equipment Plant at Swietochlowice:

"The governor frequently receives guests at Zgoda and recently accompanied Gen Jaruzelski. We discussed many issues and naturally when the occasion presented itself we approached the governor on the matter of the plant's housing cooperative, in whose development the young Zgoda workers are interested. Since 1980, we have been seeking a water allocation. All documents are prepared, but we cannot proceed with construction here, for one-half year we have been scurrying about without results. Will the governor help?... He listened to us. He said that he would familiarize himself with the matter and would try to help. We were even very dubious because they promised us a water allocation for...1990. And, if you please, in a week the matter was settled. He kept his word as promised. And, as I hear from other plants, that is how it is always. We have more than 300 members in the Zgoda youth organization. We frequently meet the governor at conferences, and meetings, or he simply comes to see how the work is going. The people here like him."

Engineer Jan Bartnik, manager of the blast furnace department in the Katowice Steelworks, has to his credit many years of work in metallurgy. He came from the Lenin Steelworks for construction and remained:

"If there is any official delegation in Silesia, it naturally pays a visit to our steelworks. The general is always present then, and no matter how many times he comes to visit us he always likes to chat with the metalworkers. He sometimes says, during just such a visit that 'now is not the time for any conversation, but if you want me to come and chat longer, then telephone me...' Well, one day someone from the department invited the governor, without any clearance from management or committee.

"The general came. But he did not want to meet in the club rooms. 'Let us talk around the stove,' he said, 'and without the managers...' There were quite a few matters, both small and large. A number of the issues the general was able to settle handily, he explained what the possibilities were, and how long it would be necessary to wait for the outcome.

"The workers have confidence in the general. One other thing--whenever he comes, at once someone attempts to have something pertinent taken care of... On 30 April, we had a holiday--the rendering of 25 million tons of raw material. We invited the general and he promised to come. Later he phoned that he would not be able to. Well, it sometimes happens that way."

Housing is a national problem. In Silesia this problem is by far more difficult to solve than in other regions of the country. Janusz Korbuszewski, economic manager of the Silesian Construction Board, has many opportunities to observe the general-governor's activities.

"The general, in many of his statements, emphasizes that next to environmental protection, a very important matter to the progress of the region is housing construction. The general's attitude is that in the 'black professions,' that is, mining and metallurgy, people must live well. This should be their compensation for good work.

"Construction in Silesia was found to be in a very complex condition. Beginning with 1980 a serious exodus of people from construction was noted. Almost 60,000 laborers have left us, and this literally ruined the production possibilities of many enterprises. The general, as soon as he became governor, took many steps intended to stabilize employment. In the second half of 1982, the tide of workers fleeing the industry was stemmed. We were able to consider the implementation of production plans in an orderly manner, without constantly patching holes.

"Of course, we continued to have (and still do) too few workers. The army was of assistance here. There are 1,000 soldiers working in construction in Silesia. They joined in the implementation of heating plant facilities, sewerage purification plants; they develop new tracts of land. This represents very important help to us.

"However, it is also necessary to emphasize the direct interest of the general-governor in our endeavors, how many times he inspected the various construction sites unexpectedly. Often he arrived in the morning when work was starting, sometimes even earlier yet. He then chats with the managers, and foremen, observes how the work goes. If well, then all is well. If badly, one does not have to wait long for the results.

"The general's skill in making quick decisions impresses me. And my first meeting with the general? It was in December 1981. Supplies of rice from the Soviet Union arrived in Katowice on steel-mill track [Soviet gauge]. Communications at that time was very limited, and there was a shortage of people to reload the rice--of which there were huge quantities designated not for Silesia but for the entire country. The general personally directed the operation. It seemed to me that under conditions existing at that time it would last very long. That time there were no tie-ups.

"The general gives consideration to every subject which we encounter here. He listens to the voices of all who have something to say. And offers very specific suggestions."

I would yet like to return to construction, to its prospects in our area. The general ordered a presentation of the plan for the development of construction up to 1990. In an interview conducted following an analysis of the plan (long ago prepared but now adapted to new possibilities and needs), he persuaded our new board to work toward the development of potential. But the issues are complicated. Ours is a personnel problem, because the need for workers is huge and there is a shortage everywhere. It is hence necessary to utilize trade school students. It will also be necessary to utilize the assistance of the army, whose units are able to do much for Silesian housing. There are also problems with machinery in the construction industry. It wears out very quickly, and our efforts must also be directed to guaranteeing enterprises an adequate amount of technological equipment, without which we will not resolve the area's urgent housing problems. In solving these matters we can likewise count on the support of the general-governor.

Four short interviews. Various people, various problems, but all speak of the daily working contact with Gen Paszkowski. It remains to inquire about the general's cooperation with the press. Andrzej Klimek, TRYBUNA ROBOTNICZA editor, has but little time for long interviews, but reveals only that:

"During the past 2 and 1/2 years the general has done a great deal for the people of Silesia. He has initiated many undertakings. He has demonstrated that even in important matters it is possible to decide quickly and accurately. He was instrumental in increasing executive discipline in Silesia, and in the immense congestion of industry this is very important. He has visited our editorial office many times and these meetings have always been fruitful, very interesting and direct."

In recent years, the army has assigned many officers and generals to work in the party and administrative apparatus. Today we have presented one of

them. From information reaching us from various corners of the country where the military cadre is serving in civilian posts, it appears that the assessments of their work are close to the assessments made by the people of our Silesia regarding their governor.

9951

CSO: 2600/1264

## 'NOT' LEADERS SEEK TO BOOST IMAGE OF SCI-TECH PROFESSIONS

Warsaw PRZEGLAD TECHNICZNY in Polish No 33, 12 Aug 84 p 3

[Article: "Working Session"]

[Text] Candidate Politburo member and PZPR Central Committee Secretary Jan Glowczyk received on 24 July 1984 the NOT [Chief Technical Organization] leadership, consisting of Professor Janusz Szosland, chairman of the Main Council of NOT; Professor Jan Kaczmarek, president of the NOT; engineer Kazimierz Wawrzyniak, secretary general of the NOT; Edwin Gornicki, a representative of the Department of the Press, Radio and Television; and Wladyslaw Polesinski, director of the NOT SIGMA publishing house of technical periodicals and books, also attended the meeting.

At the meeting, the NOT leaders informed the Central Committee secretary about positive changes occurring in the Federation of Scientific-Technical Associations, about topics which predominate in social activities and about the measures undertaken to boost the prestige and strengthen the authority of engineers and technicians. Numerous requests and desires most frequently voiced by members of individual associations were also brought up. These requests touch not only on the problem of regulating the wage policy in its entirety, but also on shaping the proper opinions in society by the mass media.

The technical community has pointed out the problems of improving the forms of shaping the attitudes and skills of technical culture, of enriching the forms of propagating technology by radio and television as well as the daily press, the problem of enhanced closer cooperation of all propaganda means in the field of topics such as inventions, rationalization, development of technology and improvement in product quality.

Issues essential for the future of the national economy were also brought up, including the problems of reconstructing the R&D infrastructure, setting up the Association of Technical Knowledge and linking more closely the functions of enterprise managers to the [technological] advances implemented by the units they administer, as well as setting up an anti-inflationary fund with an impact similar to that of the PFAZ [State Vocational Activization Fund].

PZPR Central Committee Secretary Jan Glowczyk took a stand on the indicated issues, pointing to numerous tasks in the sphere of propaganda, in the improvement of the journalist cadre and in overcoming the difficulties with printing and the supply of raw materials.

Among other things, it was resolved at the meeting that the issues tackled by the NOT will be treated in the mass media more extensively than has been the case so far, especially with regard to the broadly defined improvement in the technical awareness of society. The NOT will take care to provide qualitatively better scientific-technical information to the press and will also take part in the professional improvement of journalists involved in propagating technology.

9761

CSO: 2600/1299

## LEGISLATIVE TASKS OUTLINED

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 19 Sep 84 p 2

[Interview with Stanislaw Gucwa, marshal of the Sejm, by Grzegorz Mij, Polish Press Agency reporter; date and the place not specified]

[Text] The agenda of the first Sejm meeting in the new fall session scheduled for 20 September 1984 has been already published. The list of topics to be discussed includes the following: information about the implementation of the amnesty bill; the main directions of the policy on small industries; the bill on the Supreme Court; life and property insurance. Stanislaw Gucwa, marshal of the Sejm, has apprised a PAP reporter of further undertakings planned by the Sejm for the coming session.

[Gucwa] The Sejm is currently working on numerous issues. Most of them concern the economy. We anticipate that fairly soon the chamber will debate at its plenary meetings problems which are currently being discussed by the Economic Plan, Budget and Finances Commission. I am talking about the principles of the Central Annual Plan for 1985 (actually, all of the Sejm commissions are working on it), reports on the implementation and results of the economic reform, as well as the savings program. Perhaps, in the meantime, we may also be able to evaluate the execution of tasks delineated by the anti-inflation program. The discussion of these issues manifests the control function of the Sejm with regard to bringing about the economic reform.

Work on the following bills is already in an advanced stage: on court examination of issues involving the labor and insurance laws; on the changes in the bill on the Civil Code Procedures; and on bills on public roads, communications, the LOT State Enterprise, and transport law. Also, there have been motions made to establish two honorary titles: Meritorious Worker of National Culture and Meritorious Worker of the Power Industry of the Polish People's Republic. We anticipate that by the first week in October of this year the work on all of these legal acts will be completed.

There are other issues to be discussed by the Sejm as well. These are government draft bills on the changes of some regulations in the Penal Code as well as in the laws on misdemeanors and public roads. The difficult work on a very important draft of the Budget Law will take longer. The government also presented to the Sejm the draft of a bill on the establishment and



scope of activity of the Committee for Science and Technological Progress and of the Office of Technological Progress and Inventions. Preliminary work on it is being done right now; opinions and comments on the subject are being solicited from competent sources. It is a somewhat controversial issue, but I believe that the coming session should produce a final resolution on the subject.

The government also submitted a draft bill on the prevention of drug abuse, in addition to draft bills on the State Sanitary Inspection, on the agricultural tax, and on the gmina fund. The commissions began a debate on the last one just a couple of days ago.

We anticipate that this November the first reading of the draft bill on the state budget for the next year along with the accompanying documents, regarding the balance of payments as well as the credit plan, the central fund for the development of culture, and the state fund for professional activation, will take place. I do not think that I need to emphasize the importance of this subject.

During the coming session we also would like to pay attention to the health care and welfare issues, that is, to the bill on health care as well as to other related legal regulations. The government's plans in this regard are rather broad. Although not all documents have reached the Sejm yet, we hope to be able to resolve these questions during the fall session. Likewise, we would like to go back to the environmental protection issue, to the extent that time permits. This is a time-consuming and incredibly complex problem. However, the Presidium of the Sejm will make efforts to deal with this problem at least at the end of the term.

[Mij]: To my knowledge, the Sejm is to consider many more drafts of new legal solutions...

[Gucwa]: In addition to the ones already mentioned, there are some 20 more bill drafts. No work has been started on them yet, because of the circumstances. I believe that we will be able to "squeeze" in only some of them during the fall session. So it would be difficult to discuss them today.

We already know that we will have to postpone discussing several issues until the spring session, because there is simply not enough time now. Here, I have particularly in mind the problem of the new law on the elections to the Sejm and other issues of a political-systemic character.

[Mij]: So the fall session will focus mainly on the economy. How long will it last?

[Gucwa]: Probably until the end of December, I would think at this point. The break between the spring and the fall sessions will again be short. Simply, as I have already mentioned, the Sejm has a big packet of topics and we must cut the breaks substantially, and even then we will not be able to consider during the coming session all of the bills pending before the Sejm.

## PAYSCALE INEQUITIES IN R&amp;D, ACADEMIC PROFESSIONS DETAILED

Warsaw PRZEGLAD TECHNICZNY in Polish No 35, 12 Aug 84 pp 15, 16

[Article by Anna Ilona Brandys of the Institute for Labor and Social Affairs:  
"Wages in R&D and Science"]

[Text] The incentive system is one of the most significant elements of the economic reform. However, this is the most complex element, which so far has continually been its weak link. After all, the issue of the incentive system has been approached "unevenly." Comprehensive activity in this matter is apparent in the wage policy of enterprises. This is demonstrated by, for example, the first step along the road of reform in wage policy, associated with the delegation of certain powers to enterprises which could take place after Council of Ministers Resolution 135 took effect, or yet another measure (law of 26 January 1984) which decentralizes decisionmaking on wages and establishes new remuneration systems. However, concrete comprehensive action is lacking with regard to the incentive system in the non-productive sphere.

This is certainly the result of an opportunity to bring some pressure to bear. After all, workers account for 66 percent of those employed in the national economy. With regard to such a numerous group, the reformers had to undertake concrete actions. Therefore, R&D and science, which employ 1.0 percent of the total labor force, or culture and art, with 0.7 percent, do not carry the same clout as, for example, industry.

Since the implementation of economic reform, which is now in its third year, the professional status and prestige of R&D and science employees have been strongly undermined. Relegating science to, so to say, "marking time" was the immediate cause for this state of affairs. However, the fact should not be ignored that science did not cease to be a "direct productive force," especially given the current economic situation. Every shortcoming or area of neglect in this field will make an impact on the economy of our country in the future.

We must be aware of the fact that without the development of science, without the results of the work of scientists and rank-and-file R&D employees, the functioning of, let us say, industry employing the largest number of workers will become impossible. This applies regardless of whether we live in a decade of success or in a difficult situation.

The growth of prices introduced simultaneously with the reform was not associated with any wage adjustments in the case of R&D and science. Due to this, comparisons of wages after the introduction of reform reveal much larger differentials than as late as 1980, when the average wage in industry almost equaled that in R&D and science, or 1981, when the former exceeded the latter by 400 zlotys.

Table 1. Average remuneration in the socialized economy<sup>1</sup>

| <u>Sector</u>                        | <u>1982</u> | <u>1983</u> | <u>Growth</u> |
|--------------------------------------|-------------|-------------|---------------|
| Industry                             | 12,986      | 16,511      | 127.1         |
| Construction                         | 12,226      | 15,600      | 127.6         |
| Agriculture                          | 12,145      | 13,924      | 114.6         |
| Forestry                             | 11,944      | 14,226      | 119.1         |
| Transportation and<br>communications | 11,198      | 14,219      | 127.0         |
| Municipal economy                    | 10,998      | 13,906      | 126.4         |
| Administration                       | 10,552      | 13,118      | 124.8         |
| R&D and science                      | 10,312      | 13,633      | 132.2         |

It follows from the analysis of Table 1 that in the first year of reform the average wage in science plummeted to the eighth position in the socialized economy. In the second year, despite the fastest growth of wages (132.2 percent), R&D and science barely managed to get ahead of administration. This shows that the growth, though the highest in the analyzed sample, was calculated from the dismally low base of the first year of reform.

The following data will indicate just how low the base was. Inside the establishment, the wages in the first year of reform were 10,198 zlotys for employees in basic activities, including 13,876 zlotys for full and associate professors, 9,191 zlotys for assistant and adjunct professors and 7,815 zlotys for clerical employees.

The situation would have been more unfavorable had it not been for the order of the minister of labor, wages and social affairs No 52 of 1982, which increased the pay scale for employees of R&D institutes. The previous pay scales established by decree of the Council of Ministers of 2 July 1976 had grown quite obsolete with time. Therefore, after 8 months of operation in the new economic environment the minister fixes new pay scales.

These changes are essentially based only on an automatic increase of current pay scales and on the establishment of ranges of remuneration. This order also resolved the issue of special allowances; they were increased by 100 zlotys. Since the measures undertaken to improve the unfavorable wage situation of science employees did not bring about the expected improvement, the minister of labor, wages and social affairs increased by order No 66 of 1982 the upper limit of "ranges" suggested by the previous order. Between the first and the sixth pay grades, this increment amounted to several hundred zlotys, and in the following pay grades to about 1,500 zlotys on average. However, despite a hefty raise and a high growth of

wages, science and R&D still ranked seventh in average wages in the socialized economy.

It is possible that the switching of R&D establishments to the bonus system will facilitate an improvement in the situation, because the so-called scientific-research allowances did not work. Bonuses are envisaged as coming up to 35 percent of the basic wage. After these arrangements remain in operation for a year, they can be evaluated. However, even today it can be predicted that at the outset, industry is in a more favorable position with regard to bonuses.

Summing up the normative analysis of solutions concerning wage policy in R&D and science, it is quite apparent that these changes are "half-measures." The changes reflected in documents do not signify a particular long-range wage policy. Changes come frequently and always toward the end of the year, as if to give a helping hand. The importance of changes of the type "maximum quotas of special allowance are increased by 100 zlotys," or pay scales which change in the course of a quarter, do not create a basis for stating that fundamental changes in the wage policy have come about. The inclusion of compensation [in the basic wage] in effect also results in a certain raise, because it increases the base for calculating tenure in position and bonuses. However, this applies only to employees in R&D positions and, consequently, pits segments of the community against one another.

As follows from Table 2, the wage structure inside an R&D establishment is even less favorable for research employees than the statistics presented in Table 1 suggest. The wages of the "R&D and Science" sector are inflated by [the wages of] employees in basic activities. The average monthly wage in the sector is boosted by 74 percent of employees who are involved only in auxiliary work rather than research. The high growth of wages in the first year of reform is also due to this employee group. Their wages grew by 33.8 percent in 1982, whereas the growth of wages of research employees was minimal. Therefore, if the first year of reform is compared with the previous year, it is exactly the contribution of R&D employees to the growth of wages that was minimal.

Table 2. Average monthly wages in the "R&D and Science" sector<sup>2</sup>

| <u>Groups</u>                                  | <u>1981</u> | <u>1982</u> | <u>Growth</u> | <u>Average percentage of employment in the sector</u> |
|--|-------------|-------------|---------------|---|
| Total  | 7,390       | 9,887       | 133.8         | 100   |
| Employees in basic activity                    | 7,653       | 10,198      | 133.3         | 74  |
| Professors and associate professors            | 13,726      | 13,876      | 101.1         | 2.5   |
| Adjunct, assistant and senior asst. professors | 8,521       | 9,191       | 107.8         | 12.5  |
| Administrative employees                       | 7,089       | 7,815       | 110.2         | 11.0  |

In order to get through to the "pure" wages of R&D employees, eight establishments in the capital city were studied. These institutes are coded by letters A to H. Besides basic wages, scientific-research allowance, tenure-in-office and title bonuses, compensation and payments from the Enterprise Bonus Fund were included. The growth of wages of the group surveyed in the first and second years of reform is presented in Table 3.

Table 3. Average monthly wages in R&D positions<sup>3</sup>

| <u>Institutes</u> | <u>1982</u> | <u>1983</u> | <u>Growth</u> |
|-------------------|-------------|-------------|---------------|
| A                 | 9,484       | 11,450      | 120.7         |
| B                 | 8,703       | 11,900      | 136.7         |
| C                 | 9,674       | 11,352      | 117.3         |
| D                 | 9,800       | 12,636      | 126.0         |
| E                 | 9,417       | 12,157      | 129.0         |
| F                 | 9,108       | 12,117      | 133.0         |
| G                 | 9,327       | 13,899      | 149.0         |
| H                 | 9,577       | 16,189      | 168.9         |

It seems that the data in Table 3, compared to those in the two previous tables, bear out the allegation of low salaries for science employees. Their wages (in the establishments surveyed) in the first year of reform ranged from 9,674 zlotys in institute C to 8,703 zlotys in institute B. Therefore, these statistics approximated the aggregate published by the GUS [Main Office of Statistics]. The latter puts the average wage of adjunct, senior assistant and assistant professors, accounting for 12.5 percent of science employees, at 9,191 zlotys.

The most frequently encountered rates of growth in wages among the surveyed establishments ranged between 26 and 36.7 percent. In the rest of the establishments, growth was either considerably slower (A, C) or considerably faster (G, H). Institutes with high rates of growth owe it to large sales and the growth of prices of the products of science. The decision by institute management to allocate the funds generated for wage increases entails certain financial consequences. Institutes as well as industrial enterprises faced a dilemma: should the wages and PFAZ encumbrances be increased or should the wages be kept low and the monies transferred to the development fund?

However, it is difficult to peg the wage policy of an initiative to the demand for R&D work. After all, it is difficult to expect much interest in scientific "products" on the part of industry in an unstable economic environment. This would call for waiting for some strengthening of industry.

Therefore, wages in science cannot be tied to industry at this time. Wage policy cannot proceed from the assumption that in one year or another large sales will allow us to introduce a raise; the foundations for raises must be more stable. It is difficult to rely in your operations on possible reductions in the PFAZ encumbrances or else, in the absence of such reductions, to raise wages and transfer a part of generated income to the progressive PFAZ--and all of this just in order to secure average wages for institute employees which are below those in industry anyway.

In order to present the wage situation of R&D and science employees in more depth, one more wage comparison was made, in this instance broken down by profession. This survey included professional groups in the surveyed institutes. On the one hand, the average wages published in the statistical yearbook were used, and on the other, wages earned (in the same professional groups) in the institutes surveyed (Table 4).

Table 4. Average monthly salary in 1982 by profession<sup>4</sup>

| <u>Professions</u>                          | <u>Wages reported<br/>by GUS</u> | <u>Wages reported<br/>by institutes</u> |
|---|----------------------------------|---|
| Mechanical engineers                        | 11,936                           | 9,674                                   |
| Civil engineers                             | 11,375                           | 9,577                                   |
| Electrical engineers                        | 10,020                           | 8,703                                   |
| Chemical engineers                          | 10,725                           | 9,800                                   |
| Agricultural and food<br>industry engineers | 10,826                           | 9,327                                   |
| Pharmacists                                 | 9,908                            | 9,417                                   |

The second column of the table presents cumulative wages originating in various sectors of the national economy; wages in the sector of R&D and science also play a role in this aggregate. A comparison of the wages of engineers employed in institutes and of those employed in the national economy clearly reveals that, for example, the wages of mechanical engineers from institutes in the capital city are well below the level indicated by the statistical yearbook, i.e., the average wage of such engineers in the entire national economy. This is also the case with all other professions.

In summation, it seems that the analyses and comparisons contained in this survey clearly support the statement in the opening on leaving the wage policy in R&D and science in a situation of so-called "marking time." Science has now turned from an equal partner of industry into its poor relation. Somehow, the situation is not right when employees involved in routine repetitive activities which do not call for technical creativity earn more, and even considerably more, than employees who do research. The latter group creates what is subsequently implemented in industry and what is the basis for earnings of workers in productive activities.

Voluminous intersectoral comparisons of wages in the national economy and also comparisons of internal pay scales in the R&D and science sector, as well as the wage analysis by profession, all indicate that there are certain irregularities in the policy regarding scientific employees.

On the basis of such comparisons, it can be ascertained that these irregularities so far are not being exacerbated, but they do exist. The suggestion that R&D institutes switch to new remuneration guidelines may be a certain solution, but it is too early to evaluate this measure.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. "Concise Statistical Yearbook 1984," page 99.
2. Calculated from "Statistical Yearbook 1983."
3. Author's calculations.
4. Author's calculations and data from "Statistical Yearbook 1983."

9761

CSO: 2600/1299

## EXCERPTS FROM URBAN PRESS CONFERENCE ON ECONOMY

Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 21 Sep 84 pp 1,6

[Press conference of Government Press Spokesman Jerzy Urban with unidentified Polish journalists ]

[Text] (Own information) On 20 September, Government Press Spokesman Jerzy Urban met with journalists of the Polish press, radio and television in one of his monthly press conferences. Most of the questions put before him concerned economic matters such as price changes, market supplies, wages, the prospects for suspension of rationing, pensions and retirement pay and the living standards of different professional groups. Here are presented some excerpts of the most important answers given by Spokesman Urban.

[Question] Is the price increase for automobiles a sign that all prices will be increased this year?

[Answer] Of course not. There are no fundamental reasons for any increase in the cost of radio and television equipment and the same holds true for glass, ceramics, gasoline, light, heat and water. Rents will be increased on 1 October but this has been known for a long time -- the third stage in price hikes will be introduced. Rumor has it that furniture prices will go up and this is because the prices of some categories of lumber have increased. This is true but only 10 percent of all of our furniture is made from these categories.

Over the last 7 months, there has been a 13 percent rise in prices over the same period last year. In the 1984 plan, the ceiling on price increases was set at 15-16 percent for the entire year. According to government predictions, prices will not rise above the ceiling. More than likely, prices will oscillate somewhere around the lower part of the ceiling figure. In the same period of 7 months, personal income increased 19 percent. I would like to point out that I am referring here to the average personal income. I understand very well that it is possible for a situation to arise in which there may be a discrepancy between the official projections and the personal budgets of many people. I recalled that income had gone up 19 percent while prices had risen 21 percent. This means that there are more products on the market and that people



will now spend money that they had set aside when there was nothing to buy. We do not foresee that this increase in spending will boost inflation since production has gone up very moderately. These are, however, increases over the low crisis level. People continue to have difficulties but the fact is that we are making slow progress thanks to the effort of the public.

[Question] There are rumors that the announced new car prices are lower than what people have to pay. People also say that standard models are only a fraction of what the manufacturers are producing.

[Answer] I do not know how the false rumor got started that the actual car prices are higher than those announced. These are prices for standard models and the manufacturers are producing mostly those standard models. Car prices have gone up because the manufacturers' costs have risen for two years while their prices have stayed the same. This is why car prices have taken such a jump. I am sure that this has irritated part of the public, especially persons who wanted to buy their own vehicle. This again confirms that it is much better for prices to rise smoothly and in proportion to manufacturing costs. It has been estimated that this year's car manufacturing costs are 20 percent higher than those of last year.

The price increase has aroused fears that cars will stop being available to everyone in Poland, that we have regression rather than development of automobile use and that the average citizen's chances of obtaining his own car are becoming more remote. These feelings are wrong. To back up my point with facts, I would like to point out that in 1974 a Fiat 126 cost 69,000 zlotys while the average monthly salary then was 3185 zlotys. Therefore, a car then could be bought for 180 percent of the average yearly salary. Today, we pay 310,000 zlotys for the "little Fiat" and the average monthly salary is somewhere around 17,000 zlotys. This means that a car of this type is now equal to 150 percent of the average yearly salary.

To look at the problem from another point of view, 10 years ago, a person of low income worked three years to buy a small Fiat where he now works 2.4 years. Persons of average income in 1974 worked two years for a car and they now work 1.6 years and persons of high income could buy a Fiat 126 in 1974 on the earnings of 1.2 years while today they can buy one for exactly one year's wages. This shows us that automobiles are now more available to persons on all levels of income.

It is also untrue that the number of families with their own car has decreased in the last few years. Now every third family owns a car and this works out to exactly 3.25 million cars for the 11 million households now existing in Poland. In 1981-1984, 850,000 families become car owners for the first time. It is justly felt that cars are expensive because their price includes high taxes that go to the state budget. For a Fiat 126, the tax makes up one-fourth of its price while it comes to 35 percent of the price of the big Fiat. This is the highest tax bracket.

Why is this done? This is because the state budget provides subsidies for milk and railway and bus transportation and the money must be found somewhere.

The policy therefore gives preference to the interests of less-advantaged persons. Fifty percent of the tax on cars goes to milk subsidies while the other 50 percent goes to public transportation.

It is also untrue that the tax on cars was increased to make it more difficult for people to buy cars. The only reason for the increase was to slow down the outflow of dollars from Poland. I would also like to add that gasoline rationing has reduced the intensity of vehicle use but has not reduced the number of cars owned.

There is now a proper government agenda to work out a fuel balance. There have been no decisions made to raise prices. Different pricing variants are being analyzed along with eventual introduction of commercial gasoline sales. I do not, however, expect that it will be possible to abolish rationing in the near future. In recent years, the amount of fuel oil imported has gone down from 16 million to 13 million tons. We do not have enough hard currency to increase oil imports but I would like to add that the fuel ration from the third quarter of this year will stay the same until 1985.

[Question] Will the successful harvests this year make it possible to do away with food rations?

[Answer] The successful grain harvests are definitely good news and they have been on time but I would warn against any feeling of euphoria. We will not attain complete self-sufficiency in food either this year or for some time still. Despite the increasing harvests, the nation's total food needs are only 65-percent covered and what the farmers have just now brought in cannot be used immediately because we have to set some aside for our stocks. Livestock breeding has continued to decline but to a lesser degree. Much of this year's harvest will go to fodder.

It is an undeniable fact that the good harvests we have been having for three years are making possible a gradual reduction in the level of food and especially meat rationing. We must, however, take a very careful attitude toward this matter because of last year's experience with butter. Before we suspend rationing, we must have not only a good supply of food but also proper reserves. We must also establish a proper relationship between the free market prices for items such as grain and the retail price of grits [kasha]. If things get out of proportion, we might see kasha used to feed livestock. Work is still continuing among the different sectors of the food industry to make it possible to abolish the rationing of items such as flour, grain products and butter.

[Question] There is a rather widespread public opinion that people in intellectual professions are becoming impoverished. Do you share this view?

[Answer] This year, the wages for health workers, scientists, primary and middle school teachers, community service workers and administrative workers in schools of higher learning were raised an average of 2000 zlotys per capita. For legal workers, salaries were increased by 3000 zlotys and the employees of industrial professional training centers received a raise of 1500 zlotys. On 1

October, university instructors will receive a raise of about 2000 zlotys. Furthermore, there will be regulation of wages for data-processing workers in firms and the employees of social organizations. It cannot be said then that persons in intellectual professions are suffering from wage stagnation.

As far as more general matters go, industry is looking most of all for persons with basic professional training and has no great need for highly qualified personnel. And industry is the nation's largest employer. Industry's needs are what dictates pay preferences. If the amount of work increases for persons doing heavy physical labor and there is a shortage of such workers, then the wages for physical labor will go up. Those are the laws of the labor market.

I still have another important point. The government's policy is that every coin it pays must be backed up by a product. If this is not done inflation will rise. In this case, incentives are necessary for the immediate producers of products and services. If this results in the appearance of more products on the market, then, in accordance with the pricing policy and social fairness, we can raise the wages of those who are not the immediate producers. Such a sequence is economically rational because it does not seem that anyone wants worthless money.

(A journalist for RZECZPOSPOLITA gave the following three questions.)

[RZECZPOSPOLITA] What do you think is the government's number one problem in social policy this year?

[Answer] That is a difficult question because there must be at least more than 20 number one problems. Improvement of the living conditions of our population and economic progress is also one of the governments priorities. The material basis of our existence determines our evolution, stabilization and to a significant degree the success of our social reform.

[RZECZPOSPOLITA] Aside from employees in state administration, will cadre reviews also apply to persons working in other state or socialized organizations? Please characterize briefly the new principles for cadre reviews that were discussed at recent government meetings.

[Answer] The previous formula used for review of personnel cadres was broadened to include persons that direct state enterprises. The reviews are conducted on the basis of principles accepted by the Central Commission for Party Cooperation. They were also developed from political cadre policies accepted by the Thirteenth Plenum of the PZPR Central Committee. The coming review will begin in November and last until January 1985. It will include all state office workers and, as I have said, the directors of state enterprises. The government presidium has recommended that the Chief Council and the Cooperatives Council to order the central cooperatives unions to conduct the reviews. Their purpose is to check the efficiency of workers at their given posts. This is going to be done in accordance with public demands. The review will also rate candidates for cadre reserve.

[RZECZPOSPOLITA] To what degree have competitions for directors' posts become everyday practice? How many cases have there been in which courts have been asked by worker's councils to question directors appointed without competition?

[Answer] The competitions have already become an everyday event. For example, in the Ministry of Light and Chemical Industry, all nominations come from the competitions. Since 1982, 37 directors in the Ministry of Domestic Trade and Services were appointed by competition. Sixty-three directors in the Ministry of Metallurgy and Machine Industry were appointed last year as a result of competition. The average number of candidates per competition was two to twelve. There were 20 changes of directors this year in the iron, steel and machine industry and these changes were decided on the basis of competitions.

As far as the courts go, they only register persons who have been appointed to director's posts. They do not examine the legality of the appointments but they can if they choose to do so. The Supreme Court last year ruled that an appointment can only be questioned in court if there is a complaint that the director was improperly appointed. Either the founding organ or the worker's councils can lodge a complaint. As of yet, no such case has come to court.

[Question] It has been observed that some workers are pushing for higher wages but the equilibrium of the market will then make it necessary to raise prices to protect the purchasing power of the zloty and prevent inflation. How would the government want to solve this problem?

[Answer] Consistent balancing the price and wage policy would, on one hand, protect the interests of people in the worst material situation and, on the other hand, prevent inflation by creating incentives for the growth of production. The government feels that the most important factor is the growth of production which is the best medicine for inflation. Inflation has already gone down this year and it should be even less next year. Another important factor is regulation of wages and prices.

The government also wants to increase the role that enterprises have in controlling inflation by lowering their production costs, effective management and thrift. The public must also take a part in fighting inflation. The government is striving for fair resolution of these problems. All of these matters were discussed at the 17 September meeting of the Presidium of Government along with matters relating to prices for services and products. The Presidium of Government recognized that the possibility has now presented itself for an additional 50 to 100 billion zlotys in services and goods. The government will back up these plans with its own decisions.

[Question] In consultations over last year's plan, there was approved a variant of the market policy that seeks to balance the rise in product and service output with the market. Therefore, in what product groups should we expect a balancing of supply and demand?

[Answer] We can expect this in, for example, basic dairy products, oil, eggs, sugar, vegetables and bakery goods. The balance of vegetable and animal fats

will also improve. There will be more pork and the form of meat supplies will be more to the liking of consumers. There will also be better supplies of industrial articles, which are produced under government orders or operational programs. Such articles include dishware, washers, radios, black-and-white televisions, underwear and hosiery. The demand for shoes, except rubber shoes, will be completely satisfied. The growth in supplies of these products will be high. In conclusion, there will be a clear improvement in market supplies and balance.

[Question] There have been charges that the official figures on average pensions and retirement pay are untrue. People are complaining to their newspapers that they are receiving less than average benefits.

[Answer] The lowest employee pension is 5000 zlotys and retired farmers receive at least 4000. In August of last year, the average worker pension was 8636 zlotys and the average farmer's pension was 5378 zlotys. These pensions do not provide the same standard of living as salaries for persons still employed. Revaluation of pensions is planned for next year. The government will continue its policy of protecting the economically weakest public groups. However, in connection with the overall economic situation in Poland, we cannot promise any fundamental changes in the way that pensions are determined nor any increases. I think that individuals should look for all possible means of improving their lives. The government has created profitable and constantly reformed opportunities for retired persons to earn extra money but I want to emphasize that this applies to those retired persons whose age and health will allow them to work.

[Question] In one of your press conferences, you mentioned Father Jancarz of Nowa Huta as one of the chaplains that insists on turning masses into political meetings. He has not ceased doing so. Are the authorities indifferent to such activities?

[Answer] They will not be tolerated. The government would, however, like to handle this matter by negotiation with the episcopate. The liquidation of political meetings in churches is in the interest of the public, of public order, the state and the church. After all, the church has an entirely different mission to fulfill. In cases in which the church superiors are unable to control priests such as Father Jancarz, it will be necessary to take political, administrative and legal measures.

[Question] How does the government intend to stop specialists from leaving academic establishments?

[Answer] This is not occurring on a large scale. Of course, some of the academic cadre has left due to the reduced number of students and difficulties in the realization of investments for research facilities. Some of them are taking jobs in industrial research centers. This is not a bad thing in itself and even has many advantages as it will rapidly increase our technological progress.

The government also supports international scientific exchanges if they are the

result of agreements between states. Isolation does not serve to advance science. Although a few are leaving, any emigration of scientists is minimal.

There are presently 1200 Polish scientists working abroad -- 200 more than two years ago.

[Question] Why are there problems with credits for craftsmen? Can we expect any change in this situation? The banks have about 10 billion zlotys in craftsmen's accounts.

[Answer] On 17 September, the Presidium of Government increased the credits for craftsmen by about two billion zlotys to a total figure of 8.6 billion. I agree that credits for nonsocialized nonagricultural enterprises do not meet the demand but what does at this time? I feel that the decision by the Presidium of Government will only alleviate the situation. It is true that there are about 10 billion zlotys in their bank accounts but, at the same time, they are 13 billion zlotys in debt. They therefore have a negative balance and the 10 billion zlotys mentioned are not in savings where they can be withdrawn at will.

[Question] Why was it not reported that the average 2000-zloty raise recently received by teachers was reckoned into their compensation?

[Answer] Because that is not true. Without even referring to eventual cases of error in calculating the size of a raise, I can say that the average teacher's raise throughout Poland was about 200 zlotys. A raise of this magnitude was not, however, applied in all cases. Consideration was made for qualifications, seniority, quality of work, etc. I must emphasize that compensation is not reckoned into the 2000 zlotys. I would also like to point out that the principles by which teachers were awarded raises were settled under broad consultation with pedagogues and representatives of the Polish Teacher's Union.

[Question] In connection with an appeal by the church, did alcohol consumption go down in August?

[Answer] Alcohol sales figured on the basis of 100-percent spirit came to 11.2 million liters in July whereas in August, it jumped to 14.2 million liters. In comparison with August of last year, this means that purchases [text illegible] alcohol in Pewex shops by some 300,000 liters. This increase in alcohol consumption worries us very much since it shows that the very stringent law to combat alcoholism and the high prices for alcohol have still not shown any appreciable effects. It also shows that the church's appeal to not drink alcohol in August did not have any effect. We regret that alcohol consumption is still very high.

[Question] How is the work on a youth law coming along?

[Answer] It is presently being worked out in detail with the youth unions and the political and administrative authorities. The purpose of the law is to avoid situations in which youth becomes a register of wishes and demands. It is difficult to say at this time when the bill will go to the Sejm.

## DISSIDENT ATTORNEY ASSAILS AMNESTY LAW

Warsaw PRZEGLAD KATOLICKI in Polish No 9, 19 Aug 84, pp 1, 3

[Commentary by Wladyslaw Sila-Nowicki: "The Amnesty"]

[Text] The amnesty of 21 July 1984 should be evaluated in three areas: (1) as an act of the state authorities in relation to people presently responsible for offenses of a political nature, people in prison (----) (Law of 31 July 1981 on the Control of Publications and Performances, article 2, point 1, DZIENNIK USTAW No 20, Item 99, amended DZIENNIK USTAW No 44, Item 204), and people at liberty, in all three phases of criminal conduct, that is, people sentenced with legal validity, accused and under suspicion; (2) as an act of the state authorities in relation to people responsible for crimes of a nature other than political; and (3) as an act of the state authorities in relation to the political underground, for whom the amnesty offers the opportunity to come out of hiding and return to a normal life.

1. In the area of offenses of a political nature, the amnesty is very broad, broader in principle than all the numerous amnesties which we have had in Poland since 1945. All prison sentences, both those pronounced with legal validity and those pronounced without legal validity, as well as those stipulated for acts covered by the statute, are remitted, regardless of their extent. The amnesty affects cases both concluded and not yet concluded in the courts, cases still pending in preliminary proceedings, and people in prison and at liberty as well.

The application of the amnesty is obligatory; it does not depend on the discretion of the court or the procurator, but solely on the accepted legal estimation specified in the sentence or the charge presented.

Punishment by restriction of freedom is remitted, and all misdeeds committed from political motives or against the background of political conflicts are officially overlooked (pardoned). Accessory sentences pronounced with legal validity are subject to being carried out: fines, vindictive damages, adjudicative expenses, court fees and compensations. In cases not yet concluded the only pronouncement is forfeiture of the tools of crime or of objects issuing from the crime, or of tools and objects the possession of which is prohibited.

The amnesty does not contain any conditions in the form of an obligatory declaration of loyalty. Those amnestied are forewarned only that the consequences of returning to activity at variance with the law are revocation of the benefit of the amnesty act.

A matter of basic importance is the fact that by virtue of the amnesty the vast majority of political prisoners in Poland immediately regains freedom.

The amnesty for political offenses with regard to persons sentenced, accused and under suspicion has, therefore, a universal character. Certain exceptions, however, infringe upon this.

(----)(Law of 31 July 1981 on the Control of Publications and Performances, article 2, point 6, DZIENNIK USTAW No 20, Item 99, amended DZIENNIK USTAW 1983 No 44, Item 204).

2. Apart from political offenses, the amnesty has a narrow scope in the area of remitting and commuting sentences: 2-year prison sentences are remitted, and 3-year sentences are commuted by half. Proceedings not yet completed are discontinued if it arises from the circumstance of the case that in the event of sentencing, the punishment necessarily administered would not exceed 2 years.

The significance of the amnesty with regard to people responsible for deeds of a nature other than political lies in the relatively large number of those benefiting from the clemency of this act--over 30,000 offenders, in comparison to less than 700 political offenders. However, the amnesty does not go beyond the practice of the last 30 years on this point: there has not been an amnesty for serious crimes other than political crimes in our country since 1952. In general, recidivists are excluded from the amnesty. A considerable number of offenses--even with short sentences--were also excluded from the benefit of the amnesty. The general amnesty clearly bears a fragmentary character. At the same time, however, statistical data affirm that the percentage of people imprisoned (the number of prisoners per 100,000 of the population) is very high in Poland in comparison to the vast majority of other nations in the world.

3. With regard to the provisions of the amnesty for persons still in the political underground to turn themselves in, it must be noted that the opportunity to turn oneself in lasts for a relatively long time--to the end of 1984, i.e., over 5 months. It should be acknowledged that this position is equitable and tends to make it easier for people to reach a decision which is often difficult from many points of view. On the other hand, other requirements contained in article 3 of the law must arouse concern.

One is struck by the astonishing divergence from the 1983 amnesty: last year's amnesty, much more narrow concerning both prisoners and in general everyone against whom penal proceedings were under way, was at the same time considerably easier in the area of conditions required for people to turn themselves in. If the amnesty act is to be an offer to political



activists who still remain in the underground to leave it, then it must encourage them to turn themselves in (----)(Law of 31 July 1981 on the Control of Publications and Performances, article 2, point 6, DZIENNIK USTAW No 20, Item 99, amended DZIENNIK USTAW 1983 No 44, Item 204). Given the above-mentioned rather long period until the end of the present year, one can expect, as in the case of the 1983 amnesty, official commentary on the part of the state authorities as to how the contents of article 3 of the amnesty law will be interpreted. The underground can then disappear, if its members turn themselves in and do not leave successors behind (----)(Law of 31 July 1981 on the Control of Publications and Performances, article 2, point 1, DZIENNIK USTAW No 20, Item 99, amended DZIENNIK USTAW 1983 No 44, Item 204).

The 40-year anniversary amnesty is an exceptionally significant act by the state authorities. It is very important that the profoundly positive social effects which it can bring about not be wasted.

9451

CSO: 2600/2

## EXCESSIVE PROLIFERATION OF PUBLIC INSPECTION ORGANS NOTED

Warsaw PRAWO I ZYCIE in Polish No 34, 25 Aug 84 pp 2,4,5

[Article by Jerzy Slawomir Mac: "As One Group Leaves Another Comes In"]

[Text] This was to have been a sort of report on the system of inspection within the state. A report, however ought to be based on specific data. Meanwhile, there is no way to measure this information statistically. There are no sources that would tell us precisely how many institutions, organs and units we have in Poland today that deal with inspection and how many people have the job of watching over others.

Structurally the picture is simple. We have Sejm control exercised by the Sejm commissions and the NIK [Supreme Chamber of Control] and NBP [Polish National Bank] that are subject to the Sejm; the ministerial control of the chief organs of the administration and the specialized control exercised by institutions that are appointed specially to perform inspection functions in specific spheres of reality. This theoretically simple and clear structure, however, turns into a rococo labyrinth whose structure and functions are difficult to grasp if we begin to separate it into elements.

## The Plenty Lasts Until Today

Right after World War II, the system of state control was practically nil. None of the specialized control institutions that operate today were in existence. In mid-1945, on 5 July to be precise, the first of these was created--the office of press, publications and public performance control. The following year, a constitutional law dated 19 February 1947 created the Supreme Chamber of Control, that was to undergo very changeable fortunes. Two years later, on 9 March 1949, its status was diminished. It became subject to the Council of State (formerly it was under the Sejm) and in 3 years was replaced by the Ministry of State Control.

Alongside the restricting of the function and the power of the highest organ of state control, new, unprecedented, specialized control institutions began to be set up. In 1950, the State Labor Inspectorate was created; in 1952-1953, the grain, electrical and gas inspectorates as well as the control-audit

chamber were set up; in 1954, the State Sanitary Inspectorate; in 1958, the State Trade Inspectorate; in 1961, the Seed Inspectorate; in 1964, the meat inspectorate; in 1969, the radio inspectorate...

The plentiful crop of new inspection organs was not damaged by the reactivation of the NIK in December 1957 and the restoration of its independence from the government. Nor was it harmed by the renewed subordination of the NIK to the chairman of the Council of Ministers [RM] that occurred at the beginning of 1976 (on 31 March) that was effected in a quite singular decree of the RM chairman on the issue of the principles and procedure for coordinating the work of control, inspection and auditing organs with the work of the NIK. The inspectors from the various control institutions already were tripping over each other.

This plenty lasts unbroken until today. The 1980's added the following to the collection: the Main Territorial Inspectorate, the Price Inspectorate, the Railroad Car Inspectorate, the State Environmental Protection Inspectorate and, after a lapse of 25 years, central and provincial commissions for battling speculation.

Some control organs are better known among society and are more popular, while others are less so. The average Pole does not have the faintest notion regarding the existence of some of these organs, not to mention their functions and tasks. Almost everybody knows what the PIH [State Trade Inspectorate], the State Sanitary Inspectorate or the financial control office does, but who, outside the subbranch, is able to say anything about the scope of operation of the State Inspectorate for the Procurement and Processing of Farm Articles [PISPAR], the State Radio Inspectorate [PIR] or the State Agricultural Technical Inspectorate [PITR]? Meanwhile, every one of these was appointed by a Sejm law or at least by an RM resolution. They represent an extensive and complex apparatus made up of the main inspectorate and regional inspectors (generally 17, corresponding to the former provincial structure) and employ several hundred persons each (PISPAR employs 666, PIR employs 480 and PITR employs about 200).

Each of these institutions also possesses powers consistent with the status of the legal act appointing it. Often, their post-control determinations are "the be or not to be" of other institutions and persons subject to their control. Each one of these can advise, order, make personnel and organizational recommendations and direct cases to bodies and organs of prosecution. Most of them also are authorized to impose mandates and monetary fines and to remove one from official positions and the like. Thus, to some extent, they perform "policing" functions and hence they are known in the jargon as the ecological "police," the taxation "police," the sanitary "police" and the like.

There is no way to make an accurate count of the "parapolice" units. Recently ZYCIE WARSZAWY reported a list of 22 of them, without taking into account the NIK, GUS [Central Price Office], GUKPiW [Main Office for the Control of the Press, Publishing and Public Performances], the Main Fishing Inspectorate, the Chief Inspectorate for Health Resort Medical Care, the Veterinary Sanitation Inspectorate and certainly many other "main inspectorates."

It is even more difficult to calculate the number of officials employed in these units. Recently, at a press conference held at one of the central organs of authority, the figure was set at 422,000 for the 18 specialized organs of control alone (excluding GIT [Main Territorial Inspectorate], the Armed Forces Inspectorate, GUS and GUKPIW).

#### Ministries and Enterprises

Each ministry and central office has departments, offices and divisions of control or inspection. The Office of the Council of Ministers has separate ones, as do all central cooperative unions (of which there are 12). They are multidivisional branches of control of the central organs of the administration--of the ministers and directors of central offices--and they constitute the ministerial control apparatus.

These branches are set up differently in the particular ministries. Probably the most extensive one (of course, functioning on an international scale) is the control apparatus of the Ministry of Transportation. Besides the department of control, its organizational structure includes a separate Railroad Car Inspectorate, the Inland Navigation Inspectorate, the BHP [Work Safety and Hygiene] Inspectorate, the Firefighting Protection Inspectorate and, moreover, in the Central Board of Civil Aeronautics: the Chief Airfield Inspectorate, the Airline Personnel Inspectorate, the Air Traffic Inspectorate, the Civil Control Inspectorate and the Civil Airships Inspectorate. Meanwhile, the General PKP [Polish State Railway] Directorate includes: the Main Sanitary Inspectorate, the Main Inspectorate for Rail Traffic Safety, the Railway Technical Supervision Inspectorate and the BHP Inspectorate (separate from the general ministerial one).

This large number of inspectorates at the ministerial level in no way means that the corresponding control services do not exist as well in the district and regional railway directorates, in public roads regions, at railway junctions, stations, car barns and the like. It is there that they make up the system of internal control. Moreover, every larger and intermediate-size enterprise, institution and plant in every ministry has its own control service. Such services handle financial auditing, the control of the circulation of documents and, in production plants, technical and quality control as well. In some enterprises of the electronics and engineering industries (belonging to the former UNITRA and PREDOM syndicates), the latter employs more than 10 percent of all workers.

In recent years, the machinery of ministerial control, on the one hand, and that of internal control in enterprises, on the other, have shown a strong tendency towards rampant expansion. This is despite the reform, or perhaps even because of it. Specifically, the economic syndicates, with their enormous supervisory-control apparatus built up over the years, have ceased to exist. The current associations, at least officially, have not assumed these functions. Thus, experienced employees of the inspection apparatus of the former syndicates, unable to do anything else other than controlling the units and employees under them, have had to strengthen control services either in enterprises themselves or in their founding organs. I shall not even attempt

to estimate how many employees engaging in these forms of control do this on the national level. I do believe, however, that it would be another several hundred thousand.

While I shall not delve into other aspects of these subject, I should note the following: the departments of control in each of the 49 provincial offices (reinforced in some large urban centers by newly appointed units of municipal law-and-order services), juridical control, public prosecutor's control, MSW [Internal Affairs Ministry] organs, military control (GISZ [expansion unavailable] and task groups) and the various forms and varieties of social control (beginning with the LOP [League for the Preservation of Wildlife] Natural Protection Guard which also has the right to give fines) and political, self-government and union control. I venture the notion that there is no other country in which such an enormous army of people is occupied in controlling others, with such miserable overall results.

#### An Inspection-and-a-Half a Day

Once I spent a week in a private carpentry shop that performs various useful services for people, waiting for a team to make a visit to the trade shop within the framework of the "sector" campaign. I was interested in how this control looked from this viewpoint. I did not expect to see the sector control officers, but the carpenter had had a leak that they were sure to visit him. Instead of them, from Monday until Friday, six other commissions came calling to inspect his shop: the social commission from the Trade Chamber, the tax commission from the Treasury Chamber, the housing commission from the City Quarter Office, the firefighting commission and the PIH commission. The sixth control official was the city quarter officer. As it happened, as one inspector walked out the door, he would pass another one coming in.

Still, there could have been twice as many inspectors. The following representatives would have had the full right, in accordance with their statutory tasks, to inspect the carpenter: GIGE [Main Inspectorate for Energy Management] (to check whether he was cheating in his use of power or gas), the Price Inspectorate (to check whether he was overstating prices), the State Labor Inspectorate (since this carpenter employs hired labor), the Materials Management Inspectorate (since he uses waste raw materials), the Sanitary Inspectorate (obviously) and a dozen others.

It is not only the private sector, however, that finds itself under the volley of fire of control organs. The following was said recently by a speaker from a high-level discussion platform: "Last year in my enterprise, 320 inspections were made. They involved many people and many reports were made, often several on the same subject. Usually these inspections ended with the issuance of formal orders safeguarding the inspecting officer, but offering little usefulness for those inspected."

Thus, there was an inspection-and-a-half a day in this enterprise, and it is probably not the exception.

The press and the duplication of inspections emanating from the large number of inspection organs and the overlapping of their powers are the worst nightmares of control institutions. Every control organ has its plans and programs to execute in order to prove that its work serves some purpose. And it is no argument for an inspector from organ X that a short time before an inspector from institution Y just left, having asked exactly the same questions.

Thus, in practice there is often a duplication of the work of the sanitary inspectorate by the veterinary inspectorate and PISPAR; PISPAR's work is often duplicated by seed, standards-quality and trade inspections (PIH also inspects quality, for the most part); financial and banking control duplicates the work of the Price Inspectorate; standards inspections overlap those of the Office of Technical Supervision; Automobile Management Inspection duplicates the work of the Power Management Inspectorate and the Materials Management Inspectorate (in the recently very much in vogue question of the rational use of liquid fuels); the Sanitary Inspectorate duplicates the work of the Environmental Protection Inspectorate. If only this duplication meant a strengthening of control and the discounting of the findings of one inspectorate by another. Often, however, there are cases of diametrically opposite results of inspections carried out on the same issue by the various inspectorates, even on the issue of ecological dangers.

#### What Is the Deciding Factor?

Here we arrive at a very vital question--the quality of the inspections that are conducted. Since there are so many control organs and many of them either have or usurp for themselves the right and power to check how everything is running, the expertness of many checks and, in turn, the value of their findings must leave much to be desired. This is confirmed by the instances of conflicting findings that, in many cases of uneconomical management or the failure to perform duties in full, have been a hard nut for the courts to crack. A prosecuting attorney builds his case on one report and the defense drags out another that conflicts with the first one.

There is probably no enterprise, store or trade shop whose head could not give at least one example of ludicrous findings of an inspection conducted at his firm. This is not only because the inspector was a lesser expert than the inspected. We all know our tendency towards transient zeal and getting on the bandwagon. Many times this tendency has determined one direction of inspection activities instead of another. The inspector performing these activities, regardless of the organ he represents, often finds himself under the pressure of having to find "something," since this is required by his superior.

A large part of the control apparatus in our state, if not the entire control apparatus, serves ultimately to raise the level of what is the most defective--namely, quality. That is, the quality of life, of social relations, work and its products. It is in this way that the adherents of a restrictive system of organizing collective life, based on an expanded control-supervisory apparatus, explain their arguments. From this viewpoint, too, those that call

for its further expansion meet with approval in some milieus. Obviously, we all would like our lives to be better in every sense. The problem, however, lies in whether the more picayune control of particular segments of reality would lend life greater quality.

So as not to indulge in idle daydreaming, let us consider the fragment of reality that carries the quality seal: the quality of "made in Poland" products. Whereas the requirement for high quality is a legal constraint in Poland contained in an excellent (such is the opinion of the experts) law on quality; whereas the task of many control organs is to discover and prosecute irregularities that reduce the quality of the finished product, it would seem that we ought to have no problem with regard to the quality of market goods and services. After all, they are continually under the scrutiny of control institutions whose large number and efficiency mean that no producer or renderer of services can be certain whether there will be another inspector upon his doorstep tomorrow. However, the quality of our products, from milk to computers, grows worse and worse.

As was shown by the studies conducted last year by the PKJNiM [Polish Committee for Standardization and Measures Units] Department for Inspecting the Observance of Standards, 48.1 percent of plants do not abide by the compulsory norms. To what effect? On 4,000 JOWISZ televisions sold in the Lodz area, 16,000 guaranteed repairs were made. Moreover, one model of this ultra-luxury item broke down an average of four times within a brief period.

Why does this happen? I believe that they are close to the truth that say that, despite the political importance of the problem, despite all the honors and distinctions, both moral and material, awarded to plants and individuals that do good work, the quality game is not worth the candle.

I could substantiate this claim extensively with dozens of examples, beginning with clutch bearings for the Polish FIAT 125P and ending with housing and commercial construction, but that would be prying open an already open door. Thus, I shall limit myself to "tying it in" with the main topic of these considerations. Thus, if five severe inspectors from the various inspection organs suddenly visit a factory that manufactures trash and begin to pick apart the quality issue, each in his own area; if they prepare reports containing post-inspection recommendations, impose fines, dismiss the director and even take him to court, in the end they still will go away and a strained plan, the coproducers, the FAZ [Vocational Activization Fund], problems with transportation and the cadre (since many experts work "in inspection" where the money is the same and the responsibilities are almost nil) and other bitter realities of everyday life will remain.

I have not heard of a case where, as a result of a post-inspection report attesting to the objective impossibility of producing a great deal, well and cheaply, as society demands it, an inspected unit has been granted a reduction in the tasks imposed upon it that emanate from the central economic strategy. And this means reducing the effect of inspections to the level of a fiction and, as a result, it means the devaluation of and decline in the prestige of inspection organs in the eyes of those inspected, as well as the undermining of the purpose of inspections in general.

## A General Ordering

This is the panorama into which have been introduced the recent demands for planting yet another tree in the inspection forest--that of the worker-peasant inspection. One cannot quarrel with the name or the motivation behind the demand for its addition, thus there has been no major outcry against it. The initial enthusiasm, however, has somewhat subsided (vide the discussion at the 16th PZPR KC Plenum) when things have gotten down to specifics.

Although the draft assumptions of the worker-peasant inspection already have been prepared, the matter of its shape, essence and function remains open. For, in order for another inspection institution to make sense, it either would have to deal with fields formerly not covered by other inspection organs (which seems impossible) or it would have to have unusual powers and function according to unusually "striking" methods.

Another open issue is that of the placement of the worker-peasant inspection within the present system of control in Poland and its subordination to other state structures. According to the draft plan, this inspection is to be a control organ for people's councils and it is formally supposed to join together with their commission. This does not resolve the question of the IR-CH [expansion unavailable] "technical services" (some would like to entrust this area to the people's councils bureaus, while others would give it to NIK representatives) or the question of coordinating its projected work with the work of other control organs. The latter question seems to have been noted by the GIT that, as I have learned from one of its chiefs, has made extensive remarks on the subject of the IR-CH.

If the worker-peasant inspection goes through according to its current assumptions, i.e., as an instrument that is more one of sociopolitical control than of checks by experts, I believe that at such a time, a general ordering should be made of the entire system of control in our country that has been built up over the 40 years. In other words, the system should be reviewed, an analysis should be made of effective and ineffective operations and farreaching revisions should be executed aimed generally at weeding out the inspection brushwood whose branches are in each other's way.

It is quite easy to toss out socially popular initiatives and it is not even very difficult to put them into practice. Meanwhile, it is considerably harder to get them going in a direction that will yield concrete, verifiable, long-term results. We cannot allow the recurrence of a situation of the public control of trade unions whose creation was once demanded by the working class but that, during the last years of existence of the CRZZ [Central Trade Union Council], was a fiction that led to disgust among many real unionists.

Certainly, one of the participants in the 16th Plenum was right when he said that if, under the guise of the worker-peasant inspection, another sham creation, bureaucratized and inefficient, was to come into existence, it would be better if it never came to be. For it cannot be that it will have no impact on reality and, as he said, that those that work the hardest to generate the national income will be manipulated once again into being held responsible for this situation.



## NEW MILITARY EMPLOYEE UNION DISCUSSED

Warsaw ZOLNIERZ POLSKI in Polish No 22, 27 May 84 p 5

[Interview with Piotr Bogusz, chairman of the Main Administration of the Independent Self-Governing Military Employees Union, by Wladyslaw Misiolek]

[Text] [Question] Mr Chairman, let us begin the discussion with specifics about the union which you are in charge of.

[Answer] The Independent Self-Governing Military Employees Trade Union [NSZZPW] was established on 16-17 December 1983.

[Question] Something does not seem to agree, since I had heard about it earlier.

[Answer] I gave the official date of the establishment of the union because the NSZZPW National Congress conferred on 16 and 17 December, and undertook the final decision on the matter. It also adopted the union laws and program. The union came into being earlier, in fact the founding committee was already established in June, and on 19 November the union was registered by the Provincial Court in Warsaw as the 18th suprafactory union organization.

[Question] The NSZZPW has a homogeneous character not at all like a federation. Is this the case in the majority of trade unions in the nation, and why?

[Answer] The law on trade unions stipulates that only one trade union can function in the armed forces of the Polish People's Republic as a common military organization, with membership limited to workers and factory union organizations. This represents a sound solution since, first of all, the homogeneous character of our union is more closely allied with the military structure, and second, a homogeneous union organization is more powerful and can act more efficiently and successfully.

[Question] However, if I remember well, other military trade union organizations were established earlier. What happened to them?

[Answer] Since only one trade union can exist, members of these other unions joined our union.

[Question] Is it only because they had no other choice?

[Answer] In the first place, I would say that this was a good choice. The fact that military employees selected our union decided its program, and also the fact that program documents originated not in the quiet of the office but rather at meetings with people and during numerous consultations. The people recognized that this was the type of trade union they needed, and therefore joined it. Of course, there was hesitation, but the reasons for it were different. For example, in one of the enterprises the workers put off joining our union for a long time because of the sentiment which they had for their former union. This is understandable and normal.

[Question] What percentage of the military employees belong to the NSZZPW?

[Answer] Initially it was 60 percent, and now it is 75 percent. Here I am talking about those who are eligible for trade union membership, since employees of certain national defense units specified by the minister are not eligible. This order, however, includes only a small number of individuals.

[Question] How many retirees and pensioners do you have?

[Answer] I understand the meaning of your question, and therefore wish to emphasize that retirees and pensioners do not increase our ranks. In fact, they hardly total 2 percent of union membership.

[Question] Surely there is no other union where the members represent so many professions. Defense Ministry employees represent a great number of fields.

[Answer] We have no miners.

[Question] On the other hand, there is only one trade union. Does not the large number of fields make the situation more difficult for some professional groups? The metalworkers or printers, by reason of their great numbers, have a correspondingly high influence, while the voices of representatives of small professional groups may not be heard. Their labor concerns can be postponed...

[Answer] The apprehension is unfounded. First of all, by reason of employment in one ministry, the problems of all military employees are similar. Second, the union has obligated itself to the same degree to take care of the labor interests of all professional groups, including those workers who are not members. The small divisions would find themselves in a much more difficult situation if they relied only on their own power. Currently, they have the power of the entire union behind them. Third, the departmental commissions which were created by the April Main Congress Plenum decision represent the professional groups equally.

[Question] What matters is the union concerned with following the National Congress?

[Answer] We have behind us the phase of construction of the union organization structure, and subsequent to straightening out the organizational matters we have devoted our principal efforts to solving labor problems. One of the most important is to guarantee the military employees a suitable number of places in health resorts and in camps for children.

[Question] Did the union receive any resort buildings from the ministry?

[Answer] For certain reasons such a solution would be unsuitable for the military employees; besides, the representatives of the Polish Army Main Quartermaster Department alerted us to this fact. We have adopted the principle of guaranteeing military employees an appropriate number of places in areas which are for the use of the personnel.

[Question] What problem have you managed to solve?

[Answer] One of the most difficult, which is wages. Despite the general opinion that those who work for the military are better paid, the wages of military employees were significantly lower than those employed in the socialized economy. Much was said about this at the National Congress. The ministry considered our proposals, and it can be said that currently the earnings of those in the military have been brought into line with wages in the socialized economy sector. We believe that this represents a great achievement. I do not need to add that in the opinion of our members this strengthened the union's prestige.

[Question] Are you a member of the Council of Leading Union Organizations?

[Answer] Initially, I participated in it as an observer. Our last main administration plenum empowered me to participate in council activities as a full member. We assumed that we must be present when important matters pertaining to the union movement are being decided.

[Question] The union has the adjectives "independent" and "self-governing" in its name. Do they only represent ornaments, considering that the principle of one-man leadership is obligatory in the military?

[Answer] I assure you that this is not so. We represent an entirely self-governing and independent organization. This is expressed, among other things, in the fact that the commander of a military unit or an enterprise director does not have the right to inspect or supervise the union organization. In addition, he cannot issue instructions on the union's activities. Union and ministry relations represent a full partnership.

[Question] Let us assume that a conflict arises; what could happen? Let us assume that the commander does not want to take into consideration valid union organization proposals. What then? Will reason take the upper hand?

[Answer] I wish to note that, practically speaking, conflicts do not occur, and for two reasons. First, we as union members try to present valid proposals

and take into consideration our responsibility for military readiness. Second, our real proposals meet with understanding and are carried out.

[Question] We talked about the union--who is the chairman?

[Answer] I anticipated this question, because the times are such that people want to know who is working in the union movement. I am a construction engineer by profession. I have worked in the military for over 30 years, beginning as a young inspector and ending as the director of the inspectorate.

I placed my inclinations for social work into the union movement, initially into the trade union of civilian employees of military institutions. Following its development, I became active in the trade union for state and public workers. Sixteen years ago I was the factory council chairman. In 1980, I found myself a member of the NSZZPW Founding Committee. I also participated in the establishment of the present union. I was first appointed as chairman of the regional administration in the Warsaw Military District. I participated in the program committee on the military level. Moreover, in December the delegates of the National Congress charged me with the work of main administration chairman. That is all.

[Question] That is not everything. Is there a question which was not asked but which you would like to respond to?

[Answer] If I were to add something, it would only be the wish that cooperation between the union and the ministry would continue to be shaped as it has been until now.

[Interviewer] Thank you for the interview.

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## EFFECTIVENESS OF LAW, ORDER CAMPAIGN ASSESSED

Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 19 Sep 84 pp 1-2

[Interview with Brig Gen Jozef Bem, commander of Citizens' Militia, by Krystyna Chrupkova: "The Most Important Thing: Citizens' Peace"; date and place not specified]

[Text] The Council of Ministers' Committee for the Observance of Law, Public Order, and Social Discipline has appointed, as is known, several subject commissions. One of them, the Commission for Promoting Citizens' Safety, Law, and Public Order, has been entrusted with a task of particular significance to the citizenry. But how does it carry out its tasks? Can we now, half a year after its establishment, talk about its specific accomplishments? Those were the questions a RZECZPOSPOLITA reporter addressed to the commission's chairman, Brig Gen Dr Jozef Bem, commander in chief of the Citizens' Militia [M0].

[Bem] Our most important programmatic tasks, entrusted to us by the committee, include improved functioning of state administration organs, and counteracting violations of law and order on the railways, in the fuel economy, and in trucking. On the other hand, current needs have made us deal with two other problems: ensuring the peace and safety of the citizenry in their places of residence, and maintaining law and order in public places.

We have adopted the following working method. To start with, reconnaissance and assessment of, first, the given phenomenon; second, efficiency and effectiveness of state administration organs, in particular of law enforcement agencies responsible for specific sets of problems under their purview. Next, the appropriate formulation of ensuing specific tasks and duties, including specifying by name people responsible for the sector entrusted to them.

This way of organizing the commission's activities has brought about, and still does, tangible results; this implies the neutralization of the main criminogenous factors in various sore areas of our life, as well as the elimination of destabilizing trends. Here is the proof.

#### On the Railways

No one needs to be reminded of the situation on our state railways [PKP]. It is, therefore, obvious that massive operations for the restoration of order and

recourse to repression were directed, first of all, at that point, nationwide. In 57 operations of this kind 300,000 people took part (some of them more than once), including MO officers, army personnel, officers of the PKP, Railway Security Guard, customs service, the MO Volunteer Reserve, and selected civil activists.

The results? Some 220,000 felonies and misdemeanors detected; almost 20,000 suspects and 9,000 drunks detained; nearly 70,000 fines imposed; over 17,000 indictments submitted to administrative courts; detection, followed by recommendation of elimination, of over 8,500 shortcomings and defects in the technical equipment of railway cars and facilities; checking up of over 385,000 cars hauling valuable cargo and parcels; preparation of 2,250 restriction orders.

Following our suggestions, the top echelon of the Ministry of Transportation has surveyed its personnel, tightened up the requirements of service discipline, and reactivated functional checkups at all levels of organization.

It can already be claimed that by now travel has become both safer and more peaceful; that does not mean, however, that we are fully satisfied. On the contrary. The present situation calls for further improvement, and such improvement must absolutely follow.

#### Fuel Economy and Transportation

An all-out checkup has been carried out under our commission's aegis in the management of Oil Products Central Office [CPN] and in all the regional CPN offices, followed by other measures for sounding and checking, for restoring order and using repression in 1,321 public gas stations and in 50 works-owned pumps, since that is where most serious damage was being done (in works-owned gas stations, and during motor trucking of liquid fuels). In this context the commission has suggested to the proper economic ministries actions necessary for improving organization and restoring order, including, inter alia, setting up specific principles for the mode and discipline of issuing and annulling licenses for operating works-owned gas stations; restricting liquid fuel quotas for stations where abuses had been detected; verification of all the licenses to operate works-owned gas stations.

In our view, a general verification of personnel in the fuel economy seems necessary, as well as a tightened-up personnel policy in the CPN and intensive official surveillance and internal supervision in the fuel-supply sector as a whole. On the other hand, a more radical policy of law enforcement and punishment of perpetrators of offenses connected with the fuel-supply economy seems to be the order of the day.

Similar comprehensive surveillance operations have been carried out in 135 trucking bases, subordinated to the ministries of transportation, construction, and domestic trade. Unfortunately, the level of law enforcement there remains unsatisfactory. Most frequently, entries in documents dealing with exploitation and haulage are being falsified to create surpluses of fuel, mileage, and worktime. There are too many cases of idle use of transport

facilities, of illicit rendering of transportation services, of use of vehicles that are damaged or that have unauthorized odometers, pillage of spare parts and motor equipment, insufficient concern for equipment and for proper technical maintenance of vehicles.

Our checkup remarks, or rather the conclusions drawn from them, have been passed over to the appropriate ministries. We have also issued necessary recommendations, aimed at improving the situation, that is to say, observance of law and honest management.

#### In Places of Residence

The media has reported exhaustively about the "Estate 84" operation; I shall therefore remind you only that between 19 March and 14 July 1984, 137,000 people in all the provinces were checked out, as well as 2,815,000 property lots, nearly 136,000 commercial and service establishments, and nearly 70,000 workplaces. As a result, over 255,000 misdemeanors have been detected, concerning hygiene, cleanliness, fire prevention, and registration of residents. Over 3,000 preliminary investigations have been initiated, almost 17,000 indictments have been submitted to the administrative courts, over 102,000 fines have been imposed for a total of 62 million zlotys, almost 70,000 execution orders have been delivered, over 2,500 offenders have been detained.

This year's operation was an all-out venture on an unprecedented scale. Reports by provincial governors and mayors of provincial capitals indicate that it was a necessary and effective action. Its most important result was nationwide improvement as far as order, cleanliness, and aesthetics were concerned, although a lot still remains to be done in this respect as well.

Public approval and support for the "Estate 84" operation compel me to express my conviction that it should become a permanent mode of action for local authorities. I think that the people's councils should even include in their agenda at least one mandatory session devoted to those problems. The involvement of urban and rural residents' self-government bodies, which are to be elected soon, also--perhaps above all--seems necessary.

#### In Public Places

The major threat to peace and social order occurs, obviously, in the cities, where over 78 percent of all the offenses are being committed. Everyday counteraction measures are routinely carried out by specialized MO services; regular operations take place under the code-name "Agglomeration."

Within the framework of this operation, 55,000 people (including over 12,000 MO Volunteer Reserve personnel, and some 2,000 representatives of other civic organizations) have jointly checked up over 40,000 trade, industry, and economy establishments, as well as 66,000 vehicles. Six thousand four hundred and nine work-shirkers and 5,425 morally endangered teenagers have been put under surveillance.

To date, 1,144 criminal offenders and 1,908 perpetrators of misdemeanors, 602 drunk drivers, and 596 people wanted by police have been apprehended as a result of this operation. A total of 624 preliminary investigations have been initiated, 5,167 indictments have been submitted to the administrative courts, over 20,000 fines, totalling 10 million zlotys, have been imposed. During these actions assets worth 13.8 million zlotys have been impounded as objects of speculation, and property with a total value of 24.5 million zlotys foreclosed to cover future financial penalties.

#### What About the Future?

At present, following the timetable set up by the Council of Ministers' committee, we are working on four sets of problems. Two of them (the situation on the railways and in motor transport) are a continuation and development of earlier measures.

A new subject involves analyzing the effectiveness of prevention and elimination of crimes against private property. This kind of criminal offense is a major factor in destabilizing the sense of legal security of the citizenry. In the last year alone, it accounted for over 40 percent of all offenses and nearly 60 percent of all detected crimes. We have therefore decided that it was absolutely necessary to focus the forces of the state apparatus on counteracting the threats in this area; besides, this problem is closely related to the crisis situation in our country.

We intend to concentrate mainly on preventive measures, as far as both law enforcement agencies and the citizens themselves are concerned; I refer mainly to the need to adapt property insurance policies to the requirements of more comprehensive property safeguards; to residents' self-defense against violation of their property; and to improved technical and organizational measures to protect property. We also perceive the need for increased criminal repression, as far as both court sentences and administrative penalties are concerned. We have in mind chiefly greater responsibility on the part of people who behave in a way which favors the violation of property (e.g., managers of apartment houses, caretakers, parking-lot attendants, etc). We believe that each victim should be assured of legal recompense for losses sustained.

The second problem we are now taking into consideration involves pinpointing the causes of the ineffective implementation of the law on work-shirkers, assessing the extent to which those regulations are abided by, and drawing proper conclusions.

Finally, I would like to stipulate that the problems I have dealt with, and the figures I have quoted and which indicate a certain improvement, should not be regarded as static. Law and order, security, as well as all other aspects of social life are an ongoing process, liable to changes due to various causes. Hence one guiding principle: the need to make permanent and regular efforts aimed at assuring all citizens peace at home, on the streets, and in the workplaces. We are most meticulous in following the motions and the points raised at the PZPR National Conference and at the 16th Plenum of the PZPR Central Committee.



And here I might as well end my contribution, but since I am not only the chairman of the commission but also the MO commander-in-chief, I cannot fail to assess the present level of public order.

#### The Present Situation

This year the crime rate is still going up. We have anticipated this by preparing various working concepts for counteracting crime. MO units, despite the increased number of offenses, are systematically achieving better detection results, and that is directly reflected, inter alia, in halting the rise of crime. We are undertaking all the measures necessary for satisfying the current needs. Thus:

--The law enforcement agencies have been more effective in detecting economic offenses, that is to say, in investigating organized misappropriation of property, tax delinquency, speculation, and corruption. Checkup and surveillance actions in the private sector, as well as repression against people living above their legal means and against blackmarketeers, in particular those engaged in sophisticated speculation or illegal trade in especially valuable assets, have been stepped up. In this respect we are reacting, above all, to the recent public demands. Aggressive implementation of preliminary investigations in cases of economic crime has improved the effectiveness of those measures. The results? Over 40 percent more suspects and detainees than a year ago, and fuller recompensation of losses sustained by the state and by the citizenry.

--The rate of crime increase is going down. The number of investigations in cases of theft of private property and of burglaries in public objects has gone down, albeit insignificantly. Recently the number of robberies and burglaries against private property has been going down. In my opinion, we are approaching a turning point as far as the state and the image of law and public order in our country are concerned.

--The detection of offenders is increasing, slowly but steadily; the highest rate of detection has been achieved in investigating crimes against life and property. This has been followed by a substantial increase in number of suspects and people temporarily detained, in increased repression of wrong-doing, and in better organization of measures against crime.

The above-mentioned circumstances signify an ongoing process of favorable change, as far as both the crime situation and the results of efficient functioning of law enforcement agencies are concerned.

Nonetheless, we are still not satisfied with the current level of public order, even though meticulous research has indicated that in many crime categories the current situation is better than in many years of the past four decades, and even though the level of criminal threat to our society is lower than in the interwar period.

However, the analyses and prognoses prepared by the MO headquarters tend to predict a continuation of a high level of crime, especially of speculation and offenses against property. This stems from the ongoing economic circumstances. However, we expect further improvement in the results achieved by the investigative law enforcement agencies, in particular through gradually growing involvement of all the factors which favor the fight against crime. Equally significant is the hope for further activation of social forces involved in counteracting wrong-doing. Here we have registered significant progress. The problem, however, is linked to the level of general respect for law, and in this area a lot still remains to be done by all of us. I am convinced that, as in other areas, here too we will achieve the expected results.

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