

JPRS-EER-88-060
28 JULY 1988

243071



**FOREIGN
BROADCAST
INFORMATION
SERVICE**

JPRS Report

East Europe

DISTRIBUTION STATEMENT A
Approved for Public Release
Distribution Unlimited

Reproduced From
Best Available Copy

19991221 167

REPRODUCED BY
NATIONAL TECHNICAL
INFORMATION SERVICE
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE
SPRINGFIELD, VA. 22161

10
49
A03

East Europe

JPRS-EER-88-060

CONTENTS

28 JULY 1988

POLITICAL

BULGARIA

BCP Politburo, Secretariat: Personnel Changes	1
BCP Personnel Changes, Policy Analyzed	1

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Prediction of Future Seen as Indispensable Political Task	2
New Legislation Expected To Be Far Reaching	4
Not Much Progress in R&D	5

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

Demands for Liberalization Voiced at Church Conference [Peter Jochen Winters; Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE ZEITUNG, 27 Jun 88] ...	5
--	---

HUNGARY

Dissident Demszky Discusses New Regime [Gabor Demszky; Vienna PROFIL, 20 Jun 88]	7
Popular Opposition Halts Nuclear-Waste-Dump Plans [Paul Vecsi; Vienna PROFIL, 20 Jun 88]	8
Scenarios for Trade Union Representation in Government	9
Csoori Discusses Views, His Opposition Image	11

POLAND

Polish-Cuban Friendship Society Officials Meet	16
Soviet, Polish Historians Meet With Pope	17
Civil Law Amendments Necessary to Reform Effort	17
PZPR Commissions Review POP, Aktivs' Efforts Under 'New Conditions'	17
Party Activities Calendar 11-24 Apr 1988	18
Voivodship People's Councils Meeting at Final Hour Before Elections	20
Economic Stabilization More Costly Following Strike	21
Former Negotiator Defines 'Right-to-Strike' Regulation	23
Conference Focuses on Conditions Necessary for Enterprise Development	24
Economic Court System Favored Over Arbitration To Settle Disputes	25
Electronics Self-Financing Discussed	25
Opposing Veterans Groups Seek Common Platform	25
Ombudsman Tackles Alternative Military Service Issue	26
Sejm Reviews New Military-Oath Draft	26
Major University Rectors Assess Student Mood, Recent Strikes	27

ECONOMIC

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

State Airline Buys Western Aircraft [Hamburg DER SPIEGEL, 27 Jun 88]	30
Economist Outlines Future Production Aims, Techniques	31
Railway System Increases Productivity	36
Water Purification Process Finds Wide Application	37

HUNGARY

Reform Rhetoric Bolsters Antireform Measures, Liska Charges	38
---	----

POLAND

Consultative Economic Council on Price Limits, Major Threats	40
Party Daily Views Consultative Economic Council Session	41
Territorial Industries Need More Rapid Rebuilding	41
Progress Noted in Natural Resource Preservation	42
Engineering, Technician Professions Wage Supplements Listed	42
Economic Reform Commission on Small-Scale Industry Foreign Investment	42

SOCIAL

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

Jurist Describes Problem of Alcoholism in GDR	44
---	----

BULGARIA

BCP Politburo, Secretariat: Personnel Changes 29000009 Paris LE MONDE in French 22 Jul 88 p 4

[Text] Two high-ranking BCP officials, Chudomir Aleksandrov, the Central Committee party secretary responsible for party questions, and Stanko Todorov, President of the National Assembly, have lost their positions in the Politburo. These dismissals, which were announced on Wednesday, 20 July, at the conclusion of a Central Committee plenum devoted to reforms in the areas of education and intellectual activities, surprised political observers in Sofia.

At the same time, Aleksandrov had to give up his position as a Central Committee secretary, as did Stoyan Mikhaylov, the party secretary for cultural and ideological questions. A fourth official, Svetlin Rusev, the former director of the National Gallery and former president of the Artist's Union, was expelled from the Central Committee.

Some Western diplomats saw Aleksandrov, 52, as a potential successor to BCP First Secretary [as published] Todor Zhivkov. According to them, he was pushed aside by conservatives opposed to a rapid and profound transformation of Bulgarian society. During an important party conference in January, Aleksandrov asked that all the opponents to the reforms be expelled from the party. Zhivkov has officially followed the Soviet Union on the issue of restructuring, but numerous Western diplomats question the sincerity of his commitment to this line, as the power still remains in the hands of the party's old guard.

The party leadership recognized that the educational system has not been suited to the demands of the modern world and that the intellectuals should have greater rights. When he opened the Central Committee session, Zhivkov said, "It is clear that the conditions of our intellectual life do not correspond to reality." However, Yordan Yotov, a Central Committee Secretary and Politburo member, warned that the party would not renounce the ideological control that it exercised over the activities of the intellectuals. (AFP, Reuter)

BCP Personnel Changes, Policy Analyzed 29000010 Paris LE MONDE in French 24-25 Jul 88 p 1

[Editorial]

[Text] This week, Mr. Gorbachev received bad news from Bulgaria: Todor Zhivkov, who has presided over the destinies of the country for almost 35 years, remains reluctant to relinquish power, despite his age (77) [as published] and Moscow's desire to have a team more susceptible to the charms of restructuring and glasnost.

Unwilling, moreover, to quarrel with his old accomplices from the Stalinist Era, Zhivkov a few days ago took the liberty to fire the moderate reformer who had the Kremlin's favor.

For the last two years, Chudomir Aleksandrov was believed to be the likely successor to the General Secretary. A veritable number-two man in the regime, he was, at 52, a Politburo member and Central Committee secretary in charge of cadres. But these titles were insufficient to protect him from the rancor of Zhivkov, who probably did not appreciate hearing Aleksandrov, early this year, call it necessary to "cut the dead branches" from the party. At the same time, Aleksandrov attracted the attention of observers by criticizing the bogus restructuring into which Bulgaria has plunged itself for more than a year, and, which has, depending upon the issue, led willy-nilly to maintaining the status quo and to increasing the chaos. Finally, he was said to be in favor of the timid efforts at liberalization, authorized by Stoyan Mikhaylov, who was in charge of ideology and culture, and who also lost his position at the conclusion of the Central Committee meeting on Wednesday.

The list of those fired during the week includes other men, all proponents of modernization of an ossified society. Among them, we note Stanko Todorov, President of the Assembly, who requested his release from the Politburo, and Svetlin Rusev, a well-respected artist, who was expelled from the Central Committee.

This purge followed other dismissals whose victims have been writers, intellectuals, university professors, and journalists. The crime of all these officials? To have opened Bulgaria to a vision less fixed by circumstances and history; to have brought to the fore the problems of the environment and of industrial pollution, which has reached an extent seldom suspected in the West. All of which, of course, was made under the cover of the Soviet model: Chernobyl came first, as did critical articles in the Soviet press.

It was too much for Zhivkov, who could not get over the shock of finding so much venom in "Big Brother's" press or in the television broadcasts from Moscow in which his people have traditionally been saturated.

The last hero for Zhivkov, after Stalin and Brezhnev, was certainly Chernenko, and, since Andropov, he has no longer recognized his little socialist world. He is not the only one in Eastern Europe who does not appreciate Gorbachev's experiments at all—Honecker in the GDR is close to sharing this opinion with numerous leaders in Czechoslovakia, to say nothing of Ceausescu. In Prague, at least, the succession has taken place, but the new General Secretary, Milos Jakes, will have quite a task to overcome the resistance of the proponents of the old ways.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Prediction of Future Seen as Indispensable Political Task

24000114 Prague NOVA MYSL in Czech
No 6, 1988 pp 24-32

[Article by Jana Duffkova: "The Necessity for Scientific Investigation of the Future"]

[Excerpt] In actual fact, it becomes ever more clear that the scientific investigation of the future in the 20th century—particularly during its latter half—is not merely a matter of developing theoretical findings, the deepening of human knowledge, and consciousness, is not only a question of scientific interests, but rather a direct necessity and an unavoidability—the prerequisite for the continued existence and development of mankind as a whole.

The actual causes of a general, worldwide objective necessity for prognostication lie in the very character of the current era, in the period of the 20th century, which, from the standpoint of human history, is truly an outstanding century, a century of concentration with respect to revolutionary changes of a fundamental type.

It is, in the first place, a century of enormous social changes and upheavals, characterized by the transition of society from capitalism to socialism on a worldwide scale. The birth and development of the world socialist order, the extent of national liberation movements, the growth of the number of developing countries opting for the noncapitalist way of development or directly for socialist orientation, the extent of mass democratic movements—these are concrete manifestations and consequences of the growth of social activity among the broad masses, of involving ever broader circles of inhabitants in all countries in active participation in the historic process.

The second inseparable aspect, the organic component of social development in the 20th century, is the existence and development of scientific-technical progress along with its technologies, equipment, scientific side and its social, economic, and political consequences. The 20th century is being spoken of as the beginning of the "atomic age" (in 1942, the Italian physicist E. Fermi succeeded, for the first time, in achieving a practical chain reaction in an atomic reactor), as the "cybernetics era" (the birth of cybernetics is generally ascribed to the year 1848 when the American mathematician N. Wiener, after more than 10 years of working effort, published his work entitled "Cybernetics or Control and Communication in Living Organisms and Machines"), as the century marking the birth of the "cosmic era" (the beginning was made on 12 April 1961 by Soviet cosmonaut J.A. Gagarin, who, for the first time, orbited the earth), and in recent times it even seems that some

discoveries in genetics and other biological and medical areas will lead to revolutionary changes making it possible to designate the 20th century as the "century of biology."

The characteristics of these changes, as well as the immediate factors dictating the necessity for prognostication are primarily the following:

- the increasing pace of overall development in society in its social, economic, technical, and other characteristics;
- the growing complexity of individual manifestations, processes, and relationships in various spheres of social life;
- the increasing connection and interconnection of development tendencies which tend to influence each other;
- the seriousness and the depth of the changes occurring in society;
- the long-term effects and consequences of these changes;
- the growing significance of the role of the subjective factor in the development of society.

The recognition that the future will differ from the past and the present to a much greater extent than this was ever the case up to now expressly strengthens human efforts to prepare the future as early as the present period, to exert an influence upon contemporary processes, to take appropriate "preventive" measures. And it is precisely for this purpose that it is necessary to "recognize" the future, to scientifically investigate it.

The entire situation is particularly complicated by the fact that "isolated" manifestations actually do not exist in a contemporary context—current manifestations, processes, and relationships are characterized by a multilateral level of interconnections and by mutual influencing. This interconnection is, on the one hand, the interstructural horizontal level which deals with the interconnection between individual spheres of social life within the framework of a specific socioeconomic whole (for example, the mutual influences of the economic and cultural spheres in socialist society), and, on the other hand, it is the intrastructural vertical level where mutual influence of spheres or their individual elements in various socioeconomic systems occurs (for example, the mutual influence of the economic sphere in both socialist and capitalist society).

Both types of interconnection have existed in the past, but the interconnection between various spheres of societal life in various socioeconomic systems, that is to say, the mutual influencing which combines the intrastructural and interstructural levels of interconnection (for example, the mutual influencing of the economic sphere in capitalist society and the cultural sphere in socialist society), take on an ever greater significance under current conditions. The entire network of these mutual interconnections is extremely complicated in view of the

fact that, apart from the capitalist and socialist world socioeconomic orders, there exists a numerically large group of countries, the countries of the so-called developing world; at that, none of these entities is homogeneous and considerable differences exist between their individual elements, that is to say, between individual countries. Currently, it is necessary to consider the economic as well as the political and cultural spheres of life in every society, complete with its partial or specific "subregions."

Among other things, this prevents socialist society from orienting itself only toward its internal real situation in investigating the future, in planning and programming and directing, but it must also take into account the external environment—that of the capitalist and developing "world" and its individual spheres of life. In this connection, the fact that pressing social and class problems and conflicts, which were brought by mankind into the 20th century as an "inheritance" of the past, which were not completely solved on a worldwide scale by existing developments, but were actually intensified in many respects, appears as a very important factor. If we add to this a number of so-called global problems, it is clear that one can no longer rely on some kind of self-developmental solution and on the elimination of problems in contemporary society. Experience also indicates that in order to solve contemporary, "traditional" as well as new problems, a global view is necessary which includes the sphere of the future as well.

The constantly growing pace and increasing scope of changes in social development bring about changes in the social forms of human existence, in the complexity of social processes and their management. As a result, during the life of one generation, stereotypes and rules of conduct and thinking can partially or completely change (whereas previously they were valid only with minimal modifications for several centuries).

The monumental time concentration of fundamental social changes and of scientific-technical progress into an ever shrinking historical era causes many results of human activity which were formerly relatively distant in terms of time—mutually and even relatively matters of cause and effect—and, consequently, considered to be secondary, of becoming constantly more immediate and more serious. Under these circumstances, it is necessary to be knowledgeable with respect to the effects of technical discoveries and social changes in sufficient time with "adequate time," meaning much sooner than the time in which mere opportunities become facts and before the rapid decline of development changes into an uncontrollable elemental process in which any type of directing incursions are already ineffectual (furthermore, some changes can even be irreversible in character).

Furthermore, the developmental line of scientific-technical progress has split in two directions more than once. On the one hand, it results, for the time being, in unprecedented opportunities for improving social and

cultural levels of life for individuals and society as a whole, for satisfying the needs of society and for developing the individual. Simultaneously, however, on the other hand, for the first time in human history there arises the real danger of total self-destruction for human civilization—precisely through the same scientific-technical progress or as a result of abusing its results. In the considerations justifying the necessity for prognostication of the future and for investigating the future this moment is expressed, for the most part, by determining that, in historical development, mankind has reached that border at which it is not only possible but even necessary to influence the future and the present through the aid of prognostication insofar as people have any desire to maintain the fundamental conditions for their own existence.

Understandably, the rapid development of scientific-technical progress results in more rapid discovery of its negative aspects. Given the enormous qualitative rise caused by the scientific-technical revolution, its negative aspects and consequences take on a cumulative character which, in its totality, tends to constantly shorten the utmost possible time required to uncover any serious consequences of current development in every sphere of human activity and, on that basis, to adopt practical effective measures. The more rapid social development becomes, the less is an overview possible and the more complex do the mutual effects of its individual factors become. As a result, the forecasting of possible trends of development becomes more complicated, but, at the same time, even more necessary. A certain result or conclusion based on one discovery or one change may form the basis for another discovery and additional changes. However, if the negative aspects or the possible destructive consequences of the first discovery are not uncovered, then this aspect becomes multiplied in the derived change, in the conclusions drawn from the original discovery (this is particularly true of the problems of social connections and the results of the scientific-technical revolution).

Within the framework of this constantly accelerating chain of scientific-technical movement and the overall development of society, it is absolutely unavoidable to be able to foretell, on an objective scientific basis, which of the contradictory tendencies (that is to say, the improvement or worsening of living conditions) is more likely to occur and what social changes they will lead to.

Here, it is necessary to point out one moment having to do with judging the interest in the future. Efforts to prognosticate the future were, in the past, sometimes interpreted and evaluated even as an escape from real problems into the future. Today, however, in view of the development of scientific-technical progress in socialist society, criticism of opposite tendencies, that is to say, the escape from the responsibility to formulate future social goals and even the means for their achievement, is more likely justified.

The purpose and goal of prognostication is, in first place, an effort to give human endeavor a tenaciousness of purpose, a sense of certainty, and a logical sense of chronology. Prognostication actually fulfills a dual task: it provides information on the probable future, it shows what this probable future looks like and actively exerts an effect on its formation in the current period. Only on the basis of scientific prognostication is it possible to work out practical effective measures to actively influence the course of social processes. What is essential here is not the "passive" moment of prognostication, that is to say, foretelling the most likely future, but mainly the active aspects, which finds its expression in an effort to aim that most likely variant in a desirable direction. This means that efforts should be exerted in accordance with scientific prognostication aimed at nipping in the bud even those situations which, although they may not be totally developed as a conflict today, could become a conflict or a reason for a conflict in the future. The words of K. Marx, in his thesis on Feuerbach, in which he addressed philosophy and philosophers, are doubly applicable to investigation of the future and the goals of prognostication: "It is not only a matter of knowing the world, it is necessary to change it." It is necessary to proceed from the standpoint that prognostication is not a goal in itself, it is not an end unto itself. The future must be not only scientifically examined, prognosticated, but, simultaneously, it must be brought closer to all members of society and efforts must be exerted to fulfill it. In this regard, prognostication on a scientific basis can be considered as a material force (in the same sense in which K. Marx designated ideas as a material force).

It is necessary to mention the ideological causes and connections involved in the necessity to undertake scientific prognostication, primarily because the problem of the future is immediately connected with the formation and character of the world view. The ideological battle between both world socioeconomic systems cannot be limited to the existing facts of today and to the manifestations of societal life today in a certain sense, the future is more important than the present to each social system: things which represent the present are, in the final analysis, transitory in nature, but ideas personifying the future are much more durable. If the present represents the results of the activities of man, then the future is an expression of his wishes, interests, values, and goals.

It is impossible to forget that Marxist-Leninist ideology is gaining followers in considerable measure particularly on the basis of its concept of a communist future. Marxism-Leninism was always an actual prognostic dimension, a concept of the future development of society all the way through the attainment of a universally just social order in which the main center of attention is man, his needs, and his ways toward self-realization; the concept was and is an organic component and a logical culmination of the entire theory of Marxism-Leninism. Therefore, to work out and to bring the

concept of a communist society on the basis of scientific examination of the future closer to reality belongs among the important ideological tasks.

From the above, it follows that the necessity for prognostication is a social inevitability today. In order for this necessity to actually be realized, however, it is not sufficient to have an objective situation requiring prognostication arise and exist, it is not sufficient to merely comprehend and be aware of this necessity on the level of individual and social awareness. In addition, attainable and utilizable theoretical and methodological means for the real implementation of the necessity to prognosticate must exist in social practice, that is to say, the possibility for prognostication must exist which is—from the standpoint of the capability of man—currently a gnosticistic requirement. This is not, however, a matter of the necessity and possibility for any kind of prognostication, but exclusively and solely a question of scientific prognostication which is based on objectively valid social laws, supported by the scientific theory of society and its development and which utilizes scientific methods and means.

Scientific prognostication is doable only on the basis of Marxism-Leninism, which has the essential theoretical-methodological basis to accomplish actual scientific investigation of the future with all its consequences. The possibility of accomplishing scientific prognostication is one of the express advantages of Marxist-Leninist theory. Although it may sound a little exaggerated, it is the duty of every socialist country, the duty toward itself and toward the entire world revolutionary process, to constantly strive for the maximum perfection of the theoretical-methodological basis for the scientific investigation of the future and for the most consistent and broadest application and utilization of the results of this investigation in practice.

05911

New Legislation Expected To Be Far Reaching
24000100a Prague LIDOVA DEMOKRACIE in Czech
12 May 88 p 1

[Article: "Legislative Program"]

[Text] We are living today in an age that is unique in its own way. An age when the concern is how quickly we can succeed in raising our society to a qualitatively higher level, and create conditions for a more dynamic growth of socialism and an increase of our material as well as spiritual wealth. It is an age which demands of everyone a mobilization of their creative powers, activity, and personal initiative. And it is self-evident that in this far reaching national effort the legislative bodies cannot remain on the sidelines either. After all, everything that is new, that is being created and established today, must be reflected also in our legislation, in our entire legal code.

As L. Strougal recently stated during discussions of the announced program of the CSSR Government in the Federal Assembly, "the legislative program for the immediate future is so far-reaching that it perhaps bears comparison only with the period when we were creating our socialist legal code from the beginning—during the period following February 1948." In no way, however, does this apply only to the economy, even though—considering the extensive national discussion on the draft law on national enterprise, agricultural cooperatives, and residential and consumer cooperatives, and to a certain degree also on the proposed amendment of the labor law—most of the attention of the public has been thus far concentrated on it. Other draft laws in the economic sphere are also ready.

The current legislative program also includes an amendment of the law on national committees which will newly designate or redefine more accurately the scope of their activities, a law is being drafted on housing, the penal code is undergoing an extensive modification, the government also promised to make a proposal for more effective prosecution of corruption, discussions of the proposed new law on social security are nearing completion, etc. Just this far from complete list proves that the changes in our legal code—even though they do not, of course, mean that its character itself will be affected, but that it will be adapted to the conditions of life, society, and economy as they are today—will affect every citizen without exception.

The tenor of these times, that is, the application of the principles of openness in politics and keeping the public informed, brings with it also the gratifying fact that citizens have a much greater opportunity to share directly in the creation of the laws themselves. Public discussion on the proposals for key laws of the restructuring proves that there is an unbelievable interest in such involvement. As if at long last our minds have begun to shed the notion that the creation of laws is a matter for "those above" pure and simple—governments, legislative bodies, or perhaps the central committees of the National Front organizations. A thousand reminders, although more often intuitively felt than concretely formulated, testify to the attention which citizens pay to the legal code, and in the end about the good level of knowledge of the law on the part of the citizenry (even though this knowledge is not always reflected in the practical application of individual laws, for example, where it concerns the still surviving tolerance toward a number of negative social phenomena).

It is obvious that the legislative program makes enormous demands not only on those who draft the new laws, but also on those who give them their final form. The legislator cannot use as his point of departure only the current situation, but also has to anticipate the basic future trends, the nature of the immediate as well as the more remote future and the requirements which they will bring. It is up to him to proceed both analytically and synthetically, to make sure that individual statutes are

not in conflict with each other, to maintain and strengthen the unity and general validity of our legal code. And we cannot proceed with this work hastily, but neither can we procrastinate lest we fall behind, particularly today when new social and economic linkages are being forged. After all, a quality and well-formulated legal code is one of the basic pillars of a well-functioning society.

12605

Not Much Progress in R&D

24000100b *Prague LIDOVA DEMOKRACIE in Czech*
12 May 88 p 3

[Text] (lik): Representatives of the State Commission for Research, Development and Investment in Prague informed newspapermen about the progress in fulfilling the tasks of the state plan in the area of science and technology. And to tell the truth, in spite of many individual successes, results in this area are not very satisfactory. It is shown in practice again and again that in the state plan are included also such tasks for which there is no capacity or financial backing and moreover the technical-economic parameters of the new products, or their marketing possibilities, were poorly estimated to begin with, etc. If we do not succeed in stopping the implementation of such a badly conceived R&D project in time (during the first two years of the Eighth 5-Year Plan 15 projects were aborted, and the freezing of a number of others obviously will not be long in coming...), in the end what will happen is that the new facility will be built, but will bring a substantially lower benefit. This situation also contributes to the increased number of vacant positions—and as a result even existing machinery is not being fully utilized and modern halls with top-of-the-line technology barely manage to run one shift. During the roundtable discussion there was also talk about Czechoslovak participation in the implementation of the Comprehensive Program of Research and Development of CEMA countries, and, last but not least, about how inadequate is the care thus far given here to young people with a aptitude for technology.

12605

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

Demands for Liberalization Voiced at Church Conference

23000110 *Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE ZEITUNG in German* 27 Jun 88 p 4

[Article by Peter Jochen Winters: "Between Luther and Gorbachev"]

[Text] The Protestant Church Conference at Halle, which was the last of four regional church conferences in the GDR and was attended by around 1,800 participants from Thursday through Sunday, was characterized by

clearly uttered expressions of displeasure and protest against the repeated prevention of the publication of three of the five Protestant Church newspapers and theses for restructuring GDR society which lean on the reform ideas of Gorbachev. Martin Luther's word from the year 1520, spoken to the nobles of the German nation, "the time for silence has passed and the time to speak has arrived," could stand as a motto over this church conference whose participants and guests not only got to know the city of Halle in which entire streets have been exposed to deterioration, but were also able to learn firsthand what it means to live under the cover of constant smog caused by highly contaminated air.

In a petition addressed to the press office of the chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers, church conference members expressed their opposition to the fact that, on the basis of press office objections against reporting on the previous church conferences at Erfurt and Rostock, the publication of the church weekly GLAUBE UND HEIMAT (Jena, 36,500 copies), DIE KIRCHE (East Berlin, 42,500 copies), and MECKLENBURGISCHE KIRCHENZEITUNG (Schwerin, 15,000 copies), which were to have a publication date of 26 June, became impossible. As a result of state censorship, these three newspapers had also not been able to print their issues dated 19 June. Subscribers to the newspapers DIE KIRCHE and MECKLENBURGISCHE KIRCHENZEITUNG received a corrected version of the 19 June issue from which the objectionable contributions were missing. The Protestant weeklies in the GDR had been subjected to massive state censorship as early as the spring. The petition calls on the state censorship authority to adhere to the GDR Constitution "so that information received by church readers through the church press will no longer be hampered by censorship in future." The Constitution guarantees freedom of the press, of the radio, and of television and stipulates that the churches are to handle their affairs in agreement with the Constitution.

Fundamental discussions regarding the incursions by the East Berlin Press Office into the reporting of church publication organs are presumed to begin between church and state authorities sometime in July. The church insists that the reporting of church affairs and events, such as church conferences and synods, in church newspapers and by the Protestant News Service is covered by the Constitution and must not be hampered. Following a discussion in the State Secretariat for Church Affairs, Bishop Demke of Magdeburg reported at the Halle conference that a formula for the reestablishment of previous work possibilities for church newspapers in the GDR must now be sought. During a discussion at the podium at the church conference, the SPD politician, Eppler, earned heavy applause when he said he could not understand why one was specifically not allowed to read reports on church conferences in one's own country in church newspapers when all transmissions from the West can be received, seen, and heard in the GDR?

During the same podium discussion, the East Berlin writer, Rolf Schneider, said that the fact that "in the GDR some 1,500 Skinheads profess to be neo-Nazis" constituted a "bankruptcy oath for popular education in the GDR" and that it is a scandal that this is not openly spoken and written about. Among other things, the weekly church newspaper DIE KIRCHE was unable to appeal on 19 June because of a report on Skinheads in the GDR.

"Change Leads Further"

In one of the four "topic-based" working groups of the Halle Church Conference—it dealt with the church conference motto "Change Leads Further" under the aspect of "wherever social renewal is needed"—20 topics presented by a Wittenberg preparatory group were discussed and found broad agreement and are now to be further discussed in the numerous church communities. These theses articulate not only the desires of Protestant Christians in the GDR, but are an expression of a broadly based attitude among the populace, reaching all the way into the SED. Based on Luther's "freedom of a Christian" and referring to Gorbachev's "new thinking" these theses call for social renewal. Among others, they demand that "bureaucratism and abuse of office, conformism, and dogmatism, official arbitrariness and fear of authority" be exposed. The media policy of the GDR is to be changed so that "the complexities and the contradictions of reality are reflected." Because the existing election system has allegedly hampered competition, it is demanded that discernible decision possibilities between several candidates be permitted during elections. Furthermore, codetermination opportunities in all social spheres are to be palpably expanded. Decisions by authorities would have to be justified and, thus, made understandable. The establishment of an "independent administrative court jurisdiction" is also being called for by the theses; as is the renunciation by Communists of the "power-enforced truth monopoly and renunciation of the fundamental social superiority claim."

"Because the peace policy of our country which is directed outward will become more credible and more effective if it is implemented within the society with equal tenacity, we consider it urgent that we make the transition in our entire educational concept, all the way from kindergarten to professional training and beyond from the current system of military training to a system of peaceful conflict resolution"; this is a statement which is contained in one of the theses. At the same time, there is an appeal for overcoming the practices perpetuating the boundary between state and church in the GDR and for a dialogue to build confidence.

"Church Conference From Below"

In this connection, there were numerous expressions of sorrow over the fact that the various podium discussions and other events occurring at the Halle Church Conference were not attended by any Marxists, and no SED

officials. It was further stated that the Marxists who were invited, who would have gladly attended, had to decline again. In the SED it had obviously been decided that party officials and representatives of state institutions—apart from scientists—should not appear at church conference events.

On the periphery of the church conference in Halle it became known that Baerbel Bohley and Werner Fischer, members of the East Berlin initiative "Peace and Human Rights," as well as the cofounder of the "Church From Below," Vera Wollenberger, will be allowed to return to the GDR. All three were arrested at the Liebknecht-Luxembourg demonstration in January in East Berlin, accused of "treasonous contacts" and were forced to emigrate on valid passports. Anglican canon Oestreicher, who had participated in Honecker's international peace forum in East Berlin, said in Halle that Bohley and Fischer could, after a study sojourn in England of 6 months, presumably return to East Berlin in August. He said he had been assured of this in East Berlin by a responsible state representative. Vera Wollenberger could also return, but first intends to continue her theological studies which she has begun in Cambridge.

For the second time, a "church conference from below" had been held in the GDR in conjunction with the Halle Church Conference. It was not sponsored by the preparatory committee of the church conference, but rather by a "basic community" which had been formed in the Christ Church in Halle some time ago. In pamphlets, the organizers of this alternate church conference called themselves the "Church From Below," a group of Christians and non-Christians from Dresden, Jena, East Berlin, and Halle. "We came together under a certain pressure of suffering," it is stated and "we wish to live under new structures." Assurances are given that the basic communities which "extend throughout the land as one great solidarity community" understand how to speak with the state and the church and were seeking a "way to change the quality of life."

From the standpoint of content, the somewhat chaotic "church conference from below" did not manage to produce such an explosive document as did the church conference in Halle with its 20 theses calling for renewal of the society. Obviously, the "church conference from below" was dominated by the green-alternatives of the GDR. What is indicative of this fact is that the first "people's assembly" at the beginning of the "church conference from below" first resolved to pass a "solidarity declaration" involving the occupiers of the Lenne triangle at the wall in West Berlin. This declaration states "that the GDR Government is playing directly into the reactionary cement policies of the West Berlin Senate by selling the Lenne triangle."

05911

HUNGARY

Dissident Demszky Discusses New Regime

23000106a Vienna PROFIL in German 20 Jun 88 p 49

[Article by Gabor Demszky, dissident editor of the samizdat journal HIRMONDO: "A New Compromise"]

[Text] Gabor Demszky, 35, a Hungarian sociologist, is the publisher of the independent samizdat journal HIRMONDO (THE MESSENGER) regularly issued since 1981, and cofounder of the "AB" samizdat publishing house.

The last and inglorious period of Kadarism ended in mid-May, at the time of the extraordinary national conference of the Hungarian "Socialist Workers' Party." Its most prominent representatives have disappeared in the mists of party history.

The Politburo, the top leadership body of the governing party, was compelled to suffer an unprecedented clean sweep: Deputy General Secretary Gyorgy Lazar, President Karoly Nemeth and Gyorgy Aczel who had kept a tight hold on the country's cultural affairs for many years—they all lost their last battle. With them went Budapest Party Secretary Ferenc Havasi, the labor union boss, Sandor Gaspar, and Interior Minister Istvan Horvath. In the last years of their rule, this gerontocracy of the party elite had altogether paralyzed Hungarian political life. Their departure allowed the Hungarian public to draw a deep breath and expect a general loosening.

However, who are the victors of this extraordinary national conference, and why were they able to emerge triumphant? When we scrutinize the list of names and the composition of the new Politburo, we are bound first of all to note its heterogeneity. The long-range ambition of Kadar's successor—Prime Minister Karoly Grosz—appears to be the establishment of unfettered one-man rule. To achieve this goal, he needed to temporarily arrive at a compromise with that section of the party, which feels obligated to carry out reforms. The old-time Kadarists had obstinately clung to power. Grosz was able to get rid of them only by concluding a marriage of convenience with Imre Poszgay, political reformer, who came to prominence as chairman of the Patriotic Popular Front, and with Rezso Nyers, economic reformer and originator of the soon abandoned "New Economic Mechanism" of 1968.

According to a Hungarian political scientist, this pact somewhat resembles the fictitious assumption that, in the spring of 1956, hardliner Erno Gero had concluded an alliance in the Politburo with reform communist Imre Nagy—directed against old-time Stalinist Matyas Rakosi—in order to avoid the foreseeable explosion of October 1956 and to further expand his powers.

This surely temporary cooperation between Grosz and the party's reform-minded wing has certainly created a politically unstable situation in present day Hungary. The remaining gray eminences of the Politburo will obviously be able to influence its future development. After all, the question remains what Kadar's younger followers will do after his fall, people such as Csaba Hamori, chairman of the Communist Youth Association, or Social and Health Minister Dr Judit Cschak. And what party line will be adopted by Miklos Nemeth or Ilona Tatai, the new Politburo members and economic experts?

There is not the slightest doubt that the political change was generated primarily by Grosz who, with great astuteness, managed to propel Kadar into the conservative corner and to build up his status as future general secretary from his prime ministerial job. Grosz is currently in charge of all levers of power: No Hungarian prime minister has had so much power in his hands since Hungary has had a Soviet-type system of government.

As he is now in charge of the "national defense committee," Karoly Grosz also controls state security and the Armed Forces—over and above internal affairs. Since last December he has also handled Hungarian propaganda. Grosz benefited from several tactical mistakes committed by the old Kadarist leaders in the course of preparing for the national conference. As a consequence of their involvement in the meetings of the "Democratic Forum," a discussion group set up by the "populist" intelligentsia, who lately went public with their opinion on some of the acute problems confronting the country, four well-known intellectuals were expelled from the party, including the parliamentary deputy, Zoltan Kiraly, and the political scientist, Mihaly Bihari.

These disciplinary measures caused an uproar in the party, and some sections actually carried out protest actions against the expulsions. The draft report to the national conference—containing nothing except empty verbiage and by a now totally unacceptable bureaucratic phraseology—triggered a similar furor among influential party groups. The text was subjected to extremely severe criticism generally, and the conference finally drafted an entirely new opinion.

In these conditions, it did not take much to produce a script for the coup. The doors to the plenum were opened wide and a large scope granted at the national conference to the voices criticizing the party leaders and reflecting public opinion. Gyorgy Fejti, Central Committee secretary in charge of organizing the conference, was therefore able to prepare the prime minister's assumption of power.

At the same time, the feverish political activity in Hungary this spring does not proceed only under the aegis of the party. The "populist" intelligentsia has been making itself heard by means of the "Democratic Forum," and the "democratic opposition" created the

"network of independent initiatives." The Hungarian intelligentsia is using these political institutions to experiment with handling new methods for exercising political pressure. It is also drafting economic, political and constitutional reforms.

Should Karoly Grosz attempt to move in this direction, he would respond to the burning desire of the Hungarian people. Indeed, he would win their support and trust. The same goes for political reform. The intellectual groups—exercising some influence on Hungarian public opinion—could arrive at a kind of compromise with the party, provided that civil rights are respected in the foreseeable future and that a serious step is taken toward constitutionally guaranteed freedom.

And yet—why should the governing Hungarian party part with any of its absolute powers? It follows logically from the more and more widely claimed demands that the regime might offer political concessions in exchange for the acceptance of the restriction of consumption and other unpopular economic measures. In return for the sacrifices it is called upon to make, the nation would obtain political rights. The result of this haggling might well be a new Hungary, building on a genuine social compromise.

11698

Popular Opposition Halts Nuclear-Waste-Dump Plans

23000106b Vienna PROFIL in German 20 Jun 88 p 50

[Article by Paul Vecsi: "Nuclear Cemetery—No, Thanks"]

[Text] To the visitor, Ofalu in southern Hungary appears a sleepy village, just about 2 hours by car from Budapest. It has some 480 residents (some of them German speaking), a bilingual school, a nursery school, the branch factory of a car firm with 40 employees. In every other way this "primeval village" (the translation of its name) represents a rural idyll: children at play, neat small houses, gentle hills.

However, this romantic mood has gone since experts of the only Hungarian nuclear power plant in Paks cast covetous looks at this region. The gentlemen in the white coats expressed the opinion that this was the ideal location for storing their nuclear waste. Initially the authorities did not object. After all, the choice of this location was backed by the home-produced expert opinions of the nuclear corporation.

Without any prior warning to the residents, excavators and heavy equipment arrived to begin extensive earth moving work. The cost so far amounts to 150 million forint—roughly 37.5 million schillings.

The Paks people had not taken public opinion into account. When the affair of the nuclear cemetery became known, a kind of citizen initiative was born—a first for Hungary. The activists pleaded rather than demanded that the project be studied by independent experts. The power plant people tried to calm their fears by saying that everything was quite safe, tested and approved by the authorities.

The initially mild breeze of direct democracy swelled to a storm: As insisted upon by means of strong protests from all regional representatives was appointed.

The reaction of the media was another totally new phenomenon. Even the main nightly news of the state television service extensively reported the objections against the nuclear waste deposit in Ofalu.

The affair assumed hurricane proportions when the results of the independent expert commission were published: "We consider the designated region unsuitable for a nuclear waste dump," was the summing up in brief official Hungarian. "Nor do we see any prospect for future or repeated studies to alter this verdict."

The 7-man commission listed 27 objections, involving geological, soil related, chemical and hydrological aspects:

—The threat of earthquakes is much greater than permitted by international standards;

—Soil consistency is unsuitable for such a project;

—Various data of the planned dump fail to meet the regulations of the International Atomic Commission, and, moreover;

—Waterways and springs are located within 500 meters of the proposed nuclear waste dump.

Subsequently the water rights department of the Komitat refused to issue the necessary permits. According to the agency, the project was based on "defective data."

The daily MAGYAR NEMZET commented that "such a case is unprecedented in Hungarian environmental control, even the establishment of an independent expert commission was a surprise." The appointment of the experts (the paper continued) was accompanied by strong attempts at intimidation: Anonymous telephone calls had threatened Prof Tibor Szederkenyi, the commission's chairman, with dismissal.

The spokesman for the citizen initiative proudly told the party organ NEPSZABADSAG that, "backed by this expert opinion, we will insist on our opposition to the nuclear cemetery being heard by any and all meetings."

The party newspaper used the public discussion—increasingly proceeding under democratic auspices—to apply its own glasnost: "At last matters are going the way that all our affairs should be going." Public opinion had contributed to "reciprocal checks" by the decisionmakers and made sure that they should learn from possible errors. "In this as in other instances," a democratically open discussion tended to prevent "wrong developments."

MAGYAR NEMZET sardonically commented the value of citizen protests: Citing North American events, the paper summarizes the situation as follows: "If, in a large region, only 10 Eskimos protest the establishment of such a facility, it cannot be built—but there are no Eskimos in Hungary."

Following the heated public discussion, the regional administration withdrew or refused various construction, use and other permits for the planned final refuse dump. Lajos Kovacs, the competent department head of the Komitat administration, said he would not agree to the continued use by the "Paks lot" after mid-June.

Now it is the turn of the Ministry of Health. Hungary needs a nuclear waste dump by 1991 at the latest. By that time the temporary dumps will be full to bursting. The state planners do not even consider cutting back the production of nuclear power—at roughly 50 percent, the share of foreign energy imports is much too great anyway, and also too great is the pollution caused by the thermal power plants, operated mostly with cheap brown coal. Up until now, increased nuclear power production was the alternative. According to official reports, the four Paks blocks last year produced almost 11 million kilowatt hours of electricity. Compared with 1986, this amounts to an almost 50 percent rise. According to the central planning authority, two new blocks are to produce 1,000 megawatt energy from 1994 on.

Illes Bela, deputy minister of health, is now trying to gain time. A decision will be made only in the light of clear and well-documented expert opinions, he said. In the meantime earth moving continues.

According to rumors circulating in Hungary, strenuous test drilling is proceeding in other locations too. Where—that is a strictly kept secret.

11698

Scenarios for Trade Union Representation in Government

25000209a Budapest MUNKÁ in Hungarian
No 6, 1988 pp 32, 33

[Article by Gyorgy Kazimity: "Trade Union and Government"]

[Text] The positions taken by the socio-political committee of the National Council of Trade Unions [SZOT], and theoretical policy issues affecting trade unions have

been presented in several issues of this periodical. Our interview with SZOT vice chairman Gyula Virizlay who also chairs SZOT's socio-political committee, will supplement the published debate on the law of trade unions, on democratic centralism and on the relationship with the party.

[Question] With the increased autonomy of the Council of Ministers more intensive and more substantive relationships may evolve with the trade union. In turn, the movement also endeavors to enforce the interests of its members vis-a-vis the government in a more firm and more direct manner. To what extent were the principles of these relationships developed?

[Answer] As of today, trade unions interact with the governmental decision making system primarily within the framework of the Labor Law. This provides for review and comment, and exceptionally for joint regulatory jurisdiction. Perceptions vary: in the course of shaping the governmental structure some questioned this form of cooperation on grounds that this kind of participation, together with a few other similar licenses, makes trade unions part of the governmental administrative decision making mechanism. For example, the form considered as ideal for wage reconciliation envisions a three-pronged bargaining process in which employers, employees and the power represented by the Economic Chamber, the trade unions and the State Wage and Labor Affairs Office [ABMH] acting on behalf of the Council of Ministers would participate. They emphasize, however, that this model can be implemented only in the long term. At the same time there are others who already at present—although only in regards to specific cases—attribute greater significance to central level trade union interest representation activities within the Economic Chamber, than to negotiations with the government. They support their arguments by saying that excess trade union linkage to the government, to high level state administration retards enterprise autonomy, and at the same time slows down the strengthening of the Economic Chamber's interest representation role, and in general, the firm settling of indirect forms of economic management.

[Question] Would this perception represent some socialist variation of an organized and regulated cooperative corporate practice?

[Answer] We must not agree with this view. The committee also believes that this perception rests on a mistaken understanding and interpretation of the role of trade unions. The government is our partner, not the Chamber. Whenever necessary, we will, of course closely cooperate with the Chamber, but not on the basis of partnership. The Chamber is not a state administrative organization. There are other endeavors which advocate the establishment of an interest representation council, in which trade unions would be one of several participants. In our view this would place governmental organs into the comfortable position of being the deciding

judge. I do not agree with this perception. From a political standpoint one must distinguish between organizations, movements and the rest of the institutions which represent interests, or between the associations and the trade unions. The mention of social organizations and organizations that represent interests without naming specific organizations—and this happens frequently nowadays—blurs the essential differences between organizations as well as their real content.

[Question] Accordingly, trade unions, in their role of being political workshops continue to share the exercise of power, moreover they wish to participate in the workings of government, in their established relationships with the government more forcefully and more directly than before....

[Answer] This is even more so because, as I mentioned before, the autonomy and the responsibility of the government is on the increase. Therefore one can expect that the conditions for joint creative work involving trade unions and the government will be more favorable than before. Weaker trade unions cannot be in the interest of the government either. And the opportunity for trade unions to influence the government is not barred by any kind of political consideration, legal barriers or theoretical foundations.

[Question] We may add to this that restricting the influence and the role of trade unions in the context of their cooperative efforts with the government would be damaging because in this day and age the situation, interest representation and control function of wage earners and salaried employees has become more important than ever before. Accordingly, trade unions do not wish to further strengthen their influence as a result of some selfish reason.

[Answer] As is well known, economic and social changes affect workers more profoundly and in more respects, and at the same time increasingly render workers as victims of infringements of socialist principles and laws, as well as of the effects of incompetent management. For this reason today's workers need a strong and influential trade union more than ever before—one that possesses appropriate functional and legal-political guaranties. For all these reasons we should be representing trade union endeavors which aim for the acquisition of appropriate rights for organizations within the movement, with respect to governmental decisions affecting the living and work conditions of wage earners and salaried persons.

[Question] And how about trade union opposition to governmental work?

[Answer] This is not a matter of opposition. The trade union vantage point focuses on workers' interests, and this serves as a basis for our approach to the decisions of the state. At the same time we are taking into consideration the possibilities of governance. We do not want to

accomplish limitations in the state's work. Instead we want to achieve greater influence through the further strengthening of mechanisms which provide for control, cooperation and guaranties. We do not seek special privileges, instead we want to acquire appropriate operational conditions for the most comprehensive organization of workers. Despite the continuously worsening economic and political situation the trade unions continue to strengthen confidence in socialism and the stability of power. But it can be seen already that the present functioning of trade unions is not always responsive to needs, to the realization of the unions' interest protection function. For these reasons change is needed.

[Question] If trade unions participate in the government's work more independently and at the same time more closely also, such participation would also suggest the need for new methods and means of approach....

[Answer] In modifying the Constitution they will probably promulgate a law concerning social organizations, perhaps a separate law concerning trade unions. In the course of drafting such law there will be an opportunity to define in more detail the intents of trade unions, and a more specific legal regulatory framework. The already mentioned trade union objective, i.e. that unions acquire appropriate rights in regards to the formulation of governmental decisions affecting the living and working conditions of workers and retired persons, is also consistent with general political and economic policy considerations. And let the National Assembly or the party decide, if no agreement is reached between trade unions and the government.

[Question] Strike cannot be an appropriate means.

[Answer] The necessity of strikes has also emerged in the course of debate. During the past decades we viewed strikes as an unacceptable means under socialist conditions. Doubtless, strikes can be unnecessary, moreover they can be expressly damaging as long as trade union organizations are capable of resolving, or at least moderating conflicts within the legal framework. Experience also indicates however, that the actions taken have proved to be insufficient, and therefore conflicts cannot always be contained within the legal framework.

[Question] Let us revert to the basic issue. Trade unions want to intensify their cooperative efforts with the Council of Ministers so that the unions can independently and continuously involve themselves in issues affecting the workers. What does this mean in terms of methods of approach?

[Answer] It means many things. It means that the representative of trade unions would participate in the sessions of the Council of Ministers. It means that bilateral conferences with governmental leaders would continue. It would add a new color if in regards to individual issues of importance there would be joint sessions of the full bodies of the Council of Ministers and of the SZOT

presidium. We may also view some SZOT positions as new methods, such as for instance the idea of correspondent offsetting in the event that inflation exceeds the planned rate of increase.

[Question] And at the branch level, and at enterprises?

[Answer] Collective agreements in Hungary do not carry as much weight, are not as forceful means as they are in certain capitalist countries. This cannot be justified. In the future, under circumstances in which enterprises function more independently, collective agreements may acquire a role in which the interests of stabilization and of the community are better expressed. Collective agreements may become the most important contracts in workplaces and even within branches. Compliance with these agreements may take place under the control of the entire community, and this would enable workers to be part of the interest reconciliation and fulfillment process.

[Question] The committee debate suggests that principles underlying the relationship between trade unions and the government require further clarification. Would you make reference to the topics within this issue?

[Answer] I will only provide some indications: can the idea be sustained that trade unions sharing power should accept full responsibility, i.e. "we made a joint decision, therefore we must jointly accept the advantages as well as the disadvantages"? Or: is it necessary that trade unions by all means support every governmental action taken under the force of constraints? As long as interest protection and interest representation becomes the "primary" trade union function, and all of our other functions become subordinate to this function, this places the emphasis on the idea of "standing in opposition." But how far can we proceed along this line? There are a number of issues that need to be clarified. But there are some in which our position is firm. Interest reconciliation based on the relationship of equals must acquire a greater role in the future relationship between trade unions and the government.

12995

Csoori Discusses Views, His Opposition Image
25000200 Budapest BUDAPEST in Hungarian
May 1988 pp 29-32

[Interview with writer, poet Sandor Csoori, by Tibor Muller: "This World Must Be Created Not Only From the Top Down, but Also From the Grassroots Up"]

[Text] They say that having reached the age of 30, one is responsible for his facial features. I will agree with this statement by all means if it means that one's features reflect one's character. Sandor Csoori's already colorful and rich work of life portrays a masculinely congenial, strongly expressive man with a questioning, scrupulous soul. He is a creative person who takes responsibility for

every word he writes, for each of his thoughts—a man capable of debating and agreeing with honor, of raising questions and responding, as well as of searching and finding. One need not believe in him in order to like his consistent clarifying will and his redeeming energetic approach.

[Question] Jenő Alföldy, a man we must presume knows you well because he has dealt with, praised and analyzed your poetry quite often, says that he hardly knows a more personable writer than you. I get the impression, however, that this statement does not apply to Sandor Csóori, the private person. You grant very few interviews. Why is that?

[Answer] A private person and a writer? Can one imagine such an artificial separation of the two? A toothache could not do that. But fate, society and even love are also incapable of such differentiation. So then, let's not step into that dead-end street, either. I do not grant interviews not because some restless private person places obstacles in my way of granting interviews. There is another reason. The reason during the past ten years, for instance, was the fact that I was politically unacceptable. During that period I was permitted to cross the threshold of the Hungarian Radio only once, and that of Television not even once. Shall I go on listing the newspapers, periodicals and most literary journals, with the exception of the discontinued *TISZATAJ*? I won't list them. In the end you may think I'm complaining, even though far be it from me to complain. I have accepted all the punishment with my head raised high and with a quiet smile: I knew I was treading the right path. Persons treated unjustly most of the time come closer to the truth. And this is how I came to understand why I was the wrong person to be interviewed. Most interviews are sought from successful people. From those who stand in the front row, from high riders. A slip of the tongue almost made me say: from the "pros." Interviews are not sought from those who struggle with the world and have doubts. How did Leonardo put it? The one who does not have doubts will not get too far.... Don't misunderstand me, I do not underestimate pros. To the contrary: their preparedness, their quality of being polished, always attracts my attention. But I know that they are the existential loyalists, the highhanded, the indispensable, and that they have less frequent moral scruples than those who from the outset do not endeavor to be successful. A good number of the pros has wings: they soar smoothly over abysses. A writer like myself must descend to all kinds of depths by foot, and if he gets out of those depths he does so with great difficulty and his entire life will be full of bruises.

[Question] Unless you object, let's descend to those depths together.

[Answer] It depends into which depths?

[Question] Let's say into your childhood. I read in one of your books that you felt strange doing that also.

[Answer] You may have misread that, or you read it at the wrong moment. Out of my 58 years I spent 46 in the city, and 12 in the countryside. In other words, my childhood represents village life. And I am convinced that without those 12 years I would have become nothing. Whenever someone utters the words "water," "river," "vineyard," "corn-stalk" or "violet," the first thought that occurs is the well, the river and the courtyard at home. The goose pond at village end in which moonlight shines just like the wing of a shot down American bomber. Not only my language, but all my perceptions indelibly tie me to those years. I was fortunate to have traveled across half the world: from Argentina to Georgia [USSR], the United States, Finland, Switzerland, Israel, Italy, Cuba and Bulgaria—and I could go on listing an equal number of countries—nevertheless my instinctive comparisons always conjure up those years at Zamoly. It represents the ancient times of my emerging senses. This happened most recently in the desert of Judea. We stood there under the scorching sun, in the midst of sand dunes reminiscent of the moon. Then the organizing memory entered: I recalled those heaps of soil at the bauxite mine of Gant. They are the frightening, magnificent reminders of dead soil. And within myself I once again discovered the budding ability to be amazed: however lifeless things may be, their pure dimensions will carry me away.

In Zamoly I lived a full life among peasants, as nature's creature. In the community of trees, meadows and animals. I can add to these, quite naturally, the sudden summer showers, hail storms and the wind which on occasion made the top of haystacks float above the gardens, and also the cemetery, the dead carried out on shoulders, and God, who steps on my chest while taking His walk. But His steps will not cave in my chest. I flourish as a result of those steps like a cherry tree. I am superstitious ... just look out the window; there, across from my window you can see two huge poplar trees. I imagine those two poplars as restitution for my childhood. There were four poplar trees across the street from our house in the Simon's back yard. I felt as if I were flying whenever the wind made them hum. I felt the rush of air at the roots of my hair.

[Question] So, you liked village life?

[Answer] Yes, I did. But at the time I lived there I could not imagine that I could live anywhere else. Szekesfeharvar was 13 kilometers from our village, yet it seemed so distant as if another human species had lived there. Even today I recognize Zamoly as the first little society. Ever since then I haven't been able to find a similar community anywhere. I did not know any so-called cultured persons in that village, but I found several people who could be described as colorful, piquant, smart and wise. In retrospect I feel good about the fact that not unlike air, common sense was distributed evenly and judiciously on Earth. No more were allotted to villages than to cities. Had this not been so, that immense folk culture would

not have been born—in music, poetry, dance, embroideries, sayings, and in the classic stories of the narrative arts, the spirit of which sustained a greater part of the Hungarian people through several centuries. Because, for instance, the singing of folk songs, the dance house movement not only reconnect us, the people of Hungary, with the past which has been artificially severed, they also rejoin Hungarians residing beyond our borders, and primarily the people of Transylvania and the North [now in Czechoslovakia]. Our folk culture sprung up from new fountains in Transylvania and in the North, following the collecting works of Bartok, Kodaly, Laszlo Lajtha and others. The spiritual and intellectual reserves of Hungarian cohesion in the Carpathian Basin emerged from these fountains. Who could have denied that the two worlds were linked by hot Gulf Streams whenever the youth sang folk songs from Csikmenasag or from Szek in Budapest? I recall the days when I kept so busy with songs, dances, carving, embroidery and the stylistic concerns of instrumental folk music that many believed I switched from belles-lettres to ethnography.

[Question] Were you trained for that?

[Answer] I was far removed from any and all scientific, specialized methodology, but with the poet's ability to enter into the spirit of things, and with the rays of aesthetics and of philosophy I was able to shed light on areas which thus far went scientifically unnoticed. I was able to retrieve these pieces of folk poetry from under a deposit of 100-150 years of commonplace statements.

[Question] Are you saying that self-education and freelance research are more advantageous in certain fields, as compared to professionalism?

[Answer] I would drown in mediocre reasoning if I were to analyze this issue. Each finds his own happiness in the teaming mysteries of the world. I, for example, begin all my writings on the basis of an obscure, inner motivation, in response to a whisper that makes my heart beat, but I worry and I am heavy-handed when I continue. I begin a longer essay the way I begin to climb a mountain: only after careful preparation. Perhaps a specialized scientist would not do otherwise either. Perhaps I would not be so anxious if I had finished my university studies. But with my background of non-systematic studies I am able to acquire culture at work. In the dramatic tension between having and not having knowledge. In situations filled with emotions and thought. In these situations the expansion and clarification of knowledge concerning myself is as important as subject knowledge. This also shows more or less that I view writing as a moral act.

[Question] A moment ago you seemed bitter about the university. Why couldn't you finish it? Were those the days when young Sandor Csoori began writing poetry?

[Answer] This is a rather complicated case. I will try to describe it briefly. I graduated in 1950 at the Reformed Church Gymnasium of Papa. But I became a reporter of

the local NEPUJSAG already while in seventh grade. This was a promising course for a fledgling writer! Immediately after graduation I was transferred to the county newspaper in Veszprem. One or two years, and I would become a chief contributing editor, I thought in those days. And from my position as chief contributing editor it would not be that difficult to move upwards to a national newspaper as a reporter, or even more so, as an editorial writer. My editor-in-chief Imre Laszlo put a damper on my expectations. He was a social democrat offended to the marrow of his bone. He tried to govern me by using abrupt words and a sour smile. He enlightened me to the effect that if I wanted to become a writer in the countryside, I may bury my ideas already at that time deep under the Bakony mountains, in the shade of roadside leaves along the ditch, because in the countryside the opportunity to tell the truth and to tell lies is less than say, in Budapest. "If you don't want your brain to shrink to the size of a dried prune, the best thing for you to do is to get out of here and move to Budapest—enroll at the university," he rounded out the above admonition. At that point a peculiar acquaintance unexpectedly reinforced his argument. The University of the Chemical Industry was just being built in those days in Veszprem, and NEPSZAVA dispatched a reporter to describe the ongoing construction work. This reporter was Gyorgy Faludy. The famous Faludy who prepared a literary translation of Villon's ballads. Imre Lorand not only introduced me to Faludy, but assigned me, as a young future writer to accompany him: to follow him, to help him, to arrange interviews for him according to his wishes. This assignment was one of the great gifts I received in life. In the person of Faludy, Hungarian literature itself dropped in for a visit to Veszprem. Yes, it was literature itself alive, because the most I have seen of this writer was pictures. I obviously exaggerated this feeling, but in his handshake I felt those of Babits, Attila Jozsef, Radnoti and Illyes. And I sensed their words in his utterances. Accompanying him I noticed that Faludy was more interested in the old town than in the university building under construction. The walls and cloister stones which radiated history were of more interest to him than steel and concrete joists which at the time became part of modern poetry. This slow-moving poet radiated culture. At one point he talked about the Baroque centuries, then switched to the Hungarian medieval ages, and then to Paris.

[Question] Was it then that you decided to discontinue your career in journalism and to apply at the university?

[Answer] Yes. I applied at the School of Philosophy of the Budapest University of Sciences, but they did not accept me. As I found out later, the fact that I graduated from a parochial school was considered a bad mark on my scorecard. They accepted me without question, of course, to the Russian Institute of the university. My Protestant background made no difference there. It did not count because they were almost throwing lassos to enroll students in the Russian Institute. Disappointed, I too applied, but I had in mind learning Russian and

French which would enable me to translate and to thus enter the realm of literature. Unfortunately, this institute, the predecessor of the Lenin Institute, seemed very alien to me. Even the paint peeled off the walls according to the laws of Marxism and Stalinism. To top it off, the student body was buzzing with "anointed" informers. I could hardly manage to free myself from that trap. My illness served as my real excuse. It was insidiously progressing tuberculosis. Sometime during that spring they happily registered me for the draft, and I was found fit to serve. But two weeks after registration I suddenly fell ill. As it turned out I had a walnut size lesion on my lungs. A nice little registration board, I can say in retrospect. Four or five days later they took me to the Hegyfalú sanatorium. I found clear Alpine air and endless boredom there. They treated me for half a year, as long as I was contagious, thereafter they returned me home to my parents in Zamoly. I got home precisely during those times of insanity when peasants were deprived of everything, like country people burdened with bounty payments in times of war. They confiscated whatever the peasants produced, and took away their purpose for life and their self-respect. Dilettant, buffoon politicians and local leaders directed village life with hair-raising stupidity. It so happened because of a shortage of seeds, fall sowing was delayed until December. They were not interested in the fact that one cannot sow just before Christmas. The plan had to be fulfilled by any means. I still hear the drum beat and the menacing call: all peasants show up with horses and gear to sow wheat. Even today I recall those apocalyptic movie scenes. Three hundred peasants in faded clothes dragging themselves through the mud. They'd fall, get up, laugh hysterically in torment, throwing wasted seed to the wind. A noisy skyful of crows pursues its sneaky watch: dive just above the mud then devour the last seed that was dropped.

[Question] Is this the time when young Sandor Csoori began to write poetry?

[Answer] I had been writing poetry for a very long period of time already. Rather, in those days I began to talk politics. I could not accept quietly what was happening to the country. Seeds were not sown in the land; they were full of weeds. Peasants let their animals loose. It was prohibited to slaughter animals, but peasants were unable to watch their torment either. I supported my parents out of the scholarship money received from the literary fund. I wrote pamphlets in poetry. One of them was called "Pamphlet." In retrospect I believe that in 1952 they could have arrested me for that title alone. But this did not cross my mind at all in those days. I sent my poems to two periodicals. Both returned them accompanied by quiet, threatening letters. In the end I sent all my poems to Illyes, together with an eight page letter of incitement: let him be aware of the terrible world we live in! I thought that he was unaware of our world. He did not mention it in any of his writings. How could I have known that by then Illyes had completed his poem "One Sentence About Tyranny." Unfortunately, he did not

respond. A few months later I approached him at a conference held by the Young Writers Working Group in Budapest. I inquired whether he had seen my poems and what his opinion was. I saw them, he said, but I suggest that you write love poems instead of political poems. How could I do that when I'm not in love? Do it, he said firmly, and it was only later that I understood what he said; that he was afraid for me.

[Question] Whatever happened to these poems?

[Answer] They were published after the announcement of the 1953 Imre Nagy government program.

[Question] I gather that politics meant a lot to you from the start. And since then?

[Answer] Unfortunately yes.

[Question] Why unfortunately?

[Answer] The one who wears comfortable shoes is unaware of his feet. But let's depart from figurative speech. In earlier days certain "private areas" of life were avoided by politics. These included family, the community of friends, religion within its definable limits, the arts, and so on and so forth. Today all this was expropriated by the political sphere—I could say that the political sphere nationalized all of our existence. The spirit of our age in these days does not provide much opportunity for the individual to find solutions to his life's problems. Various powers created a situation for individuals in which everything serves as a solution: the postponement or derailment of resolutions alike. And to top it off the political sphere can present itself always with typical and advertisement-like suggestions because it is not stratified and is temporal. Therefore we must live with the political sphere in a state of full involvement, so that we learn how each and every one of its muscles works and so that we try to defend ourselves against those muscles. We already know that only the personal spirit is really capable of understanding, rejoicing and setting goals. Thus the political sphere is of interest only not unlike some eternal adversary. I could perceive it as a companion also, but in order to do so politics indeed would have to be transformed into art.

[Question] The few thoughts you just described could serve as an essay outline. Doesn't the multiplicity of genres disturb you? One of your admirers writes that a respectable part of your poems is part of the classics of Hungarian literature, and notes that as a writer of prose you are continuously in the forefront. How should we interpret this?

[Answer] Let's not judge prematurely. Not even in a favorable way. Some writers are elevated by praise—I get depressed. Classic values? We're just throwing some heavy words around. Don't pay attention to some light critics.... I began to write prose when poetry failed. My sociographic work "Report From the Tower" was first.

Upon reading it Jozsef Darvas said that I should undertake the writing of the great novel of this era. "You possess the linguistic aptitude, the ability to create tension, the metaphysical vibration which is often lacking from prose writers—the one capable of floating a horse mane in the sky and the dead underground." I got all excited about the praise and the task, but unfortunately, thus far I have not written that great novel.

[Question] As long as we're discussing prose: your latest volume of essays, "Preparations for Reckoning" drew significant attention. Without an exception, all critics use the term "public life." Istvan Nemeskurty, however, states that "In reading this volume one wonders why certain grumblings contained in the volume were accompanied by outrage and by curiosity eager to discover scandal. After all, by now Csoori's warnings have become commonplace statements in daily newspapers. Even state officials and tax collectors prepared to make statements at the spur of the moment use harsher terms than what is contained in the disciplined sentences of the writer who makes use of the word—the tool of his trade." I am stressing this point because the spiciest aspect of your work as an essayist is of your being in the opposition. Could you comment on this?

[Answer] Gladly, but let me first say something about Nemeskurty. It is true that what I've been trying to say for the past 15 or 20 years by now sounds like decorous rhetoric. I was banned for these statements in those days, however. It was banning, censorship and limitations even until recently. I remained a frightening scarecrow mainly in the countryside. In the eyes of county potentates. They did not read any of my writings, nevertheless I heard of them many times by way of slanderous circulars. Of course it was easier to angrily scold an unknown, mythologized figure than to conduct an introspective examination of conscience and state how things really are, say for example in regards to the case of Hungarian minorities, and other similar concerns. By now it has become part of our profession to list these miseries, but one was not permitted to raise these issues 15 years ago. Meanwhile we fail to notice that we do not cure our problems as a result of our hurried, superficial mouthing. We only manage to numb those problems, then bury them alive. The boring repetition of truth is capable of disarming a nation in the same way as do the most stringent prohibitions. Only our apathy will increase, not our ability to act. There is nothing that can be improved on our looks—we are revolving within an illusory circle. We must break out of that circle at one point. Accordingly my belonging to the opposition is none other than an attempt to break out.

Let's admit: for years in Hungary the idea of opposition caused continuous fright. As if that word had the meaning of some original sin. Because, as you know, the opposition undermines, disintegrates and hinders, and with its admitted coups and as a moral terrorist it disturbs the consensus. All these are distressing views. It took patience and a healthy nervous system to tolerate

these slanderous remarks. This is so because according to a different logic, the opposition is indispensable in any decent society. How does the saying go? The one familiar with an issue only from his own vantage point is not really familiar with the issue. This, of course, applies not only to the individual, but also to the governing power. But let's approach this issue from another point-of-view. From the standpoint of philosophy and history. Thus far in human history ideas that produced change did not originate from the masses. They originated from individuals. The masses may be strong, huge or revolutionary, but never heretic. In and of itself this fact supports the idea that the opposition has an "inherent right" to exist. This is so because if the force of changes and of making changes matures in individuals, in the beginning those individuals themselves would be opposed to that very community which they wish to redeem. I recall when in 1977 thirty-four of us signed a statement supportive of the Czech Charter. Several individuals, including some of my friends removed themselves from my company. Why should Csoori join an alliance with the radical opposition and interfere with the internal affairs of a neighboring country? Should I have explained to them that my signature meant more than a statement of solidarity with the Czechs? It also represented a statement of the need for autonomy in behalf of Central European intelligentsia. It was testimony to the effect that society becomes totally blunted in the absence of opposition. Unfortunately, some writers also appeared concerned about my activities and daredevil conduct, even though their gut feeling should have suggested that any good writer necessarily must be in the opposition. Any new work must emanate from the writer's viewpoint of opposition to reality. Generally speaking, in these days the world is "presented" to people through television, illustrated magazines and movies. But these "presentations" often amount to no more than "show-offs." It is no coincidence that images thus conveyed soon fade away. I know from personal experience that writings and literature can only stand on their own feet if they come into conflict with reality. This is so because reality lacks faith, and one cannot write without faith.

[Question] Do you think that the anger aimed at the opposition has somewhat abated?

[Answer] Definitely. It took ten years and a few officials to say that there is a need for an opposition. Only in words of course, for the time being. The opposition does not have any more room to act than before. Every advance made by the opposition must be achieved through sweat and blood. But that does not matter. The opposition knows that this system ["world"] was created from the top down, and that the time has come to establish it from the grassroots up. This, however, requires a newspaper, an independent paper in which the spirit can harden itself and exercise continuously. All of us are aware of Stuart Mill's idea: "No one should expect as much freedom of action, as freedom of thought." If we accept this thesis it would be appropriate to expect those in power not to restrict us in shaping our views. Yes, this

would be justified and appropriate. The only problem is that this is an illusion nurtured by young students only. The psychology of power has more spasms, it is more suspicious. I have been watching for at least a quarter of a century that those in power will accept intelligent, smart people. But they will not accept people whose character and conduct is as strong as their brains. Namely the brain can be expropriated and used. Character cannot. Or if character can be expropriated and used, it will instantly bleed to death. What do I wish to convey with all this? That by virtue of their one-sidedness politicians weaken only themselves. In olden days a politician was able to retain his greatness even if he ended up losing. Just think of Kossuth, Szecenyi and Deak, moreover, in certain respects even Tisza. They retained their greatness because in the course of their struggles they were able to mobilize great human virtues. And these individuals, like dramatic heroes retain the nobility of their will even in their state of collapse. In our days a politician remains a politician only as long as he is in power. He knows nothing the moment he loses power. Not even about power.

[Question] We're running out of time, and we have not discussed poetry.

[Answer] But we have mentioned it. And even if we had not involved poetry in the substance of our discussion, we always walked close by. The hidden theme of our conversation was the establishment of the autonomy of the spirit and of morality. The achievement of the rights of the authentic personality. And a poet cannot be imagined without these. Nor can poetry. The volume you mentioned: "Preparations for Reckoning" contains a rather lengthy study about poetry. A chapter dissects the relationship between personality and the absence of personality in today's lyrics. Ever since the age of romanticism debate on this subject always gets rekindled. It is possible that under today's circumstances, together with Illyes, Agnes Nemes Nagy and others I am producing "aesthetic propaganda" along with poetry devoid of personality. But at present I cast my vote for the assumption of personality. Not for the vain self-consciousness of the individual, but for the self-search of the ego, for the self-establishing morality of the ego which can be shared by others. Civilization and politics increasingly overwhelm the individual, and within the individual blunt his sensitivity for morality. In these days only the one can see who is also capable of loving; the one who dares to look at himself in sharp focus, the one not afraid of lending his face to passion, the one, who although anxious, takes personal risks also in everyday life. The threats presented by the lack of personality and the conquering of lack of personality go unnoticed in this day and age. The poet—a specialist in personality—must rise against the threats and the conquerings of lack of personality. The use of singular, first person statements by poets constitutes no show-off. It represents incarnation. A never-to-be-repeated concrete fact. Perhaps if I had not witnessed and seen in documentaries the masses of victims produced by the wartime loss of personality—

the naked dead thrown into ditches, and later the mediocre representatives of dictatorships—perhaps then I would not be as strong with my demand for the presence of personality around me: the credibility of faces and handshakes, and of words and works of art.

[Question] Do you view yourself as one who hails from Budapest?

[Answer] I've never given any thought to this kind of thing. I've been living in Budapest for more or less 35 years. Only the hills of Esztergom lure me away from here for longer or shorter periods of time. The walnut trees, the gooseberry shrubs and the acacias in the midst of which pheasants cry. But a few days later I once again escape to Budapest. I would probably no longer be able to live in a village. It happened in New York that I became aware of the fact that I have turned into a stubborn urbanite. My friends insisted on showing me the American countryside. I dissuaded them. I preferred to remain in the "sinful city," on the grand stage of human imagination and enterprise.

12995

POLAND

Polish-Cuban Friendship Society Officials Meet
26000410e Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish
28-29 May 88 p 2

[“New Officials of the Polish-Cuban Friendship Society”—PAP report]

[Text] Five years of activity of the Polish-Cuban Friendship Society were evaluated on 27 May in Warsaw by the general meeting of delegates of that organization. New officers of the society were elected. The new chairman of the Governing Board is General of Arms Antoni Jasinski, deputy minister of national defense.

Taking part in the deliberations were: Chairman of the Council of the Society for Friendship With Other Nations, Jozef Tejchma and Secretary General of the Polish Committee for Solidarity With the Peoples of Asia, Africa, and Latin America, Jerzy Markiewicz.

The Charge d'Affaires of the Embassy of Cuba Juan Sanchez Monroe met with the participants in the meeting.

1386

Soviet, Polish Historians Meet With Pope
26000410f Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish
6 May 88 p 4

[Article by (W): "The Pope Meets With Historians of the East and West"]

[Text] Rome (PAP)—In Rome was held an international symposium on the beginnings and development of Slavonic-Byzantine Christianity, organized by the Italian Institute for the History of the Middle Ages and the Polish Institute for Christian Culture in Rome.

It was attended by historians from East and West Europe, including some from the USSR Academy of Sciences and research centers in Moscow, Minsk, and Leningrad. A large number of Polish academics, both from Poland and representatives of the Polonia, also attended. A proof of the respect for their contributions to the subject discussed at the symposium was the entrusting of chairmanship of part of the deliberations to Professor Aleksander Gieysztor of Warsaw University and Professor Jerzy Kloczkowski of Lublin University. The paper by Professor Juliusz Bardach of Warsaw University met with considerable interest.

On 5 May Pope John Paul II met with the symposium participants.

1386

Civil Law Amendments Necessary to Reform Effort
26000415f Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish
31 May 88 p 2

[Text] On 30 June [as printed], during a meeting at the SD PRL Social-Legal Journalists Club, it was stated that in the current phase of changes in the country's economy, the role and significance of civil law as the basic regulator of economic activity should increase.

In this way, the civil-legal norms, which assume the equality of all economic units, would become stimulators of the reform by occupying the position of an omnipotent administrative law in an orders-distribution system. The guests of the journalists were members of the Commission for Civil Law Reform appointed by the premier.

"The work of two working teams of the commission," informed Deputy Minister of Justice Jan Brol, "has concentrated its attention on, among other things, such important matters as the problems of state ownership, civil-legal agreements, commercial joint ventures, the protection of personal property, turnover with stocks and bonds, and the functioning of economic jurisdiction. The commission proposed the most pressing changes with regard to amending the substantive civil law and that of legal proceedings. A draft plan has already been

worked out of the law regarding the principle of nominalism in calculating liabilities and assumptions have been prepared for the future law on commercial joint ventures as well as a draft plan of a law on economic courts which would replace the current arbitration derived from the orders system.

During the meeting, the annual club awards were handed out. Two second place awards were given to editors: Piotr Ambroziewicz (PRAWO I ZYCIE) and Stanislaw Podemski (POLITYKA). The third place award was given to Krystyna Juskiewicz (GLOS POMORZA).

9853/12232

PZPR Commissions Review POP, Aktivs' Efforts Under 'New Conditions'
26000415h Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish
31 May 88 p 2

[Article by Anna Pawlowska: "The Search for Severe and Just Measures"]

[Text] "The times are such that an aktiv wishing to have written in bold print what it is to do, will not advance party work," remarked Provincial Committee First Secretary Adam Bartosiak during a meeting of the CC Commission for Intraparty Matters and Party Activity in Representative Agencies and in the State Administration which was held on 30 May under the chairmanship of Politburo member and CC Secretary Jozef Baryla.

The awareness that the times are difficult accompanied the entire discussion devoted to the assessment of the work effectiveness of provincial party organizations in 1987 and the implementation of the resolution of the Fourth Plenum on the basis of the course of reports meetings (the installation of the director of the CC Political-Organizational Department, Stanislaw Gabrielski) as well as information about the elections campaign for people's councils (the installation of Witold Gadomski, assistant director of this department).

We have already written about the system of party work evaluation based on point indexes and self-evaluations when this system was initially tested in several selected provinces. Currently, the commission has at its disposal normal overall results. Its members, in large measure directly concerned KW first secretaries, assessed the functioning of the system favorably stressing that not all elements of party activity yield to such evaluations.

That which seems particularly important and worthy of recognition can be formulated as follows: the party itself, its aktiv feels the need for the objective and free of laxity assessment of its own activity. In this endeavor, there is no tendency to embellish the picture or search for justifications. It was decided to direct the prepared results of the assessments of the past year to the Central Committee Secretariat along with a proposal regarding the need for further modification of the system.

The reports meetings of POP [basic party organization] (the obligation for them to be held annually was established by the 10th Congress) were recognized as a verification of the self-dependence of basic organizations and their ability to have an impact on the community. The achievements of the Fourth CC Plenum devoted to the work of POP have become an important aid in conducting these verifications. A more inclusive approach of POP toward those with no party affiliation, the setting in motion of party control functions, and the development of cooperation with large social organizations—these were considered to be the first effects of the evaluations. However, it was stressed that this is only the beginning of a long road to the finding by the POP of their proper place in the reformed economy and in the reformed community life. The reports meetings that were held during the period of price operations were characterized by very apparent criticism no smaller than the general public criticism. However, there was frequently a lack of skill or desire to influence moods and even more to set in motion initiatives that would subdue the effects of price increases. Much attention in the discussion was devoted to the apprehensions of the aktiv pertaining to the directions of the changes occurring in the country. The commission decided to support the proposal of the CC Political-Organizational Department regarding the conducting of a general discussion prior to the National Conference of Delegates on the style and methods of party work under the new conditions.

During the meeting of the commission, there was a lack of a critical and self-critical tone. Kazimierz Paryszek (Ciechanow) spoke about setbacks in the development of party ranks; Elzbieta Rutkowska (Kedzierzyn-Kozle) about the shortcomings of contacts between delegates and councillors, and party echelons; Czeslaw Borowski (Konin) proposed the thorough restructuring of party training in the direction of tying it in to the character of the activity of individual party members; in referring to the great number of candidates for councillors, which considerably exceeds even the possibility of placing them on election lists, Jan Nowak called for not losing from sight those for whom there was "no room" because they proved themselves by the action of their community activity since they did, after all, get nominated and accepted the proposal to run for office. Marian Wysocki (Zamosc) called attention to the fact that the "peasant villages" are undergoing a rebuilding process, that a 5-hectare farmer is no longer of importance in terms of production and that these processes cannot catch the party by surprise. Jerzy Sypek (Czestochowa) and Stanislaw Kalkus (Poznan) warned about the formal, bureaucratic treatment of the system of party work evaluation. Jozef Gwozdz (Katowice) tried to find the reason for the rather small attendance at preelection meetings in the rough calculation of proposals accepted for implementation during the last council elections campaign whereas Tadeusz Wysocki (Warszawa) expressed himself with concern for party influence on youth.

9853/12232

Party Activities Calendar 11-24 Apr 1988

26000436a Warsaw ZYCIE PARTII in Polish
No 9, 4 May 88 p 23

[Unattributed report: "Party Chronicle: 11-24 April 1988"]

[Text]

Meetings of the Central Committee Politburo

12 April. Members of the party leadership visited employees in plants in Poland and discussed the most important economic and social problems with the workers.

Jozef Baryla and Manfred Gorywoda were in the Metallurgical Plant and refinery in Trzebinia.

Alfred Miodowicz was at Radoskora in Radom.

Wlodzimierz Mokrzyszczak was in the Pronit Plant in Pionki.

Zygmunt Muranski was in the Mining Rubber Goods Plant in Bytom.

Marian Orzechowski was in the Lucznik Metal Plants in Radom.

Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski was in the Agromet Agricultural Machinery Factory in Lublin.

Zofia Stepien was in the Electro-Metallurgical Plants in Biachownia.

Marian Wozniak was in the K. Swierczewski Precision Products Factory in Warsaw.

Stanislaw Bejger was in the Lenin Shipyards in Gdansk.

Zbigniew Michalek was in the Voivodship Meat Industry Enterprise in Kielce and in the Fruit and Vegetable Processing Plants in Pianczow.

Janusz Kubasiewicz was in the Lot Polish Airlines in Warsaw.

Gabriela Rembisz was in the Ponar-Wiepofama Special Lathe Factory in Poznan.

Stanislaw Ciosek was in the Rawent Ventilation and Dust Removal Equipment Factory in Skierniewice.

Kazimierz Cypryniak was in the Nitrate Factory in Tarnow.

Andrzej Wasilewski met with representatives of the cultural groups in Bialystok.

19 April. The Politburo evaluated the state of the reform of the organizational structure of the economy and the work which is still being done in this area. The structural changes in local state administration that have been made and are to be made were also examined. The results of the visit by Zbigniew Messner to Moscow were approved, and rapid implementation of the conclusions from the visit was ordered. Reports on the preparation of the convention between Poland and the Vatican were also heard.

Conferences and Meetings

11-12 April. The Maritime Commission of the Central Committee met in Szczecin under the leadership of Stanislaw Bejger, candidate member of the Politburo. They discussed the effectiveness of the maritime economy and the development of the capacity of fishing. Gabriela Rembisz, candidate member of the Politburo, participated in the meeting.

14 April. Jozef Baryla, member of the Politburo and secretary of the Central Committee, received a delegation of the Lutsk CPSU District Committee under Leonid Pawienek, which was visiting Poland at the invitation of the Chelm PZPR Voivodship Committee.

The Central Committee Commission for Youth, Physical Culture, and Tourism heard reports on the participation of the Polish team in the Winter Olympics in Calgary and on the preparations of Polish athletes for the Summer Games in Seoul.

15 April. More than 200 teachers and educators from higher schools and the military participated in a national conference on problems of patriotism and defense education for young people organized in Bydgoszcz. Jozef Baryla, member of the Politburo and secretary of the Central Committee, participated in the meeting.

18 April. Wojciech Jaruzelski, first secretary of the Central Committee, met with the aktiv among journalists of the press, radio, and television from all of Poland. The subject of the meeting was the issue of the participation by journalists in the reform of the economy and the state. Jan Glowczyk, member of the Politburo and secretary of the Central Committee, Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski, member of the Politburo and deputy marshal of the Sejm, the heads of the sections of the Central Committee, and ministers participated in the meeting.

Flowers from Wojciech Jaruzelski and Zbigniew Messner were laid at the monument to Wincenty Pstrowski during ceremonies in Zabrze on the 40th anniversary of his death. Zygmunt Muranski, member of the Politburo, and Manfred Gorywoda, member of the Politburo and first secretary of the Katowice PZPR Voivodship Committee, participated in the ceremonies.

19 April. Wojciech Jaruzelski, first secretary of the Central Committee, received a delegation of the Finish Social Democratic Party lead by Ulpu Iiavari, its secretary general. Ernest Kucza, head of the Central Committee Foreign Affairs Section, participated in the meeting.

20 April. Jozef Baryla, member of the Politburo and secretary of the Central Committee, received representatives of the management and workers of the voivodship transit enterprise in Bydgoszcz on the occasion of the 100th anniversary of the operation of municipal transit in Bydgoszcz.

The Presidium of the Central Committee Agricultural, Food Industry, and Forestry Commission discussed the effects and goals in foreign trade associated with the export of agricultural and food products and the actions to develop agricultural food processing and forestry undertaken within the CEMA. Zbigniew Michalek, candidate member of the Politburo and secretary of the Central Committee, presided over the meeting.

21 April. On the 43rd anniversary of the signing of the Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation, and Mutual Aid between the PRL and the Soviet Union, a concert was held in the Polish Theater in Warsaw. Representatives of the highest authorities attended the concert. Stanislaw Ciosek, secretary of the Central Committee, and Mieczyslaw Sienkiewicz, charge d'affaires of the embassy of the USSR, spoke.

In the Offices and Organizations

14 April. The Ostroleka Voivodship Committee discussed preparations for the election campaign for the people's councils.

15 April. The Koszalin Voivodship Committee discussed the tasks of the voivodship party organizations in implementing the second stage of the economic reform. It also discussed preparations in the Koszalin Voivodship for elections to the people's councils.

16 April. The Leszno Voivodship Committee discussed the tasks in developing ideological work affecting the positive course of socialist reform. Andrzej Czyz, director of the Central Committee Ideological Section, participated in the meeting.

The Siedlce Voivodship Committee discussed the preparations for elections to the people's councils and the role of party members in the representative bodies. Kazimierz Cypryniak, secretary of the Central Committee, participated in the meeting.

The Tarnobrzeg Voivodship Committee devoted its meeting to outlining ways for improving methods for party ideological and educational influence on employees at work and at home.

23 April. The Biala Podlaska Voivodship Committee evaluated the implementation of tasks involved in the raising, education, and living conditions of young people in the region. Boguslaw Kedzia, head of the Central Committee Science, Education, and Scientific and Technical Advancement Section, and Marian Kot, head of the Central Committee Office of Letters and Inspections, participated in the meeting.

Interparty Cooperation

12-15 April. A conference of representatives of more than 90 communist workers' and revolutionary democratic parties devoted to the activities of the international journal PROBLEMY POKOJU I SOCJALIZMU was held in Prague. Jozef Czyrek, member of the Politburo and secretary of the Central Committee, lead the Polish delegation.

13-16 April. A delegation of the Economic Policy Section of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party under Ilia Boczukow, deputy head of the Section, visited Poland.

18 April. In association with the funeral of Ezeklas Papajoan, the secretary general of the Progressive Party of the Working People of Cyprus, Zbigniew Michalek, candidate member of the Politburo and secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, visited Cyprus.

20 April. A ceremonial session in association with the 43rd anniversary of the signing of the Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation, and Mutual Aid between the PRL and the Soviet Union was held at the Polish Information and Cultural Center in Moscow. During the ceremony the center was also officially opened. A party-government delegation lead by Jan Glowczyk, member of the Politburo and secretary of the Central Committee, attended the ceremony. Tadeusz Sawic, Henryk Bednarski, and Aleksander Krawczuk were also among those in the delegation.

19-21 April. Peter Symon, secretary general of the Socialist Party of Australia, visited Poland. Jozef Baryla, member of the Politburo and secretary of the Central Committee, received Mr. Symon, who also held talks with Ernest Kucza, head of the Central Committee Foreign Affairs Section, and with Marian Holdakowski, head of the Central Committee Socio-Economic Policy Section.

21 April. Marian Orzechowski, member of the Politburo and minister of foreign affairs, visited the Legnica Voivodship, where he participated in a meeting of the party organization of the Lubin Copper Mine.

18-22 April. A delegation of the CPSU Central Committee under Anatoliy Berezin, member of the Central Committee and first secretary of the District Committee of the Mordvinian ASSR, visited Poland. The delegation was interested in the development of cooperation

between local offices of the PZPR and the CPSU and held talks with Andrzej Czyz and Stanislaw Gabrielski, heads of Central Committee sections, and had meetings in Biala Podlaska and Lodz. At the end of its visit, Jozef Baryla, member of the Politburo and secretary of the Central Committee, received the delegation.

22 April. Jozef Czyrek, member of the Politburo, secretary of the Central Committee, and chairman of the Sejm Foreign Affairs Commission, ended a visit of several days in Bonn at the invitation of Hans Stocken, the chairman of the Bundestag Foreign Affairs Commission.

23 April. The Second National Rural Youth Union Congress was held in the Gwardia Sports Hall in Warsaw. Wojciech Jaruzelski, first secretary of the Central Committee and chairman of the Council of State, attended the meeting and delivered a speech to the congress participants.

13021

Voivodship People's Councils Meeting at Final Hour Before Elections

*26000410b Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish
26 May 88 p 3*

[Article by Jadwiga Mikolajczyk: "An Accounting: The Term of Office is Ending"]

[Text] At the Rzeszow Voivodship People's Council or at the people's council for the Widzew Borough of Lodz the councilmen will be able to meet with voters solely in order to report to them on their accomplishments while in office. But that is not a common custom. Recently we have had many other kinds of meetings, linked to elections and to getting to know the candidates for councilmen. However, the question of accountability should not be deleted from the field of view of the councils.

The most recent sessions of voivodship people's councils have mostly been held last May, and an additional 17 councils will hold them in June. These sessions are to sum up the performance of the councils, even though certain incumbent councils continue to be substantively—if that is the expression—active until the very last day of their terms of office and take various important decisions.

The final action concluding the term of office of the Kielce Voivodship People's Council, for example, will be to adopt a resolution for establishing an assemblage of Natural Parks in the Swietokrzyskie Mountains. The Wroclaw Voivodship People's Council is going to discuss (and certainly also approve) the premises for the voivodship's regional plan, thus explicitly finalizing topics on which a great deal of preparatory work had been done and which will be bequeathed, so to speak, to its successor.

Also to be passed on to the successors are many unfinished proposals, and the resolutions summing up the terms of office include a kind of envoi asking the successor councils to act upon certain important proposals and show goodwill toward economic postulates surviving from previous elections that could not be translated into reality (most often owing to the prosaic lack of investment funds). In Czesochowa, for example, tasks which have no chance of being accomplished until at least the year 1990 have reached the number of 27; in Jelenia Gora 31; and in Szczecin 15.

Toward the end of their term of office the councils have begun to assess more thoroughly the implementation of their resolutions, with special help from council committees. A good record was scored here by the Szczecin WRN [Voivodship People's Council], which analyzed in detail the implementation of nine resolutions of special importance to the voivodship's socioeconomic development. They concerned, e.g., the construction of 50 schools in honor of the coming 50th anniversary of the liberation of the Szczecin region, a program for health care, the development of the state local industry, and improvements in sanitation. Such an analysis also implies a critical assessment of the local administration.

As part of the evaluation of council activities, the proactivism of their members also was analyzed, with the participation of the PRON [Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth] representatives. Suitable information on this topic was received by the party, the allied political parties, and the organizations recommending [candidates for] councilmen, and in certain voivodships that was a topic considered by voivodship commissions for cooperation between the party and the allied political parties [ZSL and SD].

It appears that considerable information on the good and bad aspects of activity of the councils, which soon are going to pass the relay baton on to their successors, has been gathered.

Now care should be taken that this information reach the voters, too. After all, incumbent councilmen also are up for re-election—and then the situation is simple: at voter meetings these incumbents should report on their accomplishments, these being in a way their passport to re-election.

Wherever voters face only "new" candidates the organizers of the meetings (the PRON) should bear in mind that they owe such accounting to town and country dwellers. The duty of reporting on how the council performs its tasks should also be utilized as an occasion for describing the operation of that entire mechanism of local self-government. What gears are stuck in it? What should be repaired or changed in order to better serve the interests of the people?

Little is known about these matters and, should success be achieved in steering discussion in that direction, that would profit both the councils and the voters. It is worth bearing in mind that we not only are electing new councils but also have started to improve their operation: this precisely is the goal of the proposals for amending the legislation on people's councils and local self-government.

1386

Economic Stabilization More Costly Following Strike

26000415b Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish
7-8 May 88 pp 1, 2

[Article by Waldemar Mickiewicz: "In Defense of the Reform"]

[Text] The events of recent days have hit particularly hard in the still weak economy. Conflicts are still smoldering while it is urgently necessary to sum up the incurred losses.

What are they? Can they be made up? What new problems do they present? What next with the reform? These and many other questions are being raised. And, undoubtedly, we cannot answer all of them right now.

Measurable and Immeasurable Losses

The counting of direct losses, i.e., those suffered as a result of factory shut downs is the simplest to do. However, indirect losses, which are probably immeasurable, are the most important. The point of the matter is, above all, that the newly created unrest has severely complicated the reform process. Many even feel that this was a de facto blow directly to the reform and all the more severe that it was dealt at its very beginning when the results are not yet visible and the social and economic encumbrances and troubles have surfaced very sharply. In placing its stakes on the hard rules of the economic game, on pressure, on the market, and in creating a threat to many establishments incapable or unable to advance to a level of rapid and real management efficiency, the reform increased the feeling of insecurity not to even mention the effect of the significant price increases and measures undertaken to curtail wage increases.

Therefore, there is an entire set of objective determinants, that are strictly economic, which have caused this wave of unrest. This cannot be ignored. Otherwise, it will be impossible to understand the paradox that under the banner of reform and in the name of economic "health," production is interrupted and totally unrealistic wage demands are made. For example, students striking at the University of Warsaw on the one hand supported the strikes whereas with the other, they wrote demands:

increase outlays for education as if though, as a result of the strikes and halted production, values were being created enabling this increase in outlays.

Without noting the real reasons for the unrest, it will also be impossible to explain many other paradoxes such as, for example, the concurrent demand for filling up store shelves and even demanding additional and general wage increases of several dozen percent.

Even staunch anticommunists have been writing recently about the absurdity of such demands and their destructive impact on the market and on the process of changing the economy over to market mechanisms. George Schoepflin, one of the leading "Sovietologists" from the London School of Economics, states in the columns of *THE INDEPENDENT* that, among other things, the implementation of the reform including price increases is connected to the unblocking of Poland's chances for obtaining credit. Quite a lot is being written about this here at home as well.

Production Growth but Not Everywhere

Thus, the main problem continues to be production growth—the kind of growth that would enable an improvement in the market situation as well as the restoration (by increasing exports) or our credibility as a partner in international cooperation. If we were, for example, to read more closely into the stand taken by the OPZZ, then in fact it comes to "manipulating the supply" to a degree considerably greater than has been the case thus far. Stabilizing the economy by "extinguishing" demand—as may be seen—has its strictly defined boundaries.

However, it would be vague to confine ourselves only to this undoubtedly apt statement. This concerns an issue of key importance to Polish economy. In concise terms, this is based on the rapid development of such areas of the economy that satisfy social needs and primarily the market. But also, those that satisfy extremely urgent export needs. Added to this should be economically efficient production that is also effective in terms of exports.

It is a well-known fact that outlays are needed for restructuring—money for capital investments, for technology and for imported components. Therefore, free foreign-exchange is needed. Credit blockades and restrictions in our own investments (arising from, among other things, the transfer of a large portion of funds for social purposes intended to mitigate the unrest which has been present for years) have, no doubt, hindered the implementation of more significant changes in the structure of production. Therefore, the so greatly awaited and indispensable economic restructuring was not taking place.

This constitutes a serious accusation in the direction of economy policy, which all too often in bending under the pressure of social needs and in the name of social peace

and subduing tension, maintained for a long time a consumption level that precluded (on the basis of its own strength) the implementation of structural changes.

However, this is still just part of the issue. The fear of creating large-scale social unrest prevented energetic activity that would phase out certain types of production and force in others. What does "curtailing" of these production areas mean in practice? It means limiting or the outright resignation from production, i.e., resignation from investment outlays for entire sectors, transferring people, etc. and this in turn is met with discontent frequently on the part of strong monopolistic economic organizations because it affects their interests and the interests of people who are employed there. Enormous problems associated with the closing down of inefficient firms and their finding powerful "good uncles"—this is only the tip of the iceberg that, nonetheless, reveals the complexity of the problem of "phasing out" the production of certain sectors or economic units.

However, it has come to light today that among those striking are enterprises, which previously because of, among other things, fear of the reaction of their work forces, were omitted from "restructuring" measures. Once again, it has been proven that hiding one's head in the sand will not change anything but brings out the problem with even greater force and complicates the situation even more. Is it not tragic that even firms that are economically weak and can barely stay afloat have taken the risk of incurring further losses? And does this not confirm that excessive compliance with the exigencies of social peace, the "licking" of old wounds now comes back in the form of a new wave of unrest?

However, it seems that the problem of the continuing fate of the Gdansk Shipyard confirms that the increasing paradoxes may at times force out logical, definite steps.

These days to talk about the fact that social unrest and strikes led under the banner of deep economic reforms in reality embody proposals that destroy any remnants of economic stability—is a banal truth. The world has been repeating this to the point of boredom. Therefore, it is no revelation that this wave deals a blow to the reform and that it places its future under a question mark. Wojciech Jaruzelski stresses, however, that despite difficulties and the complicated situation, there will be no swerving from the set course. Requests are being addressed to the Sejm for granting special powers to the government to accelerate the process of changes so as not to allow deviation from the assumptions of the reform.

From Behind the Mechanisms

At the moment that I am writing this article, knowledge about that which constitutes these particular powers is still skimpy. Therefore, it is difficult to comment on this. However, it seems nearly certain that they will make sense only when they bring about an effective and desired economy policy. Among the advocates of the

reform, the most anxiety was caused by the fact that at times the solving of economic problems ended with the creation alone of mechanisms and using them to replace a realistic economic policy. In our columns, we frequently pointed out the danger of "hiding" behind the mechanisms.

Therefore, if the special rights and powers will be conducive to an energetic implementation of the reform, the creation of mechanisms and the unleashing of production initiatives, and at the same time, if they inspire impetus into the economic policy—it will be possible to talk about their significant meaning. Without a clear and energetically conducted economic policy—let us repeat this once again—economic reality will not change either as anticipated by the public or in a direction that will allow a permanent way out from a blind alley.

The complex situation of the economy—an economy that is bound with external disproportions; held back by shortages of raw materials, fuel, and particularly foreign exchange; an economy with a structure that has been formed for decades and no longer adapted to either social need or the requirements of the future—all of this constitutes a favorable ground for conducting political games and a unique opportunity for transforming the natural social unrest for improving the standard of living into political unrest and to kindle the struggle for power. And, unfortunately, demands expressing exactly this appeared in the proposals of some striking work forces whereas professional opposition politicians are jumping over factory fences to amass their own political fortune at the expense of the economy and society.

This is how, therefore, the political situation, the inciting by the antisocialist opposition of the battle with the political regime, which causes the breaking off of talks and economic agreements already initiated with foreign countries, dramatizes even further the country's economic situation. It increases the cost of achieving economic stability.

9853/12232

Former Negotiator Defines 'Right-to-Strike' Regulation

26000412d Warsaw *RZECZPOSPOLITA* in Polish
21-22 May 88 p 2

[Interview with Prof Sylwester Zawadzki by Romana Kalecka]

[Text]

[Question] Professor, you were chairman of the group appointed by the Council of State at the end of 1980 which, after long and difficult negotiations and with the participation of representatives of all the union movement trends of that time, worked out the first version of the draft bill on trade unions in mid-1981. A significant number of the legal determinations agreed upon then

were maintained in the final draft of the bill in 1982. Among them was the innovative—in the legislation of the socialist state—regulation of the issue of collective disputes and the right to strike. By what conditions was the group guided in proposing this means, and not another, of regulating this issue?

PAP turned with this question to Council of State member, Prof Sylwester Zawadzki.

[Answer] The need to draft a new law on trade unions and guaranteeing in it the right to strike was noted in the August agreements. The Council of State entrusted this task to the group, comprised of representatives from science, mainly labor law, as well as representatives from Solidarity, trade and autonomous unions. The group worked very intensively, making extensive use of comparative materials from other countries. We relied on union laws formulated in the conventions of the International Labor Organization. At the same time, we had to take into consideration conclusions from the original strike experiences from the period after August.

In seeking the most pertinent solutions to the issue of collective disputes, we acknowledged as crucial the creation of legal guarantees with a strong anti-bureaucratic edge that would permit protection of employee rights as fully as possible on one hand, and the general public and state interest on the other. This intention is evident throughout chapter 5 of the law, devoted to collective disputes and the right to strike. Coordinating it was the most difficult job during the work on the bill.

In 1981 the very inclusion of the definition of a strike in the bill aroused controversy. It recognizes the permissibility of a strike only for economic and social reasons, while some Solidarity experts aimed for legalization of strikes of a political nature. They also demanded guaranteeing workers reimbursement for participation in a strike, as for vacation time, and in particular acknowledgement of participation in Solidarity strikes. In a word, the point was creation of legislative opportunities for a "permanent strike," a permanent instrument of pressure on the authorities, contrary to the letter and spirit of the public agreements. After stormy, sometimes dramatic discussion, our group ultimately did not accept this concept.

What prevailed was the notion of the strike as an extreme measure, for which one could reach only after exhausting other, mediatory opportunities for resolving a dispute.

According to the law, when a conflict arises, the trade unions and administrative bodies are obligated to undertake negotiations immediately. If the negotiations do not produce results, there can be a second attempt—a conciliatory proceeding conducted by a special six-member commission representing both sides of the conflict equally. If this also fails, the parties must appeal to the public arbitration council under the courts; this is an

institution previously unknown which originated in our group in 1981 and which won the approval of the representatives of all the unions at that time.

If this entire course did not lead to a compromise, it was possible to declare a strike, but this was also after satisfying a number of conditions noted in the law. When making a decision to declare a strike, the union must take into consideration the commensurability of its demand with losses caused by the strike, hence its ultimate economic and social "profitability." This principle was also accepted in our group.

[Question] One of the conditions for declaring a strike—besides acceptance of the decision by a majority of employees in secret balloting—is obtaining the consent of the union's superior body. Yet in the federal structure that currently prevails in the union movement, there is no such body.

[Answer] That is true; the authors of the law did not foresee the formation of such a union structure. That is why the federations themselves decide this question. Most of their rules say that the federation fulfills the function of the superior body in matters provided for in rules of law. This applies not only to strikes, but also, for example, to resistance in the event of a violation of labor law. And currently, the obligation to obtain OPZZ support—after consultation with the national union organization—was provisionally, under special socio-economic conditions, set out in the law on extraordinary powers and authority for the Council of Ministers. This concerns only collective disputes that arise against the background of that law.

[Question] Does the long procedure preceeding a strike and making its declaration contingent on special circumstances not lead to unintended consequences, e.g., to wildcat strikes?

[Answer] We considered this danger, but the argument prevailed that a strike is a weapon that is too threatening for the economy and society to allow free recourse to this instrument without any guarantees. For this precise reason, in certain Western countries, the right to strike is much more regulated than in Poland. In some countries, West Germany and Japan, for example, the opportunity to strike is permitted only once a year, during collective bargaining. And generally, Polish regulation does not stray from that in other countries.

After all, it is difficult to imagine, in a modern, highly organized society, that every can strike at will. It is impossible to leave everything to the elements, to pressures that could bring irreparable harm to society.

Especially in our situation. In capitalist countries, other autonomous barriers operate to limit the scope and destructive force of a strike. The main one is private property, the possibility of a strike's leading to a firm's

insolvency, which naturally is not in the workers' interest. Another barrier is unemployment, which demands prizing any job highly and avoiding hasty decisions that could lead to losing it.

On the other hand, a strike or in particular a wave of strikes in a socialist country can lead not only to an enterprise's insolvency, but to destruction of the entire economy. Hence the need for placing special conditions on the right to strike. In the law on trade unions, life has affirmed the soundness of the concept of collective disputes, which insures the opportunity to enforce the legitimate economic and social rights of working people and, at the same time, protects the interests of society and the state.

12776

Conference Focuses on Conditions Necessary for Enterprise Development

26000415a Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish
24 May 88 p 2

[Text] (Own source) The effectiveness of activity on a microeconomic scale constitutes the criterion for the efficient functioning of the economy as a whole.

Progress in creating an atmosphere conducive to the development of initiative of basic economic units, i.e., enterprises, in effect gives results on a macroscale.

Therefore, what kinds of conditions are necessary for the development of enterprise initiative? How should adaptive capabilities with regard to the needs of the market be developed; how to mobilize them for maximizing the generated surplus?

Answers to these questions, among others, are being sought at the 19th Wislanska Conference which began on 23 May and will continue until 25 May. Prof Teodor Kramer, chairman of the Katowice branch of the Polish Economic Society and host of the conference, called attention to these questions in welcoming the guests.

"Enterprise Self-Reliance During the Second Phase of the Economic Reform"—that is the topic of the conference. In the papers presented during the first day, various aspects of this problem were analyzed. Prof Marian Struzycki spoke of the necessity of promarket orientation in enterprise management and the indispensable condition for this—a change in the attitudes of the management cadres. Prof Maksymilian Pazdan discussed the civil-legal background of self-reliance. Prof Jozef Szyrocki and Docent Romuald Hanisz concentrated their attention on the economic-financial conditions of independent enterprise activity. Docent Henryk Halama reminded those gathered that already during the first Wislanskies Conferences solutions were proposed that would promote the development of initiative among economic units.

In the afternoon, a discussion began which will continue for the next several days. Its tone like that of many of the lecture papers was not optimistic.

Attention was called to the rigidity of rules and regulations and, in the opinion of the discussion participants, excessive fiscal stringency of the tax system which limits enterprise freedom and initiative. Much has already changed for the better but this still is not the right climate for enterprises.

9853/12232

Economic Court System Favored Over Arbitration To Settle Disputes

26000412a Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish
27 May 88 p 2

[Article by Marek Krupa: "Economic Judiciary: Common or Special?"]

[Text] Discussions have been concluded on whether, in the era of economic reform, to maintain the system of arbitration for settling economic disputes or include them in the judicial system. Although both alternatives had their advocates, arguments for the judicial model of conduct prevailed.

Now the question remains whether these disputes are to be settled by the common courts or whether special economic courts should be appointed for this purpose.

The actual decision in this matter has major significance. Economic disputes, often over very large amounts, have their own specific character. Their outcome often weighs on the economy of enterprises. They must therefore be examined quickly and competently.

Enterprise management understands this best. In numerous letters (we have published some of them) the directors of plants and legal advisors have spoken in favor of a model for resolving these disputes in a rapid, specialized procedure.

Economic disputes, as opposed to disputes in the common civil law cycle, are characterized by complex issues from many areas of the economy. This arises from the broad range of interrelationships. It is enough to mention the multidirectional cooperative connections among economic units, the complex investment and transactional procedures that take place within them in the field of foreign trade, the specific nature of port and sea commerce and freight and shipping. So it is impossible not to see that resolving disputes in this matter must be based on thorough knowledge not only of economic law but also specialized familiarity with the field of functioning of the economy and the economics of enterprises. The length of civil proceedings before common courts shows that introducing economic cases to the common judiciary would not be beneficial either in this context.

Civil proceedings before the common courts (this is confirmed by both knowledge and experience) antagonizes the parties. If economic disputes were to occur under such circumstances, relationships among economic units, usually based on longterm cooperation, might be subject to disruption.

There is one remedy for such situations: insure the opportunity for settlement between the parties at every stage of the process. But this will be possible only in special economic courts that apply the principle of conciliation in their proceedings.

Looking at the issue of economic disputes in this way, it must be emphasized that they require highly specialized judicial personnel. I fear that the common courts, currently plagued with personnel problems, may not be equal to this issue. It is therefore necessary to make use of the existing staff of highly specialized arbitrators from State Economic Arbitration.

All the foregoing facts indicate that establishing special economic courts (a special judiciary is provided for in Poland's constitution) seems the most advisable and reasonable.

12776

Electronics Self-Financing Discussed

26000410d Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish
31 May 88 p 2

[Unattributed and untitled article]

[Text] At the Science-and-Production Center for Semiconductors in Warsaw a seminar was held for scientists and economic and social activists on the subject of the self-financing of the development of electronics and the spread of electronics throughout the national economy.

The guiding idea of the seminar, organized by the PZPR Plant Committee at the NPCP-CEMI was to accelerate the growth of national income through the spread of electronics in the economy. In the course of the discussion mention was also made of the need for corresponding changes in the approach itself to the aims of the program and for enhancing the interest of the workforces of electronicizing and electronicized enterprises in that program.

1386

Opposing Veterans Groups Seek Common Platform

26000415g Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish
23 May 88 p 2

[Text] "The history of the combatants movements is as complex as that of our workers movement," is how Jan Ptasinski, chairman of the National Commission of Former Soldiers and Participants in Combat for the

Defense and Preservation of the People's Authority, described the role of this organization. "The Union of Fighters for Freedom and Democracy [ZBoWiD] has become a platform of understanding. Persons of opposing political views in the past are currently also members of it." "Our commission," he added, "is, therefore, an expression of tolerance and its activity has been shaped in this spirit thus far."

The 5-year period of the commission's work was summed up on Saturday at the plenary session of the Warsaw NJW MSW. Wreaths and flowers were laid at the Warsaw monument to "Those Killed in the Defense of the People's Government."

During the deliberations, much time was devoted to the integration of the combatants community. Among others, Col Julian Tobiasz, a former frontier guardsman, spoke about this. He also reminded those gathered how many schools were built by soldiers in green rimmed hats as a community action. "Today, we should present lectures and conduct talks in them," he emphasized.

Division General Franciszek Ksiezarczyk, the last commander of the Krakow District GL-AL [People's Guard-Peoples Army], called attention to the fact that there still are many blank spots from the period of establishing the people's ruling authority. "Many facts are incorrectly interpreted. It is time to explain everything accurately," he appealed.

Greetings from the leadership of ZBoWiD were conveyed to those gathered by its chairman, General of Arms Jozef Kaminski. Deputy Minister Czeslaw Staszczak read the letter of greetings from the minister of internal affairs.

9853/12232

Ombudsman Tackles Alternative Military Service Issue

26000412c Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish
26 May 88 p 2

[Text] The office of the ombudsman has submitted to the Sejm a proposal for changes in legal regulations affecting military service. This position concurs with the attitude of the Peace Studies Council operating in Poland. It should be noted here that in the Ministry of National Defense, advanced work is proceeding on preparing an appropriate amendment to legislation on the universal duty to defend Poland.

The National Defense Ministry's Military Council, which met on 25 March under the chairmanship of Polish armed forces chief of staff and general of the army Wojciech Jaruzelski, assessed the state of legislative work on amending the law, evaluating positively proposal for modifying regulations on alternative military

service based on fulfillment of socially useful services in a specified period of time. The draft bill will soon be submitted to the Council of Ministers for deliberation.

In the discussions that are occurring in these matters, the ombudsman said, a faulty opinion has appeared whereby the desire to perform alternative service for individualistic motives is set against the primary—because it is implemented in the interest of society—duty to defend the homeland. In reality this contrast is different: on one hand the duty to defend the homeland, actually having a universal character by virtue of the interests of society, and on the other hand, freedom of thought, conscience and religion, conduct in accordance with one's own convictions if they are firmly fixed convictions that are part of the fundamental elements of an individual's attitude whose denial would mean a conflict of conscience for the interested party. This conflict of values has a chance to be resolved if one accepts that the duty to defend may be discharged not only through service in armed branches but rather may be fulfilled in other forms appropriate to the individual's conscience (alternative service). There is legal regulation of alternative forms of military service in Poland but of limited scope, since only military bodies can steer individuals to these kinds of service, taking into consideration mainly the need to supplement the armed forces and individual recruitment predispositions. This legal situation creates a gap that prevents certain interested people from making use of their right to alternative service. It would therefore be desirable to create a procedure giving every interested person a guarantee to present his grounds and insuring an opportunity to submit an appeal. It should be noted that proof of the existence of strong, established convictions, as conditions for the right to discharge the duty to defend in an alternative form of service, should rest with the citizen.

In his appearance, the ombudsman also raised the issue of procedural gaps in regulation of military service by farmers operating farms. He also expressed the hope that the proposed changes in the law on military service will be implemented in accordance with the progressive traditions of the Polish Army and will be conducive to resolving, in the humanitarian spirit, the cases of individual citizens related to violation of laws currently in force on the universal duty to defend the country.

12776

Sejm Reviews New Military-Oath Draft

26000412b Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish
27 May 88 p 9

[Text] The Sejm has received the draft of a bill, sent by the government, on the military oath. The oath—an age-old custom with a rich tradition in the history of the Polish state and the Polish armed forces—is one of the especially important, official instruments identifying the soldier with military service.

The substance of the draft bill constitutes a different form of the oath. It differs from the currently binding substance and text structure. As is said in the justification for the bill, the new text formulates a hierarchy of values on which the soldier pledges his oath, eliminates repetitive phrases, and changes the present conclusion of the oath. It is emphasized in the bill that taking the oath should take place in official form.

12776

Major University Rectors Assess Student Mood, Recent Strikes

26000410a Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish
26 May 88 p 3

[Article by Janina Paradowska: "The Dialogue Has Not Been Interrupted, in the Opinions of the Rectors"]

[Text] The tumultuous beginning of May in the academic community, and chiefly in the universities, drew attention to the numerous problems of that community, problems that are not always new but still remain unresolved. The mentality and mood of the rising generation of the Polish intelligentsia are not without effect on the nature and success of the reforms being undertaken in this country. Hence the need to consider attentively the claims of students and answer the question: what next? The education ministry has already announced many specific measures and is working hard on them, especially on the entire package of the claims concerning the living conditions and future careers of the graduates. However, its announcement has not answered all the questions which are yet to be resolved. We turned therefore to the rectors of our largest universities, through which the surge of unrest has passed, with a request to assess the situation and provide recommendations for the future.

[Prof Aleksander Koj, rector of Jagiellonian University]

The student demonstrations, rallies, and strikes which took place in the academic community of Krakow during the first 10 days of May offer a reminder that youth is vitally interested in the country's sociopolitical situation and indicate that views and attitudes have become markedly radicalized. Although on May 4 the student protesters signed an agreement with the rectors of four higher educational institutions, an agreement subsequently accepted by other rectors and supported by resolutions of faculty senates, the student mood continues to be adversely affected by more general factors such as the continuing economic crisis and the sluggish pace of the economic reform and of the democratization of political relations. The Ministry of National Education did not respond positively to the unanimous resolution of the Senate of Jagiellonian University on 24 February 1988 supporting greater powers and greater responsibility of the student body government. It is difficult to be satisfied by the announcement that certain exploratory steps will be taken in this matter.

The situation requires a radical and rapid improvement—we desire to help in implementing the student demands without waiting for the next wave of protests. To this end a community meeting of student body governments from all institutions of higher education in Krakow will be held in June at Jagiellonian University with the object of discussing the most urgent problems of living conditions, summer internship, curriculums, and the career prospects of the future graduates. At the same time, Jagiellonian University will appoint an extraordinary committee for student affairs with half of its membership to consist of students. Representatives of self-government at every department and the chairperson of the student scientific clubs are being invited sessions of the Faculty Senate on student affairs and granted advisory speaking rights. The most important thing is to maintain a permanent dialogue between the faculty and students—to prevent loss of credibility and mutual trust. In the longer run, however, a change in the attitude of the government toward the universities is indispensable; it must understand the fact that the progressing pauperization of institutions of higher education is imperiling their basic purposes and will be difficult to compensate over the generations.

[Prof Mieczyslaw Klimowicz, rector of Wroclaw University]

The principal causes of the ferment in the student community are the collapse of what we usually term academic commonalty and the absence of internal dialogue. I am not going to discuss the external conditions, the general situation in this country, and especially the economy, because these matters are known. For my deepest anxiety is aroused by the disintegration of the academic community itself. Our discussions at sessions of the Senate or of the Departmental Councils do not percolate downward—there is no efficient flow of information; large and small groups of faculty or students living their own life have arisen. Our intramural life used to be much richer. Nowadays it is dead.

The principal way of restoring the community's unity (without construing this as unity of views) is permanent dialogue—above all between faculty and students. The anniversary of the March events afforded to us an occasion for attempting such a dialogue. At the time we organized an open discussion meeting attended by 700 participants. It seems to me that that meeting contributed to establishing contact between faculty and students and this bore its fruit precisely during the events earlier this month. For then, despite the various controversies and the undoubted radicalization of views, dialogue was not interrupted. Following the strikes, at a legally organized rally, we spoke out openly to each other on every subject, from the political to that of living conditions. The university administrators were presented with a long list of demands many of which ensued simply from unfamiliarity with our situation (for example, the university's 1988 budget is lower than in the previous year) and with many of the efforts we are undertaking (our

continuing attempts to include the construction of academic housing in regular housing construction so as to obtain preferences in the allocation of housing).

On many matters we reached an understanding. Above all, we agreed that both the students and the administrators need a student body government. Such government already exists only in the student dormitories. The protracted administrative procedure developed in this connection by the former Ministry of Science and Higher Education, the equally dilatory agreements, and lastly the rejection of our proposals have resulted in the absence of a student body government at our university so far. We expect that now the Ministry of Education will speed up its work on a new set of rules granting greater powers of action to students. They must be made to feel our partners at this university by sharing decisions and responsibilities.

[Professor Jacek Fisiak, rector of the Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznan]

If the recent events are viewed from a certain perspective, it turns out that their causes are more complex than might seem at first glance. Undoubtedly inspired by outside sources as these events were—considering that the political slogans were simply the slogans of the opposition—they did reveal the genuine discontent of the student community and its impatience over the excessively dilatory activities of the administration in many respects. For it must be admitted that we do not respond as rapidly as we should to student demands, and that we cannot resolve efficiently many matters that sometimes are quite trivial. We are living in an age when the 20th century is coming to its end, but students enrolling at a university that is supposed to prepare them for the modern future encounter out-of-date procedures. They have to tour a dozen or more offices in order to receive all the necessary documents and then wait in an incredibly long queue for their financial stipends, because the payout rules are so intricate and time-consuming. Afterward, they attend lecture rooms and go to live in unbelievably crowded dormitories with sanitary facilities that make a mockery of elementary standards of hygiene. In this respect ours is the lowest-ranking university in the nation.

Thus while illegal forms of protest are to be resolutely condemned, student demands—except, of course, the political ones—should be viewed as the starting point for further action. The list of problems to be resolved is long and we finally must begin giving specific answers to specific questions. To me, one of the most important problems is developing a system for the advancement of the best students and their involvement in university life. In the immediate future I intend to establish an Honor Students Council, a kind of parliament of the best, with whom curriculums and the academic students movement, etc., can be discussed. This may compete with student body government and stimulate it to become more proactive.

It also seems to me that a new look is needed at many problems of living conditions, especially stipends. Should students really be granted stipends instead of longterm bank loans that would be forgiven to honor students and repayable over many years by average students? This is being done by many countries that are richer than ours. The administration of the academic student movement should be given over to the hands of the best students, and interdisciplinary research clubs should be formed, because the most interesting developments in science are occurring at the interfaces of various disciplines. Why should we stick to old routines?

Students should be treated seriously in, above all, the instructional process. Yet it is a common occurrence for university researchers not even to give lectures (I had to resolve this matter by means of a special memo). Nor do these researchers take part in university admission committees. These are not university traditions. We should restore good traditions without orders and prohibitions. These are of course but a few instances of matters that have to be settled in the immediate future, concretely, without foggy promises to which students no longer want to listen.

[Prof Czeslaw Jackowiak, rector of Gdansk University]

In order to evaluate the unrest spreading among the student community, at Gdansk University, too, the complexity of its growing and mutually superposing causes has to be considered. These causes spring from the academic communities themselves, as well as from the socio-economic occurrences in this country. In the universities themselves the awkward treatment of the problems of student body government and youth organizations is making itself felt, as do the social and living conditions of students and the decline in the career and material prospects of graduates.

The currently binding set of rules governing student body governments nationwide still retains, despite repeated demands for its revision, a prohibition against engaging in economic, cultural, tourist, and research activities by such governments, and even against the formation of student radio stations, which of course restricts the attractiveness of student body governments and results in a decline of interest in participating in its bodies. What is more, this is prompting active members of the student community to explore other organizational forms.

In terms of the overall situation in this country, the student communities are affected by the anxieties linked to the wage-price spiral and the continuing lack of improvement in that situation. The recent events [the unrest triggered by the strikes of urban transit employees] require taking resolute steps also in the academic community. We expect urgent decisions on changing the set of rules governing the student body governments and

broadening forms of the pluralism of student organizations. This concerns specific organizations which support the principles of the PRL [Polish People's Republic] Constitution.

Consistent measures to improve the social and living conditions of students and their professional and career prospects also are needed. In this connection, we at Gdansk University are holding talks with youth organizations and student body government, and we expect shortly to present the results of these talks to the minister of education. We are aware, however, that in the final analysis it is the general social situation in this country that affects the situation of the student community.

[Prof Grzegorz Bialkowski, rector of Warsaw University]

Once more it turned out that higher educational institutions react quickly to the country's general sociopolitical situation. That is why a basic premise for maintaining the atmosphere of tranquil work at these institutions is to quench by peaceful means the social conflicts that arise or may arise extramurally. It has also turned out that a sizable part of active youth is not accommodated, subjectively speaking, by the existing structures of youth organizations. Thus there arises a need to broaden the possibilities for legal actions by youth, both through a broadening of the rights of student body governments and through approving the formation by students of organizations other than those existing at present, provided that they declare their adherence to constitutional principles. I believe besides that such competition could revive the existing organizations and stimulate them toward enhanced proactivism.

Another important issue is broadening the possibilities of students for influencing academic life by, among other things, providing them with greater representation in the collegial bodies of universities (if not in the senate and the departmental councils then at least in their committees), consulting the student community about aspects of instruction and upbringing, asking the student body government and student organizations about their opinions concerning certain personal questions, etc.

There is no doubt that much greater efforts must be made to maintain the quotidian bonds between the faculty, and especially the professorial personnel, and the students. Meetings between university and department administrators and students should become a regular custom. The agendas of these meetings should be as wide-ranging as possible, and it should be a matter of course for them to take place in an atmosphere of complete sincerity.

A separate problem is that of social and living conditions. Constant adjustments of stipends, faster repair and renovation of student dormitories and construction of new ones, improvements in the facilities and performance of student health service, and facilities for student recreation, tourism, and sports are at present buzzwords referring to many important problems. Lastly, there is the tremendously important issue of the need for fundamental changes to the better in the status of university graduates. Future career and professional advancement should be principally linked to academic performance, that is, documented by grade records rather than by any nebulously defined "moral-political attitude." This is how I view the complex whole of problems that have to be resolved if we are not to hand out sheepskins each year to increasingly embittered and frustrated graduates who switch from apathy to aggression.

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

State Airline Buys Western Aircraft

23000101 Hamburg DER SPIEGEL in German
27 Jun 88 pp 75-76

[Text] Interflug, the GDR airline, buys Airbuses, because Soviet aircraft constructors lag 20 years behind the West.

At an early hour of the day, a private French jet, Corvette type, awaited an important traveler on East Berlin's Schoenefeld Airport: last Friday Klaus Henkes, general director of Interflug, the GDR airline, was to be flown to the south of France by the simplest and most convenient route—service for a new customer of Airbus Industries, the European aircraft constructor.

A few hours later, sitting in the Airbus head office at Toulouse next to Franz Josef Strauss, head of the Airbus supervisory board, Henkes signed a thick and notable contract against the background of the plywood display of A-340, the aircraft of the future: Interflug had committed itself to purchase three type A-310 Airbuses.

This is the first time for the East German airline to purchase an aircraft in the West, and also the first time for Airbus Industries to sell aircraft to an Eastern Bloc country.

The wide bodied A-310 jet will be delivered in the version equipped with extra tanks to give it even longer range. Henkes' Interflug will use Airbuses to fly nonstop from Schoenefeld to Havana, Beijing and Singapore.

History-minded Airbus promoter Strauss is elated about this West-East trade, saying "we are writing a new chapter in aviation history." This time he is not really exaggerating.

Until now the border between the systems was entirely impermeable to aircraft manufacturers. U.S. and European jets fly all over the industrialized West and most Third World Countries. In the Eastern Bloc countries, passengers embark almost exclusively in aircraft from the Soviet Union.

The historic change will prove costly for the foreign exchange poor GDR. The East Germans will have to transfer some DM420 million to renew their civilian air fleet. "A very, very high price," Henkes moaned in his slight Saxon dialect when the contract had been signed. The Interflug boss does not have particularly tender memories of the 6 months of negotiations with the Airbus managers. "We have never had to fight so hard for the most minute concessions.

Interflug is not the only Eastern airline now buying Western aircraft. The Poles preceded the East Germans in concluding a contract with capitalist aircraft manufacturers: The Polish airline Lot will shortly fly the Atlantic with two Boeing 767 wide bodied aircraft.

The fact that Eastern Bloc companies are changing over to Western aircraft is related somewhat to Mikhael Gorbachev's perestroika: The Soviets allow their satellites greater scope with regard to their purchases.

Still, it is not just the new freedom that helps Boeing and Airbus get East European customers. Even more important is the fact that Soviet aircraft constructors have failed to modernize: The Tupolevs and Ilyushins have remained at the standards of the 1960's.

Since the Soviet Union spends so much money on defense and space flights, since there is no competition at all, the USSR is lacking virtually everything that distinguishes modern aircraft construction: Light materials, fuel economizing aerodynamics, microelectronics in the cockpit and, above all, modern engines.

Four jet engines, for example, hang from the wings of the Ilyushin 86, the latest Soviet creation. The Airbus A-310, not much smaller than the Ilyushin, manages with two engines: To this day, Soviet technicians are unable to offer efficient jet engines. The jets powering Soviet aircraft are louder than Western engines. They leave behind far more pollution and use considerably more fuel. The old Ilyushin IL-62 swallows twice the kerosene per passenger kilometer used by the Airbus A-310.

The high fuel consumption of the Eastern aircraft alone makes it appear worthwhile to the GDR or the Poles to change over to Western aviation equipment. The leasing fees or depreciation costs are compensated by fuel savings.

Moreover, Eastern aircraft will soon be banished from European and North American airports, because they are too noisy. The East European airlines would then lose the foreign exchange earned by doing business with Western travelers.

In any case, if at all possible, Western passengers avoid traveling aboard Eastern airlines. Aeroflot, the Soviet airline, recently admitted to having lost half of its market share of Western business.

Not only the service of socialist airlines suffers from a poor reputation. Potential passengers also doubt the safety of Eastern aircraft. Western air experts indicate that the East records three times more crashes per passenger kilometer than Western carriers. The reason for the many crashes is said to be obsolete equipment, material fatigue and poor maintenance.

Aviation management by the Eastern Bloc airlines is hampered not only by the technical backwardness of the aircraft. Additional difficulties arise by service practices that—in the words of a Lufthansa engineer—appear "almost surreal" to Western professionals.

Airbus Industries or Boeing provide their airline customers with replacement parts and repair equipment, enabling the customers to service their aircraft. Interflug, on the other hand, needs to fly its jets to the Soviet Union for servicing. Lufthansa engineers were told by their Interflug counterparts that it usually takes 7 months for an aircraft to return from the USSR.

The so-called maintenance intervals—the time between inspection dates—are also substantially shorter than for Western aircraft. The engines of a new Ilyushin require inspection after 800-1,000 flight hours. A new Airbus is taken to the hanger for routine engine checks only after 4,000 flight hours.

In view of this technical handicap, West-East aircraft business would probably have started up earlier if it hadn't been for Cocom. Cocom, a watchdog agency of the NATO countries, ensures that no Western equipment of any possible defense interest is sold to the East. For the longest time, civilian aircraft were on the Cocom list, guarded jealously by the U.S. in particular. They were removed from that list quite recently—the result of the detente between East and West.

Still, some checks are to remain. Airbus Industries were compelled to require that their new customer have its aircraft serviced in the West. The Lufthansa boss, Heinz Ruhнау, captured the contract for his Hamburg yard.

Moreover, the owners of the Airbuses soon to be flown by Interflug pilots will not be allowed to look into the so-called "black boxes." These high-tech components, mounted also in military aircraft, are to be sealed.

Finally: The manuals for overhauls remain in the West, with the engineers of Lufthansa.

11698

Economist Outlines Future Production Aims, Techniques

23000096 East Berlin EINHEIT in German
Vol 43 No 6, Jun 88 (signed to press 12 May 88)
pp 501-509

[Article by Prof Dr Helmut Koziolk, member of the SED CC, director of the SED CC's Central Institute for Socialist Economic Management: "Productive Force and Profit in Socialism"]

[Text] Though economic categories different in quality, productive forces and profit are generally inseparable from each other in socialist economics—and particularly in the application of our party's economic strategy.¹ Interacting, they promote their reciprocal growth. This growth takes place in our socialist planned economy while proceeding from proportions under the state plan

and official balance sheets and by making use of the categories of socialist commodity production in the economic interest of the combines and enterprises as well as the economy.

Profit solidly reflects the efficiency with which combines and enterprises produce and put out goods.² With comprehensively implementing the principle of in-house production, profit will move increasingly to the center of economic computations, dispositions, and decisions because it simply is more than a concept of accountancy. Profit reflects the outcome of the efforts of the working people in the combines, enterprises, and cooperatives seeking to reduce the investment of live and embodied labor. Profit indicates how much success commodities which are sold on the foreign and domestic markets are realizing—which depends mainly on their having been manufactured proper as to demands, at decent prices and high grades—and what contribution they thereby make to society's net income.

Profit hence is a dynamic part of net income. Its natural source is the socialist surplus product, the objective character of which was defined already by Marx: A part of it is used "for accumulation, i.e., to expand the reproduction process" and another part, for purposes of consumption "for those who for reasons of age can not yet or no longer take part in production."³ The socialist surplus product embodies that considerable part of the investment goods which—above and beyond the amortizations materially to be realized—becomes available for comprehensive extended intensive economic reproduction. Thus, it is a main source for those funds through which the data of scientific-technical work are efficiently embodied, economically speaking, in novel products and technologies, the material-technical production base is modernized, rationalized, and expanded, and the material labor foundations in the sociocultural sectors are preserved, modernized, and further extended.

The size of the profit directly depends on labor quality and productivity, the digression of costs at rising output, the rational use of available technology, the funds and resources available, the conscious way of management—factors, i.e., as stressed in the directive for conducting the 1988 party elections.⁴

The orientation in the combines' and enterprises' economic activity to high profits is a crucial orientation in terms of further productive forces development in that the size of the profit, after all, crucially determines the leeway available for the party socioeconomic policy. In socialist planned economy aimed at growth, profit in its dynamism thus acts as a catalyst for dealing with the main task according to plan.

The normative profits calculated in prices and the extra profits attainable through high-grade economic products are affected by many factors in the production and implementation process. Thus, in the accounting of the enterprises profit is computed by comparing the revenue

for products sold and services performed with the prime costs used for them. Of course profits shown that way become truly economically usable social net income items only when they are due to the combines' and enterprises' own efforts and when all socially not necessary costs for the preparation and implementation of production and for the sales on foreign and domestic markets are deducted. And one must not ignore the fact that, economically speaking, that also comes off the available social net income which must be covered by the state budget and profits already earned for making up for faulty production afterwards.

Of the many factors which—while facilitating higher profits—boost the social net income, special weight accrues to labor quality and to trimming costs, directly linked with a boost in labor productivity. They also are key intensification issues and largely depend on the effectiveness of science and technology.

Apart from all the specifics that have to be taken into account for managing these factors, their targeted direction at rising profits is attained by a sound scientific, well-organized and skilled socialist industrial economy. The idea of the party to make fast and effective headway in this field and do away with any still existing arrears, is easy enough to understand. If then, on behalf of the enormously important cost reduction, the importance of cost computation and analysis, and of preliminary and subsequent calculation, is made so much of, it is done in order to grant to such indispensable fundamental measures of the socialist industrial economy in the enterprises and combines, emphatically, the rank they deserve.

An essential industrial economy point of departure for higher profits is to know how much any product, service, production process costs, how these costs are composed, at what point in the process they are caused at which level, and how they behave when changes occur. Constantly to remind the enterprise managements of it is the chief function of cost computation and analysis. At the same time, there also lies the point of departure for use value-cost analyses and other forms of cost minimizing that must be made to utilize the interaction between productive forces development and profit, when so computed accurately, for comprehensive intensification.

Source of Profit—Higher Labor Productivity

Profit crucially depends on labor productivity. That boost, as the SED Program puts it, "is the most important source of economic growth."⁵ With the 11th SED Congress resolutions and, mainly, the elaboration of the economic strategy with a view to the year 2000, a new phase was introduced in the effort to significantly boost the labor productivity level. In the directive for conducting the 1988 party elections, the party organizations are

explicitly oriented to use all those factors "that decisively affect the growth of labor productivity, as a prerequisite for the consistent implementation of the socioeconomic policy."⁶

The shaping of the socialist society, the internationally tremendous development of the production forces and the need to keep in step with that pace have turned the boosting of labor productivity into a central issue. This underscores Lenin's prediction that labor productivity "in the last instance is the most important, is what is decisive for the triumph of the new social order"⁷ and indicates how utterly timely that observation still is.

Karl Marx has explained in "Das Kapital" the circumstances determining labor productivity; his understanding has remained fully valid. What are those circumstances?

The developmental level of science and its technological applicability. This fundamental realization is expressed in the first point of the economic strategy aimed at linking the advantages of socialism still more effectively with the scientific-technical revolution. With the development, production, and application of key technologies both challenges and chances arise for rapid production upgrading, for higher grade products, and for trimming costs. In this way achieving a high rate of labor productivity boosts, permanent economic growth, higher profits through reduced costs to set new standards in the struggle for scientific-technical top achievements and their rapid technological and economic utilization at an ever wider range. Referring to microelectronics and, thus, to the key technologies altogether, Comrade Erich Honecker affirmed: "As a developed socialist industrial country with a notable standard of living the GDR has no choice but to keep ahead in it if it wants to maintain its social and sociopolitical elbow room and expand its position on the world markets."⁸

So we are producing an important palette of internationally used microelectronic components. Their manufacture increased more than sevenfold between 1976 and 1987. This year we will make 136 million integrated circuits. For that we put into operation in recent years three modern chip factories. Our palette of products includes today 256-kilobit-storage-circuits. In 1988, the production preparation for the 1-megabit-storage-circuit in the Carl Zeiss Jena Combine reaches a crucial phase. An expression of our level in the development and manufacture of computers are efficient computers with a 16- and 32-bit processing range. Circa 44,000 CAD-/CAM terminals and efficient software systems have improved industrial productivity and flexibility. By 1990, 90,000 such terminals are expected to be set up in the economy. In the field of technical production preparation and control production increases up to 500 percent are accomplished thereby. Personal computers take a firm place today in management and planning, organization, logistics and services.

Regarding the utilization of microelectronic products, it is mainly the linking of electronics with machine building that is being emphasized. This leads to another trend: flexible production automation. We are working consistently and step by step on computer-aided production. Efficient equipment for our traditionally recognized machine building and a broad palette of industrial robots are important steps toward flexible production automation. The GDR thereby joins the international trend toward CIM, the factory of the future. The GDR's machine building and electrical engineering and electronics already are making 10 types of flexible production systems for it.

Analogous results as in the metal-working industry are being achieved in the streamlined automation of continuous processes. At the Premnitz chemical fiber plant early this year a fully automated installation for Wolpryla production was put into operation which technologically and procedurally determines the top world standard. The GDR is also undertaking great efforts in the opto-electronics field, in micromechanics, laser techniques, new semifabrics, and biotechnology.

All these advances in key technology production and application have been gaged mainly against their economic, and hence also their social, effectiveness. Especially the considerable preparatory expenditures required for the key technologies make high efficiency absolutely necessary so that they can be amortized. On the other hand—and that constitutes the dialectics in this process—preparatory expenditures must ultimately be financed from profits.

The scope and efficacy of the means of productivity. Our country's economy today not merely has high resources in fixed assets, it is, furthermore, marked by a modern and further differentiating structure. The metal processing industry handles nearly one-third of industrial commodity production. The chemical industry takes a share of circa one-fifth, the light and textile industry 16 percent, and the foodstuffs industry more than 15 percent (1986). Characteristic of our dynamic structural development in the 1980's is mainly the growth in machine and vehicle construction to over 130 percent, in the field of electrical engineering, electronics and appliance construction to nearly 170 percent, and in the light and textile industry to over 120 percent.

Basic assets reproduction is carried out on the highest scientific-technical and economic level as an integration between modernizing the available basic assets and capacity expansion. A large part—four-fifths—of the investments therefore goes into rationalization. To ensure top performance growth from these investments certainly calls for expert preparation—be it for the modernization of the machinery or the new construction of installations. In-house rationalization means construction, due to its function to improve the means of production in efficacy and scope, receives increasingly important tasks: for modern technologies to take effect,

for key technology development and application, and also for the so-called minor rationalization projects especially in enterprises where production conditions have thus far hardly changed.

One also must make optimum use of the ever increasing basic assets by using them for longer periods, going into more multi-shift activities, getting more generally out of all shift operations, and putting working hours to the fullest use.

The natural conditions. Here one should have to stress their significant effect on efficiently mining raw materials and using energy sources, raw materials and semifabrics, which is a crucial factor in economic efficiency and productivity development.

While it was possible in the past greatly to trim production consumption merely by avoiding waste of raw materials, material and energy or by finding basic substitutes, future advances in this regard are expected to come from modern production procedures.⁹ Energy and materials economy as a basic principle of socialist economic management also reflects scientific-technical progress revealing itself most clearly in higher refinement. That provides higher effects than using extra raw materials and is, not lastly, the best environmental protection.

The workers' average skills. The GDR has a high intellectual potential that can cope with modern techniques and technology, which makes economic growth possible the intensive way. Its effective use is the decisive source for growing productivity. Man is and remains the main production force. Thus the result decisively depends on the effectiveness of live labor, the quality of the performance, and the working people's motivation. As a result of the important development of the people's intellectual potential and the increasingly available qualitatively new production tools, it became possible to provide the country's economic growth in the 1980's almost completely, and since 1986 exclusively, from increasing productivity. That will inform our further procedures.

The efficient use of the grown intellectual potential is viewed by our party as an important foundation for ever more effectively enforcing socialist democracy in the enterprise. That is shown most vividly in socialist rationalization, where economic performance demands directly combine with realizing basic social values, rationality in economic growth with humanity. By cutting back, newly setting up and revamping jobs, from 1981-87 alone, more than 550,000 working people were recruited for new tasks, mainly within the combines and enterprises. With the trade unions taking part in this directly, individual discussions are carried on with all working people in which, with regard to their work qualifications and social interests, the labor law and social matters, any needed retraining and other matters are clarified through mutual consent. In such a climate of performance orientation and social security it is not rare

that working people themselves suggest how jobs might be eliminated. They are ready for other jobs with higher productivity and better working conditions, as it is practiced within the scope of the Schwedt Initiative.

This process does not always and everywhere proceed without conflict, of course. So it is all the more important for all issues in the enterprise to be settled together with the working people and the representatives of their interests, the trade unions. A close cooperation among state managers, the SED, the FDJ and other social organizations is good for it.

The social combination of the production process. If one puts all the productivity factors mentioned so far together, it becomes evident that only through their suitable social combination can the production force be improved, as this, after all, involves the combining of partial projects into a total social project. The level of the productivity relations attained in our combines—the large efficient economic units forming the backbone of our socialist planned economy and operating on the basis of central state management and planning—and the new quality of the production forces also compel a new quality of socialist industrial management, and information processes are carried out with computer support and get more and more tied to one another. The criterion for success in industrial management lies in a highly efficient increase of output achieved in terms of the end product. Increased output will bring high profits only, however, if the economic cycle—production and circulation periods—is significantly accelerated.

Intensification Runs Through the Entire Cycle

As our party takes into account that “not merely products are made in the enterprises, but goods that in the socialist planned economy also represent a value,”¹⁰ growing demands are thereby placed today on the production being proper according to demands, i.e., according to qualities, quantities, and the time that the products are offered as well as in terms of the production costs. Efficiently manufacturing desired merchandise for sale on domestic and foreign markets calls for profoundly comprehending the intensive expanded reproduction cycle, the totality of production and circulation periods. That requires a high level of a socialist-planned economy and constantly perfecting management, planning, and effective accountancy.

For coping with the material and financial cycles in effect, it becomes exceedingly relevant creative to apply that basic realization of Marx that he explored from the vantage point of forming and realizing the surplus product and the metabolism (metamorphosis) of merchandise. Accordingly, the basic trends in the comprehensive theoretical and practical work done since the 8th party congress for steadily improving management, planning, and economic accountancy lie precisely in using more compellingly the value categories such as price, profit, costs, money, and interest, strengthening effective

accountancy—with the in-house production of means as an important link—while enforcing mandatory state plan tasks by way of diversified economic relations, and all this with the idea to stimulate not just advances in volume but, above all, high-grade production proper as to demands at low costs.¹¹

There are two questions that must be answered first and foremost in structuring the material and financial cycles in the combines and their enterprises:

—What is spent in means of production, expressed in money, for the production?

—Which result is returned through the reproduction cycle in terms of growth of value, expressed in money?

First, it is important to use as little time and value substance as possible for the manufacture of particular goods while—through enhanced refining, rational operations, and top qualities—earning good profits on the markets due to as high a novel value as possible. This applies equally to machinery and installations, electronic components, other ancillary supplies, and software.

Second, it must be made clear everywhere that merchandise-money equations, in conformity with the value law, in principle depend on the equivalency principle, so that an equivalency exchange takes place. Socially unnecessary expenditure of energy and material, therefore, can in principle be as little realized on the markets as can excessive outlays for too much of an administrative apparatus, for labor that is too unskilled, for idle funds, for excessive delays of parts and products, for discontinuities and so forth. This ultimately diminishes the return of product value components and has negative effects on the planned formation of financing sources and, hence, on the fund cycle. Especially via the foreign markets are such manifestations felt with the fullest impact. That precisely is the reason why our party always focuses on dealing with the economic cycle according to plan.

It is of fundamental and practical importance that the time it takes to manufacture a given article enters into the total value of a commodity only to the extent that it is socially necessary. Marx brought out the salient aspect: “The exchange or sale of goods at their value is the rational, natural law of their equilibrium; proceeding from there any deviations must be explained and not, vice versa, the law from the deviations.”¹² Wasted material, excessive costs due to below-capacity utilization of machinery, excessive stocks and such matters would oppose it. The growth in value is smaller when labor is squandered, technology not properly mastered, or the transfer of scientific-technical data into production is too tardy. Vice versa, an “exceptional productive force”¹³ makes for less than the socially necessary costs and thus leads to extra value, a surplus value that can

boost consumption and accumulation potentials. Equivalency exchange also implies another fact. Marx formulates this by saying that "no thing (can) be a value without being an object of use. If it is useless, the labor invested in it is useless too, does not count as labor and thus forms no value."¹⁴ A value is realized only for products serving the needs of the population, of the economy, and of the customers on foreign markets. Only use values on a high scientific-technical and economic level, made available according to schedules and in structures and volumes proper as to demands make high profits, favorable foreign exchange, and a good exportability possible. But products that cannot be sold because they were not produced to meet the demands constitute losses in value. Use value reduction in principle coincides with value reduction.

Skilled labor well-used can produce a larger use value volume in the same amount of time and, with it, a larger value growth than mediocre labor. On that our concept of enhanced refining is based.¹⁵ It aims at highly efficiently converting the available material resources into products with higher use values—expressed in terms of quality—while enlarging in this process the growth in newly produced values (novel value).

The success we have with enforcing these requirements greatly controls our transforming scientific-technical data into high economic results. For that we need more top achievements and top operational speeds, especially in the GDR's intensive foreign economy. Karl Marx' remark, "the industrial capitalist...must constantly compare his own cost prices with the market prices, not only at home, but all over the world,"¹⁶ fully applies to our combines and their enterprises, as long as one remembers that he was talking about capitalist society. Anyone who would fail in the rough climate of the world markets to keep pace with the international cost and quality level, which is in constant and rapid motion, would perceive by the real foreign exchange value of the mark, an incorruptible standard for his export products, that excessive costs will form no values and, just like poor qualities of supplies, diminish national revenue. So that in "world trade a GDR mark will indeed be a mark,"¹⁷ it is important to make good deals everywhere through an increasing number of scientific-technical and economic top achievements with costs that lie below the ones recognized as necessary on the world market, through high qualities, flexible reactions to customer preferences, intensive market research, reliable customer service, and so forth.

No less demanding than providing as large a value growth as possible is its conversion into money, as this, after all, requires market, i.e., customers' recognition. For the "salto mortale of the merchandise,"¹⁸ its sale, to succeed, so that all the preinvested labor and also the surplus product contained in the value growth be realized—by which the means are produced for individual and public consumption and accumulation—it is important for the merchandise to become use value for the

customer, and it also depends on the total volume of labor invested in the cycle. A management collective's manner of dealing with the costs also indicates its mode of commercializing its own products on behalf of rendering the reproduction process effective.

To earn high profits presupposes the ability to economize and to normally and securely control the entire intensive expanded reproduction cycle, and this through the cooperation, according to plans, of the phases of production preparation, production and sales and while maintaining proportionality and the constant alteration of forms in the production, commodity, and monetary funds.

The financing sources of socialist society and its members can, ultimately, be ensured reliably only if through less expenditure more high-grade products are made, new products are put into production more rapidly, top achievements are brought out fast, and good economic results are achieved thereby.

The in-house production of means takes another step in this direction. Thereby we want to make sure that the combines' own responsibility is strengthened and their economic interest is more effectively tied in with the interests of all society. We want to see to it that effective accountancy embraces the whole cyclical process and the dynamism of intensive expanded reproduction and that profit at the end point exceeds that of the point of departure, more richly flows, in other words, as a source of accumulation.

Through all the steps we are taking in perfecting the system as a whole, the role of money and of the value parameters implacably increases. Under the merchandise-money equations they alone can express production input and output in terms of costs, prices, foreign exchange income and profits earned. By measuring production input and output in terms of value parameters, our attention is directed at having the circulation process make an effective impact on the proper demand specificity and quality of production and its productivity and efficiency and that distribution processes are placed under better control. It directs us at high foreign exchange income and export profitability in foreign economic relations, oriented at cost reduction and quality and placing on us corresponding requirements for use value and value, costs and benefits. All steps pursue the one goal of cutting costs and increasing yields, in conformity with the key idea of the economic strategy.

In further refining the balancing of official accounts through computer-aided systems, we intend to gain a better control over the economic interlinkages—and this in the unity of use value and value—while ensuring the dynamism of economic proportions and, under changing conditions, make faster decisions and achieve a higher flexibility and reaction capability.

Through the chief parameters of performance evaluation unequivocal societal goal criteria are set down in order to turn the economic interest of the combines and enterprises more and more compellingly toward high-grade production proper as to demands, productivity, and efficiency. The parameter of net production pursues the aim to reduce production consumption and thus to make sure that from this chief source the stable growth of our national income remains ensured. Through the parameter of cost reduction per 100 GDR marks in commodity production we want to see to it that the expenditure of live labor is reduced at a maximum and a high profit is earned for socialism. The parameters of products and services for the population and for export are oriented to more of a distributable end product, and to more and better consumer and export goods which—produced at an improved cost/benefit ratio—like to be bought and are easy to sell. The costs and the profits from selling goods at low costs and at highest grades reflect the quality of the combine management of the streamlined reproduction process, which grows apace with central state management and planning.

Due to the steadily improving objective conditions for further economic development, further advances depend all the more on the working people's knowledgeable and socially responsible conduct, of course, and on whether they—mainly through a consistent application of the performance principle—are induced to increase productivity and efficiency of production through creative efforts. This way decisive steps are taken to make the economic strategy prevail and hence, to produce the means for implementing the main task policy according to plan.

Footnotes

1. Comrade Erich Honecker, "Bericht des Zentralkomitees der Sozialistischen Einheitspartei Deutschlands an den XI. Parteitag der SED" [SED Central Committee Report to the 11th SED Congress], Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1986, pp 48 ff.

2. Cf. Guenter Mittag, "Oekonomische Strategie der Partei—klares Konzept fuer weiteres Wachstum" [The Party's Economic Strategy—Clear Concept for Further Growth], Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1983, p 54.

3. Cf. Karl Marx, "Das Kapital" Vol III, "Werke" [Works] Vol 25, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1964, p 855.

4. Cf. NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 27 April 1988, p 3.

5. "Programm der Sozialistischen Einheitspartei Deutschlands," Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1961, p 416.

6. NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 27 April 1988, p 3.

7. V.I. Lenin, "The Great Initiative," "Werke," vol 29, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1961, p 416.

8. Erich Honecker, "Mit dem Volk und fuer das Volk realisieren wir die Generallinie unserer Partei zum Wohle der Menschen, Aus dem Referat auf der Beratung des Sekretariats des ZK der SED mit den 1. Sekretaren der Kreisleitungen" [With the People and for the People We Are Implementing the General Line of Our Party for the Well-being of Men—From the Speech at the SED Central Committee Secretariat's Conference with the Kreis First Secretaries], Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1988, p 19.

9. Cf. Comrade Erich Honecker, "Bericht...," op. cit., p 50.

10. Erich Honecker, "Mit dem Volk...," op. cit., p 53.

11. Cf. Comrade Erich Honecker, "Bericht...," op. cit., p 44.

12. Karl Marx, "Das Kapital" Vol III, loc. cit., p 197.

13. Karl Marx, "Das Kapital" Vol I, "Werke," Vol 23, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1962, p 337.

14. Ibid., p 55.

15. Cf. Guenter Mittag, "Mit der Kraft der Kombinate weiter voran auf dem Weg des XI. Parteitages der SED" [Onward Along the 11th SED Congress Course With the Strength of the Combines], Berlin, 1988, p 94.

16. Karl Marx, "Das Kapital" Vol III, loc. cit., p 349.

17. Cf. Erich Honecker, "Mit dem Volk...," op. cit., p 27.

18. Karl Marx, "Das Kapital" Vol I, loc. cit., p 120.

05885/06662

Railway System Increases Productivity
23000102 East Berlin PRESSE-INFORMATIONEN
in German 14 Jun 88 p 2

[Article by Dr Heinz Schmidt, state secretary and first deputy to the general director of the GDR Railroad: "Railroaders Increase Productivity of Freight Carriage"]

[Text] Running more than 8,500 freight trains daily, the railroad carries almost three-quarters of all freight in the domestic traffic of our country. Coal and construction materials account for more than half. This year's economic plan provides for an increase in the freight carried by the GDR Railroad to a total of 349 million tons—6

days' work more than last year. It is particularly important to reliably supply solid fuels to power plants, factories and the general public as well as construction materials to the construction industry. We must also handle the rising turnover of export and import merchandise via, for example, the Mukran ferry port.

The further improvement of the efficiency of the main lines is one of the preconditions for achieving this increase. Already 45-50 percent of all freight is carried by electrified rail lines. Later this year we will complete the linking of the Cottbus coal mining region and the Mukran and Sassnitz ferry depots to these lines. Electrification of the Berlin-Frankfurt/Oder-Eisenhuettenstadt route will begin. These construction efforts involve the renewal of tracks and the replacement of switches, complex bridge and building construction. The most efficient equipment and modern technologies are therefore primarily concentrated on the main lines. Evidently this results in problems for freight traffic, because the construction work hampers the passage of trains on some sections.

More Through Trains With Specific Loads and Special Cars

The use of through trains with specific loads has turned out to be a rational method for intensifying freight carriage. These are trains loaded exclusively with one particular type of freight (for example coal, construction materials, fertilizers, liquid fuels or ore) and running from the departure depot to the ultimate destination without stopovers for switching. This method speeds up traffic and is easy on the freight cars. Already 60 percent of all freight traffic is carried by through trains with specific loads, and this percentage is to rise again this year. This also facilitates better timewise coordination of transports between senders, recipients and the railroad, including loading and unloading. The transportation of construction materials from the regions for housing construction in the capital has demonstrated that freight trains are thus fully utilized and stipulated loading dates are observed.

To respond to growing specific transportation needs and the demand of transport customers for rational and modern loading and unloading equipment, the GDR Railroad has purchased more special tank cars for liquid and powdery freight as well as special open and covered cars for the carriage of bulk goods and bulk materials. Many of these special cars, specially tank cars, are leased to transport customers who then assume responsibility for filling the available space. The advantage here is the rapid handling of loading and unloading operations. Close cooperation with our transport customers must result in keeping empty runs of the cars at a minimum.

Teamwork as an Efficiency Reserve

Regional transportation rationalization on the model of Neuruppin Kreis, maintenance contracts for cars such as the one concluded with the Groeditz Steel and Rolling

Mill VEB, switching assistance, freight coordination and other contracts as well as loading and unloading associations and associations for the operation of feeder lines as types of coordination are of increasing importance, because many reserves still remain to be developed. They include the smooth flowing utilization of cars, containers and pallets every day of the week and all hours of the day as well as the observance of loading times. In 1987, unduly long loading times corresponded to the loss of the operation of 48,000 freight cars.

Customer service advisers were employed at depots, GDR Railroad offices and directorates to help avoid transportation damage by secure packaging and proper loading. The Center for Freight Carriage Rationalization also provides appropriate suggestions. We succeeded in 1987 in lowering damage by 7.5 percent compared with the previous year. On the other hand, damage to freight cars rose by 5 percent. Currently some 1,000 repair contracts, concluded by the GDR Railroad and partners in the national economy, aim to quickly repair cars and avoid unnecessary empty runs. Around 1,300 cars are daily repaired on this basis. This helps the railroaders in their efforts for greater efficiency in freight carriage.

116998

Water Purification Process Finds Wide Application

*23000109 East Berlin JUNGE WELT in German
17 Jun 88 p 7*

[Article by Kathrin Iselt: "A Novelty Cleans Up an Environmental Problem—Dresden Researcher Develops Stabilization Process for Effluent Sludge—40 Facilities by 1990 in the GDR"]

[Text] Business transactions are not talked about...one concludes them. At Koethen, for example. In the local sewage treatment plant, businessmen and experts from Finland, the Soviet Union, Bulgaria, Sweden, and Italy have been handing each other the door knob for some time now. A world novelty attracts them here: the process for enzymatic sludge stabilization—ESSA in expert language. The know-how has already been sold to the FRG, to Japan, and to Spain. In our country, some 40 such facilities will be established by 1990. The new technology is suitable and economical primarily for small and medium-size cities with populations of up to approximately 100,000 inhabitants. It is now in use for the first time at Koethen after successful trial operation in a pilot plant at Cottbus.

"Stress" Stimulates Sludge Cells to Maximum Output

The small town of Koethen produces a daily total of 11,000 cubic meters of sewage for the sewage treatment plant: the runoff from two slaughterhouses and several enterprises is added to residential sewage. Following mechanical and biological cleansing, some 75 cubic

meters of sludge accumulate each day and—in accordance with existing processing methods—would have to remain up to 90 days in clarification ponds before the organic components were decomposed to the extent that sludge could, for example, be used as fertilizer on fields. “Open rotting” is the name for this process. This customary way of sludge stabilization required settlement basins having an area of 6,500 square meters in our facility,” said Ulf Schindler, production manager for waste water at Koethen. Apart from the immense space and time requirements, the penetrating odor stressed the environment. Some 10 years ago, the Research Center for Water Technology in Dresden took on this environmental problem which is not typical for the GDR alone.

“The slow decomposition of the organic components contained in the sludge had to be accelerated,” is the way Dr Eberhard Friedrich, project chief of the research center, describes the long process of searching for a better method in one sentence. Following experiments, rejections, and the finding of a solution, one knows today that: sludge cells require “stress.” An enzyme splits the organic molecule chain and prepares the “nutrient” for the cells. A complex formed simultaneously renders the cell walls so permeable that the sludge cell can take on far more organic material than was the case heretofore. Stimulated in such a way, the cell eats itself to death in 8-12 hours now instead of 90 days. The whole process takes place in a reactor. At Koethen, this reactor takes up essentially only 10 percent of the space required hitherto by settlement tanks.

What was found here is primarily an economic solution. After all: “both necessary substances are produced from domestic materials. The procedure is, thus, importune-dependent,” stated Dr Friedrich in naming one of the not insignificant advantages of ESSA. Added to this is the fact that: only small daily quantities of the additives are required. Since the reactor is insulated to the maximum, the 35-degree Centigrade temperature which the sludge develops with the addition of oxygen already initiates the stabilization reactions. The facility can be handled with very few manipulations. The “sludge” which leaves the reactor by flowing into a drainage basin now only has a slight laundry room odor. Most of the disease organisms and harmful organic substances in it have been killed so that it can be used as good humus in agriculture. Also, Koethen’s small Ziethe stream, which receives the cleansed water, is reviving. The ESSA reactor is now also handling the sewage sludge of both of the local slaughterhouses. Today the formerly “red Ziethe River” runs clear again.

The System Can Manage the Growing Quantities of Sewage

The 1986-90, 5-year plan calls for the establishment of sewage processing facilities for households numbering 400,000 citizens in the GDR. This means a sevenfold rise in comparison to the past 5-year plan. In 1988 alone,

this project will involve 80,000 people living in households in 1,100 communities, all of whom will be tied in to sewer lines and to sewer treatment facilities. By 1990—according to the experts—our country will accumulate an hourly total of approximately 304,000 cubic meters of sewage. In order to handle this quantity, environmentally friendly peak performance is demanded. Such performance is to be had from the enzymatic sludge stabilization process known as the ESSA.

05911

HUNGARY

Reform Rhetoric Bolsters Antireform Measures, Liska Charges

25000173 Budapest FIGYELO in Hungarian
21 Apr 88 p 22

[Interview with reform economist Tibor Liska, by Laszlo Kallay: “About a Criticized Conception”]

[Text] For several decades Tibor Liska was the “l'enfant terrible” of Hungarian economic life. Whenever he began dealing with a subject his ideas were generally original, prompting debate. Although his theory left its marks on attempts for economic reform, he always had to settle with exerting influence through his views, often endangering his status as a researcher. Publication of his book “Okonosztat” represents a new step toward making his workings popular.

[Question] You have been contributing to Hungarian economic thought since the early 1950's. It would seem that from the beginning your interest centered around economic rationale.

[Answer] I discovered that socialist political economics does not exist as a science already as a student, when I taught at the Miskolc University of Heavy Industry. The material does not amount to more than a collection of political phrases. It was then that I determined that a science which can be taught must be established. The only possible starting point presented itself in the examination of real economic processes. This in turn lead to problems in the sense that fundamental information needed for planning and for decision-making was missing. Antal Marias and I constructed an export efficiency index published in 1954 because there were export products whose material costs counted in dollars was twice the amount of the sales price. It was rather difficult to convince people in those days that [such discrepancies] were possible only as a result of fundamentally mistaken pricing policies, notably as a result of different price multipliers used with respect to base materials and finished products. At that time the idea of a world market price base began to take shape in my mind.

[Question] This is what you defined also in the article “Critique and Conception.”

[Answer] I submitted the basic idea earlier in response to a competition announced by the Economics Society, and in 1959 I won a prize for it. Its publication as an article in the periodical KOZGAZDASAGI SZEMLE, however, was not made possible, primarily because of the professional connotations of the idea. I believe that in those days the persons supporting the idea of publishing the article wanted to demonstrate just what crazy ideas come about as a result of examining the economic mechanism. That article of mine could be used for such purposes of course, and this is indicated by the fact that the reformers condemned me most, saying that I am pulling the rug out from under feet by assuming the reform of the mechanism at a too early stage and in an overly radical fashion. This, however, should never suffice as a reason for keeping silent.

[Question] Yet, you continued debating, and you wrote "Okonosztat."

[Answer] Indeed. But even this required that I do not interpret verbatim the task assigned to me at my workplace, and that I occupy myself with issues that were important to me. This of course, drew some personal consequences, but this is not of the essence. In those days, in the middle 1970's, I felt that there was no substantial intent to bring about reform, that the economic policies of those days were expressly harmful, because the idea of reform did not start out from the fact that the economic policy of those days was expressly harmful, while I started out from the consideration that it was harmful. I will note here that today I see even more clearly that we have fallen behind in development, and that therefore the expression of a definitive critique was appropriate and necessary. It was this critique that resulted in my recommending a "revolutionary" reform, a kind of reform which at least would begin to germinate the seeds of formulating a different type of production method. This idea was unacceptable in those days. In my view it continues to be unacceptable even today. I think it is still unacceptable, except for one important difference. Today's changes take place under the reform banner, and this is diametrically opposed to the previous situation. Today everyone talks about reform, and thus reform can be retarded far more effectively than by taking the responsibility for open confrontation.

[Question] How did you arrive at your conception concerning entrepreneurial efforts?

[Answer] Still in the 1950's I started out with the critique of the pricing mechanisms, because I was performing model calculations related to the pricing system. I developed a conception concerning reform of the mechanism. World market price base was the most highly debated aspect of that conception. But the principles of the entrepreneurial system were contained already in "Okonosztat." Only those should do business who know how to do business, the one who is best at sustaining the efficacy criteria. This assumes that we separate politics from the economy; businessmen should not be

appointed by a bureaucratic apparatus, instead the choice should be made by the proprietary body interested in efficient functioning—the bank. Whatever I called, and still call, "enterprise" is built on self-organization. Self-direction does not provide a Garden of Eden for entrepreneurs in the sense that they would be continuously forced to maximize the increase in efficacy, as conditions permit. The threat of the emergence of a new entrepreneur would always exist, one who envisions even greater opportunities in the enterprise, and one who makes commitments to that effect, affecting his personal responsibility. "Okonosztat" still talks about competitive bidding; the idea of auctioning [projects] to entrepreneurs occurred to me later, and in those days I did not describe the functioning of entrepreneurial treasuries, either. On the other hand, I described a requirement by which the economy must be directed by automatic mechanisms, and that the most important role of the state would be to formulate the rules of the game and to oversee conformity to those rules.

[Question] Your system assumes a particular interpretation of proprietary relationships.

[Answer] Socialism provides an opportunity for the freeing of social property without any constraints, and for the discontinuation of the possibility of, and the prompting of ownership at any price. This possibility remains unutilized as long as the function of business management is performed by bureaucratic apparatuses, on the basis of their own peculiar viewpoints. The condition for taking a step further is that this liberation becomes reality, and that entrepreneurs can compete without any restriction.

[Question] Many respectable economists expressed doubts concerning the realization of your socialist entrepreneurial conception, while you have tried out your conceptions also in practice.

[Answer] The theoretical debates conducted among others with Marton Tardos, Janos Kornai and Ivan T. Berend were very useful, but practical experiments produced different kinds of problems. It would be feasible to obtain case by case relief from the Ministry of Finance in regards to constraints—mostly pertaining to income regulation—which are contrary to the essence of the matter. Moreover, there I received some respectable support in this respect. Generally speaking, the trouble began when ventures became successful. The most famous experiment took place in Szentes, preceded by those of Baksa and Igálpusztá. The enterprise research group of the Karl Marx University of Economics became known also abroad. In Hungary some 30-40 enterprise experiments of that group were prepared, and to top it off these experiments promised great financial reward. At that point we learned that money can have a frightening effect, e.g. if one can prove that there exists a method which is better, and produces more earnings, than the policies centered around withdrawal concepts.

But resistance could be seen not only with respect to expanding the experiments. In the course of the Szentes experiments there were individuals who considered the mere possibility of high earnings as impermissible.

[Question] What is your opinion concerning contractually managed economic units and the rest of the entrepreneurial opportunities?

[Answer] These have very little to do with the entrepreneurial concept developed by me. One of the most important differences is that the situation of today's entrepreneurs decisively depends on the extent to which they are able to play with the rules provided by the taxing authority. They prosper if they cheat the taxing authority, if they feel at home in the jungle of regulations. I am recommending a system in which the capital value of individual enterprises is determined through unrestricted bidding, and in which the amount that remains after paying an appropriate interest is accorded in full to the entrepreneur. In this system there is no room for any kind of tax fraud. Obviously, neither do I envision the introduction of the socialist entrepreneurial system as a simple matter, but it must be tried out; experiments have to be made. Recovery from the present economic situation can come about only if we simultaneously experiment with several methods. I accept the challenge, but it would be also necessary to permit the conception in its fundamental elements to prevail. I can provide ample ammunition to those in a mood to experiment. I have at least 20 volumes worth of unpublished materials.

12995

POLAND

Consultative Economic Council on Price Limits, Major Threats

26000428b Warsaw *RZECZPOSPOLITA* in Polish
14-15 May 88 p 1, 2

[Unattributed article: "Consultative Economic Council: Stabilizing the Market—the Chief Goal"]

[Text] From our own correspondent—The subject of the meeting of the Consultative Economic Council on 13 May 1988 with deputy premier Zdzislaw Sadowski was a version of the document titled "Economic Threats and Directions for Action." Members of the council concentrated chiefly on the price and income operations carried out in February 1988 and were critical of their range, the way they were executed, and of the effects of the operations.

The lack of market stability and the inflationary price increases, in the opinion of the council are the chief threats today. It was noted that a reduction in the balance of payments could significantly improve the situation. "Paying the debts on current terms with an interest rate higher than normally used in international accounts," Prof Mieczyslaw Mieszczankowski said, "is

simply ruining the economy." "In our proposals," said Prof Mieczyslaw Lesz, who chaired the meeting, "we must, however, limit ourselves to what can be done to improve the domestic management of the economy and to stimulating new development and entrepreneurial factors, both in the state and private sectors.

Both the discussion and the written opinion of the Consultative Economic Council touched on many problems; the chief emphasis, however, was clearly on the issues of stability and price and wage policy. It supported gradual price movements and their market regulation to the degree possible and as stability is achieved in particular areas of the market. It opposed, however, large, massive price increases which cause increased wage recompensation and social tensions. Concerning subsidy policy, the members of the council opted to separate them from the level of costs since the present system punishes those who reduce them and those who have high costs receive high subsidies.

Assuming that in order to stop inflation it is essential to limit wage increases (and non-wage income cannot be forgotten), it was proposed to end indexation of wages (except for indexation of wages in the budget area, pensions, and benefits, and family aid) and to change the current interpretation of the notion of income parity between the cities and rural areas.

The members of the council judged the problem of the selection of the economic objects, the ending of the so-called just distribution of resources according to the principle a little for everyone and concentrating the resources in the most efficient enterprises, to be particularly important. To make the selection and carry out the structural changes, the central authorities, acting in the name of the good for all, should rid themselves of their fears of offending particular occupational groups, the members of the council declared.

Judging the current economic situation, Deputy Premier Sadowski drew attention to the fact that the reports from the Central Office of Statistics speak of increasing trends in many important areas of the economy. As regards price policy, the government program, Prof Sadowski said, agrees with the council's proposals and aims to avoid massive price operations. The number one task is at present to oppose the pressure for income increases, thus new proposals on how to calculate income parity are very needed today, and the government is counting on the help of the Consultative Economic Council in this area. A great dilemma has long been associated with the tax on wages above the norms: how to keep barriers to wage increases from slowing production increases? And the next question: how to reconcile exemptions for exports with insuring the appropriate level of supplies for the domestic market?

Measures are being prepared which in the name of a supply-oriented policy for the market will introduce some corrections in the structure of the tax on wages

above the norms. These are, however, temporary measures; over the long-term the goal is to eliminate this tax completely and to change the entire tax system. Mieczyslaw Lesz, who chaired the meeting, announced the extension of the council's term in office to the end of April 1989.

13021

Party Daily Views Consultative Economic Council Session

26000428c Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish
14-15 May 88 p 3

[Unattributed report: "Consultative Economic Council: What Threatens Economic Stability?"]

[Text] On 13 May 1988 the members of the Consultative Economic Council spoke about the threats confronting the Polish economy. Zdzislaw Sadowski, deputy premier, participated in the meeting.

Prof Czeslaw Bobrowski enumerated many such threats. Among others, he emphasized that the supply of raw materials for enterprises is not improving in spite of increasing imports of semi-finished products and raw materials. "This means that the domestic suppliers are not keeping up. This is affecting the supply of market goods. A rapid improvement in supplies will surely be hampered by the continuing rapid decapitalization of the factories' machine parks."

Among the other difficulties ailing the economy, Prof Bobrowski also listed insufficient effectiveness. "There still has not been a breakthrough. The mechanisms of the second stage of the reform are still operating too weakly. The monetary-market imbalance still hangs over the market. Indexation of wages can deepen it. It almost binds the wages to the increasing costs of living, and wages have no relationship to quality or labor productivity."

Prof Mieczyslaw Nasilowski, however, said that, in his opinion, the last price-income operation did not produce the expected results. "It did not improve the relationship of prices between food articles and industrial goods; the size of the subsidies did not undergo any essential change."

Dr Stefan Jedrychowski considered inflation to be the basic threat. "We do not know how to combat it effectively; we are not prepared for this either theoretically or practically."

The Consultative Economic Council supported, among other things, the reduction of official price increases for food to those cases in which there is a threat to stability, the maintenance of a higher than average rate of price increases for fuels and energy, a broadening of the range

of freely set prices, a limitation of purchase price increases until stability is achieved on the market for agricultural production resources.

Deputy Premier Zdzislaw Sadowski in explaining some questions said, among other things, that the number of non-systemic exemptions is being constantly limited. That a far-reaching transformation of the tax system is necessary. The government faces an unusually difficult task of constructing mechanisms to avoid the effects of an excessive stream of money causing a limitation of productivity, entrepreneurship, and market production. Methods for maintaining the proper relationships between exports and supplies for the domestic market must also be developed.

13021

Territorial Industries Need More Rapid Rebuilding

26000444c Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish
25 May 88 p 4

[Article by (toms): "Locally Managed Industry Developing Too Slowly"]

[Text] There are countries where small-scale industries account for several score percent of total production. In our country, it is barely 13 percent. It is easier to tear things down than to build them up.

Let us recall: in 1976, locally managed industry was liquidated all over the country. Large plants were to take over its production lines. They did not... Many small, but much needed products disappeared from [store] shelves.

In the 1980s, a toilsome restoration of the assets has been underway. Before the end of last year, 64 enterprises were set up. In the next several years, there will be several dozen more. The going is tough, because investment funds, machinery and, on occasion, raw materials are in short supply. However, the voivodships which have managed to bring back small-scale industries are happy: local supply has improved, additional jobs have been created (for example, there are areas where women cannot find work), and local budgets have gained a new source of revenue.

Therefore, there are many considerations in favor of restoring small-scale industry faster. This was discussed at the Government Press Bureau during a press conference to which, among others, the mayors of Ostroda, Pyrzyce and Brodnica were invited, i.e. of the cities where locally managed industry has been restored.

9761

Progress Noted in Natural Resource Preservation
26000444d Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish
25 May 88 p 4

[Text] At a field working session at "Moszczenica" Mine in Jastrzebie Zdroj, the State Council of Mining reviewed the efficacy of implementing the programs for eliminating the consequences of mining coal and other fossil resources and for recultivating the land. Recently, considerable progress has been noted in this field.

9761

Engineering, Technician Professions Wage Supplements Listed
26000441c Warsaw ZYCIE GOSPODARCZE in Polish
No 22, 29 May 88 p 4

[Unattributed article: "Supplements to the Wages of the Professional Specialization of Engineers and Technicians"]

[Text] Item 67 of issue 8 of the MONITOR POLSKI published the 12 February 1988 decree by the minister of labor and social policy on supplements to the wages of engineers and technicians.

The decree raises engineer's salaries to the following amounts:

—12,700 zlotys once level I is reached;—15,240 zlotys once level II is reached.

For technicians, wages are raised to the following amounts:

—6,350 zlotys once level I is reached;—10,160 zlotys once level II is reached.

The decree went into effect when it was announced on 1 January 1988.

12261

Economic Reform Commission on Small-Scale Industry Foreign Investment
26000441b Warsaw ZYCIE GOSPODARCZE in Polish
No 23, 5 Jun 88 p 15

[Article by MKK.: "The Legislation Continues"]

[Text] Task Force X of the Sejm commissions on economic reform, self-management and the legal foundations for economic functioning met under the chairmanship of Professor Ludwik Bar. The subject of the first half of the meeting was bills to update the 1982 law on the principles for the operation of small foreign-owned business in Poland (the so-called Polonia law) and the 1986 law on foreign joint ventures. These bills were

discussed at the end of March at a meeting of the Council of Ministers Committee on Economic Reform but do not incorporate any of that body's recommendations.

In accordance with its title, the task force concentrated discussion on legal principles but it also rendered opinions on the logic and economic effects of the adopted plans.

The task force's position will be formulated in writing but one can still gain a notion of its main premises on the basis of remarks made during the discussion and the concluding statements of the chairman. The predominant view was that the two laws on foreign business in Poland do not provide the correct answers. However, since there has not been time enough to work out a unified law, it is now necessary to update the two existing laws. However, the updates should take into consideration the fact that these laws will be merged at some time and that their contradictions will therefore be eliminated. In that context, it was decided that the bills should have their legal content further improved.

Some of the participants expressed several important reservations. Many problems should be regulated by the general law on corporations which has spent too much time in preparation. The vagueness of the provisions on the status of foreign-capital joint ventures was pointed out and it was stated that they should be regarded as nonsocialized enterprises. However, which set of laws apply to them? The laws on socialized enterprise are sometimes too restrictive. On the other hand, if the coming law on businesses is supposed to guarantee equality of all enterprises, how then can one tell which regulations are better for foreign business?

The participants criticized the way in which appeals to the Supreme Administrative Court are handled when a trade concession is rejected for reasons of national defense. It was pointed out that the law on corporations involving the use of state immovable property refers to the principles for the management of state-owned land. But there are no such regulations. The bills submitted to the Council of Ministers and the minister of industry also had too much vague wording such as "if other provisions do not regulate this in a different manner". Voivodship governments still have so much of their own authority that a business can be treated differently in different parts of the country.

Finally, it was also said that it is the taxation system that actually determines how businesses operate. At this point, it must be said that the Domestic Market Ministry's bill to update the Polonia law still has a maximum tax bracket of 75 percent. The Council of Ministers Economic Reform Committee recommended that this figure no longer exceed 65 percent. However, this ceiling can only be lowered if the bills are changed and that can only be done by the Foreign Trade Ministry which is the central government organ responsible for all foreign capital activity in Poland.

Experts on economic law disapprove of the bill's provisions. I am struck by the lack of a super-regulation that would give the Sejm any guarantee that the stated principles will have any stability. I understand that we are deliberately withholding one law, therefore it is hard to use the needed regulation. Perhaps it could be agreed

that these regulations would be in force until a unified law is passed, one which would provide at least the same fiscal conditions.

12261

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

Jurist Describes Problem of Alcoholism in GDR
23000099 Dresden SAECHSISCHE ZEITUNG in
German 8 Jun 88 p 5

[Interview with bezirk court director Siegfried Stranovsky, by Thomas Schade: "When Alcohol Leads People Before the Judge: Is Alcohol on Trial Too, or Is It Not?"]

[Text]

SZ: We are currently discussing the problem of alcohol abuse. Our courts as well are forced to confront these issues time and again. In what areas of the administration of justice are judges encountering them?

Stranovsky: Unfortunately, in all areas that play a role in court practice, and thus not only in conjunction with criminal acts, but also in conflicts in the areas of civil, family and labor law. Excessive use of alcohol in an isolated case as well as continually heavy drinking—I regard both as alcohol abuse—significantly promotes certain criminal acts, but also danger and injury to relations among citizens and in the work process. Alcohol removes inhibitions and limits or even neutralizes the human ability to behave properly, in societal terms, under the given circumstances. In this way, duties under the law are disregarded, and societal obligations are ignored. Loafing on the job and other violations of work place discipline or wrecked families are often the result. Thus, the sole reason for one out of ten divorces is alcohol abuse.

SZ: Obviously, criminal acts under the influence of alcohol play a special role here. To what degree do the courts encounter this?

Stranovsky: Accounting for around one-third of all criminal acts, the percentage of alcohol-related crimes is unfortunately very high. Our experience shows that alcohol abuse results especially in criminal acts that demonstrate a disregard for other people, for the rules of coexistence and for public order. In particular, serious criminal acts against life and limb, three-fourths of all bodily injuries, 80 percent of all insults and more than two-thirds of all actions against public order and safety are committed under the influence of alcohol.

Many other criminal acts are committed in order to get alcohol or to continue one's abuse, after the bars have closed, for example.

SZ: Regardless of whether citizens are in court because of violation of their obligations with respect to labor, criminal or civil law or because of divorce in conjunction with alcohol, basically it is the question of abuse that has brought them before the judge. Can one, nonetheless, differentiate between these people?

Stranovsky: Certainly. One can, and the court must. For example, there is clearly a difference between a brawl with serious consequences that was caused by alcohol abuse and a drinker who simply oversleeps and does not get to work on time. If we take two seemingly similar criminal acts, then it is inevitable and understandable that the court is going to make a distinction between the criminal who once, on a special occasion, drank too much and then committed an illegal act that, based on his normal behavior, must be regarded as essentially "alien to his personality," and the criminal who, despite repeated punishment for alcohol crimes, continues to drink heavily even though he knows that other criminal acts could ensue. Although alcohol is grounds for justification in neither case, the circumstances of the genesis of the act, the seriousness associated with it and the corresponding reaction by the court are different.

SZ: The Beinhoff family and other readers felt that the sentences in the case against Ingo L. and Tilo S. were too lenient. Is it then really the case that, as Renate Schmidt wrote in her letter, alcohol is never on trial as well?

Stranovsky: Here I must contradict Ms Schmidt: Alcohol is always on trial if there is someone sitting in the dock who has violated socialist law through or because of alcohol. This fact finds expression in the fact that according to our laws, the influence of alcohol neither rules out nor reduces responsibility under criminal law. Any entreaty in this regard is useless.

Alcohol is also on trial in the sense that its concrete effects and the circumstances of its abuse are to be exposed in the individual case. These circumstances are important not only for the proper sentencing, but must also be subjected to public criticism, such as when other persons, contrary to the law and to morality, promote abuse or—despite the existence of obligations, such as the restriction on giving alcohol to young people—have not prevented it.

As far as the judgment against Ingo L. and Tilo S. is concerned, the bezirk court, because of the appeal entered, only had the option of deciding on the request in the appeal. The requests for lesser sentences were turned down.

SZ: Driving under the influence of alcohol is clearly one of the greatest hazards to citizens, and unfortunately it continues to be one of the leading causes of accidents. In your opinion, what should be done to emphasize society's intolerance in this question more so than has been done before?

Stranovsky: The dangerous effects of alcohol become particularly obvious through the threat to transportation posed by drunkenness. It is the number four cause of accidents, and it is not unusual for it to be involved in particularly serious accidents. I refer here to clear descriptions by the comrades in the traffic police and to the consistent response that the Dresden-Mitte kreis

court recently gave to someone who would not learn (SAECHSISCHE ZEITUNG of 1 June 1988, p 5). The fact that alcohol and driving a vehicle are mutually exclusive must penetrate the consciousness of every driver to a greater extent, in part by an even broader evaluation of court proceedings. However, we should not look only at this side of it. In general, we need greater discipline in road transportation—this means in wild driving and violations of the right of way as well—and in order to further control other serious criminal acts we need to overcome lax, thoughtless and irresponsible drinking habits in all spheres of life.

SZ: What can you say from the experience of the courts: Can alcohol really help people to solve personal problems?

Stranovsky: Our experiences indicate that the opposite is true. As a rule, excessive consumption of alcohol magnifies personal problems, even if, as many violators of the law point out, it initially appears to help one to suppress or forget conflicts. I am not ruling out the possibility here

that moderate, noncontinuous enjoyment of alcohol on certain occasions can serve as a stimulant, set a conversation in motion more quickly and sometimes help promote useful ideas. But this possible effect can never be grounds or justification for alcohol abuse.

SZ: Thus, the point of this interview is not a total ban on alcohol, but rather moderation in its use. From there the question: What do you personally think about it?

Stranovsky: Basically I have already answered that. It is appropriate in moderation, on the right occasion, at the right time, in the right place, in a suitable context. Alcohol must remain what it is and should not go beyond that—a superior luxury item that is able to improve individual moments in life, but that should never become the purpose of life.

SZ: Thank you very much for the interview.

12271