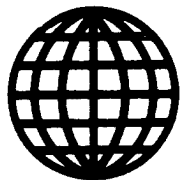


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25 FEBRUARY 1988



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# ***JPRS Report***

## **East Europe**

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# East Europe

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## INTRABLOC

### Soviet 'Novosti' Chief on Cooperation With Bloc Press

26000022 Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish  
19-20 Sep 87 p 3

[Interview with Vladimir Milutenko]

[Excerpts] [ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI] The terms "restructuring" and "openness" [glasnost] have earned great popularity, since the world is vitally interested in the historic changes in the life of Soviet society. In what way are the content and sense of these changes reflected in APN [NOVOSTI Press Agency] materials?

[Vladimir Milutenko] Well, for many years at APN we have thought that our materials have no competitors abroad. Here I am thinking of other Soviet broadcasting media. Perhaps this opinion originated because we began to write in the spirit of modern journalism sooner than our other Soviet colleagues. But the revolutionary changes which also affected the Soviet press made it our most important competitor. At present in the USSR no two newspapers are alike. Even journalists accredited in Moscow complain that they are not able to read all the interesting texts being published in Soviet newspapers and periodicals. Today even our former partners often and willingly borrow from these newspapers and periodicals. So in order to maintain our position, we at APN must fight with the journalist's best weapon—professional expertise, interesting news, originality of expression, and accurate discernment of the interests of the readers to whom we address our materials.

In this "duel" our workers must fight primarily with the "internal censor," which from time to time draws them toward old stereotypes and tempts them with excessive caution.

Experience shows that there is not and cannot be different truths for abroad and for oneself at home. There is only one truth. And such, unaltered, we deliver.

Restructuring, openness—behind these terms lie people, characters, fates, and thoughts. This conflict of opinions and the struggle of a new habit with old ones stubbornly defending themselves are constant confirmation of irreversible changes. In this very dialectic and revolutionary impulse one would like to bring the present trend in our country closer to the readers. This is both difficult and our responsibility.

[Question] We note with satisfaction that the quality of the materials reaching our editorial office from APN has improved significantly. The subject matter became more varied and the materials more interesting and original in form and differentiated in description. Most of our

readers have observed this. What is being done at APN to raise the professional level of workers, and in what way is the latest computer technology being introduced in your agency?

[Answer] In order to write interestingly, we must keep abreast of the affairs of every country on earth. Therefore we attach such great importance to the preparation of our staff in languages. We utilize every opportunity for them to be in the country on which they're working as often as possible. Among other ways we are achieving this is by training periods lasting several months at press centers in Soviet exhibitions and also within the framework of the constantly developing system of cashless exchange.

But knowledge of the language and realities of a given country alone is not enough if professional excellence does not go hand-in-hand with it. Therefore we are also organizing workshop seminars, improvement courses, and competitions, and we are awarding prizes in journalism which to some extent force people to do research and to use a variety of journalistic descriptions and original formulation of a subject.

At the same time we realize that near the end of the 20th century, a century of rapid information, a journalist can no longer use only a pen or typewriter, though we realize how difficult it sometimes is to give up old habits.

We have begun computerization with translators' work, for on them often depends one of the main indicators used to evaluate our activity-efficiency.

Material illuminated on a computer monitor remains in the machine's memory and it is easy to make all corrections on it and to obtain a neat translation, without erasures.

Our offices in Western Europe, the United States, and Canada are equipped with the latest electronic technology.

The first experiments showed that it is difficult to break down the psychological barrier, however. Experienced and somewhat older journalists sit before a monitor with distrust. Therefore we primarily have young ones work with it.

[Question] We know that APN maintains good working contacts with brother agencies in socialist countries, including the Polish Press Agency and INTERPRESS. How does this partnership look in practice, and what are its prospects?

[Answer] In our colleagues from INTERPRESS we have found mainly friends and people who think similarly. Similarity of views on informational activity is the most important condition for success. We note that at present a time of still more concrete and necessary action has thrust itself upon us. This joint task resulted from a

program of ideological cooperation between the CPSU and the PZPR, attesting to the confidence of the party in our brother agencies and their creative potential.

We worked jointly with INTERPRESS and Janusz Przymanowski on the book "Remembrances." The Polish delegation laid its two volumes on the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier in Moscow. Letters now flow to Moscow and Warsaw from every corner of the USSR and Poland, being a specific continuation of this important book devoted to the Soviet soldiers who died on Polish soil bringing her freedom...

We also shot two videotapes with INTERPRESS which were presented on Soviet and Polish television, and also on television programs in other countries. We also launched a program for mutual representation of so-called young talents. The presentation by Polish colleagues of Soviet violinist Evgenii Bushkov, not only as a musician but as a person, was the premier here. Now it is our turn...

Even before the Great October 70th anniversary holiday we received a special issue of the monthly magazine REPORTER from INTERPRESS. It will be the first fruit of a journalistic trip around the USSR by leading Polish newspaper reporters.

We have many other interesting ideas, such as the exchange of photographic exhibitions and joint publication of books or filming of videotapes...

[Question] Many texts which we receive from your agency deal with the patriotic-defensive and internationalist education of the Soviet people...

[Answer] Our agency cooperates with administrative channels and organizations interested in youth education—the Komsomol KC [Central Committee] and the Main Political Directorate of the Soviet Army and Navy. Every new initiative of these bodies furnishes a subject for new publicity. Then our reporters and photojournalists set out on the roads of the last war and partisan pathways. Together with the Border Guard Troops we set out on the route laying along the border, stand watch on battleships, and visit interesting people.

[Question] Readers of our paper surely are interested in the route by which, for example, an order from ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI for given material later reaches our newspaper in the form of a concrete article. Perhaps a few words on the "kitchen" for preparation for textual and photographic materials.

[Answer] We try hard to see to it that material you order takes the shortest route. However, it does happen that travel time is measured in many hours and even weeks. After all our country is truly vast and all depends on where we must search for the information—in the electronic memory of our archives, in Moscow, or somewhere in the Far East.

And what does the "kitchen" look like? The order reaches an individual who handles a given subject. The text, read and completed by an editing staff member, is sent by telex to the APN Office in Warsaw, where translators join in the work. Later, a telephone call to the editorial staff of ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI that we are ready...

[Question] Vladimir Borisevich, in conclusion please say a few words about yourself, about your present work, and your route to journalism.

[Answer] I am one of those journalists who did not complete a course of study in journalism. I am a construction engineer. At one time I dreamed of building bridges, tunnels, and the metro. But life and activity in the Komsomol slightly "reworded" my plans. On the recommendation of the Novosibirsk Committee of the District Komsomol, to which I came from the Engineering Institute, I took up work on the youth newspaper MLODOSYBERII. And that is how it began.

Then I worked in the KC WLKZM [All-Union Lenin Communist Youth League Central Committee] in the MLODA GWARDIA publishing house. Post-graduate studies in Bulgaria and a 7-year stay in the FRG, where I worked as a journalist and became friends with many Polish correspondents accredited there, inclined me toward my professional interest in international problems. I like youth-oriented subjects most of all, however,

Well, my only complaint is that at present I have so little time for it.

[Question] Sincere thanks for the interview and time which the Comrade Vice-chairman gave to the representative from the Polish Army's daily newspaper, and for the invitation to go on and organization of the interesting journalist's trip around the USSR.

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## CZECHOSLOVAKIA

**Long-Range Environmental Outlook Assessed**  
24000030 Prague PODNIKOVA ORGANIZACE in  
Czech No 10, 1987 pp 428-433

[Article by Eng Vladimir Voracek, UFS (Philosophy and Sociology Institute) of the CSAV (Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences); Prague: "A Prognosis on the Environment up to the Year 2010"]

[Excerpt]

### Current State of the Economy and the Environment

Socialist industrialization carried out under the conditions of a country which was already relatively developed industrially created a unique industrial potential in the CSSR, one of the leaders in the world in terms of the size

of the country and the number of inhabitants. There was also a good standard of living created with new socialistic features of a high standard of living for the population and social security aspects such as full employment, a high level of social policies, etc. Another result for society as a whole is the high average education, the accumulation of a noteworthy potential for invention, and a special creativity of the population. The changeover to intensive development, which is a struggle going on in the entire socialist world and which has become a categorical imperative for a positive outlook on the Czechoslovak economy and society, presumes social forces and research and development to be decisive factors. With a value of \$7,000 in per capita gross domestic product in 1985, the CSSR is ranked among the 20 most industrialized countries in the world. The current structure of the national economy and particularly industry does not, however, guarantee an opportunity of further growth in national income and thus in the population's standard of living. This is true not just because of productivity, material and energy demands, and a shortage of raw materials generally, but particularly from the standpoint of a lagging behind in the use values of the items produced in comparison with world parameters. This situation leads on the one hand to resolving the problems of the lagging development of our national economy in world competition, and on the other hand to the problems associated with the society-wide effectiveness of the economy's results, as well as defining the factors which led to positive results in the extensive method of development.

A one-sided orientation of industrial production toward the branches which require high capital investment portions which partially die out (the extraction of mineral raw materials, particularly coal; the metallurgical industry; energy; heavy chemistry, etc.) led to a falling behind of the development of the consumer industry, the infrastructure, the construction of housing districts, and the innovation of production in general. At the same time, some resources such as water, soil, and woods were squandered; the transportation system for freight transportation was overburdened, the growing damage and harm to individual components of the environment ignored, and inadequate actions taken to improve the environment in all housing areas and industrial concentrations. In principle this is a matter of a low level of "ecological consciousness" on the part of society entering into the system of management, planning, legal regulations, and standards, including auditing and economic tools. These "debts" of society accumulate and gradually, with the interference of negative influences and the effects of social activities, unresolvable problems in an "enchanted circle" of often unclear relationships and dependencies are the results. To overcome such barriers one can proceed with a critical analysis of the situation from the social, political, economic, and ecological aspects to a discovery of the laws governing relationships and the mechanisms of interaction by society and the environment. In some indicators of deterioration of environmental quality (the deposition of

sulphur by area or inhabitant) the CSSR achieves the sad position of being among the four worst countries in the world. One of the immediate and urgent problems that needs solving is that of air pollution. Currently on the territory of the CSSR 7.6 million tons a year of gaseous and solid emissions are produced (the sources are 69 percent industry, 19 percent local heating, and 12 percent transportation).

The composition of the emissions by type are:

|                         |                         |
|-------------------------|-------------------------|
| SO <sub>2</sub>         | 3.37 million tons/year  |
| Solid particles         | 1.70 million tons/year  |
| NO <sub>x</sub>         | 1.00 million tons/year  |
| CO                      | 1.30 million tons/year  |
| Other gaseous particles | 0.20 million tons/year. |

There are deposits of 1,733 million tons/year of emissions from foreign sources on the territory of the CSSR (import) and a total of 2,104 million tons/year of emissions from our sources leaves by way of transmission through the atmosphere to other countries (export). So far we have not clarified the problems of diffusion of emissions in mountainous regions for a prognosis of the possible damages and harm to the environment and also the cumulative effects of many types of emissions in causing damages.

Quantification of damages to the individual elements and components of the environment is also a complex problem, and the economic evaluation has a generalized nature partly because of the lack of information, but also because of the dynamics of the damage process. It is thus a matter of a systematic determination of the level of damages as a basis for establishing the effectiveness of the resources expended in caring for the environment:

a) There is a gradual deterioration (a shortening of the lifespan) of fixed assets by the effect of corrosion caused by geographic position and the polluted atmosphere. The course of corrosion has been established exactly on metal construction, while there has been less damage through corrosion to other construction material. The annual damage is estimated at Kcs 15 billion;

b) Quantification of the damages to vegetation in the woods has been performed only in selected regions and it is difficult to carry out any kind of extrapolation of these results with regard to the type and age composition of the vegetation in woods, the varying positional conditions, and the overall dynamics of the process of damage. On the territory of the CSR a total of 63.6 percent of the area of woods is damaged (4th level) and on the territory of the SSR only 16.5 percent of the area. The annual loss in wood production caused by emissions is estimated at 1.34 million cubic meters of wood. The woods have a number of nonproduction functions such as social functions (recreational, hygienic, landscaping) as well as

climatic, hydrologic, and soil conservation ones. Some of these functions mingle on the same area which increases the importance of such woods on the one hand, but also the significance of damage on the other. The relationship of the production function to the nonproduction reaches an average value of 1:4 to 1:6, but it can also be up to 20-fold;

c) The damages caused by emissions to agricultural production are estimated at a value of Kcs 560 million annually. This figure increases to Kcs 750 million when the non-production function of permanent agricultural vegetation (meadows, pastures, gardens, hop fields, vineyards, etc.) are taken into consideration;

d) Damages to water areas through emissions have so far not been evaluated either in the natural or the economic indicators. It is cited as one of the effects of increased acidity in streams and standing water (fishponds, reservoirs, lakes) caused by acid rain.

e) Damages caused by the effect of emissions on private and public property (corrosion of transportation resources, wearing out clothing, etc.) amounts to about 7 percent of the overall makeup of damages to the environment.

The pollution of streams and subsurface water sources is another burning problem, generally in view of the continuously rising demands of the economy and the populace for a supply of good quality water. In some regions both pollution and also a lack of water is becoming a barrier (a limiting value) to further development. The importance of solving this problem grows even more with regard to the geographic position (the headwater regions for rivers) and mistakes made in technical modifications and regulation of flow. A total of 1,222 billion cubic meters of waste waters are released into the rivers, of which 383 million cubic meters have been treated. Checks of the quality of surface waters in rivers have been carried out since 1963, in the CSR on 59 rivers with a length of 3,314 km at 201 points, and in the SSR at 199 points on 69 rivers with a length of 2,900 km. Damages caused by pollution of the rivers and subsurface waters were estimated at an amount of Kcs 6.55 billion per year.

The negative effects of the economy on the soil have a number of aspects, of which agriculture causes the greatest damages. Generally one can cite the forms of damage by permanent or temporary occupation, damage through erosion (by water or wind), contamination by the wide variety of wastes (solid, liquid, compacted, etc.). The result is a reduction in the quality of soil, or a gradual loss of fertility and the need for compensatory, often very expensive, measures from improvements up through changes in the space composition, especially of agricultural production. The overall area of agricultural land is 6.8 million hectares. Of this, 61.3 percent is acidic soils which causes reduced fertility. Another 22 percent is heavy, sandy, or stony soils. About 36.9 percent of the arable land has insufficient phosphorus. The importance

of this problem rises with regard to the shrinking allocation of agricultural and arable land per capita; in 1980 there was 0.45 hectare of agricultural land and 0.32 hectare of arable land per inhabitant. Within the framework of SPEV (State Program of Economic Research) a survey of damages was worked out as an expert estimate. Even though the results can be debated, it is a first approximation:

| Type of Damages and Harm                                    | Million Kcs/year |
|-------------------------------------------------------------|------------------|
| —Damage caused by excessive erosion                         | 900              |
| —Damage caused by emissions and solid wastes                | 560              |
| —Damage caused by compacting the soil                       | 3,000            |
| —Damage caused by permanent occupation of agricultural land | 4,000            |
| —Damage caused by temporary occupation                      | 1,800            |

The negative effects and influences of noise, vibrations, highly toxic wastes, and various types of equipment are well known and the mechanism of their effects has been studied, but we lack the initial information for a composite evaluation and the establishing of the share and weight in the overall hierarchy of negative influences.

One of the social aspects of changes in environmental quality is a change in the population's health status. It concerns the results of the influences and effects of polluted atmosphere, contamination of agricultural products and foodstuffs, and a number of external economic factors. In the existing state of the population's health on the territory of our state, we distinguish two stages, which are:

—The stage 1945 to 1960, when there were positive changes. The health status of the children improved, infant and child mortality very rapidly changed (decreased), and there were positive changes in children's physical and mental development. In the populace of productive age there was a continuous and rapid reduction in the death rate, especially because of a successful fight against infectious illnesses. The health status of the postproductive sectors of the population also improved. This situation was the reason for the health status of the CSSR population being in one of the leading positions in the world.

—The stage 1965 up to the present is characterized by a number of inconsistencies and one of the reasons for the negative tendencies is a change in environmental quality. The median life expectancy of men and women dropped. The growth in men's death rate is the third highest in Europe, especially in the 40-49 age group. The main causes of death are cardiovascular and cancerous illnesses (in the 55-59 age group a total of 20 percent of men fall ill with cancerous diseases). In the period of 1970-1985 the overall number of sick mens increased by

30.3 percent, and women even by 46.3 percent. There was an increase in the occurrence of threatened pregnancies with a high level of miscarriages and stillborn children. Problems with the health status of an aging population are also increasing. A direct dependency between a change in the environmental quality and a change in the population's health status has been demonstrated in a number of fields already. One of the causes is the "chemicalization" of the environment, which increases the genotoxic risk in particular.

The effect of changes in the health status caused by a change in the environmental quality appears in other social aspects, such as increased migration and commuting to work or a change in the social and age composition of extensive areas.

### The Reasons for the Development of the Environment

The current status of the environmental quality on the territory of the CSSR has had a significant negative tendency of development over a period of the last 20 years. The reasons for that situation are not to be sought in an inadequate approach to limiting the negative influences of economic operations, but in an entire complex of relationships and interactions of society with the environment from the political, social, economic, and ecological aspects.

The importance of resolving this problem was not appreciated in the study of its growth and not even the signals from the scientific research laboratories on the greater damages to the environment were an adequate argument for a unified concept and a program for the creation and protection of the environment. The main reasons can thus be characterized as the extensive method of developing the economy, oversimplified approaches to industrialization and urbanization, the promulgation of the limited interests of departments or regions, the length of time in which economic activities acted on the environment without sanitation measures against the growing damages and harm. Technocratism and economicism thus prevailed, from whose standpoint any kind of action concerning the protection of the environment or from the aspect of the creation of the environment by changes in the composition or technology of the production processes was totally ineffective. The basic social aspect and the fact that it is a matter of the basic condition for increasing the standard of living and implementation of the socialist life style were thus overlooked. In evaluating changes in environmental quality from the social aspects, we use as criteria changes in the population's health status, changes in migration and commuting to work, and changes in the social and age composition of the population. According to these criteria it is then possible to establish the level of care about the environment in the central and regional management agencies.

As a partial characterization of the chain of reasons and their consequences it is possible to cite:

—Excessive extraction of renewable and nonrenewable natural resources and their inadequate valuing and utilization;

—Inadequate care in supplying the populace and the economy with water;

—Economic damages and losses in the economic activities caused by negative influences or oversimplified planning, construction, and operation which caused limiting values for the development both of economic operations and of regions;

—The migration of the population and increased commuting to work which can be attributed to poor environmental quality in some regions and the changes in the social and age composition of the inhabitants connected with it;

—Changes in the population's health status (for example, the influence of atmospheric pollution affects the entire territory of the state and one-third of the population lives in regions with excessive pollution);

—The influences of harmful materials in agricultural products and foodstuffs;

—The genotoxic risk of the work environment;

—The cumulative effects of the individual toxic components in the environment;

—The appearance of ecological and economic barriers in industrial and housing centers for the further development of society and the economy;

—The appearance of negative changes in the value orientation of the population;

—A worsening of the international position of the CSSR as the producer of harmful materials with regard to the geographic position of the lands in central Europe and the politically sensitive region on the borders of the socialist and capitalist systems;

—The fragmentation of the legislative provisions aimed at caring for the environment;

—Undervaluing the economic, social, political, and international importance of resolving the problems of the environment in the management agencies, which shows up in the selection of cadre responsible for environmental care, tolerance of the departmental viewpoint, and nonfulfillment of a number of legal provisions or providing exceptions to the resolution of actions which cannot be put off and unsuitable investment policies as well;

—Shortcomings resulting from the wrong orientation toward resolution of environmental problems on the nationwide scale relying on getting rid of wastes and the negative influences of economic activities while preserving the technology, production processes, and system of planning and management “in the old style” as if the current state of the quality of the environment and its developmental trends were not a sufficient example and warning signal for adjustments and the prevention of negative trends. A consequence of this faulty orientation is also the directing of public interest to “cosmetic actions” such as collecting trash, planting landscaping vegetation without any greater ecological importance, and simultaneously keeping quiet the actual state of progress in the devastation and deterioration of environmental quality not only in regions, but also on the nationwide scale;

—Shortcomings in R&D in aiming at merging the viewpoints of the development of the technology of production processes and simultaneously the aspects of creating the environment.

#### The Prognosis for the Environment up to the Year 2010

To work out a realistic prognosis it is necessary to start with the characteristics and other supplemental information concerning:

- a) The development of the population: the current status of the age and social composition, growth rate, health status, migrations, and commuting to work, including retrospective data (20 and more years);
- b) The status and needs of natural resources and the natural environment;
- c) The distribution of economic installations on the territory and the negative influences associated with them and their effects;
- d) Changes in equipment and technology, including R&D;
- e) The geographic position of the state's territory and the specific problems resulting from it, including external relationships and the influences on neighboring countries;
- f) Plans for changes in environmental quality.

According to projections of the CSSR's population growth, in 2010 the number should reach 15.856 million inhabitants or, according to another variant, 17.450 million. Changes in the social composition are considered in comparison with the current situation as follows:

|                       | 1984 Percentage of Population 2010 |      |
|-----------------------|------------------------------------|------|
| —Industry             | 48.1                               | 32.0 |
| —Agriculture          | 9.9                                | 6.5  |
| —Services             | 40.7                               | 45.0 |
| —Information handling | not cited                          | 15.2 |
| —Other                | 1.3                                | 1.3  |

Changes in the population's health status are an important indicator of environmental quality and also serve as one of the criteria for evaluating environmental quality. This relationship has already been demonstrated in a number of areas in the CEMA member states and the negative tendency in the health status has been studied since 1960 in population groups of children 9-11, adults 45-55, and those 65 and older. The median life expectancy for men as well as women has decreased, infant mortality is increasing in the industrial regions, and cardiovascular and cancerous illnesses are increasing, as well as respiratory illnesses, the occurrence of allergies, and psychoneurotic illnesses. Illness and premature deaths among men and women have significant regional differences.

As a consequence of increased illness and premature death in the population there is a high amount of life potential lost in the population and high economic damages. In the period up to 2000 it is not possible to expect any significant improvement in the population's health status because about one-third of the inhabitants live in unfavorable conditions and it is also not possible to expect a turn around in improvements in environmental quality because, among other things, it is necessary to take into consideration the saturation of the ecosystem in the state's territory with toxic materials and the movement of the population into the cities. It is thus possible to expect positive changes only after the year 2000 to 2010 under conditions of changes in environmental quality and increased expenditures for health from the current 4 percent of the gross domestic product to 10 to 12 percent.

It is possible to reduce the movement of the population caused by changes in environmental quality and also commuting to work by about 50 percent by 2010. (The annual migration amounts to about 450,000 inhabitants and the annual amount of commuting to work is 30 percent of the economically active population).

The natural environment has a function of the basis of existence for the population and at the same time a source of its economic activities. In utilizing natural resources there is a circulation of materials and their

transformation between society and the environment being newly created. The necessity of rational utilization of natural resources come from the limited supplies of nonrenewable resources. We consider the soil, mineral raw materials, water, and biomass as the most important natural resources. One of the indicators of utilization of natural resources is the composition of soil utilization.

|                   | Percentage of Area in the CSSR |                    |
|-------------------|--------------------------------|--------------------|
|                   | Current Status                 | Prognosis for 2010 |
| Agricultural land | 53.4                           | 41.3               |
| Forest land       | 35.8                           | 32.8               |
| Built-up land     | 1.9                            | 8.3                |
| Water area        | 1.9                            | 2.5                |
| Other             | 7.0                            | 15.0               |

The construction of housing areas, lines of communication for industrial plants, recreation areas, or waterworks presumes using up agricultural land to the extent of 11 to 12 percent and about 2 to 3 percent of forest land. One can further expect changes in the quality of agricultural land through the influence of the use of chemicals and heavy machinery in the negative direction if there is not a radical change in the current technological approaches. Currently 61.3 percent of the soil shows an acidic reaction and this change is expected in another 22 percent of the area of agricultural lands.

The intensity of utilization of our own mineral raw materials is high in the CSSR and is expressed in the value of mineral raw materials produced per 1 km<sup>2</sup>. The turnover in value of materials is estimated at 400 tons/hectare. About 1.5 to 2 million inhabitants live directly in contact with the extraction of mineral raw materials.

The period up to 2010 can be characterized by the gradual ending of mining coal supplies (brown coal and anthracite) from the main known deposits, including metal ores, and a transition to mining ceramic clays.

The need for water for the population and the economy is continuously growing and currently it is a national economic problem. The criterion for utilizing water sources is the volume of the overall need for water in comparison with the average discharge from the state's territory, which today amounts to 23 percent and is expected to be up to 28 percent in the year 2000 and 35 percent by 2010. The problem of pollution of the rivers has not yet been adequately resolved. It is known from the economic accounts that the payment of damages to neighboring countries for polluted rivers flowing out of the CSSR's territory is higher than the amount of investments necessary for the construction of purification facilities. It is possible and realistic to improve the quality of drinking water by the year 2000 and it is possible to expect a limiting of the polluting of water sources around 2005.

Biomass is created on about 90 percent of the area of the CSSR's territory with continuously increasing trends in forestry (6.6 plm (possibly square meters) per hectare) and in agriculture with 4.5 tons of grain per hectare. By applying differing technological approaches in relation to the natural conditions, it is possible to achieve

increases of 50 percent in 2010. In resolving environmental problems it is necessary to take into consideration both the social and the other nonproduction functions of vegetation cover. Housing, housing area structures, the extensive distribution of industrial and agricultural plants are all sources of influences on the environment in the positive as well as the negative sense. The position of production processes can have their particular operations valued for the resulting production or also condemned. It is necessary to determine the effectiveness for society as a whole over a longer period of time because then it is possible also to include all the environmental factors and changes and effects in the environment as a whole. The number of villages (14,803) and towns (201 over 10,000) points out the localization of 10,200 operational sites of industrial plants and another 1,903 sites of JZDs (unified agricultural cooperatives) and state farms. The amount of damages and harm caused by economic activities is currently estimated at some tens of billions of Kcs annually. With economic restructuring it will be necessary to carry out a restructuring in space as well from the aspect of protecting and creating the environment. In orienting and managing R&D it is necessary to emphasize the integration of the new technology with solution of the problems of creating the environment in the broadest sense of the word. At the same time it is necessary from the principle that solution of environmental problems does not center just in doing away with the effects of the negative influences of economic activities, but also in the creation of all components of the environment as a base for increasing the standard of living and the creation of a system of caring about the environment as an essential part of the socialist way of life.

The geographic position of the CSSR's territory also requires a specific solution to environmental problems not only for our own territory, but also the resolution of all problems of relationships concerning air pollution, water pollution, transportation, energy, recreation, tourism, etc. A current problem which will also remain one up to 2010 is pollution of the air by the heating plants of electric power station of our neighboring countries because one can realistically assume a lifespan of 30 to 40 years for them. Limiting air pollution by 30 percent in accordance with international agreements will be possible to achieve only on the basis of a high level of investments in basic measures for the further operation and development of energy. The current state of care for the environment is not adequate for the special importance of this problem from the political, social and economic, or ecological aspects and there are not enough measures even in the plan which could turn about the existing negative trend of development in environmental quality.

## Conclusion

In the period up to 2010 it is necessary to resolve the problems of the environment as an integral part of all measures aimed at the development of society, the

economy, and regions. To put off solving these problems will lead to negative social consequences, economic losses, and irreversible processes in nature. It is possible to achieve a basic turn around in the negative trend in the development of environmental quality by mobilizing the necessary resources and agencies of management, planning, and research in the period around 2005. From the regional standpoint it is necessary to devote increased care to the industrial and housing concentrations in restructuring the economy, especially since these regions already find themselves in a state of ecological crisis. It is also necessary to pay increased attention to the international aspects of the protection of the environment, because of the country's exposed geographic position and the border problems between the socialist and capitalist countries with their special political aspects.

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## GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

### Summaries of Major EINHEIT Articles, December 1987

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[Summary of article by Guenter Sieber, member of the SED Central Committee and director of the SED Central Committee's International Relations Department; pp 1059-1063. A full translation of this article, entitled "GOSR Anniversary Meeting Results Assessed," is published in this report]

### Together for Peace and the Future of Mankind—On the Meeting of Parties and Movements Recognizing the 70th Anniversary of Red October in Moscow

[Text] The Moscow meeting of parties and movements, 70 years after the stirring peace signal of the Red October—a step of world historic importance toward the cooperation of all revolutionary, progressive, and peace-loving forces, all the forces of reason and realism, for the survival of humanity. The political and ideological breadth and diversification of the meeting, the growing need and chance for concerted action on disarmament and sure peace, and for the development of all-inclusive international cooperation in solving the global problems.

[Summary of article by Harry Tisch, member of the SED Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the FDGB; pp 1064-1069. A full translation of this article, entitled "Trade Union's Role in Production Examined," is published in this report]

### Trade Union's Representation of Interests in the Process of Technological Change

[Text] In the process of technological change, trade unions face many new effective conditions—especially for the efficient use and further development of vivid

socialist democracy, in conducting socialist competition, for ever closer links between science and production, and for steadily improving working and living conditions. How do the trade unions meet this responsibility, and at what new requirements must the trade union representation of interest be directed?

[Summary of article by Prof Dr Karl Hartmann, candidate of the SED Central Committee, first deputy rector and director of the science division for political economy and the economic sciences at the SED Central Committee's "Karl Marx" Party College; pp 1070-1076]

### About the Creative Elaboration and Implementation of our Economic Strategy

[Text] A solid and dynamic development that is smoothly converted into social progress, that materializes our creative application of the fundamental lessons from the classic authors of Marxism-Leninism. What are the mainstays of our economic strategy? What are the prospects for further deepening our intensification? How does our program for economic and social progress take account of man as the chief productive force?

[Summary of article by Prof Dr Helmut Koziolk, member of the SED Central Committee and director of the SED Central Committee's Central Institute for Socialist Economic Management; pp 1077-1086. A full translation of this article, entitled "Combines' Function in Production, Improvement Discussed," is published in this report]

### Business Management in the System of Our Socialist Planned Economy

[Text] Socialist combine and enterprise management is an inseparable component of society's total reproduction process. It is dealt with in the sense of democratic centralism with a broad involvement of the working people. What makes a new quality of socialist business management necessary? What is it based on and what effects does it lead to? What experiences have already been gained in developing computer-aided socialist business management in our country, and how will this work be carried on in the combines and enterprises?

[Summary of article by Prof Dr Harry Nick, head of a research section at the Institute for the Political Economy of Socialist of the SED Central Committee's Academy for Social Sciences; pp 1087-1093. A full translation of this article, entitled "Technological Revolution's Effect on Individual Sketched," is published in this report]

### Social Security in the Scientific-Technical Revolution— A Value of Socialism

[Text] Social security belongs among the basic values of socialism. It has been confirmed in our country that it exercises profound effects on the general sociopsychological climate, the mode of life, and that it functions as

driving force for efficiency growth. Whereas capitalist society in no country proved able to carry the growing fruitfulness of human labor that comes from the productive forces development into social security for all, our socialist society has demonstrated how high-tech goes together with social security and social advances. To ensure social security is a constant task. What does that mean for management and planning?

[Summary of article by Dr Dieter Weger, secretary for economics at the Frankfurt/Oder SED Bezirk Management; pp 1094-1096]

#### **The Schwedt Initiative—Successes, Experiences, Requirements**

[Text] The Schwedt Initiative, baptized 10 years ago, under the motto of "Few Produce More," has proven a landmark for socialist rationalization. Presenting the experiences gained with it in the Oder Bezirk, it is being shown how with man and for him through a more rational use of the social labor capacity the course of the main task with its integrated economic and social policies is resolutely being implemented.

[Summary of article by Dr Dietmar Wittich, staff member of the Institute for Marxist-Leninist Sociology at the SED Central Committee's Academy for Social Sciences; pp 1097-1099]

#### **Human Life Without Work?**

[Text] What place value does work have today for man and society—in view of the millionfold unemployment in capitalist countries. Why does the loss of work, especially over the long run, cause a sense of loss of meaning that affects the entire social existence of a personality? What are other serious consequences of unemployment as an ill of the profit system?

[Summary of article by Dr Manfred Uschner, deputy department chief in the SED Central Committee; pp 1100-1105]

#### **In Our Common House of Europe—Living Safely and Working Well Together**

[Text] Where could Europe be today if one had constructively responded in the postwar period to the initiatives from the Soviet Union and the other socialist states for a European security system. What is the historic consequence of the upcoming concluding of an agreement on eliminating worldwide nuclear nuclear-range and smaller-range missiles? What further steps are required on behalf of all-inclusive security and cooperation in Europe? As a socialist state, a socialist alliance partner, and through its own initiatives, the GDR actively helps building a common house of Europe.

[Summary of article by Gerhard Holtz-Baumert, author, member of the SED Central Committee, vice president of the GDR's Writers Association, and editor in chief of journal BEITRAEGE ZUR KINDER-UND JUGEND-LITERATUR; and Dr Steffen Peltsch, deputy editor in chief of the same journal; pp 1106-1111]

#### **Socialist Children's and Youth Literature—Component of Personality Formation**

[Text] Defined as an element of our national culture and explained here is the high rank of socialist children's and youth literature—while engaging in polemics against the manifestations of imperialist mass culture. It is shown how through the thematic and spiritual richness in this literary field the values of socialism and the maxims of the socialist life-style are fruitfully tapped and further extended for the personality of the young generation.

[Summary of article by Prof Dr Helmut Burg, research chief at the Institute for Imperialism Research at the SED Central Committee's Social Sciences Academy; pp 1112-1116]

#### **Black Days on the Stock Exchanges**

[Text] "Black Monday" in October 1987—the stock exchange crash, still worse than the one in 1929, shocks the capitalist countries. Worry invades the top echelons of the corporations and of the government bureaus: Is history repeating itself? Has the next, perhaps the biggest, crisis begun already? Hurt mainly are the "small people," who were taken for a ride and invested their meager savings in stocks. The author illuminates the backgrounds and contexts: What actually is happening on the stock exchanges? What made the shares collapse? What ramifications for the capitalist world economy are to be expected?

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#### **Technological Revolution's Effect on Individual Sketched**

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No 12, Dec 87 (signed to press 11 Nov 87) pp 1087-1093

[Article by Prof Dr Harry Nick, head of a research section at the Institute for the Political Economy of Socialism of the SED Central Committee's Academy for Social Sciences: "Social Security in the Scientific-Technological Revolution—A Value of Socialism"]

[Text] The diverse social orders are more and more judged in the world by how they manage to place our century's enormous productive forces at the service of man. Converting scientific-technical progress into social progress moves increasingly to the forefront of the historic conflict between socialism and capitalism.

No longer arguable is meanwhile that the current scientific-technical revolution marks the deepest caesura thus far in the development of the productive forces. In its general tendency it has the effect that fundamental objective or material conditions for the existence and development of human society are becoming increasingly mutable, even moldable. It has moved both the macrocosm and the microcosm into the realm of human activity (the world of atoms and elementary particles, the microstructures of life, the crystal structures of working materials). The deciphering of the genetic code has enabled man—though we still only are at the very beginning here—to alter living beings through direct design and produce new species not produced by natural evolution. With the massive technification of mental activity that has started, a new dimension of the human working potential is tapped, a multiplication of man's mental capacities. The scientific-technical revolution keeps producing new effectivity potentials, again and again new means to expand, enrich, promote men's life process.

In its predominant tendency, the scientific-technical revolution broadens the possibilities to set up technology by man's measure. Granted, the technological and organizational structures are becoming increasingly complicated and complex. But the possibilities for "shifting over" this increasing intricacy and complexity into the technical systems are growing too. Precisely the modern information techniques and automated controls demonstrate it is not always getting more complicated on the boundary between man and technology; on the contrary. Dealing with modern information technology for instance becomes simpler, easier in tendency. Modern technological developments are making technological and organizational structures transparent in a way one could not have imagined only a decade ago. Technology becomes more flexible in tendency, more elastic in the direct man-technology relations. Elbow room is growing for deliberately fashioning socially desirable working contents and conditions. Increasingly modern technology makes possible and requires to replace the thus far predominating trend of splitting up human labor activities by combinations, integration, and complexity and to expand the field of work and responsibility.

The circumstances of human life are not only facilitated and enriched by the scientific-technical revolution, they also become safer in tendency. Covering thousands of miles is less dangerous today than 100 years ago; the water supply is not only better, it also is more reliable. Indeed today we rely more than before on the safe functioning of our technical environment even for our most elementary circumstances of life. Energy or water outage in a highrise would make us feel it at once in a drastic manner; yet scientific-technical progress is also the main way to make technical systems safer and more reliable.

All this categorically demands a social constitution, a policy, a democratically functioning system that would

force this new humanistic potential, the scientific-technical revolution, truly into the service to man.

### Scientific-Technical Revolution Demands Humanistic Social Order

The modern productive forces are confronting us with many novel problems, are extracting not just a few unaccustomed insights, attitudes, and abilities from us. But they supply no evidence for the stubborn contention that science and technology—according to the former president of the German Engineers Association in the FRG, Dettmering—presumably more and more follow "laws of their own," or increasingly depart from ends and purposes that are desirable from the social and human perspective.

The great and novel chances and risks of the scientific-technical revolution imperiously demand becoming aware of its true social nature. Humanistic philosophy sustained by profound conviction is not possible in any other way in our time.

As correct as it is to trace the concrete issues in the man-technology relations, the premises for the work contents and conditions and for the intellectual-cultural processes caused by the scientific-technical revolution, opposing man and technology a priori would lead us astray. Technology—that comes down to the artificial structures man has created and set in motion, which are enlarging and expanding the productive force of his labor and, hence, the fundamental premises of his life. The progress of science and technology is the most important objective prerequisite for the specific mode of evolution by the human species that simply does not primarily proceed by way of biological, but of social evolution. This is an infinite progressive process of the production and accumulation of knowledge and experience being passed on from generation to generation—a process that in socialism proceeds in the service to man and with regard to economic requirements in close interaction with the production and upward development of an artificial environment created by man, of a "second nature." Technology—that is the reification of essential human capacities,<sup>1</sup> of the accumulated capacities of the human species.

If one accepts that the human species bases its existence and upward development mainly on labor, thus on the increasing effectiveness of labor tools, i.e. primarily his technology, it becomes clear that an attitude hostile to technology is anti-humanistic in its thrust. In the era of the scientific-technical revolution a consistent humanistic persuasion demands insisting that science and technology are without reservation placed at the service of man, and that this be insisted on as a right, as in the international convention on economic, social, and cultural rights proclaimed by the United Nations: "The states participating in this convention recognize as a right of everyone to benefit from the use and application of scientific progress."<sup>2</sup>

Some people find in the fact that the United Nations on the same day—19 December 1966—passed two separate conventions—the one on civil and political rights and the one on economic, social, and cultural rights—some backing, if not an argument for the contention the two conventions were entirely different in nature. The civil and political rights were mandatory, litigious, but not so the economic, social, and cultural rights as, after all, no jobless person could get a job from a court. Such argumentation opposes all those who regard the right to work as a true right of theirs, and it also mainly opposes the socialist countries, whose social accomplishments are meant to be disparaged: their having realized social security, full employment, the principle of “equal wages for equal labor,” the suspension of all education privileges and so forth.

Any realistic prognosis on the employment trends in the capitalist countries will have to come to the conclusion that the mass unemployment is not going to vanish in the foreseeable future, may even grow further. It is likely to be one of the more recent bitter disappointments for all those who are backing the capitalist society, that the scientific-technical revolution does not “rejuvenate” that society—as had still be expected in the 1950s and 1960s—and does not mitigate its social ills, but that it increases the unemployment danger so that, above and beyond all the business cycles, even in boom phases, the high pedestal of unemployment does not drop. But renouncing the right to work therefore? The point cannot be to make life easier for the prophets of that society; the point is to facilitate the living conditions for those who live from their own labor.

Next to the right to life, the most important human right, comes the right to work; for useful work is the specific human way to acquire the means for living. Work is not an end in itself yet it is not just a means either; work also is self-realization, is self-identification, as is stated in a poem by Georg Maurer: “man’s great encounter with himself. Would else he know who he is?”

The dangers and great chances for enriching human life as produced by the scientific-technical revolution imperatively demand insisting on the granting also, particularly, of the social rights and on bringing about a policy and circumstances offering a permanent guaranty for social security, the right to work, education, recreation, and social old-age and health care securities.

### **The Individual’s Right to Social Security**

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights, of 10 December 1948, and the two conventions referred to do not distinguish between political and individual rights on the one side and economic, social, and cultural rights, on the other. The formulations “Everyone has the right...” are the same in both conventions, and they are unequivocal. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights says in Article 22: “Everyone as a member of society has the right to social security,” and Article 23

says: “Everyone has the right to work, to a free choice of occupation, to adequate working conditions, and to the protection against unemployment. All people have the right to equal wages for equal work without any discrimination.”<sup>3</sup> To enforce everyone’s right as postulated in the UN documents—e.g. for work and social security—also in capitalist society, would be the job of those who exercise political responsibility there and not rarely all too gladly pose as apostles for humanity. After all, the states that ratified those conventions also obligated themselves to create conditions for the guaranty of all human rights.

A point should be made of an aspect here that keeps coming up in all announcements on the human rights; the claim each individual has to possess these human rights.

Anyone who readily points to average figures on the material standard of living in the capitalist industrial states, ignoring the homeless, the starving and those who freeze, or the social misery of the “fringe groups,” or who may even pretend they are all the price for the liberty and well-being of the majority, cannot then claim a truly humanistic persuasion for himself. Well-being, the right of the individual, has always been an irrevocable element of all yearnings and the ideas of justice, human fraternity, and solidarity. “What you have done to one among these my humblest brothers, you have done to me,” the Bible already said.

Emphasizing everyone’s right to the free development of his personality has from the outset been an element inseparable from the socialist idea. In the “Communist Manifesto,” the birth certificate for scientific socialism, Marx and Engels wrote about the future socialist society: “In place of the old bourgeois society, with its classes and class antagonisms, we shall have an association in which the free development of each is the condition for the free development of all.”<sup>4</sup>

In a most affecting fashion Stephan Hermlin relates how he, around the age of 50 perhaps, made an “uncanny discovery.” Till then he had always read the conclusion of the sentence from the “Communist Manifesto” as if it said: “in which the free development of all is the condition for the free development of each.” “How great was my astonishment, my shock in fact, when I found after many years that the sentence actually says the opposite. Still, relief mixed with that shock of mine. Suddenly I found written before my eyes what I had long waited for, what I had hoped for.”<sup>5</sup>

Such a mistake is quite understandable because the prerequisites for the free development of each can be created only through changes in the social structures, through joint efforts, through a certain constitutionality of society at large. Individuality invariably develops through living interchange with others, with society; the value of an individual always is found in what he means to others. But the goal of socialist society, the most

concentrated expression of its humanistic essence, can be none but the satisfaction of the needs of all its members, i.e. of the needs of each and every one. Satisfying the overall social needs ultimately only is a means for attaining that goal, as for instance the productive resources accumulation.

Revealing in this connection are remarks from Lenin on a 1902 RSDLP draft party program by Plekhanov. Plekhanov had set down as the goal of socialist society "the satisfaction of the needs of the entire society as well as of its individual members." Finding that inadequate and inaccurate, Lenin proposed the following formulation: "Securing the highest well-being and free all-round development of all members of society."<sup>6</sup>

Patently, stressing the right of the individual, of all members of society, to free all-round development actually is a claim inherent in human right as such. Yet something quite essential is added to it: Right for each, made effective, signifies a qualitatively new condition, for each and everyone. The right to work in effect means full employment for everyone. Social security can exist only for all or there is none, at least not for most of the citizens. Not only those directly affected by it suffer from unemployment; the fear of unemployment, from which many more people suffer and which itself has palpable negative social effects, is a direct path of this social ill.

#### **The Ideal of the Workers Movement Became an Inalienable Basic Value of Our Socialist Society**

Social security has been, is and remains an ideal of the workers movement. It belongs among the basic values of socialism. As long ago as in 1845 Engels said, in defining the future socialist society, "that what matters is to create the kind of situation in the life of all people where everyone can freely develop his human nature, live with his fellowmen under human conditions, and need not be afraid of any violent upsets in his situation."<sup>7</sup> In the GDR, offering all its citizens social security from the very start, Engels' vision has proven impressively correct: Social security has profound effects on the nature of social relations, the general sociopsychological climate, the prevailing sense of life, and the people's way of life. It provides dignity, self-assurance, and solidarity in conduct.

Social security is always achievement and a task at one. One must always again fight and work for it because its substance is dynamic. Social security is not only job security; but this alone presupposes economic growth, at least to the extent that the productive force of human labor, mainly through scientific-technical progress, is raised (while the work force remains equal in numbers).

Social security as the GDR citizens understand it has long been a demand for improving their working and living conditions, for real social progress, and this to the degree that is determined principally by their own performance. Social security embraces all the components

of the social living conditions. It means a higher educational level—more than 85 percent of all who work in the GDR have completed vocational training, 21 percent of them, completed technical school or college education—and the same chance of access to all educational institutions for every citizen. It means improving working conditions and the substances of work, and improving health care, which of course is free in every respect. Of special impact on the people's overall living conditions is the housing situation; it has fundamentally changed and improved in the GDR since the early 1970s.

Today, and more still in the future, social progress depends on how we cope with the scientific-technical revolution, how we tap its vast and growing economic and social potentials. Along with the peace message, it is mainly the message sustained by our social reality, that the scientific-technical revolution can be placed consistently and without reservation in the service to man, which the socialist world today addresses to mankind. At no time and in no country has the capitalist society proven able to turn the fruitfulness and productivity of human labor, growing through the development of the productive forces, into a general social security for all members of society. On the contrary, its ideologues with increasing obstinacy have had the presumption madly to claim that this advance in the productive capacity of human labor itself is presumably the cause for the illimitable ills of their order. And indeed: if we did not have the socialist countries' practical experiences with the human use of technology, how would we know that the scientific-technical revolution must not generally cause permanent massive unemployment, the draining of meaning from labor, and the freezing in interhuman relations? "Under the givens in our country, evidence was provided for how modern science and technology is used for the good of the people in socialism, how high-tech goes hand in hand with social security and social advances. The scientific-technical revolution, of the consequences of which many working people in capitalist countries are afraid, is implemented among us with the working people and for their benefit, which they themselves, especially also the young people among them, more and more perceive to be a stimulating creative challenge."<sup>8</sup>

Among the preconditions guaranteeing the right to work the GDR Constitution explicitly also mentions the consistent implementation of the scientific-technical revolution.<sup>9</sup> The scientific-technical revolution has vastly strengthened our society's vitality. It gave it new dynamics that radiate into all sectors of public life. It provides economic growth with stable and lasting foundations. It has created new ambitious fields for human authentication, in the management and planning of social processes as in men's scientific-technical creativity. It is increasingly the most important basis for social progress in the broadest sense of the word.

#### **High Demand on Management and Planning**

Just under the conditions of the scientific-technical revolution, social progress and social security do of

course not come about by themselves. They are largely the outcome of planned and prescient actions in our socialist planned economy based on the public ownership in the means of production, which keeps moving toward further perfection. Higher demands are made on the state's structural policy and on the investment policy which must ensure full employment in concrete time and territorial respects. The whole system of general education, vocational training and retraining was focused on the requirements of the scientific-technical revolution and must constantly be adapted to its new requirements.

New demands arose and are arising for the management and planning of social processes. The practice, customary in our country, of drawing the labor with intellectual work is changed through rationalization, actively into these processes from the very start, i.e. even in the preparatory phase, is of still greater importance today, when the changes in the content and conditions of labor are much more pervasive. Here also it is important that the concrete social concerns are truly discussed with each and every one: a possible job change, training, maybe even housing problems and such matters.

Direct improvements in the content and conditions of labor, i.e. cutting back heavy physical and monotonous routine work, enriching the labor with intellectual-creative elements, more diversified and ambitious work, and the improving of labor and health protection have always been part of socialist rationalization. Many rationalization processes aim at this mainly. For reaching such effects through complex flexible automation solutions, clear targets are needed, leads for labor contents and conditions, that partly even have to be "inserted" into the system. Project planning for labor organization also is needed instead of making corrections afterwards, as has often been the practice in the past.

All this surely is not easy. And much cannot be taken from the individual, such as his learning and his getting used to new work collectives. Yet a society also has morally justified and acceptable reasons for extracting such efforts from an individual as long as it has itself one supreme goal: the highest well-being for each.

#### **Social Security—Social Impulses**

Our experience shows that ensuring social security for all, and this at a rising trend, is an elementary condition for releasing the social impulses of our society, as long as they are properly shaped and dealt with. Most of the time subjective feelings in this context are favoring it. When the living standard goes up the spectrum of needs broadens, which is the highly dynamic foundation for interestness. At the same time it is found that while all get the same opportunity to develop their capabilities—all having equal access, e.g., to educational institutions—differences in performance are increasingly due to personality traits of the individual, to how much he knows, how creative he is, how badly he wants to do well, how much of a sense of responsibility he has and such

matters. On that basis, greater differentiation, performance-related, in income brackets, more outcome-related remuneration, is felt to be not only necessary, but socially fair. After productive industrial wages were introduced and performance and task-related salary bonuses for scientific-technical personnel—it was found useful to raise the share of variable income portions tied to specific qualitative parameters, to specific tasks. This shows how great the chances are to tap the reserves hidden in the consistent implementation of the performance principle. In some places it also happens, to be sure, that this is understood and dealt with simply as a simple wage increase, as it were. That shows a lack of management activity and doging confrontations that, among other things, are tied in with enforcing fair performance ratings.

The question is raised in this connection of course as to the criteria by which such differentiation is to be made. Granted, one of the most important and complicated problems is how one is, on the one hand, to ensure its dependence on total enterprise operations and, on the other hand, apply the principle of "equal wage for equal labor." Both points are equally important, under the aspect of social justice and that of an effectively functioning system of relations among individual, collective, and overall social interests.

It is a constant task, mainly in management activity, to ensure as high a degree of conformity between social justice and the consistent implementation of the performance principle. Promoting personal performance desires and mutual aid and solidarity in conduct, consistently rating the performance objectively achieved and a fair appreciation for the performance endeavors, and the resolute implementation of the performance principle and the holistically fair rating of a human being will continue to be elements in the field of tension in which social security, social justice, and the performance principle move. Decisive, however, is that the experiences in the socialist countries—only there—confirm that such fundamental processes as the implementation of the scientific-technical revolution, the raising of the people's material and cultural standard of living, personality development, or the materialization of our basic humanistic values can sustain each other intensively and be coped with successfully.

#### **Footnotes**

1. Cf. Karl Marx, "The Economic & Philosophic Manuscripts of 1844," "Werke" [Works], Vol 40, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1985, p 543.
2. "Voelkerrecht" [International Law], Dokumente Part 2, Staatsverlag der DDR, Berlin, 1980, p 527.
3. Ibid., Part 1, p 226.

4. Karl Marx/Friedrich Engels, "Communist Manifesto," "Werke," Vol 4, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1959, p 482.

5. Stephan Hermlin, "Abendlicht," Verlag Philipp Reclam jun., Leipzig, 1979, p 23.

6. V. I. Lenin, "Remarks on Plekhanov's Second Program Draft," "Werke," Vol 6, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1956, p 40.

7. Friedrich Engels, "Two Speeches in Elberfeld," "Werke," Vol 2, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1957, p 556.

8. Erich Honecker, "True to the Legacy of the Red October on the Course of Our 11th Party Congress," *INEHEIT*, No 10/11, 1987, p 869.

9. Cf. "Verfassung der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik," Staatsverlag der DDR, Article 24, p 26.

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#### **Trade Union's Role in Production Examined**

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[Article by Harry Tisch, member of the SED Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the FDGB: "Trade Unions' Representation of Interests in the Process of Technological Change"]

[Text] Our carrying on with successfully shaping the developed socialist society categorically demands our ever closer linking the accomplishments of the scientific-technical revolution with the advantages of socialism. What matters in particular is fully exploiting the great possibilities resulting from the increasing application of the key technologies for further socioeconomic progress, resolutely and purposefully for the well-being of the people. We have to boost our labor productivity faster, especially through coping with the key technologies, manufacture more quality products with less of an investment in live and embodied labor, transfer new products quickly into production, rapidly accomplish top performances, and achieve good economic results doing so. All that closely combines in FDGB activity with the efforts toward good personality and performance-promoting working and living conditions among the working people.

GDR trade unions through all they do have an influence on "changing the place of the working people in the production process, assigning them more interesting creative tasks, and making their working conditions increasingly more favorable, as is proper for socialist enterprise" (Footnote 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, p 49). Wholly in the sense of this 11th SED Congress requirement, the trade unions in our country, in accordance with the resolutions from our 11th FDGB Congress, have concentrated their efforts at contributing through their specific means to a rapid application and secure control of the key technologies so that they will become effective everywhere and comprehensively in the all-round strengthening of the GDR, the dynamic development of economic capacity, and the further improvement in working and living conditions.

#### **Vivid Socialist Democracy**

As Comrade Erich Honecker, secretary general of the SED Central Committee, put it in his speech at the 11th FDGB Congress, "successful trade union work, in line with socialism, is possible only where the effort toward high achievements harmonizes with the observation for social concerns" (Footnote 2) ("Protokoll des 11. FDGB Kongresses," Tribuene Publishing House, Berlin, 1987, p 94). That also determines the trade union approach to technological change as proceeding in accordance with our party's economic strategy. A striking feature of all those interconnected processes is that they are most intimately linked with developing socialist democracy in the enterprises down to each and every work collective. This connection becomes effective, greatly, through the various means and methods of trade union work. This broad and democratic working people's participation in the business of their own labor crystallizes practically in the plan debate, in socialist competition, in the innovator movement, in the preparation and implementation of enterprise collective contracts, through the involvement in trade union commissions, and in all matters relative to the development of working and living conditions. Especially through involving the working people in such trade union work, they find out how active a role man also occupies in the process of technological change in socialist society and that this change truly serves human purposes and, through the integrated economic and social policies, benefits everyone. So trade union work helps create awareness of the humanism of our order and helps promote and develop time and time again new working people's activities and initiatives toward fulfilling the plan tasks and coping with the key technologies.

What distinguishes the socialist from the capitalist social system is seen now more than ever, and especially, in the contrasting ways and means of coping with modern scientific-technical processes. The capitalist use of the modern results of science and technology lets unemployment get bloated and destroys millions of jobs without creating new jobs at the same volume. Among the striking concomitants of this development are drastic curbs on trade union activity and cutbacks of the rights the organized workers class had fought for. It is, patently, not by coincidence that, particularly, the capitalist high-tech centers have already carefully, and in many cases

absolutely, been screened of against any trade union activity, the reactionary dream of a "non-union enterprise" being brought to realization with all determination. When it becomes a matter of the fundamental strategic developmental science and technology issues and of the conditions for applying their results, trade unions are supposed to stay outside.

Our socialist production relations, on the other hand, guarantee and require drawing the working people, through their trade unions, into all decisions and implementing with them all scientific-technical innovations through the unity of economic effectiveness and humane design. That does not go without problems, of course. What is essential, however, is that the GDR trade unions do, in exercising their rights and duties, from the outset participate in fundamental decisionmaking, entering directly the opinions, suggestions, and requests of the colleagues into the debate on new projects and tasks.

Among others, the trade union management of the VEB electrical machine construction combine of Dresden approached resolving this political task. Through setting up a flexible automated production system in the Dresden-Ost combine enterprise, three phases of the labor coincided in time: first, the construction; second, designing, producing, and testing the equipment for the automation project; and third, training the work force in the specialties of automated production. Throughout this extremely complicated process, the trade union management regularly coordinated with state management and concentrated on the work with the people. That way they managed to inspire the colleagues for the innovations and familiarize them with the new labor substances and the changing labor conditions. All that helped the individual to get the proper qualifications in time and adjust himself and his family to the new rhythm of life in the transition to shift labor. No one regretted the job change because everyone from the very beginning could adapt to this change and even help in bringing it about—largely due to the active trade union efforts toward it. This deliberate participation relies on the firm trust in SED policy and on the high level of social security in our country, which obviate any fear of unemployment. Thus the new labor processes and the changes caused by them are rated positively by the various colleagues. Remarks they are typically making about it run like this: "Stupid labor operations were dropped," "good labor conditions also are good performance conditions," or "my new activity makes higher demands and has become more responsible."

### Technological Change and Socialist Competition

Decisive for active working people participation in technological change is the socialist competition the trade unions have organized. It is and remains the chief form for the working people's broad democratic participation in management, planning, and socialist production operations. The major factors of economic growth occupy the center of the competition. As science and technology are

the most important source for dynamic economic growth, the competition must greatly help make effective directly and faster the results of scientific-technical work for boosting labor productivity, for better qualities, and for trimming costs.

Especially the results of the competition in the production preparation sectors are becoming ever more important for the broad application of the key technologies. An important basis for high competition targets and their complete fulfillment are ambitious tasking workbooks and extension permits. Against that we gauge the higher effectiveness of socialist competition. That also calls for taking new turns in applying the Leninist competition principles. Under the conditions of comprehensive intensification socialist competition becomes most effective when all those who are involved in the manufacture of a commodity harmoniously coordinate and reliably implement without any skimming their commitments and initiatives based on the plan as broken down into categories. The high degree of production socialization more than ever demands conducting our competition proper as to products, production lines, and contracts. That alone can ensure that the national economic plan is met in terms of the concrete tasks and exceeded in a targeted fashion, and that a high distributable and product becomes available for public supplies, economic development, and exports.

One keeps running into the question as to which factors the working people and work collectives can actually influence in modern, highly productive installations so that they can turn them into objects of their competition commitments. Technological change, after all, vastly modifies the chances to bring an influence to bear on the results of labor. All experience indicates that the widest possible availability of the new technology, its capacity utilization, and operations without interference are the most important aspects. At that, the contest must mainly be aimed through concrete, simple and intelligible leads. Full capacity labor time utilization and multishift operation of modern technology are crucial factors in wanting to gain a high production growth without any additional investments. In 1986, the fixed assets per capita came to a value of M 130,900 in the producing sectors; in 1970, the corresponding figure had still been M 58,600. Obviously, because of that socialist competition commitments to high order, discipline, and safety, to avoiding accidents, breakdown, and fires are moving up to a far higher place value. A key issue of our political-ideological indoctrination is to make every working person aware of his responsibility for working without accidents, for labor-safety behaviour, and for the protection of socialist property.

A point should be made in this context of the initiatives by our unionists in the Muckert master sector of the Karsdorf cement plant and the "Klement Gottwald" brigade of the Riesa tubing combine. Here, as well as in many other work collectives, labor and production safety was primarily realized through caution in handling the

technology and the technological processes and the labor organization. The working people take part in job reorganization and conversion and in eliminating accident hazards and risks. They make sure operations proceed without interference, technological discipline is conscientiously observed, and their labor tools are serviced and preventively maintained or repaired. Such a labor attitude and discipline are needed not only in sectors with conventional equipment, but especially also in modern working sectors. For there is an incontrovertible truth that applies here: computers do not create more order, they rather presuppose it.

Of great importance also is that data processing technology offers new opportunities for an effective organization of and accounting for socialist competition. That way one can perform performance leads and settle accounts on a daily basis. That puts more life into competition and makes performance comparisons more accurate and effective, mainly for collectives in modern installations.

Then we also have to take into account that technological change leads to new effective conditions for trade union work. The work collectives get smaller, the members are distributed sometimes over several shifts, and job isolation increases. That precisely is why one must point out that trade union fellowship in its totality gains in importance also for satisfying the working people's natural needs for communication.

### Science and Production Intertwined

That science and production are intertwined is reflected in the trade union effort of promoting fruitful, comradely relations of a socialist manner between combines and science institutions and organizing broad socialist cooperative efforts based on performance contracts. The point is to reach top performance at top speed to become effective with high economic and social productivity.

The FDGB resolutely advocates using all the chances of cooperation between science and production bring to bear in a qualitatively new fashion the vast science potential of the Academy institutes, the universities, and the colleges: Right now there are more than 210 coordination contracts and nearly 200 performance contracts between the partners of production and science institutions. Fulfilling them presupposes in any event that those involved assume equally ambitious competition commitments. Needed are, hence, coordinated competition programs and the setting up of energetic joint collectives. We seek such joint operations with the certitude that invincible strength resides in "the alliance of science, the proletariat, and technology," as Lenin already expressed it. (Footnote 3) ("Speech at the Second All-Russian Congress for Medical and Nursing Personnel," "Werke" [Works], Vol 30, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1961, p 394). It therefore is imperative that even when coordination and performance contracts are being

drawn up a cooperation among the competent trade union managements is established, mainly also in order to include the matter of working conditions in resolving such tasks.

Science and production cooperation often produces temporary joint collectives of science and production facilities. That happened, e.g., at the technological center for "ship's vibrations and ship's stability" at Wilhelm Pieck University Rostock. This testing plant, equipped with modern testing and computer technology, was put into operation as a joint investment by the ship building combine and the naval engineering department of the university. Lab experiments there greatly help improve the materials economy in GDR ship building and reduce the time and costs of expensive hull repair. Tests are running around the clock, and so here too scientists, students, and the partners from the relevant production facilities of the ship building combine are working harmoniously together in shifts.

Yet the colleagues from the practical field are still organized in their previous work collectives and trade union groups. That of course creates some blocks to effectively conducting socialist competition, to uniform performance inducements, and to taking part in the trade union membership life in the research lab. As they have to do all this work together, a businesslike trade union fellowship has to be made possible—regardless of whether the members of this temporary collective belong to the industrial metal union, the science union, or some other union. An essential aspect of our responsibility in this context is to motivate, together with the FDJ, gifted adolescents, mainly the college and technical school graduates, for top standard performances in science and technology. Also in the case of youth research collectives we have to consider, after all, that they make up temporary communities and that they will be reorganized time and again, with trade union assistance, by recruiting fresh manpower.

### Making Working and Living Conditions Efficacious

Mainly the resolute implementation of the socialist performance principle is an important impulse for socioeconomic progress. High achievements in coping with science and technology find recognition through a performance-related setting of wages and salaries. We are carrying on this performance-oriented wage policy. Till 1990—so the 11th SED Congress has decided—production wages are being raised step by step for some 4.5 million workers, foremen, college and technical school graduates and techno-economic specialists. The fundamental principle is resolutely linking productive wages with performance increases.

To the trade unions, enforcing the socialist performance principle mainly is a political-ideological task. They must awaken understanding and readiness for that for the production wages proven performances must be

shown that are based on the altered performance conditions. That also is in line with our resolute advocacy of enforcing the principle of "New technology—new standards." All this comes down to making all workers realize that good wages are inseparable from high achievements. Top quality must also be acknowledged in the wages. And qualification differences must also be reflected in the wages. The consistent implementation of the socialist performance principle with the help from the trade unions highly motivates the working people for retraining. Precisely the working people's training and retraining is crucial for coping with the most modern technology and reaching high economic results. Mental resources are among the inexhaustible growth sources for intensification. The trade unions, therefore, in many ways help in making education, training, and occupational experience fully effective as factors that promote productivity and personality.

The trade unions have to exercise more resolute an influence on presciently planning the requisite educational lead in copying with modern techniques and technologies as an element of the reproduction process, which must be conferred on with the working people themselves, thoroughly prepared, and systematically ensured. Educational conceptions always are among the long-term conceptions for introducing new technologies and commodities. When one ignores that task one sets oneself up for productivity losses, reduces the social wealth potential, and may cause discontent among the working people. To get a stronger trade union support for training, enterprise trade union managements in some large-scale and medium-scale enterprises have started to set up a special educational commission under enterprise trade union headquarters. Its members assist mainly in developing cogent, persuasive indoctrination aiming not only to make the working people see their training as something indispensable but have them use it, deliberately and with commitment, as an important potential for their own personality development.

The trade unions' representation of interests in the process of technological change thus includes the questions of the working people's working and living conditions in their whole variety and breadth. So it is necessary, e.g., when industrial robots are installed or in the case of flexible automation or for computer-aided production preparation and control (CAD/CAM), presciently to judge and shape the working conditions and labor hygiene concerns, through an active involvement of trade union managements and commissions, by scientific labor organization knowledge. With the greater stress on the mind and on the nerves, during work on the screen, for instance, new criteria for labor medicine are needed, for suitability and control test, for one thing. New requirements also arise for how to organize breaks and pauses.

Especially in recruiting the working people for shift labor many questions have to be taken into account. They relate to the place of work, the family, and the territorial

conditions. One must take account of commuting, shopping opportunities, of when child nurseries and kindergartens are open, or the health facilities or places of culture, as all this effects changes on working days. To come to sensible arrangements about all that, one must engage in confident personal talks with the working people and pay utmost attention to their recommendations and requests.

It remains a trade union concern to bring an influence to bear on that in the enterprise documents, such as the plan segment on working and living conditions or in the enterprise collective contract, appropriate stipulations and obligations are included about the implementation of which account is given at trade union meetings, especially in the shop steward plena. For all these are concrete matters of trade union interest representation; how they are resolved also shows how effective socialist democracy is in the enterprise.

Wherever a profitable use of science and technology is aimed at, a trade union functionary must have something knowledgeable to say about it and sweep along his colleagues with enthusiasm. Not as a mere observer of scientific-technical processes can he fulfill such tasks, but only by actively taking part in them and in effectively organizing the application of the key technologies to the economy with benefit for working man.

The FDGB also conforms to the new requirements for training trade union functionaries by means of the new field of study, "trade union work and key technologies," at the "Fritz Heckert" trade union college in Berlin. This provides concrete knowledge tailor-made for the trade union functionary; it is meant to help him flexibly react to new manifestations and demands on the periphery of the use of science and technology and seek optimum solutions together with the members of our organization.

It is and remains the basic concern of the FDGB to draw all working people into coping with the scientific-technical revolution, so that our socialist state is strengthened further and an effective contribution is made to the safeguarding of peace. Technological change—it also is a challenge to our country and to the trade unions to prove themselves and develop as a battle-tested class organization making a significant contribution to the implementation of the 11th party congress resolutions.

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## POLAND

**Rakowski Views Reform, Party Role, Bureaucracy**  
*26000118a Lublin SZTANDAR LUDU in Polish*  
30 Oct 87 p 4

[Interview with Mieczyslaw Rakowski by Andrzej Jasinski]

[Text] [Question] It is said that it is the stubborn, short-sighted public that is to blame for the half-heartedness of reforms thus far—it disagrees with price

increases and opposes radical solutions. One fifth of this society lives under difficult or extremely difficult conditions and more than 40 percent live in overcrowded apartments. Will these people support economic reform.

[Answer] Let us begin from the point that I cannot agree with the opinion expressed so categorically, that the stubborn public is to blame for the half-heartedness of reform. No doubt there are people who dread the effects of reform—which is understandable—but my knowledge of society tells me that in its fundamental mass it will support even radical solutions under the condition that they are adequately, clearly and convincingly presented and that in a specific period of time they will ensure a visible, tangible improvement in living conditions. Not just in the sense of earnings but also in removing the numerous, seemingly minor annoyances of everyday life.

The attitude toward reform today has many aspects. Some people talk about its consequences, others about the speed of its implementation. For example, there is the opinion that up to now economic reform has brought only price increases. I do not share that opinion. Price increases were and are but one cannot reduce to that the whole of economic reform which, even if carried out inconsistently, has already brought major changes in the Polish economy. Production has been reanimated, productivity has increased, we are managing raw materials more efficiently—these are the visible consequences of reform. Without reform the Polish economy would be in a much worse situation today. We must also remember the objective difficulties that have troubled our economy for years. I'm referring mainly to our soaring debt and the lack of an influx of new credits, with whose help it would be possible to modernize our machinery and increase production, both for the needs of Poland for export. But it is also obvious that there are non-material barriers that hamper "getting into full swing" by the mechanisms that the assumptions of reform predicted. Tradition exerts a powerful influence on the attitudes of people in various units of government. In this case, the long standing tradition of managing the economy with the help of instruments of order and prohibition. So the phrase "economic reform" also includes government goals, because these instruments have touched not only thing, but people too. Producers as well as managers.

Now we are entering into more radical action in the realm of reconstruction of the economy. If the plans of changes elaborated by the government are supported by the public, one can anticipate favorable growth in our economy in coming years.

[Question] For 40 years government in Poland was based on making decisions at public expense. No one was personally accountable for this. And this at the highest level of government. A secretary, minister or director, asked about obvious political and economic mistakes,

answered in the style of "I am only cleaning up here." Will we manage to change this method of government rapidly (as Wojciech Jaruzelski said aptly, it is five minutes to midnight)?

[Answer] I think we have to look at it another way. Regardless of how decisions were made, many of them produced fundamental changes in the economic and social landscape of People's Poland. For example, one could mention the six year plan or decisions to undertake production of small-engine vehicles. There were a great many of these sound and appropriate decisions accepted by the entire public. So I do not share the opinion that decisions were made at "public expense." Indeed, in postwar Poland, great, revolutionary changes have occurred that changed fundamentally, and favorably, the nation's living conditions. It is enough to look at the current industrial and agricultural landscape of the Lublin region and compare it to the one that some people can remember from before 1945. Yet it is a fact that as the socialist structure for methods of government in Poland developed, the bureaucracy crept in as a distinct concept of government. At various levels of authority, decisions were made on behalf of society, which was frequently not asked for its opinion on a particular subject, important to the entire nation or individual classes or occupational groups. In the 1970s we devised—and promulgated—the thesis of the moral and political unity of the Polish nation, and since this unity had come into being, there was no need to ask or consult about proposed decisions. The years 1980 and 1981 erased that oversimplified—and convenient—view of reality.

Now we have an expanded system of consultation; territorial, employee and cooperative self-management units possess very broad powers. In a word, there are numerous advisory, opinion-giving bodies; one might say that the government want to look the public in the eye constantly and for its opinions.

[Question] It is almost flirting. . . .

[Answer] It is not flirtation. Above all, it arises out of profound, serious analysis of the reasons that generated crisis situations. It is conceivable that the emphasis we place on consultation and so on might seem exaggerated, but I think that it is better to be accused of exaggeration than hear that "nothing has changed, the government is still ignoring the citizen." In connection with the new institutions we have introduced into our public life there also comes an observation on democratization, about which we have talking so much. Democratization is and will be an ongoing process, which does not mean that it will be implemented automatically. The citizens will decide how far already existing democratic institutions and those still to come will serve them.

Let us go back once more to the bureaucracy, which has something of a built-in lack of confidence in the citizen and his good faith. The battle with the bureaucracy is not

just a matter of eliminating bad regulations, courtesy on the part of officials, etc., but above all what I call a philosophy of governing. These philosophies can be varied. The one most beneficial to the nation and state is the kind that seriously treats society subjectively, not objectively. The force that can shape relations in this spirit between authority at all levels and society is and will be, at this stage of the building of socialism, the PZPR. Of the party's three roles—leadership, direction and service, the latter has become the most important in this aspect of the issue.

The average citizen rightfully saddles the party with responsibility for everything that goes on in our country. But I am not convinced that all party members who hold leadership positions at various levels of national or economic authority remember this obvious truth. The bureaucratic, order-prohibition system of government, over the course of several decades has produced many highly negative habits; for example, the belief that "my word is sacred," arrogance, conceit, etc. Also, the party membership card is often treated as a "pass" to a career, a more comfortable life, etc. For example, in how many cliques that, to put it mildly, have some experience in breaking the law, were and are PZPR members involved? I would add that in my opinion, great sensitivity to every wrong also has a place in the party's service role. I believe that bending over every human being is not only a political but also a moral matter for every member of the party.

[Question] Let us take a look at the allies of economic reform. We are counting, of course, on young people, but what can we offer them, how can we encourage them to show initiative and inventiveness? Proper words, even the most beautiful, are not enough anymore.

[Answer] This is one of the most important social issues today. The attitude toward reality of young intellectuals, workers and peasants is essentially the same as that of their elders. But they see certain problems more acutely and they make uncompromising appraisals. That is a natural privilege of youth. Today the most serious problem for many young people is their material situation, in many cases extremely unfavorable. I am referring mainly to the more than annoying housing situation. Particularly dissatisfying are the circumstances of young people in large population centers. So much has already been written and said on this subject that I can add nothing new. But one thing is certain—that as long as the time of waiting for housing is not shortened and is measured in years, then appeals addressed to youth for active participation in building the socialist society are questionable as to their success. For many young people, the wage system is illogical and set on its head. If, for example, a graduate of a medical academy receives a starting salary of 12,000 zloty after very difficult studies, while a graduate of a basic trade school gets at least several thousand more, then something is wrong. A situation like this precludes appealing to rationalism and opens the door to all kinds of frustrations. In this situation,

talking about higher goals seems like ordinary cynicism to many young people. An unpleasant statement but we cannot escape the truth. Of course, the point is not to create hothouse conditions, but a young person must be able to sense some future, he cannot feel wronged by fate at the outset.

It is said that the public, especially young people, are indifferent. Yes, there are indifferent people, but there are also people who are not indifferent. The point is for the number of the latter not to decrease. I feel that we are not giving ourselves a very good grade in governing by acquiescing to this situation year after year.

[Question] We have already talked about democratization. We are aware that it is necessary to relentlessly apply tough economic rules and further democratization of life at the same time. Admittedly, these are not opposing concepts, but it will be very hard to implement these valid requirements simultaneously. Or perhaps one should say: either discipline or democracy?

[Answer] One cannot count on the successful implementation of the main assumptions of economic reform without democratizing the entire political system. It is impossible. There was no such connection in the past and it was this that was the main reason for the failure of even the partial reforms initiated in the past several decades. There is not and cannot be a conflict between reform and democratization, but the problem lies elsewhere. A democratic society cannot mean an undisciplined society. Discipline, based on a very careful, thorough analysis of society's moods, aspirations and expectations, is necessary in every society that does not intend to commit collective suicide. Another point are the means by which the authorities achieve such a level of discipline, that will ensure the harmonious growth of the nation and state without infringing on the rights vested in the individual. These instruments can be varied. Basing the economy on recognition of the decisive role of economic laws certainly should be counted among the "healthy" instruments. But discipline that is closed up mainly within the limits of administrative actions, although these are also necessary, is not very effective if we want the citizen to acknowledge consciously, of his own conviction, the need to reconcile his personal interests to the general interest.

[Question] With reference to your statements spoken a few moments ago, one can and should ask about the role of the party in a reformed economy. Will there be a place in the workplace for the party organization amid the stocks, securities, partnerships and the financially independent? What role will it have to fulfill?

[Answer] The question is very important, but I do not think we can have an unequivocal answer to it today. It is necessary to work out calmly a new concept of the party's role in the reformed economy and thus in the new system of social forces as well. In my opinion, the party in a reformed economy must concentrate mainly on

formulating its own position on fundamental issues of theory and policy and on defining tasks for its members. I see forming attitudes consistent with the basic principle and goals of socialism as the main task. The party is entering a period of reorientation aimed at defining its place in society under new circumstances. We must operate as a force that transforms society's consciousness. Despite appearance, this is not a platitude, because in the past this transformation of consciousness was not a primary issue, even though we talked about it constantly. If that had been the case, we would not be talking about a bureaucratized system. And one more observation. When we talk about bureaucratization of the system, we cannot exclude the party from this, because it is part of the nation.

[Question] So the current system of organization of the party apparatus, to a great extent a duplicate of the system of regional administration with all its conferences, lengthy reports and campaigns on signal, may prove to be redundant, unsuitable for reality?

[Answer] It is hard to define that precisely today. Certainly it has to be a different apparatus and different methods must be used because the goals will be different. Now is the time for necessary struggle for the hearts and minds of every human being. We must know how to win people over to our ideas, gain their acceptance for the program we promulgate. And the point here is not participation in demonstrations but for the citizen who is not a party member to support us out of conviction, not because it is what one must do. This is a great and difficult task because—there is no denying it—we have become accustomed to juggling great slogans and to using platitudes, empty words and so on. There is still a great deal of dissembling. A party member can mount a platform, speak as though golden-tongued, boast of his successes, agree with the party line, etc., while at home, among his friends, he says something completely different. I doubt that anyone could accuse me of imagining such attitudes. In my opinion, the party member who believes he can have many faces will win no one over to socialism. Moreover, those around him—even if they do not say so outright—will certainly have no respect for him. People can tell the difference between real and false coins perfectly.

[Question] Thank you for the interview.

12776

#### **Tarnow Party Membership Numbers Reported**

26000115a Krakow GAZETA KRAKOWSKA in Polish  
21 Oct 87 pp 1, 4

[Excerpts] Meetings between the secretariat of the PZPR Provincial Committee and members of primary party organizations [POP] and branch party organizations [OOP] have been going on for several days in Tarnow province. Such a meeting took place yesterday [20 October] in Tarnow and the secretaries of POPs and OOPs

from 16 plant party committees in the city took part in it, while secretaries Janusz Ilcewicz, Edward Gajek and Franciszek Rachwal and WKKR chairman Henryk Dabrowski participated on behalf of the Provincial Committee secretariat.

The city party organization numbers 7,554 people, including 2,144 workers. Since the beginning of the new year 116 candidates, including 35 workers, have been accepted. Yet because of cancellations, transfers and deaths of PZPR members, the city organization is not growing, is even shrinking, and this is a problem that must be addressed. Also disturbing is the small number of workers joining the party. In all plant committees together there are 4,877 PZPR members who work in 60 POPs, 134 OOPs and 104 party groups. Most of the plant committees can boast of useful initiatives that have met with general approval, not only among party members.

12776

#### **Improvement in Church-State Relations Claimed**

26000120b Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish  
11 Nov 87 p 3

[Article by Zdzislaw Morawski: "Church-State Relations: Dialogue on Many Levels"]

[Text] During a recent session of the world synod of bishops in Rome there was discussion on church-state relations in various parts of the world. At a press conference organized during the synod by the French bishops there was a question about the importance of mutual dialogue. One person from a group of secular Catholic activists in that country cited the example of Poland in answering the question. He did this in order to justify his point that dialogue between the state and church authorities is the best form of basic cooperation and mastery of the problems that can always occur between a secular organization that embraces the whole of a given society with its actions—the state—and a religious organization that operates within state structures—the church.

I think the Polish public is aware to some extent that in some respects our country is becoming, as one can see, a model as regards the forms, principles and results of this dialogue.

The primate of Poland, Cardinal Jozef Glemp, in an interview published over a month ago in the Italian Catholic monthly IL REGNO, told Italian readers about the structure and framework of this dialogue. Besides contacts between diocesan bishops and regional authorities, he mentioned regular contacts at the central level between the episcopate and the Office for Religious Affairs, proceedings of the joint episcopate-government

commission, which operates continually, and the highest level of dialogue, e.g., periodic meetings between the head of state, Wojciech Jaruzelski, and the primate of Poland.

This enumeration alone shows that dialogue is going on, that it deals with the issues that usually appear on the agenda when the state's point of view, which answers to everything on a daily basis from the economy to education, encounters the church's viewpoint, which operates mainly in social and socio-moral issues, hence which feels a responsibility for the spiritual life of the community of the faithful, not for prices, consumer goods or foreign policy.

In perceiving these differences, the disparity of tasks and fields of competence, one must also see the connection between the attitudes of the overwhelming majority of Poles, who are believers or at least people who acknowledge the church as a moral authority with which they identify, and the relations between that church and the state. This connection establishes the importance of mutual relations for our entire society.

The thesis whereby the state of church-state relations is one of the important factors determining the atmosphere in Poland constitutes one of canons of the politics of the Polish state. That is why for some time, regardless of the upheavals we have all experienced, we can say without fear of exaggeration that church-state relations in Poland are invariably good and do not cause the tensions that sometime occur even in countries where the government is run by forces that cite their Christian origin.

Invariably good does not mean they are in stagnation. Because dialogue formulated in broad institutional forms brings results, in the form of concrete decisions or agreements, in the form of joint deliberation and in the form of verification of certain general appraisals or tested formulas.

One could say a great deal about decisions. We all remember them and their fruits. The visit of the chairman of the Council of State at the Vatican and the spiritual pilgrimages of Pope John Paul II to Poland or the start of preparations for establishing diplomatic relations between Poland and the Holy See, of which John Paul II spoke favorably in Warsaw—this is truly a great deal for just one year.

In this realm it is hard to strive for conclusive appraisals. But one can talk about clear tendencies or even processes. One the part of the church I see two such tendencies. The first deals with an understanding of patriotism, a particular kind of basis for the best traditions of Polish Catholicism and the sources of its significance in society. A few years ago, this patriotism was viewed in some church circles as a moral quality separate from contemporary realities and thus from Poland's postwar statehood. Here and there attempts were made to set the concept of patriotism in opposition to the concept of

state; an attempt was made to create visions as vague as they were surrealistic of a "parallel state," or in extreme notions, never accepted by members of the hierarchy, a vision of some sort of "anti-state." The years of dialogue, which constituted the propriety not only of church-state relations but also of cooperation on many levels, have now totally obliterated such aberrations that defy all logic.

The church, not only in Poland, does not want to be a structure involved in any kind of state mechanisms; it wants to maintain the fullness of its specific identity, including criticism, which accompanies the process of reform as a general social phenomenon in any case.

But where the national interest, the general good, closely tied to the role and position of the state comes into play, the church in our country takes a position flowing from the conviction that its position and interests as an organization are closely bound to relations with the state, to influence on that state, even to criticism of some of its decisions, but not to a position of negation or denial. The process moving in this direction corroboration both during the aforementioned visits and discussions at the highest level and during discussions associated with prospects for establishing diplomatic relations between Poland and the Vatican, and—earlier—on the question of sanctions against Poland and—recently—during ongoing work on various legal adjustments associated with the church's status.

Its most recent corroboration, in my opinion, is also the substance of a communique issued after the last session of the Plenary Conference of the Polish Episcopate (see ZYCIE No 9). In stressing the significance of profound economic reform and simultaneous socio-political changes, Polish bishops expressed the opinion that "Economic progress is not the work of just one group or exclusively political factors, but the work of broad strata of society. In order to achieve this work, spontaneous individual initiatives and independent associations should be coordinated and organically bound to the efforts of state authorities.

The second tendency is connected to the process of consultation with the state on many issues. Cardinal J. Glemp, in the aforementioned interview with the month IL REGNO, talked about this, indicating that an agreement regarding the church's status, if one desires to approach the matter honestly, must assume the stability of the political framework in which the agreement is entered into and operates. In other words, in maintaining a natural philosophical position toward materialism and certain motivations associated with it, and relying on the experience of the postwar period, the church sees its place in Polish socialist reality without fear of inhibitions.

Such a position is not devoid of failures, but the process justifying it is clearly moving forward. The years of dialogue, uninterrupted during difficult, even dramatic periods, have led surely to reevaluations, among representatives of state authority too.

The notion of pluralism is perceived differently today than it once was. Once can see, to a much greater extent, one of its necessary consequences, which must be the civic participation of the faithful, not only in society but also in the state. Here too, it seems to me, we are not dealing with a completely formed concept, but with a developing process not without resistance and uncertainties.

This process leads in any case to an ever more distinct differentiation between ideological involvement by the political forces fulfilling a leadership role in the state and the position and politics of the state itself, which is and will remain secular.

The democratization of socialism, as a process on an international scale, cannot proceed under Polish circumstances without active participation by the broadest masses of the faithful, who comprise the majority of our society. Understanding all the consequences resulting from this, not only in theory but in the practice of public life, becomes ever more important in the sphere of government. Dialogue in this field also bears fruit, accelerating difficult processes leading to translation into the language of facts the notion acknowledging pluralism as one of the synonyms for democracy in our political situation as well.

All of these phenomena permit me to say not only that church-state relations in Poland are coming along well but also that in this field we are dealing with lasting progress having a favorable impact on the entire atmosphere of public life in our country.

12776

### **Military Press Reacts to 'Freedom-Peace' Group**

#### **Bydgoszcz Hunger Strike**

26000021 Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish  
16 Sep 87 p 2

[Article by Andrezej Jezewski: "Provocation or How To Remind Others That You Exist—'Martyrdom' Made To Order"]

[Text] Vacation season is over in "Free Europe" and Western correspondents have already returned to Poland. We should now expect that the anti-Polish exchange will soon see several new announcements, declarations and interviews and that every one of them will at least contain some program for saving Poland for the next century.

Among the firms and partnerships that most eagerly offer their political services, our attention is drawn by the group called "Freedom and Peace" which has recently specialized in producing "martyrs". They conduct their specialization by the sweat of their brows in accordance with all of the principles of manipulation. Recently, their fosters, experts from groups like KOR

[Social Resistance Circle] and "Fighting Solidarity" which include the people who most hate socialist Poland, have come to influence many of the young "pacifists" from "Peace and Freedom" and are obviously dragging the movement that no one cares about and that changes nothing down to the level of a basement dispute.

We will share their views. "Freedom and Peace" has set itself a series of fairly personal tasks:

—It has decided to become involved in disarmament according to its own specific scenario, of course. Most generally speaking, "Freedom and Peace's" idea is that the socialist states and Poland in particular unilaterally weaken their security while nothing is said about Western weapons and NATO military potential. The upshot of all this is that the group has come into conflict with Western peace movements who know what the real danger to the world is and what it is they are protesting.

—"Freedom and Peace" then decided that ecology can be turned into a sail that can push the movement a little further ahead. However, they quickly learned that Poles do not have to be sensitized to the state of the environment and that this issue cannot be used to create an opposition. The state already has an environmental agenda that is supported by the highest public officials.

—They then placed their greatest hopes on influencing young Poles to renounce military service. They have devoted everything to this cause and have even sacrificed national concerns. Western journalists could not work fast enough to write about the distortions of the "Freedom and Peace" aktiv in which young people were urged to renounce our traditions, lies were used to undermine the army's public prestige and martyrs were produced to show how "high-minded" the movement is.

However, there always comes a time for accounting and the summer vacations have given people a chance to think. The account does not look good for "Freedom and Peace". The denial of patriotic traditions turned out to be fruitless effort. The army's prestige was not built up with clamor or on paper and could not therefore be lowered in that manner. Therefore, this paper group, without any meaning or merit in a socialist society, was left with only one resource—the production of "martyrs".

This trick has always guaranteed the recognition of anti-Polish groups and drawn the interest of Western correspondents. Everyone remembers the confusion in these circles after the government declared amnesty. "How can they do that? There won't be any more martyrs!" the representatives of different antisocialist groups seemed to cry between the lines.

In the last few days, "Freedom and Peace" figures have gathered in Bydgoszcz.

"We call on peace movements throughout the world," J. Czaputowicz duly wrote to the West, "to support our protest. We appeal to all for whom the cause of freedom and peace is dear to give us help and solidarity."

What is the cause of such a dramatic plea?

—Since they are crying out for the support of Western peace movements, is it perhaps the Federal German Republic's delay in signing an agreement to eliminate the rockets threatening Europe and Poland?

—Since they talk about freedom and peace, is it the unification of everyone who wants to live with the conviction that the law is the same for all?

No, the issue is "prisoners of conscience" in Poland.

These "prisoners" are supposed to be:

Maciej W. who deserted his military unit 2 years ago. Polish language and law both have a single unambiguous word for such a deed;

Oskar K. who first refused to take a military oath of service and then after transferred to another unit said that service duties are for all the nobodies, not for him. Evasion of military service is a violation of law and that is just what the court judged;

Piotr R. who was sent to a civil defense unit but did not appear and felt no need to even inform anyone as to why he evaded military service. Such persons are decried as "prisoners of conscience" and a fracas of political character has been organized, supposedly in their defense.

In the last few days, a "hunger strike" was started in a Bydgoszcz church to defend these so-called "prisoners of conscience". However, at first, the group of Western correspondents gathered in Warsaw where they were told what to write. All of this has been done to well meet the foreign order for "martyrs". The entire company later went to Bydgoszcz to be hungry and debate future actions. This was supposed to be spiced up a little by an amateur theater presentation called the "Specter of Hunger". It is worth asking what religion teaches that such a provocative event can be held on church grounds.

In a certain story well known to people active in "Freedom and Peace", a world is described in which war is called peace, crime is justice and lies are truth. This is fantasy literature but does admonish against distortions of social relations. It was not necessary to wait long for the fulfillment of such dire predictions. And so, while "Freedom and Peace" talks about peace, it contributes to the very things that threaten peace and calls crime justice. We ourselves can answer the question of who it is these days that is absolving these lies.

### Comments From Readers

26000021 Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish  
19-20 Sep 87 p 2

[Unattributed article: "Dieting or Cheap Theater"]

[Text] The article "Martyrdom Made To Order" which appeared in issue 216 of ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI on 16 September 1987 had a great response from our readers.

The editors received many phone calls about that article. The people who called us spoke with distaste and even indignation about young people who are having a lark of a hunger strike. We present below some of the readers' responses.

Colonel Jan Lenard, vice-chairman of the Warsaw Directorate of the Union of Former Professional Soldiers [ZBZZ]:

"On 14 September, we participated in a patriotic rally of Warsaw youth held on the occasion of the 43d anniversary of the liberation of the right bank of Warsaw. This was a meeting of generations which was organized by the Warsaw PRON Council. It was attended by youth from the Warsaw schools, the Polish Scouting Union, and the Union of Polish Socialist Youth who heard a fragment of the memoirs of Colonel Zenon Jaworowski, then commander of the Polish Army First Infantry Division, about the struggle against the Nazi occupant. Among other things, he said: 'We wish you success in school. We also wish that your generation never suffer the fate that mine did...Peace can be guaranteed only by earnest patriotism, science, work, and the awareness that the ability to defend the fatherland is the fulfillment of civic duties necessary in our times.'

"I am entirely convinced that the youth who took part in this demonstration has no intention of undermining the struggle of thousands of World War II veterans to liberate our nation and society nor the guardians of 42 years of peace de facto and de iura.

"This sort of politicizing is necessary for the leaders of the "Freedom and Peace" group in their pursuit of cheaply-won popularity. But they cannot do this in Poland because it will not work. Our society does not need advisors with strong demands for freedom and peace and this is what the history of the last war taught us."

Captain Zygmunt Pileszynski from a unit of the Warsaw Military District:

"I read the article in ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI with great interest. It also caused me to wonder whether the members of this 'organization' called 'Freedom and Peace' have learned anything from the last few years. This was clearly demonstrated by the article's author

who said that it was a fruitless effort to erase our patriotic traditions and I myself can add that this is all that 'Freedom and Peace' is trying to do.

"I have been a professional soldier for many years and met many young people. I have never had to deal with anything like the cases described in your article. It is obvious that these young people have simply been misled by antisocialist activists including those within 'Freedom and Peace'. 'Freedom and Peace's' slogans are also strange because they call out for freedom and peace but for whom? What kind of freedom and peace? It is nonsense to advocate peace through disarmament. What this group wants is just plain submission because that is the only way one can interpret their call to renounce military service. Such activity is common provocation."

Staff Corporal Mikolaj Podobrodski from a combat engineers unit:

"I am amazed and angered by the actions of the group called 'Freedom and Peace'. Maybe it would be better to ignore them because their political stupidity, ideas and actions deserve nothing better. What and whom are they defending with their hunger strike? However, one cannot remain indifferent when the law is broken and the values dearest to Poles and negated. This is a matter of one's attitude toward his homeland, its independence and defense duty which is one of the basic responsibilities of a citizen.

"I am angered by 'Freedom and Peace's' actions because they are trying to make heroes out of people who have broken the law, not to mention the moral aspects of evading military service. Like myself, many of my colleagues understand the need for military service and fulfill it earnestly. Thus, why is it that he ones made into martyrs by 'Freedom and Peace's' comic hunger strike have not had to serve? Perhaps they do not feel that they are citizens of the same country as I am?"

Staff Sergeant Slawomir Zebrzuski from a motor-rifle unit of the Silesian Military District:

"Nearly a year has passed since I was called into military service. Like my school-mates and work colleagues, I regarded my induction as a natural civic duty which everyone, with regard to their age, knowledge and education, should present as a gift to their fatherland. My grandfather died at Auschwitz in World War II. He paid with his life for poor abandoned Poland, for the disaster of the 1939 invasion and for 6 years of Nazi occupation.

"When I hear about refusals to serve in the army, attempts to go absent without leave from units or to escape service in the name of 'peaceful goals', I often wonder if this is not simply social parasitism and egotism. Are these people not thinking about the need to defend our country? In our history, we have already paid a high price for not appreciating this value. Have we not been able to reach the right conclusions?"

"There are legal regulations that clearly define civic duties. Our government should be consistent. In my opinion, the hunger strike at the Bydgoszcz church to defend these so-called 'prisoners of conscience' is nothing more than political theater for the Western mass media and is aimed against the interests of our state. Or are these people really just dieting?"

12261/06662

**Meeting of Defense Studies Society**  
*26000115d Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish*  
13 Nov 87 p 2

[Text] The main goal of the Defense Studies Society as an association of greater usefulness is spreading and promulgating defense studies in various social circles. The society's national conference met in Warsaw, where its accomplishments were summarized and directions and forms of action for coming years were elaborated. The conference elected new leaders. Col Stefan Dabrowski was chosen president of the society.

12776

**Preplenum Article Views Ideology Role in Economic Progress**  
*26000038b Warsaw ZYCIE PARTII in Polish*  
No 18, 9 Sep 87 p 5

[Article by Andrzej Barcikowski, deputy director, PZPR Central Committee Ideology Department: "Challenges of Our Times—an Ideology for Growth"]

[Text] The approach of the 5th Plenum of the PZPR Central Committee dedicated to ideological problems inclines one to consider the importance of ideology in our social life and wonder just how the party can make more effective use of the tool of ideology.

Today, one encounters various attitudes and ideas about this issue. One thing is certain—the old prophecies that the "end of the era of ideology" was coming to pave the way for "technological" sociotechnical knowledge have been discarded. Ideology has never stopped having an influence nor has it lost its ability to motivate because it is the unshakable correlate of the interests of large social groups. These interests can change but they will never disappear. When they exist, there are generalized in the form of ideology which can range from a system of views and values (which is how we traditionally define an ideology) to spontaneous crystallization of the opinions and ideas of some large social group, class, or nation.

Therefore, as long as there are large social groups and more importantly, as long as their interests differ, there will always be room for ideology. The weight of the problem lies not in questioning the existence of ideological thought but in the obscuring of a given ideology and its ability to influence politics.

Our enemies have long tried to claim that Marxism is a dead letter and a fossilized lay religion existing only to preserve the rule of the party. Sometimes, crumbs from this caricature fall on fertile ground. Some people who have observed the course of politics in our country question whether Marxism-Leninism has had any real influence on positive changes such as the move to more democratic government in Poland in recent years. Some of the public (as well as some party members) feels that these changes have come from practical needs and that abstracted ideology cannot keep up with them and sometimes even obstructs them. In other words, they think that life moves on while ideology stays behind.

One also finds another approach in which ideology troubles itself with the socialist character of present economic and political changes. It is often asked whether economic reform agrees with socialist principles or whether official and political openness does not undermine the class goals of the political system.

Only rarely is the third position in ideological issues expressed. That position is the sometimes-held belief that if ideological changes do not precede changes in the practice of socialist construction, they should at least follow them. Those who take this position say "we are proceeding pragmatically for now but later we will adapt ideological categories to what practice has shown to be correct."

The fourth position gives ideology the role of setting a line of demarcation between permissible and impermissible changes in the structure and practice of socialism. In a certain sense, ideology is a protective coating against excessive reforms and reformers who have lost their class instinct and imagination.

Sometimes there are discernible inclinations to flatten ideology so as to justify new legislation or every new political decision. Such an attitude seems to come from nothing more than routine inertia because practice has already long shown that ideological assessment of interpretations or justifications require only key, strategic, and directional decisions that all affect national or class interests. At the same time, breaking analyses and ideological justifications down into "small change" has turned out to be incorrect because it goes against the nature of ideology and makes it more probable that particular decisions will face a greater risk of being erroneous. Processes and trends rather than specific, individual decisions are ideologically "accounted".

Each of the above positions requires analysis but certainly, none of them are totally the product of an earnestly and constructively critical approach that would lead to the correct use of ideology for the good of social development.

At this time, a large portion of Marxism-Leninism's real intellectual potential has not been harnessed to the mechanisms of change in real socialism. We can presently see that more clearly because the time has come to the socialist countries for profound analysis and thinking centered on an awareness of the need for changes that will allow broader growth. Soviet restructuring or Polish reform are complex undertakings. They are not merely limited to economic or political institutions. They reach even deeper into the realm of ideological premises.

The most general sense of the present processes of modernization in socialism is the drive to eliminate barriers to progress. Let us remember that present-day socialism is subject to the same laws of historical materialism as capitalism. Here too, productive forces can hit barriers in production ratios and ideological institutions can fall into conflict with the needs of economic growth. The role of ideological awareness therefore consists of using the laws discovered by the classic thinkers in a socialist reality in order to determine tensions and conflicts in mutual economic relations, politics and ideology. This premise requires a unity of economic, political organization and ideological indoctrination tasks.

Ideological tasks (although it would be more correct to say ideological indoctrination tasks) are, considering the educational functions of ideology, realized efficiently if they foster the realization of the basic interests of the class of a socialist society. The particular ideological concepts are useful only as long as they actually serve the realization of these interests. Interests in socialism are dynamic rather than fixed. The structure and components of ideology must be just as dynamic. This directive was expressed in the PZPR program: "The party can fulfill its leading role only through the creative use of Marxism-Leninism. This requires keen and earnest analysis of social processes and the use of the results of these analyses. The party has opposed the abstraction of ideological development from life and its degradation to empty phrases and dry definitions."

Therefore, it is necessary to ask whether in actual practice ideology meets the requirements of the program. Does the theory of building socialism which is the foundation of ideology now satisfying to an sufficient extent the expectations of party practice? The answers do not seem straightforward. On the one hand, ideological concepts have changed along with social processes and as new needs have emerged. It is enough to just compare their present status with that of the 1970's or even earlier to see that the change that socialist ideology has fossilized is based on the intentions of anticommunists rather than on the facts. Now, questions such as the role of the market in a socialist economy, private economic activity and the extent of political freedoms, etc. are interpreted differently than in years before. In spite of that, changes in the structure of interests and in the conditions in which they are realized have come about faster than changes in the substance of ideological concepts and

their influence on the way people think. The effects of such disharmony were forcibly described by Mikhail Gorbachev at last year's Moscow conference of directors of social sciences faculties when he said that "at times, there are attempts to fit the concepts of restructuring and acceleration to obsolete dogma and stereotypes and this deprives them of their innovative and revolutionary significance."

Under today's acceleration of changes in socialism, life has verified many of our ideological assumptions. It is incorrect to call this process "the sale of ideas." This is not the renunciation of recognized values for opportunistic goals but an obvious necessity and an objective process. However, not every ideological change holds up in practice. It is life itself that determines which change is meaningful. Socialism is not becoming a system that is much more open than ever before to innovation, therefore, it is also necessary to count on an even stronger need to correct systems and draw the correct conclusions from our mistakes.

How are we to evaluate the influence of ideology today? It seems that first of all, we must evaluate it in terms of the connection between ideology and development growth. "The principle question," said Wojciech Jaruzeński at the 2d National Party Ideological and Theoretical Conference which was devoted to discussion of a draft for the party program, "of what sort of Poland is entering the 21st Century obliges us to take proper care to give a strong and united expression in the program document to the relationship between ideology, politics and economy. An ideology which is proclaimed but not confirmed in life loses its credibility and therefore its ability to influence the masses. On the other hand, narrow pragmatism abstracted from ideological goals and values, loses its perspective and its class character. In our program, we should give the best possible answer to growth problems and needs. We must define real means of satisfying social needs and national aspirations. How are we to free ourselves from the burden of the crisis years? How do we gain and consolidate an ability for harmonious, balanced, and secure growth? How do we meet the challenges of civilization, the new stage of the scientific and technical revolution and the necessary intensification of production processes and management efficiency?" These are questions of an ideological nature but are also problems associated with ideological changes. The party program has outlined general answers to all of these questions. At the present time, we are developing these answers and giving them greater detail. A good example of this is the themes for the second stage of economic reform which is a document of very narrow but unprecedented content of ideological problems. A logical part of party debate about the second stage of reform will be the 5th Central Committee Plenum in which ideological aspects of the planned economic enterprises will be interpreted. This interpretation will not seek to approve the assumed principles of economic policy but to keenly analyze the

ideological aspects of social and economic growth. The plenum will also consider how ideology should accelerate and support growth rather than hinder it.

Which ideological themes should be reconsidered and which are to be preserved? That is a question that can be answered by considering their paucity. Any such answer would only be an hypothesis since it is practice only that will show what needs to be known. However, there is no doubt that generalization of our experience up to now makes it possible to at least outline the problems with which we must deal. Among these we include the entire complex of socialist enterprise and economic competition (the problem of the theory of property including private economic activity and its effects on the social structure), the range and forms of realization of the functions of party and state in a reforming economy, the range and limits of market laws, the question of the efficiency of social welfare and therefore its rationally established extent. This last problem is also the subject of recent questions about the interpretation of the constitutional right to work which has in practice often taken the form of a right to employment.

It is easy to see that the above catalog of problems gravitates around the broad issue of efficiency and its ideological foundations. This is undoubtedly one of our principal national needs today and is also an elementary instruction for ideological changes. However, there can arise some concern over the social cost of social, economic and socioideological changes aimed at increasing productivity and efficiency.

We can therefore formulate a common denominator for today's socioeconomic problems that also raise certain ideological questions such as how to reconcile efficiency with the ephemeral nature of the system's values. One thing seems certain: the means for solving this problem can only be found within a continuation of the line of reform because anything done to destroy reform processes, even from noble motives, will run against the interests of socialist society.

The ideological bedrock of changes in the socialist economy would be unilateral if it were deprived of its reference to other areas and especially to the political system. This achievement is already relatively rich but still not satisfactory by any means. Above all, we have elevated a constant broadening of democracy to the rank of a lasting component of socialism. Such ideological generalization is not a cliché in Poland because in recent years, this has born fruit in a series of new institutions and standards for political culture that have increased the practical significance of popular rule and strengthened guarantees of civil rights. However, can the political system really function as a motive force for growth? Not yet for certain. The formal measures have not become enough of a part of our public life yet. There must be ideological analysis of the phenomenon that a large part of society does not see its influence on politics

or is moderate in declarations of its own public activeness. These are not problems that can be passed by in triumph while noting only the richness of democratic institutions. Democracy in service to the growth of society must live and take a full breathe of public participation. Without public participation, democracy is more an ornament than a useful instrument. It becomes nothing more than a supplement to bureaucracy rather than a mechanism which monitors the actions of government.

There is still another aspect of the party's ideological activity worth pointing out. Direct ideological indoctrination practice and work to shape attitudes, especially those of the young generation, has not lost any of its urgency. However, we must take a critical look at the present forms and especially their substance. Are we doing enough to meet the new interests and anxieties of the young generation? Are we able to describe in detail the great things offered by our ideology to small social groups, professional groups and families? Does the language of ideology and propaganda fit what we are trying to say, is it concise enough and can it be cool and measured or if need be, also emotional and ardent while still remaining intelligible? Finally, have we lost our ability to provide effective patriotic and civil education to the young generation? Should we not better promote such education to avoid raising a generation capable of working with computers and conscious of ecological problems but unable to see the values of our national symbols?

The relation between the ideological tasks of the party and the demands of growth have many dimensions and are quite complex in nature. Today, this relation is of ever-greater significance as it characterizes the acceleration of changes and the maturation of new social values in socialism. More serious tasks are also faced by ideology and everyone involved in public life such as theoreticians, politicians, journalists, teachers, etc. The intellectual tasks facing the party are also growing. Without some intellectual treatment of the complex relations between the party's ideological tasks and the need to accelerate economic growth, the line of reform will prematurely exhaust its strength. We must remember that.

12261/06662

### **Concerns Voiced About Reform Effect on Labor Code, Worker Rights**

*26000115e Koszalin GLOS POMORZA in Polish  
17-18 Oct 87 p 5*

[Article by Artur Nowicki and Ewa Swietlik: "The Labor Code and Reform"]

[Text] The labor code and economic reform—that is how, as succinctly as possible, one might describe our editorial discussion. How is the functioning of the labor

code being assessed in the factories? Is there a connection between the current code and the state of the economy? Does it really—as it is commonly expressed—tie directors' hands? These and other subjects were discussed at the editorial office table by Witold Polkowski, head of the Provincial Division of the State Work Inspectorate in Slupsk; Janusz Rawski, director of the PHP Fish Warehouse in Koszalin; Jerzy Surowicz, Sejm delegate and director of the "Kuter" Fishing and Fishermen's Services Enterprise in Darlow and Eugeniusz Wicher, legal advisor from Koszalin. Artur Nowicki and Ewa Swietlik represented the newspaper.

[Editor]: The labor code has specific functions to fulfill. The most important of these are the preventive, organizational and distributive functions. The latter, meaning the distribution of goods on the basis of "to each according to his work," should have particular significance in the second stage of economic reform. How can one assess the fulfillment of these functions by currently binding labor legislation?

[E. Wicher]: I have the most serious reservations about fulfillment of the organizational function. A clear example of multiple occupations and work efficiency. We have people who work at several positions in the plants. Because of the scales they receive exact compensation. There is a lack of standards in this area. This creates restraints in making the best use of employees.

[W. Polkowski]: There is a clear conflict of interest in the present phase of our economy. At one extreme one finds striving for maximum profit in a firm and at the other the worker's interests related to working conditions and legal protection of labor. When profit becomes the most important, the conditions under which production takes place cease to be important. The end result interests the firms most of all. This stems from the fact that the firms in which people are taken into consideration and those in which one sees no concern for them are treated identically. I would even risk saying that where one sees efforts to improve conditions, where adequate funds are allocated for that purpose, sometimes lower profits are achieved because of it. In a word, there are no incentives. I feel that the plants that make their profits on their employees, where premature loss of health occurs, where people go on disability pensions, where they are most prone to accidents, should pay higher insurance premiums to the Social Security Agency. This would be one way to compel concern for people.

And another example. Up to now, with existing legal regulations, it does not pay to invest in reducing noise or eliminating other hazards. Admittedly, a list has been established of 150 plants that are exempt from the obligation to depreciate deduction payments, but in the end this does not change much. Because it means that it is worth waiting for some kind of relief or assistance with financing rather than systematically improving, trying. For negligency one receives a peculiar kind of bonus, given from above.

[J. Rawski]: I am of the opinion that the big plants will always work out some kind of bargain—relief and preferences of various kinds—and they will extort something, as evidence by the list of 150 uneconomical plants. Average size plants are in a worse situation. For them there is no motivation. But as regards working conditions, I would like to ask if it is good that expenditures for work safety and hygiene are taxed. Let us exempt them from taxes, then we will see.

[J. Surowiec]: I would not agree with the assertion that pursuit of profit dominates, but I do say that opportunities are not exploited. At "Kuter" there is no problem with spending several million zloty on work safety and hygien. Of course, this goes into our costs and then I recoup it later in the prices of our products. But the opportunities created by current law in the field of environmental protection are not exploited by the plants. Because securing relief at the bank is a bed of thorns. Maybe this will change when specialized banks are created.

On the other hand I do not agree with the opinion that management skimps on improving working conditions. Worker self-management can compel improvement in the state of work safety and hygien. Another thing—it is not good that numerous pressure groups are currently coercing or arranging various kinds of relief for their plants.

[Editor]: Some people blame turnover for this state of production efficiency; problems in the job market encumber current labor law. They say that the new code will serve to rationalize hiring. But is the labor code to blame for poor practices, or its incompetent application or non-compliance? Is the code really too liberal? Proposals for changes in the code, as union experts assess them, can put us at the end of the list of socialist countries.

[J. Surowiec]: As regards the labor code, changes must be adapted to the new economic situation. I feel that currently, employee powers go too far. The employee wins most often in disputes before the courts. And this causes a bad situation in the job market—relaxation of discipline, turnover, etc.

[E. Wicher]: On the problem of the repressiveness of the labor code, I say that present solutions are completely adequate in this regard and there is no need make them more stringent. But when it comes to plants' losing cases, I would like to clarify that it is not true that employees win to a great extent. The plants, despite their control over qualified personnel, gather evidence against workers in an improper, incompetent way. Managers in the plants feel—and I know this from my experience as judge in the Labor Court—that one cannot compel work discipline through administrative decisions. I feel that this is a misunderstanding. Besides, one cannot forget that contracts for work create rights and obligations on

both sides, not merely obligations on the part of employees. The labor movement is afraid that the labor code will become a minor penal code. And I, as a lawyer, do not agree with the proposal to discharge people without showing cause. We signed an international convention in this matter. And? Are we to retreat now? Would that make managing labor easier? I doubt it. Can one really think that people will work better and more efficiently when a whip like that is poised over them? In extreme cases, this would also be an opportunity for abuse by directors, for discharging inconvenient people. This is already happening. I think that providing managers with such an instrument would only do a great deal of harm.

[J. Rawski]: I see it completely differently. Since the director of a firm bears individual responsibility, he should be allowed his own appraisal, and then allowed to discharge employees without showing cause. When I want to discharge an employee now, I lose 90 percent of the cases in court. And that means powerlessness. I can tell you that a good employee will always be in favor. Now when I want to discharge someone, someone else has to shadow him, count the times he is tardy, his absences, document lack of discipline. Is this not a waste of time? In court they ask me if I have instructed him, given him a reprimand or rebuke. Once I was unable to discharge a typist, even though she did not know how to type. So I say, if we are to get out of economic stagnation, the labor code must change too. Let us give the directors more authority.

[E. Wicher]: I really do not understand these misgivings. There is nothing standing in the way of discharging an unproductive employee. To substantiate everything suffices.

[J. Surowiec]: Directors should be given greater authority. Who in an enterprise fights on behalf of profit? A rank and file worker would like only to take with him as much profit as possible in the form of bonuses in his pocket. Today it is hard to convince people that it is necessary to put aside money for enlarging and modernizing the firm. Concern for the good of the plant is diminishing. I will give another example. I checked on safety gloves. Three thousand annually for 200 fishermen. At the staff meeting I say that at "Barka" one-third of that amount is adequate. In other words, according to the signals I get, ours are being sold. Appeals are fruitless. We often say, People, do not manufacture shortages. This too must somehow be addressed legally.

[W. Polkowski]: I daresay that legal solutions on work clothes already exist and we probably do not need new ones, because they are flexible. I would like to call attention to a certain gap in the labor code. Currently group work organization is coming into being, and thus entirely new rules of compensation. The code did not anticipate this. Now no one knows how to pay for sick time in this system. In this case too the rules must certainly be supplemented.

[Editor]: Firms frequently lose in the courts only because they do not know how to make use of existing rules. The state of legality in labor relations has been criticized for years. For years inspections and grievances have pointed to numerous violations of labor law. In our most recent editor poll, one could see clearly that rules on compensation and work hours have not proved out.

[J. Surowiec]: As far as work hours are concerned, I agree. The rule on a 10-hour break after work for drivers is commonly broken. It is broken because drivers do not want to drive with a helper. They say they do not earn enough. I think a good worker could earn even 100,000 zloty. Yet the attitude prevails among employees that pay should be more or less equal. But no rule from the outside will take care of that.

[J. Rawski]: We have a similar situation. In the engine room they have less work than the electricians, for example, but they earn more.

[W. Polkowski]: Are amendments to the law on the issue of compensation necessary? We have fully exploited factory systems because when they were introduced the tendency to divide equally prevailed. Now employees are becoming convinced that this cannot be done. Indeed, in this instance, another law is not necessary; it need only be applied sensibly. Will this always work?

[J. Rawski]: Most enterprises have not taken advantage of the opportunity created by factory compensation systems in order to pay for work. Instead they turned to the possibility of circumventing the scales. In addition, in many factory systems, the method of calculating sick leave has been so complicated that their own systems are not complied with. Either too much or too little is paid. As a rule the opportunity to give bonuses to productive employees is not used. Perhaps the next time it will be different?

[J. Surowiec]: On the subject of better management in the plants and in connection with current labor law, I would like to add that these regulations for bonuses and so on are worked out collectively. Yet I have observed a systematic decline in worker participation in self-management in my firm. Term after term there are fewer and fewer of them. When I ask why, they say, I want to come to work and earn good money; let others take care of the rest.

[Editor]: Could it be, and this conclusion presents itself after reviewing many factory systems and reading the proposals for changes in the labor code, that we are shifting the emphasis to repression and not taking into account the motivational role of rewards?

[J. Surowiec]: But good work is an obligation, so why rewards?

[Editor]: We are talking about improving the labor code. The code that has existed for several years is frequently broken. More and more complaints connected to the state of legality are coming to various bodies. For years the rules governing compensation for work have been broken. Last year, as a result of the intervention of the State Work Inspectorate, 350 million zloty had to be paid out. The administration cannot cope with this. The inspectors estimate that 80 percent of these oversights result solely and exclusively from laziness and ignorance on the part of the people who calculate wages.

[J. Rawski]: I see one of the reasons in the fact that staff stability is finished. Employee turnover prevails in bookkeeping and accounting too. They do not know the rules.

[J. Surowiec]: I would fault the changing rules; the people in bookkeeping cannot keep up with the frequent amendments.

[E. Wicher]: Ignorance of the law and regulations is universal. I observed this in court; it was only there that one found out about basic rules, and they were not new ones. This stems from the fact that there are too many rules. I would be in favor of reforming labor law systematically to put it in order. Currently more than 100 legal regulations are in effect, as well as many branch and factory rules.

[Editor]: Significant differences of opinion and attitude have turned up in our discussion. Some are in favor of limiting employee rights, other argue that the present labor code does not hinder efficient management of enterprises. Indeed, some of the rules of the labor code have not kept up with the changing economic situation. But on the other hand, certain sound regulations currently in force are not used to advantage for either employees or the economy.

12776

**Educational Cooperation With Zaire**  
*26000115b Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish*  
*14-15 Nov 87 p2*

[Text] A delegation from the Ministry of Higher University Education and Scientific Research from the Republic of Zaire visited Poland from 8-13 November. The group was headed by Secretary of State Bogno Makeli. As a result of discussions it was agreed that cooperation in the field of research and higher education between Poland and Zaire would encompass scientific and research activity, personnel training and improvement and exchange of research publications. Prof. Henryk Bednarski, minister of national education, hosted the delegation.

12776

### Self-Styled Entrepreneur Describes Systemic Barriers

26000116a Warsaw *POLITYKA* in Polish  
No 46, 14 Nov 87 p 7

[Interview with Eryk Barcz by Anna Matalowska]

[Text] [Question] Your first undertaking—a car rental agency—failed on its own.

[Answer] I had five cars and an employee from a state rental agency that went bankrupt, the office on Constitution Square. Getting a car to the theater cost 100 zloty, a van for Saturday and Sunday 1,000 zloty, but there were accidents; the State Insurance Bureau demanded 30,000 in insurance premiums instead of 3,000 and renting cars ceased being profitable. I published two advertisements: "You get wet in the rain, you have bought a new refrigerator, you have guests, you need a car—call us." "You have time and a car—call us." Two hundred twenty people, with everything from Mercedes to Trabants, applied. One day a man knocked on the door to check on my permit. It turned out that I can rent cars but without drivers, because they have non-professional driver's licenses. I came to the conclusion that the marriage with tourism should be dissolved and I decided to build a camping and resort group. You cannot do that privately, said the administration, you have to have a stamp.

[Question] Under the aegis of the "Wisla" tourist enterprise your second undertaking emerged—a campground at Zwirki and Wigury Streets in Warsaw that was bulldozed on the basis of a decision by the head architect "due to the threat to public safety."

[Answer] I salvaged 60 truckloads of material that I loaded on Municipal Sanitation Enterprise trucks and hauled to the site of the "Wisla" firm, which broke its contract with me. There nine tons of carpeting, glass and mirrors that I had bought for scrap prices at the liquidation of the Polexpo fair on Lopuszanska Street in Warsaw were salvaged. The case against "Wisla" went on for eight years, but they paid no damages anyway. I started all over again; for me there is no problem with money; capital is an idea.

[Question] But the idea requires financial support in order to get the business in motion.

[Answer] I had a traditional startup method: an ax, a hammer, a saw and ads in the newspaper. I would build a house or a cottage. I salvaged a little material, but I had no vehicle, so I found someone for whom I bought one cheap at an auction and the vehicle was loaned to me for the favor.

[Question] And you went in the direction of Zgorzelec.

[Answer] I started to build those houses and cottages and took the money I earned to Zgorzelec where I ordered a design for adapting a demolished service-amusement complex. Half a year later the building began to receive 50-members groups. At 5 a.m. I was in town at the taxi stand; from Mr. Serafinski private butcher shop I got headcheese, fresh kielbasa, blood and tongue and rolls from Mr. Plywacz. As I was arriving, the tour group was washing up; breakfast had to be served in 10 minutes because the bus had to be on the border before 7 a.m.

[Question] Whom did that displease?

[Answer] The National; at that time they still accepted that a person who sued the president of Warsaw was a troublemaker, so they decided to get rid of me. The tourism officials had opinions different from their bosses; they let me in through the back door, asking me to shield myself with someone else. The problem of permits came up. I had concepts, ideas, but I was neither a chef nor a cook. I substituted my partner. She had had a cooking course. People were sleeping in ditches on the border; on the GDR side there were 2,000 vehicles with Western registration when I went to invite customers. The local officials discovered that I was there in spite of their decisions and they decided to destroy me as soon as possible before I could expand.

[Question] Every one of your undertakings was accompanied by press campaigns defending you, chiding officials and stupidity by the administration.

[Answer] At least half of my work has gone to blazing a trail for myself and fighting hardships; with the help of the press I was able to force the doors of the offices and compel basic decisions. I won over the bosses from tourism and services in the ministry, letters went to the province that I should be helped, I was supported in the Sejm. The point was to block the officials' offensive.

I was in the gmina in order to get to the manager. The secretary was typing. When she reached for some paper, I saw a document with five copies and my name on it. I quickly wet my finger and pulled out one copy.

It was a summary statement of a lease contract. Sanepid, the militia and the fire department were mobilized in order to invade with the bulldozers. The only recourse was to get to the office of the vice premier, from whom the letter to the province in my defense was to come, proof that the local administration had not conformed to the recommendations. I had had enough of the small fry. I caught the "Syrena" travel bureau bus, in Wroclaw I caught up with a plan and at 3:30 p.m. I signed in at the vice premier's office. They said, if you do not win at this stage, we will stop helping you. We have a choice of either removing the provincial governor or resigning ourselves.

[Question] That time the vice premier's office managed to obtain an assurance from the province that they would not ruin you.

[Answer] They were ordered to sell me the building, evict the occupants, give me help with credit and rent me a water tank.

[Question] But the deputy provincial governor bet you a bottle of cognac that you would not construct the building.

[Answer] The administration stalled so long that the recommendations were not executed a for a year. The deputy governor said, why do you need this! Such an enterprising man—we will give you a secretary, a car, a cleaning lady—you will be the director.

[Question] So Warsaw's directives did not reach Zgorzelec, yet you built, remodeled and put things in order

[Answer] I always take advantage of the time given to me, but I choked. I threw the change of bed linens into the water and hung them up to dry. If it had rained there would have been a crisis because I would not have had anything with which to make the beds. In order to get a loan one had to be the proprietor. The building was purchased with a two-thirds share for me and one-third for my partner, who used that one-third to destroy the whole undertaking. I could not collect the money without her signature; I could not buy or build. One day my partner was standing in the door with an iron pipe and the militia said, she has rights here too. The lawsuit to dissolve the joint ownership went on for five years. The first judicial expert kept the documents under a cabinet for a year and every year afterwards he calculated the value of the building.

[Question] You evacuated the village of Zatonie.

[Answer] The village was for sale because of the construction of the Turow II power plant. I needed building materials so I had to be there. I rented a room and day after day, with my ax, wheelbarrow and shovel, among the people who were buying the houses and snatching up the best, I gathered blazed bricks, roofing tile, steel. I hauled out 11 carloads: six to Tylice near Zgorzelec, five to Piaseczno, because in the meantime I had been married. I took care of my wife's inheritance, sold my apartment, remodeled my house and built workshops until one day I found myself on the street in my work clothes. So I went back to Zgorzelec; the militia escorted me because my partner would not let me in.

[Question] Now we enter the arena of your destruction by women.

[Answer] But that would not have happened if there had been rules where I would have had enough room. The present system does not protect the kind of work that is not profitable work for the first one in the establishment.

[Question] But how does it happen that having been cut down so often, you can still take flight?

[Answer] I have discovered the law of the last zloty; the last one must multiply.

[Question] Meanwhile, the District Court in Zgorzelec has taken two hectares of a part away from you where there was to be a cafe, a pool, an island on the water, a campground and a dancing area, along with a building where you had set up rooms for the night. It was ordered to be demolished.

[Answer] That is why I have to roll with the punches. I need resistance in order to operate, but this time it is to be or not to be for me.

[Question] In the meantime, as a victim of the system, you are lying in a government clinic as we are talking.

[Answer] I kept my wife's eligibility; that is why I could afford to get a divorce. Twenty-four hours before the deadline I managed to file a revision. I also had my teeth replaced. Worse than anywhere else, but free of charge, so tough luck.

[Question] Thank you for the interview.

12776

**Siwicki Chairs Scouting Cadre Meeting**  
26000115c Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish  
14-15 Oct 87 p 2

[Text] The presidium of the Main Council of the Friends of Scouting [RGPH], chaired by General of the Army Florian Siwicki, has deliberated on improving the training and work of institutional personnel of the Polish Scout Union. A timetable was adopted for implementing actions to help scouting in seeking out instructors from various social and professional circles, aid training of cadres and improve their qualifications and create for instructors social, organizational and material conditions for ideological and educational activity among children and youth.

In recognizing the effort of social education, an annual award from the chairman of the RGPH was established for the best scouting instructors.

12776

## ROMANIA

### Need for Strict Observance of Laws Stressed

27000044b Bucharest ERA SOCIALISTA in Romanian  
No 23, 10 Dec 87 pp 17-20

[Article by Dr. Constantin Mihaila: "Strict Observance of the Law: A Primary Requirement"]

[Text] Building the socialist society—the conscious work of the entire nation—cannot be achieved without strict social order and discipline, something that implies precise observance of the country's laws and promoting and strengthening socialist legality. Our party and its secretary general, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, view this process as an integral part of the revolutionary change of the society, and consistently ensure a full coordination between the specific objectives of each stage of socioeconomic development and the need to base the entire life of the country on the resolute observance of the law.

The dynamics that characterizes all the socioeconomic areas and the scope and particular complexity of the objectives and tasks raised by the new stage of development of our country highlight the role of and, at the same time, the need to increasingly assert subjective factors in the organization and leadership of the society, particularly to enhance the role of the RCP as the leading political force in the entire Romanian society and as the vital center of the nation. Indeed, the great achievements attained by the Romanian people in the process of building the new system, especially in the period opened up by the ninth congress, are inseparably linked to the implementation of the leading political role of the party, the rejuvenating spirit characterizing all its theoretical and practical activities, and its permanent receptivity to the phenomena and objective requirements of social life, which stem from a thorough mastery of revolutionary dialectics and its essence that is alien to stagnation, dogmatism, and rigidity of thinking.

The complexity of the socioeconomic development and the conscious implementation of social laws—which require continuous improvements in the leadership of all the areas—also involve increasing the role of our socialist state and bolstering its functions. As a state of workers revolutionary democracy and as a representative of the fundamental interests of the people, the Romanian socialist state ensures uniform and planned leadership of socioeconomic activities, the development of the production forces, and improvements in the production relations and harmony among them, and safeguards the revolutionary achievements, independence, and sovereignty of the fatherland.

As is known, one of the main means by which the socialist state fulfills its tasks are the legal norms. Through the legal norms, which are binding to all the citizens, the socialist state regulates the most diverse categories of social relations and implements—by giving them power of law—the political, economic, and social

requirements established by the party in keeping with the realities and needs of the process of building the comprehensively developed socialist society and Romania's progress toward communism. Referring to the social role of the law as the main tool of social leadership and of implementing the people's will, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu stressed that "The laws of our country express the will and interests of all the people, serve the flourishing of the fatherland and the wellbeing of the working people, and ensure the free manifestation of the aptitudes and capabilities of the citizens in the political, economic, social, and cultural life." Along this line, the law is designed to provide a sound basis for social relations, safeguard socialist property, the people's revolutionary achievements, and civic rights and liberties, and to contribute to improving the socioeconomic organization and leadership.

Producing and enacting laws or amending them is one of the sovereign and particularly important prerogatives of our socialist state. The party has paid and continues to pay great attention to the legislative policy of the state, in view of the fact that law enactment is designed to correctly translate economic, social, and cultural realities into legal norms and, at the same time, to create efficient legal tools for implementing the tasks of the entire nation. The ninth party congress breathed a new spirit into this area, too; it initiated a vast process of reconsideration and rethinking of various legal norms and principles and of the social role of the law itself at the new stage of development of the country. One practice that was completely eliminated was replacement of laws by petty orders and instructions. The organizational and legal framework that was thus established strengthened the authority and supremacy of the law.

Our party and its secretary general, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, are consistently concerned with ensuring that the laws of the country and the other legal acts issued on their basis are in keeping with social needs, reflect as faithfully as possible the changes occurring in the economic basis, social structure, and people's consciousness, and at the same time that they express the future development of our socialist society and take into account the requirements of social life and of the many-sided progress of the country.

Within the framework of the profound qualitative changes effected in all the areas of social life, in the past 20 years, on the initiative of the party secretary general, a comprehensive program was hammered out for improving the law and the activities of legal bodies. A new Constitution, a genuine charter of the people's freedom and social justice, was adopted. As Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu stressed, "During these years intensive legislative activities were carried out for the purpose of harmonizing the basic laws of the state with the development and improvement of the production forces and relations." Thus, new legal norms were established and existing norms were amended both in the area of the political organization of the society—in order to deepen

the democratic, workers' character of our socialist state—and in the area of socioeconomic activities; on that basis, basic legal-legislative structures were established regarding the development and safeguarding of socialist property, the working people's status as owners, producers, and consumers of the entire national wealth, and the functions of the socialist economic units as "links" of workers' self-management and economic-financial self-administration. A new legislation was adopted in the areas of the planned socioeconomic development of the country; financing and credits, and prices and tariffs; technical-material supplies and investments; economic contracts; and international relations. Other important legal acts that were established were the Penal Code and the Code of Penal Procedure, the Labor Code, and the Silvicultural Code; improvements were made in the Civil Code and the Procedural Code; laws were adopted on court organization, the organization of the prosecutor's office, trial panels, etc.

The legal measures adopted in the years after the ninth congress enriched the national juridical heritage and laid the foundations for a new, organically and harmoniously integrated legal system, which is characterized by the revolutionary assertion of a spirit of ethics and justice, in keeping with the will and interests of the people and with the requirements and tasks of the current stage of building the comprehensively developed socialist society. These measures originated in the need to ensure that the legal norms duly reflect the changes that have occurred in our society and at the same time, that they give a legal expression to the new institutions and forms of activity and to the strengthening and safeguarding of socialist legal order.

Within the framework of the profound changes effected in our society a foremost place was given to continuously expanding and deepening socialist democracy. In recent years, new and important measures were enacted in order to improve the organizational framework of participation of the working people and of the entire nation in the leadership of the society. The participation of a growing number of working people in the activities of the various state and civic bodies breathed a strong revolutionary spirit into socioeconomic activities and fostered a greater responsibility for optimally resolving the complex issues confronting the Romanian society, which is in the midst of a process of great rejuvenating changes. Along this line, our party emphasized the truth that improving the social leadership is a dialectical process, within which some of the prerogatives of the state are transferred to the masses, thus expanding the organizational framework of participation of the people in social leadership, simultaneously with increasing the role of the state in the cohesive organization of all socioeconomic activities. This development is designed to strengthen order and discipline and the strict observance of the law, to resolutely defend the people's revolutionary achievements, socialist property, individual property, legal order, and public peace, and to guarantee the actual realization of civic rights and liberties.

As an expression of the will of the entire nation, the rationale for observing the law is found in the very essence of our socialist system and in the broad social basis of the state power; thus, the observance of the law is raised to the level of objective requirement.

The incontestable merit of the party secretary general, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, is that he resolutely inculcated in our entire society respect for the law, and based the entire social organization and leadership on the concept that promoting and strengthening socialist legality and the constitutional obligation of all the citizens and all state bodies to observe the law is an objective requirement and an essential factor of the process of building the new society; proceeding from that, he established the workers' revolutionary democracy within the Romanian political system, something that had a positive impact on the organization and operation of the entire social body.

As a consequence of the enormous socioeconomic changes that occurred in our country, the fundamental changes in the Romanian socialist society, and the unprecedented development of education, science, and culture, important changes also took place in people's consciousness: the sense of social responsibility of each citizen increasingly asserted itself and, as a result of all these realities, the social basis apt to generate deeds violating social and legal order was considerably reduced. Thus, a new framework was established for asserting and ensuring legality. The main characteristic of this framework is that the overwhelming majority of the citizens observe the laws out of conviction and act to implement them, viewing them as a viable expression of their own will and interests.

Substantiating the thesis of strengthening socialist legality as one of the premises for continuously expanding workers revolutionary democracy, the party secretary general stressed that observance of the law is compulsory for everyone and that no one has a right to take advantage of his party or state position to violate or ignore the law in any way. "Socialist democracy," Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu stated, "requires continuously increasing the responsibility of each citizen and strengthening social discipline and order; it is incompatible with any manifestation of disorder, anarchy, and irresponsibility for the interests of the country and of all our people."

Needless to say, there can be no socialist democracy or genuine legality when laws are ignored or violated. Revolutionary democracy and the state of workers revolutionary democracy presuppose complete discipline and order; ignoring or violating laws constitutes a mentality alien to the revolutionary concept and to the nature of the workers class which, by its essence, is a disciplined, revolutionary class. Ensuring a climate of order, discipline, and legality implies a firm and implacable attitude against any violation of the law—that

must not be allowed to escape a resolute reaction from the society—and continuously strengthening the revolutionary spirit in all the areas of activity.

As was stressed at the 27 November 1987 meeting of the Political Executive Committee of the RCP Central Committee, resolute, demanding, and responsible measures must be taken, in the light of Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's orientations, to implement and observe legal norms to the letter, and to strengthen order and discipline in all the units and all the sectors of activity. Strictly observing party decisions and the laws of the country, and strengthening order and discipline—as was firmly emphasized in the 27 November decision of the Political Executive Committee of the RCP Central Committee—is aimed at establishing a climate of great communist, revolutionary demandingness throughout the social life, and fully and consistently asserting the party's working spirit.

It is of course inconceivable that, while all our people devotedly and heroically participate in building the new society and firmly observe and implement the laws, certain elements with a low level of social consciousness or unreceptive to help from the society to rehabilitate them should ignore the values of our society and the laws and norms of social coexistence.

Resolute implementation of the law, severe punishment of those guilty of violating our legal order, uncompromisingly severe punishment of those who, through their violations, harm the interests of the working people, and inflexible wielding of the law against all those who commit deeds prejudicial to our socialist system are some of the priority requirements of the current stage of socioeconomic development of the country and major requirements for defending and continuously developing the Romanian society.

In a spirit of profound equity characteristic of the entire policy of the RCP, in the past 20 years resolute measures were adopted to strengthen legality and completely eliminate opportunities for abuses and mistakes, by continuously expanding the sphere of economic, social, and state guarantees necessary for protecting civic rights and liberties and achieving a juridical system based on truth and justice.

Today, one of the axiomatic truths that has firmly and authoritatively asserted itself in all the areas of state activity is the requirement, resolutely expressed by the party secretary general, that no guilty person be allowed to evade his responsibility and, at the same time, that no innocent person be unjustly punished.

The revolutionary humanism that characterizes the entire climate of implementation of socialist legality primarily requires defending the interests of all our working people and all the citizens who observe the law out of conviction, defending socialist property and the individual property of the working people, ensuring public peace and order, protecting each citizen from any

attempt on his life, health, freedom, and legitimate interests, and, at the same time, firmly punishing those who, in one form or another, disregard the laws and the norms of social coexistence.

Socialist legality is strengthened in the conditions of the process of continuously improving the legislation and the activities of the state bodies. This process is part and parcel of the vast party program of continuously improving all the sectors of activity, strengthening social order and discipline, and firmly rooting in the life of our society the socialist principles and respect for the law as a faithful reflection of the will of the entire nation.

Life has fully verified the correctness of the measures adopted by our party leadership in this area, something that has been demonstrated by, among other things, the fact that the overwhelming majority of the citizens actively contribute to ensuring and strengthening the climate of order and lawfulness, asserting the principles of socialist ethics and equity, and firmly combating law violations or other transgressions. It is incontestably true that the increasing assertion of the traits of the new man, in the conditions of the continuous development of workers revolutionary democracy, mass participation in social leadership, increased responsibility of the working people for safeguarding and consolidating socialist property and the national wealth, and the moral-political unity of all the people around the party and its secretary general, has made it possible to enforce respect for the law throughout our society. Thus, a mass opinion has been created and developed against those who disregard the laws or the rules of social coexistence; there is an increasingly energetic and firm collective reaction against actions that harm the values of our society; and the working people have become increasingly active against manifestations of unruliness and tolerance toward law violations.

However, the area of legality and strict observance of the laws comprises not only conformity to the rules of social coexistence and the laws that protect the fundamental values of our society, civic rights and liberties, socialist property, and legal order, but also the appropriate implementation of the norms that regulate production activities, the organization and operation of socialist units, and the economic relations among them. Aimed at legally ensuring the appropriate unfolding of production activities, the economic laws are thus particularly important for the optimal and efficient fulfillment of the plan tasks and the obligations incumbent on the economic units in the conditions of self-management and economic-financial self-administration.

The firm implementation and observance of these laws provides an appropriate legal framework for implementing the principles of workers self-management, self-administration, and self-financing, for reinforcing plan supervision, order, and discipline, increasing responsibility for the utilization of the material and cash resources entrusted by the society to the collectives of

working people for administration, and a better utilization of economic-financial levers in the intensive development of the national economy. The unwavering observance of economic-financial regulations is a decisive factor for smooth economic activities, for the complete utilization of production facilities, observance of consumption norms, reduced production costs, increased rate of turnover of circulating capital, adjusting stockpiles to current production requirements, increasing labor productivity, achieving the products earmarked for the domestic market and export, and enhancing the profitability and efficiency of all economic activities.

As is known, an important role for fulfilling the development programs of the national economy is played by the concrete contribution of each socialist unit and the cooperation among them. The basic tool that ensures the legal framework for regulating the relations among the socialist units is the economic contract. Establishing and developing economic and social relations among the socialist units on the basis of economic contracts is mainly designed to assist the fulfillment of the tasks envisaged in the single plan of socioeconomic development. Economic contracts are made in accordance with the principles and requirements of workers self-management, self-administration, and self-financing. Each socialist unit is directly responsible for complying with the contract obligations. One of the most important traits of economic contracts is that the contractual relations are based on thorough understanding of the capabilities of each socialist unit that is a party to the contract, and after the legal document comes into force the parties must take all the necessary measures to completely and timely fulfill its obligations.

As was stressed at the 16 October 1987 meeting of the Political Executive Committee of the RCP Central Committee, economic contracts are a basic instrument for regulating the relations between socialist units for the purpose of expanding the diversifying product deliveries and delivering work and services. It must contribute to reducing supply and sale time, observing stockpile standards and the approved economic and financial norms, increasing the rate of turnover of circulating capital, efficiently utilizing fixed assets and all material and cash resources, and bolstering order and discipline in the relations among socialist units.

Through its provisions, the economic legislation is designed to make a considerable contribution, alongside the other legal regulations, to safeguarding and consolidating the values and structures of our society, firmly rooting socioeconomic relations in the law, strengthening the climate of order and lawfulness, and shaping an unwavering attitude against any legal violation or transgression.

In accordance with the general evolution of our society, the continuously growing civic spirit of the working people, and the increasing social responsibility of all the citizens, our party pays special attention to precluding

illegalities with a view to preempting people from violating the law. In that process, it focuses on political-educational measures to persuade each citizen to unabatedly observe the laws and norms of social coexistence, discipline, and order and to struggle for justice and truth.

Our party believes that this preventive work carries much more profound meaning and dimensions and that it involves all the working people in one form or another. Consequently, it is no longer the exclusive prerogative of state bodies such as the Ministry of the Interior, the Prosecutor's Office, and the courts, but has become the task of all the people. Preventing violations of the law and of the norms of social coexistence is part and parcel of the complex program of revolutionary transformation of the society and one of our general collective objectives that cannot be confined exclusively to one expertise or sphere of activity. The structural changes that have brought about a deeper and improved socialist democracy—a new type of economic and social democracy which in its turn has contributed to broadly capitalizing on the initiative, experience, and creativity of the masses, while at the same time leading to essential changes in the contents of the various functions of our socialist state—have generated new and original methods of ensuring socialist legality and order. In these conditions, it has become possible and necessary to restrict the sphere of implementation of penal laws; thus, minor crimes are subject to administrative, disciplinary, or civic law. Consequently, active collective participation in the struggle to enforce the law and to preclude and combat negative behavior in the society has become an essential element of preventive work.

Aiming at fulfilling the ideals of social justice and equity and eliminating all inequalities, socialism does not limit itself to devising temporary remedies for dealing with antisocial behavior, but has assumed the task of eliminating the material and cultural conditions that generate negative behavior. Thus, the struggle against antisocial phenomena has become the issue of the entire society.

In this respect, an important role is played by political-ideological activities aimed at educating the working people in a spirit of love for the fatherland, party, and people and responsibility for and adherence to our great revolutionary achievements. This is a complex and systematic process that convergently involves all the educational factors in our society. Proceeding from the principle that new system is built by the conscious work of the masses, of all the people, the party is consistently concerned with shaping a new man and asserting progressive social and moral values, socialist patriotism, and a revolutionary spirit. As Comrade Nicolae Ceaușescu stressed, "We must primarily focus on political-educational work to persuade each citizen of his responsibility to strictly observe the laws of the country, the norms of social coexistence, and discipline and order in our society."

Within the complex system of educational factors, the decisive role is played by our party, which is consistently endeavoring to develop the socialist consciousness of the masses and is intensively working to educate the citizens in a spirit of respect for the law and to foster a conscious and active attitude toward social and civic obligations, care for socialist property, observance of the norms of social coexistence, intolerance toward any illegality or abuse, and resolute struggle against any actions that can impede the continuous progress of our society.

As one of the components of socialist consciousness, the socialist legal consciousness—which in essence expresses the ideas, concepts, feelings, and representations of our working people about what is legal and what is illegal, just and unjust, rights and duties, compulsory or facultative and, on this basis, permits assessment of the existing legal norms and of the legal regulations that should be enacted in the future—is consistently bolstered by our party's policy of involving the broad masses of citizens in legislating and enforcing laws, in the activities of civic bodies, in court work and in exercising influence, as well as in understanding and disseminating the laws and preventing law violations.

As the building of the comprehensively developed society in our country progresses, the role of the socialist legal consciousness of the masses increases in the correct and cohesive enforcement of the law; people increasingly observe the laws out of conviction, aware that they express their will and interests and that they have been established for the good and benefit of the entire society, something that limits and increasingly narrows down the use of constraint.

The development of a socialist legal consciousness ensures a healthy climate of legality and contributes to the strict observance of the laws of the state and to consolidating the socialist law and its role for fulfilling the present objectives of all our people. Socialist consciousness and legal norms are linked by a dialectical relationship of mutual conditioning, whereby the latter have an active influence on the development of the socialist consciousness. Consequently, preventive-educational activities play an important role for the thorough understanding of the laws and other legal regulations and their meaning and contents. As an expression of the requirements of the socialist society and of the basic principles of social behavior, our laws are strongly educational in content and serve—together with their other functions—as a means of influencing civic behavior. Expressing important commands of socioeconomic life and instituting compulsory norms for all the citizens, our laws establish rules and principles of behavior that influence civic attitudes and behavior, thus having an impact on the actions and consciousness of the members of the society.

An important role for ensuring and continuously strengthening socialist legality is played by the broad participation of the masses of citizens in enforcing the

laws and other legal provisions. "We must never forget," Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu stressed, "that socialism is built with the people and for the people, that the development of workers revolutionary democracy and the participation of the masses in leadership are decisive factors for enabling the people themselves to consciously build their future, and for the victory of socialism and communism in Romania." As owners, producers, and consumers of everything that is achieved in our country, the working people view the laws as an expression of their will and aspirations and are interested in their strict enforcement and observance. Consequently, increasingly the collectives of working people actively and responsibly participate in combating law violations and asserting a spirit of justice, honesty, kindness, mutual assistance, and respect for the law, thereby directly contributing to disseminating the moral principles and values of our society and preventing transgressions and other antisocial actions. Thus, the necessary objective and subjective conditions exist for fully ensuring legality.

The working people's participation in ensuring legality and socialist legal order is based on the presence and development of a sense of understanding of and complete adherence to the ethical and legal rules sanctioned in our society, and on shaping an active and intolerant attitude toward those who ignore the law and the norms of social coexistence. The struggle against negative manifestations is not merely the expression of a social collective self-defense reflex, but the outcome of a conscious attitude based on understanding of the need to resolutely and consistently combat any actions prejudicial to the values and structures of our society.

Our party leadership has acted and is consistently acting to continuously improve the framework of participation of the masses in establishing and enforcing the laws of the country, preventing and combating legal violations and transgressions, and ensuring justice. It resolutely promotes the working class' concept of revolutionary humanism, ethics and equity, justice and truth. Referring to the need to improve the framework of participation of the masses in the leadership of the society, and to the need to strengthen the working people's supervision of the activities of the state bodies that ensure socialist legality, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu stressed in his report to the 13th congress: "We must increase the role and participation of the masses in all the activities designed to defend socialism and the country's independence and sovereignty, and must develop the cooperation of state bodies—as bodies of the entire nation with special functions within the division of labor in our society—with the working people and monitored by the people."

This new framework of securing legality is very important for ensuring law implementation, because the force of penetration of legal norms is incomparably greater when it is achieved out of conviction rather than through coercion. In our country, because legality is the outcome

of the natural consensus resulting from the harmonization of individual and collective interests and aspirations, conviction prevails over constraint.

In the conditions of the contemporary Romanian society, based on the increasing assertion of workers revolutionary democracy, strengthening legality and social order is the only viable option and the only climate compatible with and necessary for achieving the objectives established in the party program and the documents of the 13th congress for raising our fatherland to higher levels of progress and civilization.

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### **Need To Form Unified, Homogenized Working Class**

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[Article by Univ Reader Dr Andrei Sida: "Formation of the Single Working People. Aims, Trends and Prospects"]

[Text] The creative contributions of the RCP and Nicolae Ceausescu have enriched the theory of scientific socialism and current revolutionary practice with a new, dialectically very profound and unquestionably original theory of formation of the single working people. It is to the party secretary general's credit that he realized that the great changes and reforms in the stage of building the fully developed socialist society and the developmental trends of the objective and subjective processes in the nature of the social structures and relations among them actually denote a higher form of social-human community. The origin and content of the theory of formation of the single working people inherently depend both upon analysis and prospective evaluation of the overall dialectics of the processes characteristic of construction of fully developed socialism and the advance toward communism and the outcome of those dialectics, and upon identification of the developmental direction of all the ethnic and class structures of Romanian society.

### **Theoretical Premises**

It is an important and significant fact that the theory of formation of the single working people was first presented in the RCP Program, approved by the 11th RCP Congress, which states among other things that "We are not forgetting in our approach to the minorities question that in the historical perspective, once the classes have disappeared, the distinctions between physical and intellectual work and agricultural and industrial labor have been gradually eliminated, and rural and urban living conditions have been leveled, there will be a new unity of workers of all nationalities in the communist era. They will be increasingly integrated in construction of the fully developed socialist society and communism and with the single working people of communist society."

Some important conclusions and criteria for analysis can be drawn from that first synthesis of ideas. For example, the mention and outline of the new concept in the RCP Program indicate that it is not only a synthesis of all the comprehensive changes and processes directly and indirectly affecting the development of the social structure and relations but also a programmatic principle intended to direct the social processes toward that end result from the standpoint of Romanian socialist society's advance toward communism.

It must be specified here in the first place that the said social structure actually includes all the existing class and ethnic structures and not just some of them, because by its nature and as a result of the complete solution of the minorities problem, the unified ethnic structure of Romanian society neither overlooks nor separates but recognizes and integrates all the microstructures historically determined by the ethnic criterion and accords them the same direction of development.

In the second place, formation of the single working people is clearly a revolutionary process integrating both the social structures and the material and cultural, objective and subjective socioeconomic changes, which are directly determined by at least by two great and comprehensive interdependent processes, namely social homogenizing, which is making quantitative and qualitative changes in the existing social structures, and elevation of the entire people's socialist unity to a qualitatively new and higher level.

Since they operate as factors and processes with a direct and controlling effect upon formation of the single working people, social homogenizing and socialist unity of the entire people ultimately lead to a new quality of socialist society as a whole, lend it a new form as well as a higher unity in keeping with the future structures of communist society. Eventually, therefore, the single working people will actually reflect the future form of society corresponding to communism.

The formulation of the concept of the single working people involves the qualitative changes in the content and characteristics in the form of the social-human community in its entirety and not just in the class structure of society. This programmatic-militant aspect of the above-mentioned theory is stressed by Nicolae Ceausescu, who says, "In the new stage of the revolution, we must convert the alliance and collaboration between the working class and the other social classes and categories and those among the workers of different nationalities to unity among all social classes and categories and unity of the entire people as we initiate a new quality and formation of the single working people and of the new, unified socialist nation." This process is designed as a component and integral part of the revolutionary reform of all society and of the continuity of the revolutionary process on the basis of the great quantitative accumulations in socioeconomic development, which changes require conversion of quantity to a new and higher quality.

These theoretical qualifications permit thorough clarification of the problems of renovating the general character of Romanian socialist society, for which the successive dialectical stages are formulated in terms of the very broad and analytically and synthetically profound categories of the new, unified socialist nation and of the single working people. We consider it important to distinguish between the two otherwise inseparable concepts and between the categories of unified and single used in their formulations. Whereas the category of the new, unified socialist nation reflects the new quality acquired in the nature of Romanian socialist society as a community, wherein the existing ethnic and class structures are evolving on the basis of a steadily developing alliance and socialist unity, the category of the single working people reflect the new quality acquired in the nature of the social-human community of the future communist society, wherein the present social structures will have disappeared but clearly not all forms of their existence as well. Moreover the RCP Program specifies that in the future formation of the single working people "There will still be certain distinctive features, especially differences among the various categories of workers in regard to their roles in the production process and in social activity, but they will accentuate the democratic character of the new order and the dialectical unity of the working people even further."

Furthermore we think there is a substantive difference, and not just a semantic one, between the meaning of "single" and "unified." The unified community, characteristic of a socialist nation and corresponding to fully developed socialism, is based on structures with characteristics that not only differ but also have essential differences among them, their unity taking the form of a new and higher quality of relations (alliance, collaboration, brotherhood, etc.), whereas the single community reflects a social structure wherein the structural distinctions and diversity are no longer based upon essential differences, and in this case the unity takes the forms of both a relationship and a series identical traits in common that have appeared in all existing new structures.

The working-class character of the single people's future community follows from the regular necessity of enhancing the role of the working class in socialist and communist construction. Since it is the most advanced class, bearing the future way of life and production, the communist way, and the class most receptive and sensitive to the qualitative changes in the dialectics of the advance toward communism, it is also the class whose characteristics acquired in those dialectics are imparted to and generalized in all the other social structures. In this way, the "disappearance" of the classes is not accomplished by their structural suppression or restriction but by bringing all the other structures up to the standard of the qualitative characteristics acquired in the evolution of the most advanced class and its nature.

But this will not result in a structural "amorphism" of the future society, but in a new and more intensive

diversification of the social structures, objectively determined by the intensified social division of labor, by the place and role of people in the production process and social activity, by the possibilities of full expression of the individual's fully developed personality under communism, and by the long stable elements in the ethnic microstructures of today, since we know that the nation, as well as the national minorities, will preserve their own characteristics and features for a long time to come.

The significance and value of the theory of formation of the single working people and the power and originality of that concept are especially relevant because, as we know, the classic Marxist-Leninist theory left questions unanswered concerning the form of the communist community, while no unified policies or views on the role and prospects of the socialist nation have as yet been formed in the theory or practice of contemporary socialism. This new theory lends the apparently contradictory dialectical processes and principles of development of the nation's role and prospects in socialism and of its disappearance in communism a full theoretical and practical clarification and a definite social and historical goal. The nation does not "disappear" in the usual sense of the word, however, but is changed, and that change is not projected in the direction of diminishing or restricting the socialist nation's role but in that of a higher development of its role. Consequently the single working people will not lose their character in the national one because the latter's qualitative characteristics will objectively reflect their character. As it is designed and developed by the RCP, the category of the single working people has the merit of providing a definite way of creatively interpreting and applying the general principles of socialism and communism in connection with the dialectics of the Romanian form of a community.

#### Interrelated Processes

The RCP and its secretary general believe that transition to a new quality of the social structure and relations in the stage of building the fully developed socialist society directly depends upon development both of socialist unity and of social homogenizing, comprehensive and interdependent dialectical social processes that are determined by but also determine the whole series of social changes in keeping with the transition to communism.

The socialist unity of Romanian society reflects the new quality of social relations based on the revolutionary process of socialist reform. Defined as a series of new relations characteristic of the socialist kind of economic base and superstructure, the unity historically established in the previous evolution of the forms of a community is enhanced in form and content by Romanian socialist society.

Unity as a class, national or other interstructural relationship is characteristic of every community and gives it the status of a distinct and relatively integrated social-human unit in relation to other communities, because it

is based upon vital common interests, motivations and aspirations that are identical, close or compatible and upon elements of social awareness and attitude and of affinity to the same set of values of the given social structures. Of course in the societies divided into antagonistic classes, unity has been distinguished by its particular nature as a conflict of opposites. But the class struggle and the general unity of the respective community (a people or a nation) have not proved incompatible, which would make them absolutely mutually exclusive. By eliminating the antagonistic class structures and relations, socialism makes it possible to establish a qualitatively new and higher unity on the level and in the general nature of socialist society.

As we see it today, Romanian society's socialist unity is one of its chief social-political values, since it has in its forms and content many significant elements of originality stemming from the specific-historical and national nature and characteristics of the historical dialectic in general and of the socialist one in particular in the party's creative revolutionary strategy. In that respect it is a major revolutionary gain basic to the great accomplishments in the years of socialism and guaranteeing the communist future of society, Romania's further progress in current foreign relations, and its sovereignty and independence.

Romanian society's socialist unit is accordingly not an automatic outcome of socialist construction but has been shaped and materialized by the party's strategy and its ability to understand, reflect and correlate the interests and aspirations of all the progressive social forces and to concentrate them in a uniform direction of development. It is the outcome of the whole revolutionary undertaking of socialist construction and of the party's repropportioning, according to the new structures, laws and principles of socialism, of the historically established and proved characteristics of the unity of the people and the Romanian nation throughout their existence, wherein the need of unity was experienced and regarded as a first and vital necessity for permanence, stability and continuity in the ancestral homeland and as a fundamental imperative assimilated in the very awareness of their existence.

With these deep roots in history, the awareness of the need of unity and its power in the nation's evolution was taken up and further developed by the RCP as one of the strongest supports of its revolutionary strategy and as the most far-reaching social-political relationship, concentrating and expressing the common economic and political values as well as those of awareness, culture and ideology that are set on the basis of socialism in the nature of all social classes and categories. Consequently the socialist unity of Romanian society ultimately reflects an original and higher synthesis of history and the present and of continuity and creative discontinuity. It is the current level of that constant value of historical dialectics whose polarizing axis on the national scale is

the unity of the people around the party and its secretary general, a unity established and confirmed as a law of the present stage of socialist development in Romania.

Construction and development of unity have not been and of course never will be a direct process free of contradictions. But they do not come of a base and superstructure based on antagonisms but of a unified base and superstructure taking the form essentially of contradictions of growth. Meanwhile the regular operation of the purposeful factor of control over the mechanism of the contradictions through knowledge and prompt resolution of them, primarily by preventing their aggravation and dysfunctional effects, lends socialist unity a dialectic of its own.

### A Higher Kind of Unity

The Ninth Party Congress is the main point of reference in the whole unity of Romanian socialist society, as it also is in Romanian society's entire socialist reform. Under the controlling impetus of its receptiveness to creativity, the congress brought the traditional worker-peasant alliance in the period of the class and national struggles for the victory of the Antifascist and Anti-Imperialist Revolution for Social and National Liberation and for socialism up to the level of socialist unity, in order to secure the continuity of the revolutionary process on the economic, class and ideological bases of socialism and to initiate the higher stage of the new order.

As a higher stage of the alliance, socialist unity actually integrates all of society's national and class structures as well as those of age, occupation, sex, etc., and reflects a moral-political and volitive welding of ideas and social action that is far stronger, more stable, broader and deeper than that achieved by alliance in its traditional sense or by the "unity" provided by the political, strategic or tactical formulas of "convergence," "consensus," "coalition," etc., in the current bourgeois political systems.

Therefore in the case of socialist unity it is matter not only of an interstructural unity but also of an intrastructural one, an internal unity of the structures themselves, in the substance and nature of which common or even identical elements and characteristics of existence and evolution have already materialized. So constituted, socialist unity is not an end-point of the dialectics of social relations, nor a state of existence in itself. It is par excellence a relationship open to the advance of socialist society as a whole, through qualitative changes, to the higher form of socialist society, namely the single working people.

Based upon the great socioeconomic reforms within society and especially the objective and subjective processes in the category of the great synthesis of social homogenizing, the structural changes in Romanian

socialist society show the regular trend toward integration of all existing social classes and categories in a higher kind of unity. This integration is accomplished by generalizing the essentially identical position of all the social classes and categories in regard to ownership of the production means, since socialist ownership is the essential and critical economic support of the socialist unity of all society, and by generalizing their largely identical places and roles in the democratic organization and management of society and the exchanges of activities among them, which are governed by the same standards and principles of distribution, of socialist ethics and justice, and of full application of the workers' new capacities as owners, producers and beneficiaries of the entire national wealth.

Other important qualitative processes also lead directly to the same prospects, such as development of the party's leadership and its assertion on higher levels as the vital center of all society; Romanian society's general progress, guided by a unified program for all-around development and the nation's advance toward communism, a program accepted by the entire people and all society as the only prospect of developing work and life and fulfilling the interests and aspirations of all the workers; uniform social organization and management according to the Unified National Plan; operation of the workers revolutionary democratic system, a unified and original political system structured on uniform principles and standards and based upon the unified and uniform, indivisible and inalienable, and sovereign and independent character of the state power; the essentially uniform process of formation and development of socialist and communist awareness, ideology and culture, of the fully developed personality, and of the new, revolutionary humanism, and the prospective formation of a unified theoretical and ideological conception of the world and life.

Judged from the standpoint of the two great and comprehensive objective processes, namely development of socialist unity and intensified homogenizing, formation of the single working people has the materializing and gradual generalizing of the unified conception of the world and life as its intellectual binders. The essentially uniform content of the entire process of communist construction affects but is also affected in its turn by the formation of that conception. In reference to the outcome of this process, reflected in the dialectics of the evolution of the social structures in the course of the advance toward communism, Nicolae Ceausescu said that "The disappearance of the social classes and of social and national inequality and the achievement of a society of social and national equality provide for the material and social basis for a unified conception of the world and life." That conception is also a distinctive characteristic of the single working people of communist society, since we know that every social system has had its philosophical and political concepts that influenced the masses' education and cultural development as a whole.

Structured on a set of material and cultural values of its own, the unified conception of the world and life is not, as we know, the automatic outcome of the changes in the direction of communism but primarily the result of the theoretical, ideological and political-educational work done on that basis. Accordingly the RCP regards and promotes that activity as a powerful force for uniting the efforts of the workers and the entire people in the task of socialist construction and thereby exerts an influence, decisive in many respects, upon development of the production forces, improvement of all activities, and accomplishment of the aims and tasks of the present stage of development—a conclusion pointed out once again by the RCP secretary general in his speech at the Third Congress on Political Education and Socialist Culture.

Accordingly the basic processes in and by which the single working people of communist society are formed are inconceivable without consideration of what is more general and essential in the intellectuality of the new community, namely the unified conception of the world and life, which is the entirety of representations, ideas, convictions and ideals as well as understanding and evaluation of the phenomena in nature, society and thought and of the places and functions of the various processes and phenomena of human existence, all of them based upon the unified common denominator of the revolutionary theory, dialectical and historical materialism, and the principles of scientific socialism.

Social homogenizing, a comprehensive, broad and profound process that is making essential changes within each individual structure, is the direct and decisive support of the people's socialist unity. The objective and subjective processes that lend substance to social homogenizing include: development and improvement of the production forces throughout the country; consolidation of state socialist and cooperative ownership; improvement of socioeconomic relations in general; improvement of qualifications and of occupational, cultural, political and ideological training among the masses; development of the new technical-scientific revolution and of the new agrarian revolution, which will expedite the disappearance of the essential differences between the peasantry and the other social-professional and class categories of society and bring them closer together; harmonious and balanced regional development, and improvement of the quality of life, of the levels of civilization and social and individual awareness, etc. Those processes are changing the nature of all social classes and categories and are gradually becoming a broader and more comprehensive common denominator of existence, activity, awareness, interests, aspirations, values, etc. that is integrating all those classes and categories in a new social-human unity not only of relations but also of structure that is accordingly more stable and viable, especially by virtue of its content of the previous, historically and specifically determined forms of political unity of alliances.

To be sure social homogenizing involves the class structure, but the members of Romanian society of all nationalities are workers, peasants and intellectuals belonging to various social-occupational categories with equal social obligations and rights in all economic, political and cultural fields as well as equal conditions and opportunities for fulfilling their personalities and creative capacities. Therefore social homogenizing brings about comprehensive processes of correlating and welding unity. Of course, as regards the national minorities and their distinctive characteristics, it should be noted that some of the latter, as for example the ethnic, linguistic and psychological ones (cultural reflections of the common realities of social existence), are very stable but not inflexible as well. They are not preserved in an autarkic isolation and are not nondialectical. On the contrary, processes of enrichment and development by way of assimilation of new elements of value from the socioeconomic, political and cultural environment of the Romanian nation and from the worldwide one as well are objectively present in those characteristics and in the microcommunities based on them and, in fact, this consolidates the unity of society in such a direction. The complete solution of the minorities problem that was achieved in Romania in the years of socialism is the political guarantee of that prospect.

Since it includes all the social structures of society, social homogenizing directs the existing structures toward greater permeability of the boundaries among them, which favors and encourages interstructural mobility, mixing and acquisition of new and higher qualities. Among those new qualities, the working-class ones are being generalized because they reflect the characteristics of the leading class of society and, in fact they are forming the coordinating axis of the whole purposeful effort to direct and develop social mobility in and through the process of social homogenizing.

The socialist unity of the people is accordingly integrating the characteristics of the working class' internal unity on a higher level, as well as those of friendly collaboration originating in the new relations of the ethnic-national structures with the unified socialist nation, relations based on the interdependence of the social-leveling processes and the solution of the minorities problem. In other words, socialist unity integrates the two essential aspects of social relations, namely ethnic and class, on a new level, and it is accordingly emerging as a major motive force and a political basis for development of Romanian socialist society as a whole.

Formation of the single working people is a long-term program objective of the RCP's, the implementation of which begins with the changes characteristic of the present stage of transition to a new quality in all fields. The purposeful nature of this process and of the strategic effort to that end is an important feature of the dialectic of forming the single working people. It is accordingly not a matter of automatic development by itself but one

of active and consistent intervention occasioned by the need of continuity of the revolutionary process and of increasingly intensive promotion of the revolutionary spirit.

Accordingly the party's role and prospects as the vital center of the nation and development of its role as the leading political force of all society should also be emphasized in connection with the radical revolutionary change that must be made not only in the sectors or directions of all-around development of the Romanian socialist nation but also in the direction of the general result of that development, that is on the level of the general structure of society and the relationships characteristic of the community formed in that process. In other words, the growth of the party's leadership in all fields or aspects of the revolutionary changes, especially in that of forming the new socialist unity and the new, unified socialist nation and in that of social homogenizing as well, is taking a higher form, especially since it is a matter of a higher synthesis of all these processes.

By virtue of this quality, the process of forming the single working people specifically reflects the continuity of the revolutionary process on the level of the class structure and relations of Romanian socialist society and of the transition to a new quality in that area.

From the standpoint of the theory formulated by the RCP and its secretary general about formation of the single working people, the Directives on Romania's Socioeconomic Development in the current 5-Year Plan and on to the year 2000 set by the 13th RCP Congress take the form of a profoundly scientific social-human goal that is original and creative from the standpoint of revolutionary theory and practice and of the necessity and possibility of attaining that goal.

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#### **Motivation, Responsibility, Behavior of Workers Linked**

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[Article by University Professor Dr. Petru Panzaru: "Revolutionary Spirit as a Powerful Moving Force of Socioeconomic Progress"]

[Text] Many of the traditional issues of social development are currently viewed in new terms and from a new perspective. Among them is the issue of the vital relationship between economic, political, and cultural areas. None of the component factors of social life acts or fulfills its specific functions autonomously. On the contrary, it is precisely the interaction between the economic, political-ideological, and cultural-educational factors that ensures the operation of the entire social system, the rate of socioeconomic development, and the general and individual performance of all human activities.

The characteristic trait of the materialist-dialectical method is that it takes into account the multiple and complex interactions among all the aspects of social life approaches them from a concrete-historical perspective. As Engels wrote: "The connections are not fabricated and forced into facts, but discovered in facts." Similarly, Lenin specified that Marx's dialectics "rules out isolated examination, i.e., the unilateral and truncated examination of a problem."

As a type of consciously built social system, socialism necessarily presupposes a manysided analysis of reality and of the interdependent and continuously shifting social and natural processes. In order to build the comprehensively developed socialist society and successfully implement all the objectives of our country's new stage of development established by the 23th party congress, we must study and take into consideration in our practical activities the interactions between all the elements that comprise the social system; equally vital is the interaction of the objective laws of building the new society.

The most important is to grasp the relations between the two fundamental facets of the social life, the material and the spiritual, in a new, differentiated, and genuinely dialectical manner. Under socialism, the relationship between social, material, and objective life and social consciousness can no longer be viewed as a unidirectional action in which the material factors play the decisive role, while the spiritual factors are relegated to merely "influencing" social life. At the present time—a time of considerable increase of the role of subjective and conscious factors, and of the new scientific-technical revolution—a rather "subordinated" status of the spiritual facet of social life is not acceptable. To have reservations about the objective fact that the sum total of spiritual values, once established on the basis of the new material life conditions, acquire—together with the material factors and the production forces—a decisive role in social dynamics is to persist in obsolete formulas and lifeless patterns.

Theoretically substantiating the strategy of building socialism in our country—which is the conscious work of the people led by the party—Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu clarified the manner in which we must understand the interaction between material, objective factors and spiritual, subjective factors, to which he attributed a decisive role. "Indeed, the material basis is decisive," the party secretary general said, "but culture, science, and professional training also play a decisive role. Unless we base the development of the socialist society on science, on mankind's best achievements, and on thorough professional training, we will not be able to achieve our objectives. Therefore, the dialectical unity between the material basis and the development of the production forces, and the development of science, culture, and education, and generally raising the working people's consciousness constitute two complementary and basic factors for our country's general progress."

Approaching the issue of the interaction between social life and social consciousness from a broad historical perspective, the party secretary general believes that science, culture, and a progressive consciousness "played, alongside the production forces, a decisive role for the great and revolutionary changes that have occurred in the world." According to our party, the decisive role of inner factors—knowledge, values, attitudes, concepts, etc.—is based on the decisive role played by people in all social areas, on the vital importance of their consciousness and their professional, scientific-technical, ideological, and political level. Today, when modern science and technology are increasingly asserting themselves, people's intellectual capabilities, rather than physical strength, are the main productive force. Socioeconomic progress, the complete utilization of the material potential, and the achievement of high economic productivity performances, quality, and efficiency are currently predicated by technical-material facilities, but even more so by the human forces of production, by the manysided training of the working people, and by their spirit of order, discipline, responsibility, and devotion, that is to say, by inner, political-ideological, and moral factors. This highlights the main orientation mapped out by our party for all the educational efforts to shape a new man with a socialist, revolutionary, and patriotic consciousness, who can be an active and competent participant in all the aspects of creating material and spiritual asseets and in leading the social life.

Like any other social activity, political-ideological and cultural activities, too, must have a precise objective and must materialize in concrete results. Not being designed as enlightenment per se or for disseminating knowledge and values for their own sake, this type of activity enters into direct interaction with material activities and with the socioeconomic tasks currently facing each working collective. Referring to this aspect at the third congress of political education and socialist culture, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu stated that political-educational and cultural activities must center on the achievement of the socioeconomic development plans each unit. "We cannot accept any political-ideological and cultural activity," the party secretary general said, "that does not focus on matters concerning the optimal implementation of development programs in all the areas and for all indexes."

The profound understanding of the role of socialist education and culture as decisive moving forces for the development of the new system is in its turn linked to expanding the concept of culture. The act of culture can no longer be limited to artistic, literary, or other related manifestations and creation. In the final analysis, achieving highly technical and productive equipment and machinery, high quality constructions and material goods, and providing faultless social services constitute genuine acts of culture because they embody the creative capacity of human intelligence and work serving to best meet people's material and spiritual needs. "Achieving

products of a high qualitative, technical, and aesthetic level," Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu stressed, "is an important aspect of political-educational and cultural-artistic work."

This activity has many objectives and its methods are those specific of spiritual activities. Its interaction with economic activities and its contribution to shaping the new man—the main force of production—are vital for culture because they validate its social-humanistic mission. The political-ideological and cultural values, actively integrated in the social flow through people's consciousness, activate and channel the creative energies in the area of high quality material production. In its turn, a modern, highly productive, and thus competitive economy provides the material resources for expanding cultural, instructive-educational, formative, and recreational activities. Although they each have their own distinctive functions, economic and productive work and political-ideological and cultural-educational work have a common denominator: shaping the comprehensively developed personality of the man of the socialist and communist societies through productive and creative work. That is why our people can achieve a new and higher quality of life and work precisely through the organic interaction of economic, political, ideological, and cultural factors and by transforming all the spiritual values into material propelling forces for social development. Along this line, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu stated that science, education, and political-educational and cultural activities must become a powerful force illuminating the path of our country's resolute march toward the ever higher peaks of communist civilization.

The political-ideological and cultural-educational sector has many tasks to fulfill for implementing the objectives set down in the party's ideological program and in Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's speech at the third congress of political education and socialist culture, which was adopted as a program document.

Proceeding from the thesis that only by closely combining economic development with raising the socialist, revolutionary, and patriotic consciousness of the masses can we ensure the successful implementation of the plans and programs aimed at the fatherland's flourishing, our party believes that the basic orientation of political-educational work is to educate all the country's citizens and the youth through work and for work. The socialist society radically changed the social and moral status of work. This new status is reflected in the triple status of the working people as producers, owners, and consumers and is materialized in the fact that work has become the basic criterion of social judgment and promotion. Freed from exploitation and from the competitive relations that characterize the capitalist society, work under socialism has become an inalienable right and a honorable duty for each person. Alongside education, work has become the main factor for shaping and asserting the human personality and refining its traits, and an eternal fountain of satisfaction.

Proceeding from the current requirements placed on work and on the working man, political-educational and cultural activities must be planned and pursued so as to disseminate the socialist, progressive attitude toward work and its concrete results, and to resolutely combat the remnants of the old attitude, which viewed work as an obligation and a "drudgery," tendencies to "evade" productive work, and attempts to give society as little as possible and to extract from it as much as possible. The interaction of economic, political, ideological, and cultural factors is fully implemented in the area of work and of the production of the material and spiritual assets required by society and by every individual.

Work is not an instinctual or automatic activity, but a profoundly conscious activity that requires certain professional qualifications, initiative and organizational spirit, relations of cooperation and mutual assistance within the collectives of working people and between socialist units, order, discipline, and responsibility. That is why the effects of political-ideological and cultural work—which is centered on inculcating the socialist values of work—must be judged by the quality of the products, the actual increase in labor productivity, and the concrete results obtained by each collective in better utilizing raw materials, reconditioning, recovering, and reutilizing materials, equipment, and spare parts, achieving great energy savings, and fulfilling all the economic efficiency indexes. In view of the great material assets entrusted by the society to the collectives of working people, the responsibility they show for the management of those assets, for safeguarding and developing socialist property, and for increasing the national revenues—a basic condition for raising the people's living standard and for the manysided progress of the fatherland—is decisive. This means that political-ideological and cultural-educational work must create and maintain a public opinion current capable of ensuring the implementation of the principles of the new economic-financial mechanism based on workers' self-management in production and of combating any violation of those principles, and bad management or waste of public property and of material and financial resources.

People's level of political and ideological consciousness and their cultural level must be judged not by statements and verbal pledges, but by the actual results obtained in production and in the timely and optimal fulfillment of socioeconomic development plans and programs. On the other hand, to a great extent these results depend on closely interweaving organizational with political-educational and economic activities within party and social leadership activities. As Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu said, "We have always viewed ideological work as an inseparable facet of party organizational work, just as we view economic activities as a compulsory facet of party work."

One of the most important objectives of educational work and an area in which economic, political, and

ideological factors intensively interact is the maintenance, development, and safeguarding of socialist property—the economic foundation of the new system and the source of well-being for all the people. Inculcating a sense of responsibility for common property and encouraging a spirit of good management and revolutionary intransigence against any actions that affect socialist property constitute one of the major objectives of socialist education that can have the most important economic and social effects. Life has shown that there is a direct relationship between the concern to utilize all the potential of socialist property and of the system of workers' self-management and economic-financial self-administration, and increasing the economic results obtained by each socialist unit. Conversely, this effect diminishes in the presence of negligence, irresponsibility toward the management of public property, and lack of vigilance in safeguarding it. The resolute elimination of such phenomena is a basic criterion of evaluation of ideological and political-educational activities. Carried out systematically rather than as a campaign, this activity is designed to shape and assert a specifically socialist consciousness of owners, producers, and consumers that can guide the working people's behavior toward promoting collective and social interests, which in the final analysis determine the satisfaction of personal interests, too.

The consistent implementation of the socialist principle of distribution according to the criteria of the quantity, quality, and social importance of work—which is an expression of socialist ethics—implies two aspects: an economic one, which directly contributes to stimulating good quality and highly productive work, and an educational aspect, which contributes to encouraging efforts to raise professional qualifications, improve labor organization, and ensure an atmosphere of creative enthusiasm characteristic of our socialist society.

The analysis of the interaction between economic and spiritual factors also involves taking into consideration the existence of a certain lag in ideological and political-educational activities in relation to the development of the production forces and the changes that have occurred and continue to occur in the social structure and in production relations. As Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu stated at the third congress of political education and socialist culture, "The ideological, education, and culture area lags behind the rapid development of the material-technical basis. In view of that, we must resolutely act to eliminate this lag and to achieve the fullest possible correlation between these two basic facets of the development of the socialist society."

As we know, our party adopted a critical attitude toward the thesis that the social consciousness is fated to lag behind the new, socialist social life. The socialist society has all the means to carry out consistent activities designed to shape and develop the socialist consciousness of the masses and to combat retrograde mentalities and concepts. The gap between the advanced level of the

production forces and the material-technical basis and the consciousness level of certain members of our society is due to shortcomings in educational work, to the formalism or lack of continuity sometimes manifest in that work, and to insufficient efforts to combat attitudes and behaviors that run against the ideological, ethical, and political values of our socialist society. Naturally, shaping and asserting the values of a socialist consciousness in daily work and life is in many respects more difficult than achieving economic objectives, but this difficulty cannot justify the lag in the socialist social consciousness—which is defined by active and responsible participation in implementing the plans and programs of socioeconomic development, and a revolutionary spirit—in relation to the socialist social life.

The conditions created by our society allow all the working people to raise and improve their professional and scientific-technical qualifications—a basic element of the socialist consciousness in action—to the level required by modern production, so as to eliminate the gap between the need to competently exercise one's profession and the ability to do so. Political-ideological and cultural-educational activities must be carried out so as to ensure that each working person takes advantage of these favorable conditions and to create a resolute attitude against professional incompetence and against those who are content to acquire and stop at qualifications made obsolete by the new scientific-technical revolution.

The broad framework of participation in social leadership established by the system of workers' democracy permits each working person to contribute to adopting and implementing decisions concerning socioeconomic development and the management of the entire society. Along this line, it is the task of political-ideological and cultural-educational activities to encourage the active participation of the masses in the institutional structures of socialist democracy at all the levels. The current system of workers' revolutionary democracy in our country constitutes a basic element of the new social life, and there exists no objective obstacle to harmonizing the participating social-political consciousness with the level of the socialist, democratic social life.

The qualitative increase in the effects of political-ideological and cultural-educational work and the gradual but resolute elimination of any gap or discrepancy between the objective, socialist social life and the manifestations of individual consciousness is to a large extent conditioned by the scientific foundation on which educational activities are based. In view of the objective fact that, by its very nature, human consciousness—which is to be shaped in the process of socialist education—is a psychological and psychosocial phenomenon, it is particularly important for educational work to take advantage of the knowledge gained by psychology and psychosociology.

The essence of political-educational work is actual and direct work with people and their consciousness (rather than paperwork or work with objects or machines). But consciousness also has its own laws, which have been studied by the abovementioned sciences. That is why the educator must possess scientific knowledge about: man and interpersonal relations; the process of shaping, influencing, and altering human consciousness; the factors that determine individual, group, and mass attitudes, opinions, and behavior; the factors that influence or determine performance in economic, political, organizational, ideological, educational, and propaganda areas; and the factors that prevent or impede the timely and optimal fulfillment of tasks, programs, decisions, laws, measures, pledges, etc.

The social sciences, in inseparable connection with social practice and life, can make an important contribution to achieving all the objectives and tasks established by the party and its secretary general, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu. All political, organizational, and ideological activities rely on psychosocial factors such as: revolutionary spirit, communist and party demandiness, high responsibility, order and discipline, resolution, combative spirit against shortcomings, complacency, and indolence, against formalism and redtape, spirit of criticism and self-criticism, self-confidence, intransigence against any traces of nationalism, chauvinism, cosmopolitanism, etc.

As has been demonstrated by both practice and experience, and by sociological and psychosocial research, the actual achievement of economic efficiency in a given productive activity depends not only on technical and economic factors (installations, equipment, raw materials, energy, investments, etc.), but to a decisive degree also on non-economic, organizational, legal, and especially psychosocial and psychomoral factors such as: the level of qualification of the labor force, a climate of cooperation, management style, a spirit of order, discipline, and responsibility, attitude toward work and its quality, creativity and how it is encouraged, faith in one's own creative forces, level of collective opinion against shortcomings, flaws, and violations, level of aspirations, and generally the level of professional, political, and civic consciousness of the participants in the productive process.

The consciousness and psychosocial factors listed above are directly reflected in the economic-financial balance sheet in the form of lower production costs, increased labor productivity, improved product quality, fewer rejects, less waste, and increased profitability of the entire activity of the respective unit. By recording positive results one obtains a very important psychosocial "gain," too: the satisfaction of the participants in the production process, a both material and moral satisfaction which in its turn will be subsequently reflected in better economic results, higher aspirations, and increased concern to utilize the great internal resources of each economic and social unit.

Resolving the contradiction between new and old in the area of consciousness and harmonizing the relationship between social life and social consciousness at the present time actually involves all the facets and spheres of development of the society, and requires that social relations be resolutely based on the principles of socialist ethics and equity, an area of primary importance of our party's policy of shaping and educating a new man. Shaping human relations on the basis of the communist principles and norms of life and work requires intensive political-ideological and educational activities capable of achieving such a spiritual image of the man of our society, which should distinguish itself by an organic unity of knowledge and convictions, ideological and political level, traits of character, and unity of knowledge and consciousness.

In his speeches, the party secretary general has emphasized the basic idea that the main factor for higher socioeconomic performances and for reorganizing and qualitatively improving socioeconomic work is a radical change in people's concepts and in their way of thinking and acting. "In order to achieve a general change," Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu stated, "we must change the way of thinking and acting of individuals and of the party-state aktiv, as well as the efforts to raise the general consciousness and responsibility of the masses for implementing the programs of socialist construction. This requires a more intensive political-educational work."

The basic general orientation of our party lies precisely in the revolutionary, patriotic education of the masses and in efforts to influence social consciousness with a view to raising it to the level of the new, socialist social life and making it into one of the essential and decisive factors of the material and cultural progress of the entire society.

Our party and its secretary general are particularly demanding in respect to the ideological, political, and cultural level of the party and state cadres. The party has great and continuously increasing expectations from its cadres, the party and state aktiv, and the aktiv of mass and civic organizations, in keeping with the unfolding of the revolutionary process which, as is known, does not have a final point, but is continuous and eminently constructive in character.

By initiating and leading the entire revolutionary process in our country, the RCP has assumed a lofty historical mission. Its fulfillment is not abstract or theoretical, but involves the energies, creativity, revolutionary and combative spirit, and patriotic responsibility of each party member, its cadres, and all the working people. Membership in the party—the leading political force in our society—implies political and moral responsibilities and obligations that are sanctioned in the RCP Statute, in the Solemn Pledge, and in the code of principles and norms

regarding the life and work of the communists and socialist ethics and equity, and their observance is an expression of the revolutionary consciousness of each communist.

The socialist revolution, the most radical change in mankind's entire history, is not implemented as a triumphal march, in preset conditions, but as a perpetual struggle against retrograde mentalities, concepts, and practices, and individualistic and antisocial tendencies. Experience shows that outdated elements of consciousness do not disappear on their own accord and from one day to the next, and that they persist whenever the importance of political-educational work designed to shape and assert in practice the socialist, revolutionary, and patriotic consciousness is underestimated, and whenever the communists do not fulfill the role incumbent on them at their place of work and in all social circumstances. The party exercises and realizes its role as the leading political force through each one of its members, who are dutybound to put the general interests of the society above everything else, resolutely and competently fulfill their party tasks, strictly observe the law, and to be demanding and self-demanding in their entire social behavior. That is why we must wage a continuous struggle against any manifestations of formalism, passivity, and complacency, against any weakening of the party spirit, order and discipline, and for unwaveringly implementing the party decisions and the country's laws.

As is stressed in the Decision of the Political Executive Committee of the RCP Central Committee of 27 November 1987, resolute actions must be taken in a spirit of great demandingness and revolutionary resolution to eliminate the negative phenomena, shortcomings, and flaws still present in party and state life and activities, by increasing the responsibility of the cadres, the entire party aktiv, the communists, and all the working people for ensuring the optimal fulfillment of the provisions of the plan for this year, the entire 5-year plan, and the decisions of the 13th party congress. In this respect, in the spirit of the guidelines issued by the party secretary general, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, it is very important to intensify the concerns with continuously raising—on the basis of a special program on political-educational work—the ideological level of the cadres and of all the communists, and strengthening the revolutionary spirit in life, work, and all the sectors of activity.

The party and its secretary general view the revolutionary spirit not as a value in itself, but as an active and concrete form of manifestation of the communists in all circumstances: at work, in the family, in life, in society, and in all the collectives among which they live. The revolutionary spirit utterly excludes the practice of empty, demonstrative declarations and pledges, discrepancies between words and deeds, and indifference toward problems concerning life and work. An increased assertion of the party and revolutionary spirit requires increased receptiveness to what is new, the active involvement of each communist in the efforts of working

collectives to optimally fulfill the objectives established, and resolute and determined actions to improve activities in each area and each production unit.

The successful implementation of our party's great present tasks makes it necessary to continuously strengthen party discipline—which is a primary obligation for each communist, regardless of his position—to struggle against any divergence from the norms of internal party life and from communist morality, and to increase responsibility, order and discipline, and the spirit of criticism and self-criticism as essential traits of a revolutionary, communist working style. Each party member can give a concrete proof of his dedication to the cause that he has freely pledged to serve by sparing no effort and never relaxing the daily efforts to attain the complex objectives of socioeconomic development—by mobilizing the creative energies of all the working people and, above all, through personal example—to overcome difficulties and shortcomings, and to establish a climate of order, discipline, and responsibility.

Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's great expectations from the party and state cadres and from all the communists will stimulate the work of all the party bodies and organizations to implement the plans and programs of socioeconomic development, intensify political-educational activities among the party-state cadres and all the categories of working people, combat retrograde attitudes toward work, socialist property, and legal obligations, and instill a revolutionary spirit as the concrete expression of the socialist consciousness in action.

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## YUGOSLAVIA

### Practice of Leveling Unsubstantiated Charges Against Officials Condemned

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3 Nov 87 pp 14-5

[Article by Jelena Lovric: "Innocence Without Defense"]

[Text] It could be said with little exaggeration that if things continue to develop in the present manner, Yugoslavia could soon be left without leadership. The thinning out of the front ranks is perhaps not caused by any diminished love for armchairs; but when in a very short time, because of an awkward association with our scandal of the century, the vice president of the state has to leave the political scene, and when every day someone new, who is by no means insignificant, follows him, and more and more evidence of their political culpability becomes public; when at the same time it is somehow acknowledged that there is no place either in the party or the Council of the Federation for a person who has been in the inner circles of the Yugoslav leadership for years—because of mistakes that he made during his active political career—when several other leaders depart for

similar reasons, and when the public condemnation of individuals from the party and state leadership—regardless of whether the press and television carry these condemnations directly or whether they are spread further by mimeographed versions of previously secret letters—is becoming a widespread occurrence, then it is not surprising that on the one hand, people are already speaking of witch hunts and political trials of the leadership, while on the other hand the question is raised of which of them will be left. When so many of those who were untouchable yesterday suddenly or in a short time find themselves on the other side of the line, this cannot help affecting the people's image of the leadership, or the occurrence of suspicion about whether they are all the same—although perhaps for a long time now the emperor's new clothes have deceived only those who dress him. The rest saw everything a long time ago. A country that has not given up on itself must naturally bear in mind its leadership and the impression that it makes on the people, since when the rift that usually exists between the authorities and the citizens deepens into an abyss, it is not possible for the state to function efficiently. The leadership has to be chosen for its dignity and for something that should possibly be closer to confidence, but should not be anything less than respect, without having the impression spread through the public like wildfire that all of the scoundrels from our ranks have been gathered together in one place, in the leadership, and that they will ruin us. Nevertheless, leaderships that have found themselves, not suddenly—but now this is a critical situation—the target of endless public condemnation seem to be trying to empty the sea with a spoon, or appealing for reason and principles when the witch-hunt has already set off down the street and is seeking those whom it will stone for everything that has gone wrong.

### Fallen Angels

Thus, last week at a discussion at the LCY Central Committee with the secretaries of the central republic and provincial committees, a warning was issued—according to the communique—about the currently prevalent manner of condemning a large number of people without any real reason or the necessary facts and evidence. Naturally, it is further stated, no one can be untouchable in our system, and in this respect both the LCY Central Committee and its Presidium should show more initiative, but it is impermissible to have a witch-hunt which extends the indictment to all periods and all leaderships of the LC. Then, during the same week, the Presidium of the LCY Central Committee warned about the “more frequent occurrences of attacks against prominent individuals, activists, and other people, without any real reason or the necessary facts and evidence,” and it felt that such a manner of maliciously discrediting individuals through deliberate condemnation and insinuations, using the public news media, as well as the meetings of sociopolitical organizations, was harmful and unacceptable. Among other things, the Presidium

particularly pointed out a drastic example of the irresponsible defamation of individuals that occurred at the meeting of the Presidency of the Serbian Republic Conference of the Federation of Reserve Military Officers, when it was decided that this organization's tribunal would seek to determine the responsibility of Dobrivoje Vidic and Tihomir Vlaskalic, prominent leaders for many years. The Presidium assessed this slanderous attack as unacceptable and very dangerous from a moral and political standpoint. It further emphasized that without a well-founded discussion and determination of the facts, one could not condemn people so easily or raise the issue of their responsibility, that no one could be protected from criticism because of his position, but that he also could not be exposed to slander because of it, arbitrarily accused, and discredited. It was decided that the LC would have to struggle to make sure that only objective, well-founded, and true facts would be made public, and that those responsible for false accusations would be held responsible. There is no doubt that the method of a witch-hunt against individuals in the leadership and the public lynching of those condemned even before their guilt is proven do not evidence a democratization of society, nor does the unlikely flourishing of journalism that bases its revelations and persuasiveness on the accuracy of police dossiers; that the possessors of long memories and the guardians of files on other people's errors are useful for history, but do not give evidence of their morals when they utilize their knowledge and possessions subsequently, in current political games and struggles, especially if they have previously kept silent about it for years. Nevertheless, as a satirist said a few days ago, we hurt most where we are untouchable. The public expression of dissatisfaction with the leadership did not begin yesterday, nor can one speak of a wave of criticism ever since the time of the party-wide discussion, but at that time the leadership, by playing deaf and engaging in adroit maneuvers, avoided resolving matters within its own ranks, and thus kept its position untouched, both individually and as a whole, at the price of the pointless expenditure of enormous social energy. By insisting for years on its own infallibility, which quite naturally implied that the ones who could extract us from total crisis were precisely the ones who got us into it, and not accepting, in practice, that among the angels there might be ones who had fallen, political circles, by protecting everyone as long as possible, until public disgrace had burst over some of them, were themselves responsible for the harsh general criticism of the entire leadership, which followed a very simple logic: when you won't get rid of the black sheep yourselves, and when you won't say who is guilty when someone has to be, then you are all guilty. It was precisely the prolonged concealment of the culprits and the blame that inflamed the criticism, with the threat that it might suddenly become a conflagration that would consume everything. The ones who for years postponed determining the responsibility of Fadilj Hoxha, even though they must have had some indications of it, are themselves the ones who arranged that the public condemnation would suddenly turn into outcries and fury. A leadership, or

individuals in it, cannot keep itself untouchable for years, and now avoid sharing part of the responsibility for the consequences. Delayed responsibility is usually much greater than if it had been determined in time, and not just because a snowball can be stopped, but not an avalanche—not easily. The latest political assessments of the activity of Fadilj Hoxha do not answer all the questions, and only raise many. There is no doubt that those who insisted on determining his responsibility included some who were aiming at much higher targets, since, as the Maribor VECER writes, the logical question is that if Tito was “deceived” with respect to Hoxha (or if Hoxha “tricked” him into trusting him), did he also “make a mistake” about someone else? Perhaps that is why political circles were hesitant to determine Hoxha’s guilt, realizing, correctly, that after his fall no one else in that inner circle would be untouchable and safe any more. In ruining himself, that great man undoubtedly grazed and broke several others close to him. Realizing that everything was now wide open, and worried about this fact that it had brought about itself, or at least sponsored through its hesitation and prolonged failure to act, the leadership apparently decided that it was much better at some time in the past when condemnations did not happen or when it was at least known precisely who was responsible. Unfortunately, the situation is further complicated by the fact that certain elements of political circles need condemnations, but need condemnations in which they determine who will be accused, while at the same time they themselves remain protected from such attacks at their own expense. This is because the current inquiries show the truth of the old Biblical saying that he who lives by the sword will die by the sword. This awkward situation, in which political circles would like to protect their people from condemnation but at the same time not refrain from condemning those on whom they cannot rely, or settling accounts with them, is well demonstrated by certain statements about how one must oppose arbitrary condemnations; this, perhaps, means that other, organized condemnations are not banned from entering upon the political scene.

#### Subtlety of the Ax

Innocence without protection—that is the impression that the leadership would currently like to give. It is not convincing, however. The situation is now different from what it was, but that does not mean that at one time it was more normal. The only certain thing is that it was less neurotic and hysterical. If they want to regain their reputation and create any new confidence, without which they cannot function as leaderships, the state, party, and all other leaderships must carry out a thorough reexamination and purge within their own ranks. The current situation of undefined responsibility, and consequently of possible complete doubt, favors all sorts of investigators of other people’s pasts, who root through other people’s lives with sometimes maniacal persistence (perhaps because they are really seeking answers about where we went wrong in the past, but perhaps because they have some completely different motives in mind),

and also favors all sorts of petty politicians, who through their dirty work attempt, regardless of the facts, to block some people (so that certain others can be advanced), and to put entire groups under suspicion. The best way to prevent such unprincipled means of settling accounts is the public scene, not just because someone who does not flee from publicity gives the impression that his arguments are more convincing, but also because it is the best way to answer public as well as other kinds of condemnation. It is only on the public scene that accusations and condemnations without evidence, like boomerangs, can return to those who hurled them; in all other cases, manipulations are much more possible. The leadership cannot defend itself by banning questions about its own responsibility; that can only postpone, but not eliminate, dissatisfaction, because no one has carte blanche any more, and there is no preordained or borrowed trust; no position gives the protection that it once did. Leaderships must become accustomed to the public’s having the right to ask about everyone’s work or lack of work, about what has been done and what has not been done; as Prof Tomislav Jantol says, no one’s infallibility is understood any more, and it is no longer possible to ensure that anyone is untouchable. A public question about public work should not be interpreted as doubt or insult; it is quite natural in a democratic society. Only when democratic verification of everything and everyone is taken for granted will it be possible to separate quite clearly and precisely those who are doing everything they can, on who knows whose behalf, to settle accounts with certain individuals, leaderships, or groups, from those who feel that the determination of everyone’s responsibility, and particularly the responsibility of those in the top ranks, is a condition without which it is not possible to turn over a new leaf. In a situation in which public responsibility is not taken for granted, but is rather coerced when it does happen, any limitation of it can be interpreted as a desire to return to an irresponsible society, regardless of the fact that at one time such attempts were inspired by such subtly conducted condemnations that masters of polemics called them “giving haircuts with an ax.” Such condemnations, however, usually come from circles very close to the authorities. It was not the man in the street who condemned Vlaskalic and Vidic. Random elements are probably not condemning Sardelic and Dimitrovic either. The only thing is, what is being done by those who are much more influential in this country than Vlaskalic and Vidic, and how can they be protected when the members of the party presidium ought to have backed these well-known names with their authority? And has the party leadership likewise, or similarly, protected others who have been attacked without justification? The extent of the democratization of a society is not measured by the ability to defame its leadership with impunity, but is measured by the extent of the freedom to speak about anyone publicly, to subject everyone to well-reasoned scrutiny and criticism, regardless of the hierarchical position that he occupies in society, and to let anyone who is innocent defend himself, without

having the high position from which the attack is sometimes uttered replace any argument and become a sufficient reason for condemnation. In recent days, as Zarko Puhovski says, after the Resignation (which perhaps really ought to be capitalized to designate the turning point at which a scandal led to systemic consequences, producing publicity in the full sense of that concept) the effectiveness of public criticism may really seem to be clear, but we will be able to speak more sensibly about it only if a type of responsibility is instituted as normal, and not an activity that takes place through scandals, i.e., exceptional events. Such effective criticism will present the general demand for an answer to what now seems to be the simple and fundamental question directed toward those who have made decisions at all levels over the last few years and decades: what did you do during the period that has passed? And one can no longer answer such a question, Puhovski says, by describing great efforts, or through an artistic image of the qualities of political workers, but rather solely by pointing to results. If such inquiry can be made an everyday practice, not only will numerous officials evidently have to be told that they are simply superfluous, but a discussion based on facts will make it possible to construct a new minimal Yugoslav platform, which ought to be a job for our new politicians. And their qualification, contrary to the present ones, will have to be "necessarily and above all one thing: an ear for public discussion of the fate of the community, but before it happens to them—as to those before them—that they, as people hard of hearing, are roused by the tumult of the witch-hunt.

### **Slovenian Invitation of Albanian Writers Denounced**

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3 Nov 87 pp 42-43

[Article by Iso Rusi: "Albanians Still Going to Ljubljana"]

[Text] The fact that writers are a part of everyday reality in Kosovo and of the situation there has been shown by the recent events in their organization—first of all, their Assembly, in connection with the initiative for an extraordinary congress of Yugoslav Writers, and directly afterwards everything that was elicited by the invitation for a group of 7 Albanian writers and one literary critic of Albanian nationality to participate in a literary soiree at Cankar House. Actually, everything started with the letter that the Society of Slovene Writers sent to the Kosovo writers' organization, in which it invited specific individuals to represent Albanian creative writers in Ljubljana. Milenko Jevtovic, the president of the Presidency of the Society of Kosovo Writers, reacted to this in an open letter addressed to the Society of Slovene Writers. At the beginning of his first letter he stressed that he was insulted, annoyed, angered, and disgusted by the invitation, "no matter how politely and courteously it was written." This was for at least two reasons: because "the Society of Kosovo Writers is the joint literary

organization of all writers who live and work in Kosovo," which, according to him, the Slovene writers had ignored. "The second reason," Jevtovic said, "is your pretensions and arrogance: you dictated to us the names of seven Albanian poets and the name of one critic, and you informed us that your group would be glad to receive them and hear them, as if the Society of Kosovo Writers were your Pristina service and I, as its president, were employed in it and had the obligation to serve up the poets dictated on the list to you, down to the last one, on a platter. With a deep bow, naturally, as befits your conceited superiority.

"...Instead of the humble gratitude that you probably expected from me, I have many questions for you, and I will ask some of them without any further consideration or delay. Did you really think that no one except Albanians lived and spoke and wrote poetry in Kosovo any more, and that an invitation addressed to the Society of Kosovo Writers was possible only with that list of poets? Since you note that 'there has been no interrepublic meeting on the theater,' and thus indirectly let us know that you have decided to change that picture, do you really think that a meeting between you and those you designated in Ljubljana can be a meeting of the writers of Slovenia and Kosovo?... What is the connection between the list of poets you want to receive and with whom you want to meet and speak in Ljubljana, and your thunderous silence for many years on the subject of a Kosovo that is increasingly becoming ethnically pure? Why do you send the Society of Kosovo Writers invitations for interrepublic cooperation and an interethnic dialogue? Why are you making up lists that divide us and introduce suspicion and trouble among us? Are you doing it in concert, or is this due to an individual among you?"

The letter received adequate publicity, with the additional information (attributed to Jevtovic) that Agim Mala, the secretary of the aktiv of writers who belong to the LC, Milazin Krasniqi, and also Slovene writer Milan Jash, who was in Pristina as a participant in the October meetings, agreed with his opinion. A quick response came from the Managing Committee of the Slovene writers, written by Rudi Selig: "The Managing Committee of the Society of Slovene Writers, on the basis of a 2-year-old agreement, decided that in accordance with its desire to become acquainted with writers and their works within Yugoslavia, and its limited financial resources, it would invite Macedonian writers and representatives of Albanian literature who live in Yugoslavia... Albanian literature created in Yugoslav territory is mostly unknown in Slovenia, except for the collection of poetry "Craving for the Sun," from 1979. Thus, at the advice of experts on Albanian literature, we invited the writers who are cited in your president's protest letter, and whom we will be happy to receive on 6 November." Jevtovic is criticized for having had almost 20 days for anger, rage, and public protest, since the letter was sent on 6 October. "You transmitted all of that 'formality' into the ether and the news media exactly one day after the Federal Secretariat for Internal Affairs sent its unit

into Kosovo, as if you clearly wanted to say that our invitation was dated precisely on the 25th, or a little later, on 26 October." Milan Jesih also reacted by stating that neither he nor Agim Mala nor Milazim Krasniqi could have reacted as Jevtovic claimed, since they had not been acquainted with the text of the letter, and that all of this was unfounded and was pure disinformation. Another answer by Jevtovic to the Society of Slovene Writers then followed: "I personally proposed return literary meetings and exchanges to both the previous and the present Managing Committee of the Society of Slovene Writers and their presidents, just as to others. All in accordance with the conclusions and positions of the Society of Kosovo Writers, naturally. In March 1987, as you say yourself," Jevtovic addressed Selig, "on the basis of a 2-year-old agreement, you decided to send us an invitation... and an agreement between the Society of Kosovo Writers and the Society of Slovene Writers has been in existence for two years..." According to Jevtovic, it is undeniable that the goals of the two associations are identical, but "the difference is that he, as the president, has an obligation to the Society of Kosovo Writers to offer to acquaint all cultural milieus, including Slovenia, with literary works and literature, but the Slovene writers are ignoring this and offering something quite different, under the auspices of another different program."

Then there was a meeting of the Presidency of the Society of Kosovo Writers, held in a somewhat tense atmosphere. It was clear from the very beginning that it would be dominated by the second item on the agenda, formulated as "current issues." The meetings of Serbian writers in Vojvodina were left aside. The result was that Jevtovic was left isolated, and all of the members of the Presidency spoke out against his letter. Furthermore, it was learned that the letter took, shall we say, an unusually long time to come from Ljubljana to Pristina, as much as 20 days, that most of the members of the Presidency only became acquainted with its contents at the meeting, etc. There was also the not unimportant

detail that Mala and Krasniqi denied Jevtovic's assertion that they and Jesih had expressed solidarity with Jevtovic's views. On this occasion everyone advocated the presentation of all of Kosovo's literatures whenever Kosovo is represented, which by no means rules out individual national presentations. It was consequently stated that the Society of Kosovo Writers accepted the Slovene invitation, but a criticism was also sent to the Slovenes: "Respecting your concept of the organization of similar meetings, we request that you bear in mind the fact that in Kosovo there is also literature created in the Serbian language as well as in the Turkish language, that both are of interest for your public and our overall acquaintance with each other, and that on this basis we justifiably expect two more invitations to present the above-mentioned literatures in your republic."

Finally, let us return to the letter—the invitation from the Slovene association of writers to their Kosovo colleagues. At the very beginning, after the greeting, it says, "As you probably know, there has been no interrepublic literary meeting, in contrast to all of the other republics and provinces. In our republic, we are attempting to accomplish mutual familiarization and knowledge in different ways... The Society of Slovene Writers has decided to arrange several literary soirees and talks with writers of the peoples and nationalities in Yugoslavia. Perhaps you are aware that last fall, in the framework of PEN, we invited Serbian poets and writers, and we later were hosts to writers from Macedonia. On this occasion, we are inviting Albanian creative writers from Kosovo to Ljubljana. After consulting with literary experts... we would be happy to hear the poems of the following writers here: Enver Gjergjeku, Azem Shkreli, Fahredin Gung, Ali Podrimj, and Qkrem Bash and Sabri Hamiti. We also intend to invite literary scholar Dr Mensur Raifi..."

If we add to this the situation in Kosovo and everything that has been happening there in recent days, then everything that has happened between Ljubljana and Pristina in the last few days was, in a way, to be expected.

**POLAND**

**Army Political School Starts New Youth Training Course**

*26000024a Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish  
4 Sep 87 pp 1, 5*

[Article by (RAJ): "Youth Instructor Course"]

[Text] On 3 September, the Ludwik Warynski Political Officer Training Center started a course for youth instructors. A ceremonial inauguration of the course was performed by Rear Admiral Ludwik Dutkowski, first deputy chief of the Polish Army Chief Political Directorate.

Scores of young officers and officer school graduates chosen by their military districts and branches of the armed forces will attend the several weeks of this course to gain the necessary knowledge to function as youth instructors in their units.

The activities led by employees of the Chief Political Directorate, Central School for Political Offices and representatives of the Executive Board of the Union of Polish Socialist Youth [ZSMP] will be devoted above all

to the methodology of youth work and the history of the youth movement in Poland. There is also expected to be some practical training with a unit in the Pomeranian Military District.

On the day of the inauguration at the Lodz school, there was also a meeting of the presidium of the Polish Army Youth Council. This meeting was dedicated to analysis and assessment of this year's summer campaign and the participation of the armed forces' ZSMP aktiv.

There was also a summation of the present course taken by the reports and elections campaign within the ZSMP. A campaign at the lowest level of action is presently reaching its conclusion. Meetings in these circles are discussing problems in all spheres in the life and service of the troops but these same discussions are also at times too superficial and lacking in criticism and detail.

In the opinion of the presidium members, some ZSMP circle meetings have become too formalized and academic in tone. All of the questions raised will be formulated into recommendations for further work by the Polish Army Youth Council.

12261/06662

## CZECHOSLOVAKIA

### **Lack of Enterprise Interest in Cash Flow Decried** *24000028a Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Czech* 27 Nov 87 pp 1, 5

[Article by Eng Jiri Pacovsky, Czechoslovak State Bank, Main Office: "Enterprises Not Concerned About Lack of Liquidity"]

[Text] The inability of enterprises to meet the terms of their obligations to users and other organizations and agencies is a signal and symptom of low efficiency, disruptions, and shortcomings in their management, both on the production floor and in the area of capital investment. Of greater concern is the lack of cash flow in production organizations, which as of 30 September 1987 owed a total of Kcs 35.4 billion. The largest percentage of these overdue payables (more than two-thirds) belongs to engineering sectors. The cash flow problems of engineering firms increased markedly in 1986 and 1987.

The Czechoslovak State Bank [SBCS] conducted an analysis in the third quarter of this year of the reasons for the liquidity problems of engineering sector firms in an attempt to help reduce their payables problems. We focused mainly on organizational obligations still outstanding after the expiration of the original payment terms and documented as overdue payables. These obligations account for about 95 percent of the unpaid items. The sums involved and the number of overdue payables is seriously disrupting the smooth circulation of financial resources in the national economy, and in particular payment and billing cycles. Organizational obligations to the bank, i.e., loans not repaid according to their original terms, account for about 5 percent of the cash flow problems. Towards the end of each year loans unpaid within the agreed upon terms disappear for all practical purposes.

#### **Sharp Increases**

In the Seventh 5-Year Plan the cash flow problems of the engineering sectors peaked in the second half of 1982. In this case poor fulfillment levels of the state implementation plan caused the SBCS to tighten its credit requirements. In the remainder of the seventh and in the early stages of the Eighth 5-Year Plan better economic performance led to a reduction in overdue invoices. In the second half of 1986, however, overdue balances again sharply increased, to Kcs 20.7 billion on 21 December 1986, and have remained steady at about Kcs 20 billion throughout this year (on 30 June Kcs 21.7 billion, and on 30 September Kcs 22.4 billion).

The evolution of cash flow problems reflects clearly the fact that no effective mechanisms exist to match up the material requirements of organizations currently paid for from operating resources with real, high quality resources to finance them. This has permitted numbers

of firms to manage themselves poorly for long periods of time. This is clear from their cash flow problems and their failure to take any steps to eliminate these difficulties. These firms build up their inventories and incur material, wage, and other costs for which they have not generated sufficient resources. This forces them to cover these obligations with illegal commercial loans, i.e., unsecured obligations. This is in direct conflict with the principles of cost accounting and self-finance.

Organizations that get into cash flow problems because of subjective, internal shortcomings—which we will call primary reasons—fail to pay their suppliers, thus causing payment difficulties for these firms as well. We define this type of cash flow problem as secondary (transmitted) cash flow problem for other organizations.

Data taken from detailed branch bank records indicate convincingly that the vast majority of cash flow problems are of the primary variety (84 percent of the total). Secondary cash flow problems account usually for 15-25 percent of the total, and only rarely for a larger percentage. The percentage of secondary cash flow problems would probably be about twice as high if the SBCS did not maintain a policy of granting loans for the payment of invoices that have become overdue for this reason.

#### **Primary Reasons**

The basic causes of primary cash flow problems include inadequate planning, poor management, inefficient production, poor marketing, supply problems and poorly conceived investment policies. All of the above reduce efficiency and cause conflicts between the material and financial aspects of the capital replacement process. These conflicts result mainly from high inventory levels, imbalances between production and the sale of what is produced. This in turn means that financial resources become available on an irregular basis, and that financial resource formation remains low, which results in problems with capital investment projects caused by contractors and investors. In a situation where the SBCS is the sole institution to which enterprises may turn when faced with a lack of financial resources, and the bank declines to cover this management inefficiency with additional loans, the organization affected gets into a cash flow problem. Through such credit pressure, applied usually in conjunction with interest rate and other penalties levied in line with regulations of bank currency policy, and approved by the federal government, the SBCS attempts to force organizations to eliminate the causes of primary cash flow problems.

What were the basic causes of the increase in primary cash flow problems in 1986 and 1987?

The principal cause has been a persistent lack of effective inventory management. This is evident in the accumulation of inventories far beyond planned levels, a low rate of increase in their turnover (in some cases even longer turnover periods), in poor inventory structure in

unbalanced and inefficient inventory creation in terms of both time and space. These long standing negative trends, which had moderated somewhat at the end of the Seventh 5-Year Plan again intensified in 1986 and 1987. Financially unsecured inventories, or inventories secured with low quality collateral currently account for unpaid invoices in the amount of some Kcs 10 billion. This amounts to about two-thirds of primary cash flow problems and about 50 percent of total cash flow problems of the engineering sectors.

Even though excess inventories have for some time been the main cause of cash flow problems, neither enterprises nor their supervisory agencies have taken adequate steps to reduce inventories and to manage them more effectively. Neither increased credit pressure applied by the SBCS nor objectives assigned to organizations and their supervisory agencies by CSSR Government resolutions related to reducing and better managing inventories have produced the desired results. Instead, inventories have continued to worsen. In 1986 we were able to increase moderately inventory turnover period by 0.5 days. As of 31 August 1987, however, inventory turnover periods had declined by 10 days since the beginning of the year and by 2.2 days in comparison with the same period in 1986. The reasons for this poor inventory management performance, existing measures and their results, and proposals for additional measures were all discussed by the CSSR Government on 29 October of this year. As a result sectoral ministries were ordered to reduce inventories by Kcs 25 billion for the entire national economy in comparison with inventory levels as of 31 December 1986. Inventories of the engineering sectors would have to be reduced by Kcs 12.7 billion to meet this objective. The successful completion of this task is essential if we are to reduce the cash flow problems that have arisen because of these excessive inventories.

Fluctuations in production and in sales result in erratic issuance of invoices. This in turn means that organizations receive revenues on an irregular basis. At month end and especially at the end of quarter-ending months, this irregular cash flow results in greatly increased receivables from customers that are not yet due, and which the organizations does not have the resources to carry. The SBCS only covers a portion of such receivables, usually because the organization in trouble has not complied with conditions imposed by the bank related to balanced production and invoicing.

Conditions and measures to reduce fluctuations in production and sales that have been agreed upon between SBCS branches and organizations in credit agreements have not been producing the desired results. In many cases negative trends have worsened, which increases the frequency of crash remedial programs. This situation confirms the low efficiency of financial and economic mechanisms, and does not reflect well on either the competence or work of the financial divisions of enterprises. Payment schedules, which formerly were widely used to assure a balance between organizational incomes

and expenditures over a given time period are currently almost unknown. The flow of financial resources within enterprises thus more or less reflects passively the course of material processes rather than having a direct impact on them.

Other causes of primary cash flow problems occur irregularly, at certain times, and within certain organizations. In 1986 and 1987 these mainly included financially not covered amounts for non-invoiced labor and deliveries, unplanned costs belonging to upcoming periods, the failure to generate planned levels of internal resources, the redistribution of profits, etc. Some organizations had trouble with their obligation to transfer to working capital an amount equal to excess inventory amounts as of 31 December 1986.

### Secondary Reasons

The number of secondary cash flow problems normally increases along with the number of primary cash flow problems, because suppliers do not receive payments of their invoices on time from their customers. The volume of receivables not paid within their payment terms reached Kcs 17.9 billion on 30 July 1987, and even though the figure has declined since, it still stands at Kcs 15 billion.

In addition to overdue receivables from customers, secondary cash flow problems are also caused by other factors which, however, seldom account for more than 5-15 percent of such difficulties. These include unpaid progress payments for non-invoiced goods and services, delayed grants and subsidies from supervisory agencies, and the state budget.

There are cash flow problems, stemming from causes which are external to the affected organization, and as such have nothing to do with management shortcomings. Nevertheless, the transfer of these problems to other organizations increases general cash flow problems and thus disrupts normal payment and accounting relationships. Because the SBCS is the institution responsible for maintaining smooth payment and accounting relationships it grants credit assistance to well-managed organizations to cover overdue receivables, and to a lesser extent, to pay overdue invoices.

The increase in secondary cash flow problems this year resulted in increased loans to cover overdue receivables. These loans cover only a small portion of these receivables and they are having less and less of an impact on reducing secondary cash flow difficulties.

### Crediting Receivables

To reduce secondary cash flow problems the SBCS is searching for alternative ways to prevent the transmission of cash flow problems from one organization to another. Towards this end measures have been adopted that are designed to utilize the potential for the mutual

crediting of invoices among organizations. These measures are in line with SBCS tasks related to the formulation and implementation of the CSSR currency plan for 1988 and the state implementational plan for national economic development in 1988.

In this context the bank has drafted a computerization project to deal with the multiple crediting of overdue receivables. The objective of this project is to utilize computers to determine the amount of secondary cash flow problems and then to resolve these problems both by the mutual crediting of overdue receivables and through direct credit support. The first stage of this project will involve the implementation of these techniques in the engineering sectors. After testing them in this environment they will be expanded to other sectors and eventually to the entire economy. Using credits to balance mutual receivables among organizations at the initiative of the SBCS is fully in accordance with Decree No 10/1987, Laws of the CSSR, issued by the Chairman of the SBCS concerning payments and accounting relationships in the accounts of individual organizations.

After developing the necessary mathematical model and corresponding software, test calculations were run. These involved simulated mutual crediting of receivables as of 31 August and 30 September 1987. Credits were entered according to a two-step process. The first step covered receivables that formed a closed circle between individual organizations, i.e., an amount paid by a debtor against an obligation would be returned to that debtor in the form of a covered receivable if the proper conditions existed. This step in the crediting process could be conducted without the use of loans.

The second step dealt with the potential for further credits after breaking out of closed circles. In effect the circles became open chains. In other words, some firms have only obligations, while others have only overdue receivables. In these cases the issuance of credits is tied to the granting of payment loans to selected organizations, namely those that even after the first step of crediting (in circles) still are owed money by customers, and therefore still owe money to their suppliers. This technique assures that loans based on these calculations are issued only to deal with secondary cash flow problems and never to cover primary cash flow difficulties.

This program includes the payment of loans covering overdue receivables in an amount equal to their reduction through mutual crediting, as long as the organization in question still has a credit balance, after offsetting claims, available to pay off loans. Such payments are made as the final step of the mutual crediting process.

The table below shows the results of this simulated crediting of mutual receivables as of 30 September 1987. This table clearly shows that roughly 60 percent of total overdue payments, i.e. payments among the normal accounts of organizations in the engineering sectors, qualify for the crediting process. After reducing cash

flow problems by Kcs 6.2 billion, the remaining balance of Kcs 6.1 billion represent primary cash flow problems, namely those resulting from poor organizational management and not from normal payment and accounting relationships. After the second crediting step, in other words, no organization has unsecured obligations to another organizations that involve debts to that organization.

**Results of Simulated Crediting of Mutual Receivables as of 30 1987 (in Kcs millions)**

|                                          | FMHTS(1) | FMVS(2) | FMEP(3) | Total  |
|------------------------------------------|----------|---------|---------|--------|
| Total overdue payments                   | 7,099    | 9,456   | 5,149   | 21,703 |
| Total eligible for crediting             | 3,947    | 5,502   | 2,892   | 12,341 |
| Credited without loans (step 1)          | 1,191    | 1,345   | 735     | 3,271  |
| Loans granted                            | 483      | 656     | 404     | 1,543  |
| Credited with loans (step 2)             | 1,118    | 1,070   | 775     | 2,963  |
| Total credited                           | 2,309    | 2,415   | 1,510   | 6,234  |
| Payment of loans for overdue receivables | 914      | 228     | 124     | 1,266  |

Key: (1) FMHTS Federal Ministry of Metallurgy and Heavy Engineering (2) FMVS Federal Ministry of General Engineering (3) FMEP Federal Ministry of the Electrontechnical Industry

Mutual crediting utilizing the above methodology under bank supervision has been approved. Currently intensive preparations are under way for implementation, which is scheduled for no later than 30 November 1987. Organizations will be contacted by their branch of the SBCS, which will work out all the necessary details with them.

The technique of mutual multiple crediting arranged by the SBCS is substantially more efficient, workable, and less administratively intensive than the pursuit of individual solutions by specific organizations through applications for bilateral or multilateral crediting that a number of organizations have already reported undertaking. The results of this technique will be evaluated, and provided that tests confirm the results of the simulated calculations for 31 August and 30 September 1987, the SBCS will use the mutual crediting technique in the future as one tool to reduce cash flow problems.

To eliminate fully cash flow problems, however, organizations will first have to work much more intensively and effectively to eliminate the primary reasons for cash flow difficulties. They will have to reduce inventories, generate more internal resources and do so more regularly. In a word, they will have to manage themselves more efficiently and rationally. This is essential furthermore to create a favorable base for the transition to a

restructured economic mechanism. The full implementation of the principles of self-finance and full cost accounting, independence and organizational responsibility that is required by restructuring is in direct conflict with this long term, persistent cash flow problem to which many organizations have become resigned in recent years as a characteristic of their management. The basic way to reduce gradually this lack of liquidity in both the engineering sectors and the entire economy is to overcome this passive attitude and look for ways to influence more effectively material processes using valuation mechanisms, with the goal of improving economic efficiency.

9276/9274

**Article on Agrokombinat Slusovice Published in Poland**

26000125 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish  
5-6 Dec 87 p 10

[Article by Ludwik Staszynski: "Computers From Slusovice: From Our Reporter" under the rubric "Czechoslovak Socialist Republic"]

[Text] The changes currently taking place in Czechoslovak agriculture can be summed up as entering upon the stage of quality. The quantitative indicators of the output of principal agricultural products such as grain, meat, milk, fats, or sugar, already meet the basic domestic demand in that country. In addition, the time has come for reducing the production cost of food, which, in Czechoslovakia also, is a substantial factor in the average household budget.

The application of mineral fertilizers in Czechoslovakia, though greater than in our country, is now no longer increasing and instead is beginning to decrease. This is due to the needs for environmental protection. But harvests continue to grow instead of diminishing, because fertilizers are being used more efficiently. Natural fertilizers also are being used more effectively.

Considerations of environmental protection and public health have also prompted the exploration of biological methods of crop protection in Czechoslovakia. One of the first enterprises to work on this objective is the producer cooperative in Slusovice (near Gottvaldov) which at present is manufacturing substantial quantities of various biological crop protectants for domestic needs and for export.

The cooperative agrocombine in Slusovice is a highly interesting multibranch enterprise which, among other things, operates 5,500 hectares of arable land. It employs a workforce of nearly 5,000, of whom 3,500 are permanent employees. The agrocombine's assets are worth nearly 1 billion crowns and its annual agricultural output exceeds 180 million crowns. Its overall output, however, in 1986 reached the huge total of nearly 3.5 billion

crowns. A comparison of these figures appears to indicate that agricultural production there is only a minor sideline. But that is not so, because the average harvesting yield of grain (including corn) there is 6.5 tons per hectare, and the milk yield per cow is close to 6,000 liters [annually]. Similar results are being recorded in the production of poultry, hogs, and vegetables.

A combine is a synonym for an enterprise that is also used in this country, unfortunately often for no good reason. Our combines combine practically nothing, whereas Slusovice combines precisely agricultural with industrial production as well as with commercial activities. It processes a substantial part of its farm produce into off-the-shelf food products and sells them in its own stores and restaurants or exports them directly.

This forest-owning cooperative does not sell any logs; instead, it processes its own lumber into containers, sales kiosks, pallets, and many other products. Slusovice builds its own extensive production halls, warehouses, hotels, housing, and communal structures. It also provides construction services. It broadly employs mechanization of construction operations and prefabrication of components.

In 1986 the cooperative produced more than 10,000 agricultural machines and implements in 40 different varieties — of course, chiefly for sale. In 1987 this output will increase by 50 percent and its range also will change in consonance with market needs so as to encompass the production of fermenting vats for the food industry, refrigerated motor vehicle bodies, printout scales for weighing animals, feed-proportioning equipment, etc.

One of the most unexpected directions of interests of the agricultural enterprise represented by the cooperative in Slusovice is microcomputers. In 1986 this cooperative manufactured 1,800 TNS 8-bit microcomputers (based on a shrinking share of outside supplies of components), and in 1987 it commenced the manufacture of 16-bit microcomputers. It is preparing to manufacture 32-bit computers as well as to commence large-series production of read-write heads for various types of computers and diskettes based on a Japanese license. Computers have found application in the cooperative's industrial production; it equips, among other things, tractors with electronic devices that it itself is manufacturing. The electronic equipment manufactured there is chiefly designed for use in agriculture and food industry, as well as in education. Slusovice computers are also being exported, to Western markets too. The cooperative's personnel expect to be aided in their work by automata and robots within a few years.

The cooperative has also commenced large-scale production of plastic packaging for foods. Its annual output of these packagings is 25 million [as published], and it intends to double that figure shortly. In cooperation with Western companies this cooperative, as the only one in

Czechoslovakia, has commenced the production of granulate from polyethylene sacks previously used as containers for artificial fertilizers — a solution rather new to us in this country.

The ambitious undertakings of the cooperative agrocombine in Slusovice are not to the liking of everyone. However, the cooperative is operating within laws which safeguard its autonomy and freedom to choose directions of production. Besides, many other producer cooperatives in Czechoslovakia also engage in non-agricultural and non-forestry production, thus enriching their assets and augmenting their incomes. The work attitude of the members of the cooperative in Slusovice may be demonstrated by the fact that the local tractor operators are given cash for buying fuel and are not required to prove their purchases.

In the agriculture of Czechoslovakia a marked tendency toward conserving materials and, especially, energy is observable. This is promoted by the economic system which rewards the thrifty ones and penalizes spendthrifts. Among other things, the condition of rural and agricultural transportation there is analyzed from the angle of fuel conservation by exploring more rational solutions and chiefly the elimination of long-distance hauls.

Slusovice is a rich cooperative. The people who work there are well off. They have good living conditions — comfortable housing, cultural facilities, playing fields, sports stadiums, swimming pools, health centers, their own rest homes, etc.

1386

## POLAND

### Space Research Progress, Goals

26000045d Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish  
20 Oct 87 p 3

[Article by Tomasz Miecik: "And Now to Mars"]

[Text] "In the 10 years of achievements of PAN's [Polish Academy of Sciences] Center for Space Research [CBK], the most important thing is that we have a cadre for experimenters who are able to conduct space related activity and not just interpret the experiments of others," stated Prof Wojciech Grzedzielski, director of the Center for Space Research, at the ceremonial jubilee session of the CBK Scientific Council.

A common feature of the developing research is its huge cognitive and applied significance. This is how it is with, for example, satellite survey work important for navigation, scanning which produces an accurate picture of the country, cosmic meteorology, communication, and circumterrestrial [okoloziemski] and interplanetary physics. Among the experiments in this field, the most celebrated recently was project Wega which used Polish

equipment on board a Soviet cosmic station. This mission provided over 11,000 pieces of information of importance to world science and not just in the area of understanding the structure of comets.

A total of approximately 30 measuring instruments of Polish construction have already been installed in rockets and satellites. Some of these were demonstrated at the exhibit during the CBK jubilee.

The space research implemented by our scientists has accelerated markedly along with the conversion of "Interkosmos" from an Eastern European program to an open program. Experiments are already being conducted in this program in which nonsocialist countries are taking part than those grouped in our camp [socialist].

This opening up of "Interkosmos" has, of course, increased competition and because those who are better in science win, the Center for Space Research, and Polish science in general, are faced with higher technological demands on the space equipment offered. The improvement of this equipment will be the foremost task in the coming years.

On the other hand, participation in the Martian program—research together with related preparations outlined for the next 20 years—will constitute, among others, an opportunity for making progress in the area of equipment improvement. It is envisaged that this program will integrate the efforts of many countries not only in Europe but also including two of the largest powers in space research.

The creation of joint laboratories with other participants of the "Interkosmos" program will be conducive to meeting the demands of research in the near future with the available inadequately equipped technological research laboratories of Polish scientists involved in space research. The first of this kind of laboratory is being organized with the Soviet partner.

9853/12232

### Foreign Trade Greater than Predicted

26000045c Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish  
1 Oct 87 p 2

[Text] The projections for foreign trade turnover for 1988—this is the main topic of deliberations of the Council of Ministers Committee for Economic Relations with Foreign Countries. Vice Premier Wladyslaw Gwiazda presided over the meeting of 30 September. The point of reference were this year's anticipated results in the area of foreign trade.

The predictions look promising. Both the Ministry of Foreign Trade and the Council of Ministers Planning Commission claim that exports calculated in foreign exchange will be higher than that entered in the Central Annual Plan [CPR] for 1987. Discrepancies will affect

only the amount that is surpassed whereby the MHZ [Ministry of Foreign Trade] expresses greater optimism believing that exports will amount to \$7 billion whereas the credit balance of trade turnover will be \$1.2 billion. On the other hand, in the CPR for 1987 it was anticipated that exports will reach \$6,550 million, imports \$5,280 million, and the credit balance—up to \$1,270 million.

In the area of trade turnover with CEMA countries, for the first time in several years exports have nearly equaled imports and according to MHZ will even be somewhat higher.

It follows from the discussion at the committee's meeting that a certain strengthening of producer interest in supply deliveries to socialist countries and particularly to the USSR would appear to be necessary.

The committee also discussed problems associated with tourism to socialist countries. This year's experience indicates that the enormous interest in spending vacations in neighboring countries is disproportionate to the possibilities of financing such trips. Unfortunately, the solution in the form of allocating a greater portion of export revenues from these particular countries, which are so eagerly visited for Poles, for tourism remains only in the realm of theory.

After all, supplying industry and the market with goods imported from those countries is a task of primary importance. Therefore, two avenues remain: administrative-financial regulation that would reduce pressure on travel bureaus and banks selling foreign-exchange for individual trips, and the second based on increasing the amount of foreign-exchange funds for tourism by way of attracting a greater number of visitors to Poland from socialist countries.

In accordance with the view that tourism to socialist countries should be developed, this second measure is considerably more attractive but unfortunately, will not bring significant effects in a brief period of time. Therefore the GKKFiT [Main Committee for Physical Culture and Tourism] proposes priority for youth tourism, trips organized by work establishments not requiring foreign-exchange, and for tourism through travel bureaus. It follows from this that a worsening of the chances for and an increase in the cost of individual trips should be expected.

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**Joint Stock Enterprise Laws To Be Amended**  
26000045a Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish  
7 Oct 87 p 2

[Text] (Own Information) In recent weeks, we have written quite a lot about various enterprise initiatives including their desire to convert to joint stock enterprises. Such a concept was proposed by three plants: The

Lodz based Uniontex, Elpo Clothing Industry Plants in Wroclaw, and the 22 Lipca (formerly E. Wedel) Confectionery Industry Plants in Warsaw.

Unfortunately, the conversion to a joint stock company is currently impossible because the law regarding state enterprises does not provide for the merging of private and state capital. As stated by Zygmunt Zdyb, adviser to the minister of finance, the issue of these joint ventures will be feasible after indispensable amendments are made in the law. This pertains primarily to Article II of the law which states that state enterprises (thus, not nonsocialized entities) may form a joint enterprise by way of agreement.

In the draft plan of the "Implementational Program of the Second Phase of the Economic Reform," it is predicted that such amendments will be introduced as early as in October. Therefore, it should be expected that the indispensable changes will be sanctioned by the end of the current year. And because, as stated, the second phase of the reform is to begin in January of the coming year, the interested enterprises will be able to take on necessary action aimed at existing under the new form as early as this year.

Incidentally, it should be said that in this case the principle: "What is not illegal is permissible" [co prawem nie zabronione, jest dozwolone], does not apply. Thus, if the law dictates precisely what is allowed then we know what should not be undertaken. Therefore, joint stock enterprises are not yet permitted.

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**Role of Small-Scale Manufacturing in Reform**  
26000045e Warsaw ZYCIE GOSPODARCZE in Polish  
No 42, 18 Oct 87 p 11

[Excerpt] The directions of changes under conditions of the functioning of small-scale manufacturing and services in the second phase of the economic reform were the subject of deliberations of the Small-Scale Manufacturing Council on 7 October. Proposals in this regard were presented by the Ministry of Domestic Trade and Services [MHWiU].

The need for changes results from—as stated in the material gathered by MHWiU—the necessity of filling in the structural gap in the economy arising from the underdevelopment of entities that manufacture on a small and medium scale. In the structure of industry, the percentage share of small-scale manufacturing (measured according to the value of sales) amounts to approximately 12 percent whereas in developed countries—26 to 60 percent. A second no less important factor is the marked slowing down of the rate of development of small-scale manufacturing. The rate of increase of sales of goods and services fell from 14.6 percent in 1983 to 4.8 percent last year.

The situation in the area of vital services, where the number of socialized institutions and employment continues to decrease, is particularly unfavorable. It is estimated that by comparison with 1985, the sale of services for the public decreased last year in comparable prices by 7.7 percent.

Only the nonsocialized sector of small-scale manufacturing, i.e., the skilled trade industry and foreign companies are recording favorable results even exceeding plan assumptions. For example, last year over 13,000 skilled trade plants were added on (and during 8 months of the current year—another 12,000) and 67,000 workers whereas transactions in the skilled trade industry rose 40.3 percent.

The Ministry of Domestic Trade and Services also expressed itself on the issue of the material-technological supply of small-scale manufacturing emphasizing, among other things, the need for assuring in practice the equal rights treatment of all economic subunits proposing in this regard the elimination of barriers (tariffs and customs duty) for private and organized imports of

producer goods and the enabling of direct trade—both foreign-exchange and nonforeign-exchange—with foreign countries, for example, within the framework of compensatory transactions.

Changes in the conditions of nonsocialized small-scale manufacturing activity were also proposed including: the application of a system of registering economic activity in the area of the preferred direction of development instead of a concessionary system; the creation of legal bases for the formation of state and cooperative joint stock enterprises with the participation of private capital; and the expansion of straight and stable forms of taxation, e.g., in the form of lump sum amounts.

The final proposal of MHWiU concerns the creation of a Small-Scale Manufacturing Bank in the form of a joint stock company with the participation of foreign capital.

The proposals were evaluated by the Small-Scale Manufacturing Council as very interesting. Together with the suggestions made during the discussion, they will also be reviewed by a specially appointed commission which will present the council's position on the specific solutions.

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