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# East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 2023

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18 June 1982

EAST EUROPE REPORT  
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POLISH YOUTH UNIONS, KOMSOMOL SIGN COOPERATION AGREEMENT

Warsaw SZTANDAR MŁODYCH in Polish 30 Apr-2 May 82 pp 1, 2

[Article by J. Szewczyk: "The Continuation of Good Traditions"]

[Text] In Warsaw, on the 29th of this month, the chairman of Polish socialist youth unions, who forms the Commission for Joint International Contacts of Polish Youth and Student Unions and who is, at the same time, vice chairman of the Supreme Council of the Socialist Union of Polish Students [SZSP]--Ireneusz Nawrocki; the commander in chief of the Polish Scout Union [ZHP], Andrzej Ornat; the chairman of the National Board of the Rural Youth Union [ZMW], Waldemar Swirgon; and the chairman of the Main Board of the Union of Socialist Polish Youth [ZSMP], Jerzy Jaskiernia signed an agreement [protocol] of cooperation for 1982 with the Komsomol [WLKZM] Central Committee [KC]. The secretary of the Komsomol Central Committee, Wiktor Miszyn, signed the document in the name of the Komsomol Central Committee.

It is emphasized at the outset of the agreement that friendly relations and overall cooperation, which for years have characterized contacts of Polish youth unions with Komsomol, are undergoing constant growth and improvement. Youth unions--parties to the agreement declare their intent to act on behalf of strengthening and further developing friendship and cooperation between youth of the Polish People's Republic [PRL] and the U.S.S.R. while treating this as an important contribution of our countries' young generation to the strengthening of friendship between Poland and the Soviet Union.

The youth unions of PRL and Komsomol, acting under the ideological leadership of PZPR and CPSU, will perfect forms and methods of activity in order to bring up youth in the spirit of socialist ideals whose foundation are values of Marxism-Leninism and of proletarian internationalism.

The following activities drew support: continued active work for the benefit of strengthening unity among the young generation of socialist countries; the struggle for peace; international détente and disarmament; continued work on behalf of the consolidation of the international, progressive youth and student movement which fights for peace and disarmament, for national independence, democracy and social progress.

The parties signing the document will place great importance upon the further development of cooperation on the international forum, particularly within the framework of SFMD [the World Federation of Democratic Youth] and MZS [the International Union of Students].

Among others, the following found themselves in this year's exchange program: visits to the U.S.S.R by official, Polish youth union delegations; scientific seminars and the exchange of experiences in the area of research conducted on youth issues and problems. The visit of the next aktiv group is also foreseen for the purpose of taking courses in the Higher "Komsomol" School affiliated with the Komsomol Central Committee. Youth from the Soviet Union will participate in the traditional, international ventures organized by Polish youth and student unions. "Komsomol" delegations will also be received in Poland on the occasion of the All-Polish Competition of Russian and Soviet Prose and Poetry Recitation, the Festival of Soviet Songs in Zielona Gora and the Festival of Young Film Producers [Filmowiec] in Koszalin.

After signing the agreement, Andrzej Ornat rose to speak. He stated, among other things, that the signing of the agreement on cooperation is a subsequent step on the road to cooperation and the tightening of bonds of friendship between the organizations of both countries. It is also an important political event since it [signing of the agreement] is taking place during the time of preparations for the 9th plenum of the PZPR Central Committee devoted to youth problems as well as on the eve of the 19th Komsomol Congress and during the 60th anniversary of its existence. The commitments, which were made, will serve the strengthening of friendship between youth of both nations.

The next speaker was Wiktor Miszyn. He stated, among other things, that the Leninist Komsomol will do everything in order to develop and strengthen cooperation with Polish Youth unions. The agreement creates a good opportunity for expanding contacts at the local and basic echelon level. W. Miszyn expressed the conviction that cooperation between Polish socialist youth unions and Komsomol will develop in the spirit of friendship which unites our parties--PZPR and CPSU; friendship which unites the leaders of both parties.

The following participated in the meeting, among others: the director of the Social and Vocational Department of the PZPR Central Committee--Stanislaw Gabrielski, the assistant director of the Foreign Affairs Department of the PZPR Central Committee--Miroslaw Dackiewicz, and the secretary of the U.S.S.R. embassy--Aleksander Cziczikalo.

After the agreement was signed, we asked the signatories to make brief statements:

Wiktor Miszyn: "The implementation of the program will have a great significance for both sides. Of the concrete matters, I will mention the invitation of a group of Polish youth union activists to the U.S.S.R.; we also want to assist in training cadres at the Higher Komsomol School."

Andrzej Ornat: "This is a continuation of cooperation and I think that we will exert all efforts so that youth of both countries will obtain as much as possible

from these contacts. We will receive Komsomol members and the Young Pioneers [U.S.S.R.] in our camps; our young people will, in turn, be guests of the Young Pioneers. There will be opportunity for developing friendship and becoming mutually acquainted with both countries."

Jerzy Jaskiernia: "This represents a good prospect for the future. I am aware that the signing of the agreement took place under difficult conditions in our country but it was revealed by a discussion in our union that there is a need for contact with youth of the U.S.S.R. and, particularly, a great need for decentralized contacts. We greatly value the opportunity of training cadres of activists and lecturers in the U.S.S.R. and visits from labor and farm groups."

Ireneusz Nawrocki: "This is the expansion of mutual cooperation which we greatly value. We have discussed the participation of representatives from both sides in seminars, meetings and training sessions."

Waldemar Swirgon: "This was very beneficial to us. There are many common areas of activity in both unions and I believe that the exchange of experiences will be mutually beneficial."

In the afternoon, the Komsomol Central Committee delegates, who were cordially bid farewell by representatives of the leadership of socialist youth unions, were on their way back home.

9853

CSO: 2600/580

## INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

### BRIEFS

POLISH, SOVIET PARTY SCHOOLS--At the invitation of the PZPR Central Committee's Higher School of Social Sciences [WSNS], a Soviet delegation consisting of Prof Nikolay Maslov, prorector of the CPSU Central Committee's Academy of Social Sciences, and Prof Anatoliy Vavilov, prorector of the Moscow Party Higher School, has made a visit to Poland. At the Intervoivodship Party School in Bydgoszcz, the guests met with students and lecturers; with the party aktiv of the "Modus" factory; with the Torun academic community; with the [school] cadre and post-graduate students; and with third-year students from the WSNS and the Academy of Internal Affairs. The delegation was received by PZPR Central Committee Secretary Marian Orzechowski. At the conclusion of the Soviet delegation's visit, an agreement on the further expansion of cooperation between the PZPR Central Committee's WSNS and the CPSU Central Committee's Academy of Social Sciences was signed. The agreement involves, i.a., mutual consultation in the areas of: the teaching and upbringing process; the conduct of research; participation in international academic conferences; and the organization of internships for research employees. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 24 May 82 p 5]

CSO: 2600/665

GENERAL KOSEV URGES HIGHER DISCIPLINE, PREPAREDNESS, CARE FOR EQUIPMENT

Sofia ARMEYSKI KOMUNIST in Bulgarian No 4, 1982 pp 8-17

[Article by Col Gen Kiril Kosev, chief of Main Political Administration of the People's Army: "Political and Organizational Work To Fulfill the Decisions of the 12th BCP Congress--the Main Condition for High Combat Readiness"; passages enclosed in slantlines printed in boldface]

[Text] A fruitful and successful year of labor has passed since the congress. It has been a new proof of the historic importance of the 12th Party Congress, which Comrade Todor Zhivkov with reason called the peak of our party congresses. Our country has entered upon the second year of the Eighth Five-Year Plan with good impetus.

The Bulgarian people under the leadership of the Party Central Committee have universally toiled to implement the plants of the 12th Congress of the Bulgarian Communist Party. The balance sheet of their labor and campaign so far is heartening. The achievements are good. The labor collectives have with honor fulfilled the plan for the socioeconomic development of the country in 1981--the first year of the Eighth Five-Year Plan.

Our country's economy is developing at a high and steady rate. New qualitative changes have taken place in the building of the material and technical base of a developed socialist society in our country. The living, educational and cultural standard of the population has risen. The national income in 1981 exceeded 22 billion leva, while the capital assets of the national economy already amount to 83 billion leva. The achievements of scientific and technical progress are speedily introduced. One thousand four hundred seven new and improved technologies have been put into physical production, 551 automated-system projects have been adopted, and the production of 1230 new and improved products has been started.

Last year alone, the real income of working people increased more than 3 percent. The average wage of manual and office workers is now over 190 leva per month. During the first year of this five-year plan 70,308 new housing units were delivered for occupancy.

This high progress is due in considerable measure to the heightened intensification of the national economy and the consistent, creative application of the economic

approach and its mechanism. It is a good contribution to fulfilling the decision of the 12th Party Congress to raise the economic might and defensive capability of our homeland.

Inspired by the remarkable deeds of their people and by the heightened concern and attention of the Party Central Committee and of Comrade Todor Zhivkov personally, the servicemen of our army are working perseveringly to raise the combat readiness of the troops in keeping with the demands of the 12th Party Congress and the complex international situation. They are well aware that the congress's decisions are not only a source of inspiration and knowledge for ideological and political growth, but are, above all, a program for action. The Theses of the 12th BCP Congress clearly indicate, "The existence of the capitalist system and the continuous efforts of the imperialist forces to counteract the building of socialism make imperative further strengthening of the country's defense. In keeping with this requirement, the military organization of the socialist society must be improved, the combat readiness of the Bulgarian People's Army raised, and the means of defending real socialism bettered. . . ."

These highly responsible tasks, assigned to Bulgarian soldiers by our party, are the focus of the political and organizational work conducted by commanders, staffs and political organizers, by party, Komsomol and trade-union leaders. The troops have launched mass-scale socialist competition under the appeal, "On with the campaign to fulfill the decisions of the 12th BCP Congress and to mark worthily the centenary of Georgi Dimitrov's birth and the 38th anniversary of the socialist revolution in Bulgaria." In it have joined actively the entire personnel of the Bulgarian People's Army with individual pledges and all subunits, units and formations with collective pledges. The main goal of the competition is the campaign to fulfill the decisions of the party congress regarding a continuous rise in the combat readiness of the troops.

The complex present-day international situation, the destructive character of a potential thermonuclear war and the rapid development of military affairs make high demands for combat readiness of the troops. These demands are constantly growing. New missions are originating, and the ambit of the beginnings made thus far in this field is expanding.

The improvement of combat readiness is a multifaceted continuous activity. There is no end to the work in this regard. All advances, even the best, must be regarded as a foundation, a springboard, for new and higher achievements. Time marches on and makes more and more new demands. The development of military science and the weapons for armed combat is perhaps the most precipitate, the rate the highest. This is because what we regard as progress today can no longer satisfy us tomorrow.

The 12th Congress of our Party assigned us the mission of stepping up progress by discovering and making good use of new potential reserves. There are such reserves and they must be used to raise combat readiness. In this regard, considerable

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\*"Tezisi na XII Kongres na BKP" [Theses of the 12th BCP Congress], Sofia, 1981, p 91.

political, organizational and practical activity was carried out last year, the main burden of which was the campaign for comprehensive inculcation of the demands of the 12th BCP Congress into the whole of military life. An organization was created such that every commander, political worker, staff and service officer, every noncommissioned officer and soldier, every military office and manual worker performed the activity specified for him by the personnel roster and service regulations for implementation of the party decisions. In general lines, a good trend was in evidence with "everybody carrying his pack," as member of the Political Bureau and Minister of National Defense, Army General Dobri Dzhurov, sometimes graphically puts it.

The decisions of the 12th Party Congress have directed the political and organizational work in the Bulgarian People's Army towards a further heightening of the combat readiness of the troops in order to bring it about on a wide front, on many planes, and comprehensively, by mobilizing the efforts of all personnel for high-standard and complete fulfillment of operational, combat and political training plans and improvement in the state of field, air and naval training; for an increasing of concern about the mastery, maintenance in good technical condition, and accident-free use of arms and equipment; for the tightening up of military discipline and the rules of the service; for alert performance of combat duty of the day and guard duty etc. All this obliges commanders, staffs and political organizers to improve their work style and method of troop leadership, assure reliable and coordinated activity at all echelons of control, and intensify the attention paid to checking up on compliance with party decisions, orders, directives and instructions.

In the campaign for fulfillment of the decisions of the 12th Party Congress the role and combat efficiency of the party organizations must be raised, and the contribution of the Komsomol and trade-union organizations to getting staffs and troops into a state of combat readiness in keeping with the complicated international situation must be increased.

I want to fix the attention of my readers on the list of questions which were the subject of discussion at the 12th Congress of the Bulgarian Communist Party. Comrade Todor Zhivkov raised some of them with great concern at the October National Conference. They relate directly to combat readiness and must have a place in the forefront of the political and organizational work of commanders, staffs and political organizers at all echelons, and of party, Komsomol and trade-union leaders.

/The first question has to do with the complex--and constantly becoming more complex--international situation and our missions./

The 12th Party Congress's estimates of and conclusions about the international situation have been fully confirmed. The directions the work should take in this setting were correctly and accurately outlined: a steady campaign to defend peace and detente, and further strengthening of the homeland's defensive capability and the combat readiness of its armed forces.

The present world conjuncture is determined by exceptional exacerbation of the fundamental conflict of our times--the conflict between socialism and capitalism. The imperialist and other obscurantist forces have created a real danger of thermonuclear war. The world military and political situation today shows signs of

taking very alarming directions. The first is the turn to the right by the governments of the NATO countries, and first and foremost by the government of the United States; the second is the ever closer rapprochement and the making of common cause with imperialism by the Peking leaders; the third is manifested by the springing up of explosive trouble spots over our planet where the antagonism of the forces of reaction and progress, of imperialism and socialism concentrates; the fourth involves the danger of the proliferation of nuclear weapons into a number of states through the fault of the imperialists; the fifth has to do with the "politicization" of certain religions and their utilization for military and political purposes etc. All these trends are firmly interrelated dialectically and have a powerful influence on the world military and political situation.

The deliberate exacerbation of the international situation by the imperialists in the United States and NATO is a sign of their dissatisfaction with the strengthening of the positions of socialism, the upsurge of the national-liberation movements, and the growth of the forces fighting for peace and detente. Also contributing to the adventurist policy of the United States administration and its allies are the narrowing of the area of imperialist hegemony, the exacerbation of the internal conflicts in the capitalist countries, and the rivalry among themselves.

In its sociopolitical nature the new world war, if the imperialists succeed in kindling it, will be a decisive armed clash between the two opposed systems--socialism and capitalism, and from the standpoint of employment of weapons of armed combat it will be a thermonuclear war. Today as never before the United States and its allies are making all-out material and spiritual preparation for such a war. For these purposes they appropriate vast funds. At present the NATO-member states alone maintain nearly a five-million-man army, not counting the people working in war production. They spend more than \$1 billion every day on the arms race at the same time that one billion people suffer from hunger, poverty and disease. Qualitatively new types of weapons are being developed, primarily weapons of mass destruction. In the United States alone about 70 percent of the scientific resources are used for military purposes while 80 percent of the scientific personnel are employed in creating new weapons.

Imperialism is devoting vast forces and resources to the psychological preparation of a new world war. Government circles, and especially R. Reagan, Al. Haig, Weinberger, Margaret Thatcher and other war-minded politicians of the capitalist world are actively participating in furious slanderous propaganda against the countries of the socialist community and against the communist and national-liberation movement. The effort to commit ideological sabotage against the peoples of the socialist countries has been stepped up especially. There are about 200 centers in the West working against the Bulgarian People's Republic alone. Western radio stations broadcast in Bulgarian 170-180 hours a week. Continuous efforts are made to import vast quantities of hostile literature into Bulgaria.

Questions of international relations, of peace and war occupy an ever wider place in the content of bourgeois propaganda. Bourgeois ideologists strive to cast the blame for the complication of the international situation on the Soviet Union and the other socialist states. The idea is more and more widely circulated that war is inevitable and that the socialist countries are to blame for this. Thus they justify the mad arms race and the deployment of their armed forces into new bases.

All this makes imperative a sober estimate of the present international position and the military and political situation and the taking of effective measures in keeping with the decisions of the 12th Party Congress. Questions about the international situation and the foreign policy of the Bulgarian People's Republic, the USSR and the other countries of the socialist community, questions of peace and war, must find a still wider place in ideological work among personnel. This activity must become a matter for cadres well trained for the purpose. The real danger of thermonuclear war and the missions that result from this for personnel must be very thoroughly disclosed to them. It must, of course, be emphasized that this danger is created by the United States, by the other NATO countries and by China. It must at the same time be disclosed that forces and possibilities do exist for averting war and continuing detente.

In addition to the ideological work that is done, practical activity is needed for fulfillment of the party's behest to maintain constant high combat readiness and to train troops to wage war against a strong, crafty and well armed adversary. The firm conviction must be created in the soldiers that there can be only one outcome of this war--victory and the total destruction of the class enemies of the homeland and the cause of socialism.

/The second question towards which political and organizational work must be directed in order to implement the congress's demands and which is directly important for a state of combat readiness is the quality and fruitfulness of training activity./

Above all, the party requirement for the intensification and intellectualization of every activity must be creatively and intelligently applied. This can be done in training work, firstly, by improvement in the planning of training--and of all--activity of units and subunits and by establishment of fruitful and stable organization for high-standard fulfillment of the weekly schedule in its full scope. The whole of life in units and subunits must be absolutely subordinated to training work. Precise and high-standard performance of every training exercise and active participation by all trainees must become an inviolable military law and a high moral principle for men and commanders.

Secondly, the international situation requires decisive elimination of oversimplification in training work and creation of all the conditions for soldiers, noncommissioned officers and officers, subunits, units and formations to train for combat operations under thermonuclear war conditions. First of all, attention must be intensified and the organization of night and field exercises improved; a high state of field, air and naval training must be attained. Every training exercise must be performed with the utmost intellectual, mental and physical burden on trainees.

Special concern is needed for the training of commanders and for improvement of the ability of squad leaders, crew chiefs, and platoon, company and battalion commanders to organize and control the combat operations of their subunits.

Thirdly, the intensification of training activity presupposes active participation therein by trainees. A powerful lever in the hands of commanders for achieving high activity of personnel is socialist competition. The experience of good commanders has repeatedly confirmed that the employment of competition in every training exercise is the basic means of increasing its fruitfulness. The new Directive on

Socialist Competition in the Bulgarian People's Army gives commanders much wider possibilities in this regard. A situation must be created such that the competitive spirit constantly surrounds every serviceman, military office and manual worker. This is of decisive importance for successful and complete fulfillment of individual and collective pledges.

Competition presupposes application of progressive experience in training activity. True, programs, courses and manuals are a condensed expression of progressive experience and their use is the best thing in this regard. But it is also true that in practice, in real life, many valuable initiatives originate every day that should find general application.

And one more matter! It has to do with the use in training activity not only of the existing arms and equipment, but also of the firing ranges and special-purpose rooms that have been built and the physical and financial resources that have been given expressly for this purpose. Sufficient funds have been appropriated and spent for physical teaching aids. These measure up to modern requirements and must be put to much better and more regular use. Their sole purpose is for the conduct of intensive and fruitful training exercises.

/The third matter that must be more widely included in political and organizational work has to do with a decisive improvement in attitude towards arms and equipment as the people's socialist property and the material base of combat readiness./

In some units there is a divergence from the established splendid traditions in this regard. Questions regarding the mastery, care and accident-free use of arms and equipment are less and less frequently encountered in the work of commanders, political organizers, party and Komsomol leaders. And if they are included, this has been necessitated by serious weaknesses that have occurred, as in the subunit where officer Tsvetin serves.

To begin with, work must be intensified to instill a strong love for the submachine-gun or gun, motor vehicle or tank, aircraft or ship in one's charge. We must restore the proverbial soldier's, guerilla's and partisan's love for his weapon as something sacred and precious. This is the foundation on which high combat and technical skill, exemplary care, maintenance and accident-free use of weapon and equipment will be achieved later on.

/The fourth question in political and organizational work is fulfillment of the decisions of the 12th Party Congress regarding strengthening of discipline and unity of command and bringing moral, financial, official and party pressure to bear on the disrupters of discipline./

The Report of the BCP Central Committee to the 12th Congress assigned the mission of "creating an atmosphere of unwillingness to tolerate violations of discipline, encroachments upon socialist property and the rights of citizens, or any attempt whatsoever to evade or fail to observe socialist law."<sup>\*</sup>

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<sup>\*</sup>T. Zhivkov, "Otchet na TsK na BKP pred Dyanadesetniya Kongres... ." [Report of BCP Central Committee to the 12th Congress], Sofia, 1981, pp 100-101.

The question of discipline is the main question in building the army and in its operation. It has been and will in future continue to be the basic mission and constant concern of all commanders, political workers, staffs, party and Komsomol leaders.

On what must they focus their activity?

The basis of discipline is the strict organization of life in the subunits, of the operations of the personnel, and the maintenance of service regulations in the troop units. If life in the unit proceeds strictly in accordance with service regulations, the possibility of violations, offenses and extraordinary occurrences is ruled out.

Secondly, efforts must be focused on improving the prescribed relationships among servicemen and strengthening the unity of command. This matter is routine for all echelons and boils down to subordination and efficient and ready compliance, to know-how and training, to comradeship and mutual respect. Especially great care must be taken to change the attitude towards squad leaders and crew chiefs and towards noncommissioned officers and sergeants major-cadets. The task is to change the attitude of both their subordinates and superiors towards them, as well as to strengthen their command prestige.

The relationships among servicemen are the basis of military collectives. Therefore, work to create good comradely relationships contributes to a closer unity of collectives. Of great importance for unity and solidity is what the moral and psychological situation in the subunit, staff or service is. In this regard a decisive role is played by the respective commanders or leaders. Under the conditions in our army, they are the people the collectives have to be built around. If they are principled, tactful, sympathetic, human and sociable with their subordinates, their subordinates will unite closely around them.

Our party congress studied the question of the role and place of the party organization in the collective. It is quite natural that the party organization should be the political nucleus of the collective and the archetype of its future condition. At the same time there must be steady work for endorsement of the demand, made by the congress, that the party organization play an effective role as party representative to the collective and collective representative to the party.

Always associated with this is the function, assigned by the 12th Party Congress, of mingling with the personnel. We have adopted the valuable Soviet experiment of holding integrated political days, which were supposed to be used for personal mingling. The trouble is that in some places this experiment gets distorted and instead of easy-going conversations held with the personnel of companies and batteries, reports and lectures are delivered to crowded meetings. And it is still junior--not senior--commanders doing this. Lively, frank and easy-going mingling with people, with men, noncommissioned officers and officers must become a necessity and a constant feature of the work style of commanders and political workers.

Everybody must allot still more time to individual work with subordinates. We still have not succeeded in getting it beyond the various systems, logs, plans and what not. Much is written and said, but little is done in this regard. Individual

conversation is useful for both the commander and the subordinate. The 12th Party Congress made it an obligation for communists to mingle with the people, to take an interest in what bothers them, in what their interests and needs are. This is one of many ways of improving discipline.

Many bodies have been set up to work at strengthening army discipline. We have not done everything to strengthen and support them. I refer mainly to the activity of certain officer and noncommissioned-officer courts of honor, to comradesly courts martial and noncommissioned-officer councils.

A comprehensive approach has not always been made by everybody towards the campaign to strengthen military discipline, and achievements are still few. The campaign to strengthen the rule of law against property and financial violations is not sufficiently purposeful or fruitful.

/The fifth question which is of great importance and plays a decisive role in fulfillment of the decisions of the 12th Party Congress and in raising the combat readiness of troops is work with cadres./

Our Party Congress paid considerable attention to cadre work, assigning the mission of making "a new stride forward" in this important area to political and organizational activity.

Command cadres are the gold reserves of the Bulgarian People's Army. Theirs is the main and decisive role in fulfilling party decisions and raising the combat readiness of troops. They are central to all the political and organizational work carried on since the 12th Party Congress. That is why concern for their strengthening and development is a constant party and service mission. We have splendid command and political cadres.

Our party demands of military cadres today that they possess not only positive political, businesslike and moral traits, but also all-round training and abundant local practical experience. The thesis in the Report of the BCP Central Committee to the 12th Congress that "no one can be promoted who has not worked among the rank and file of working people of our society and who does not know the difficulties and distinctive features at the local echelons,"\* fully applies to the army as well. It must no longer be disregarded because this adversely affects the training of our cadres.

Today they are required to study still more systematically and persistently modern questions in Marxist-Leninist theory; to have a feeling for the new and an urge for creativity; to see clearly the future lines of development in military science; to have high military engineering training; to master and apply scientific methods in the control of troops; to have a thorough knowledge of modern military theory and practice; to be experienced experts in instructing and training their subordinates; to be a model of self-possession, courage and efficiency in a complex situation etc.

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\*T. Zhivkov, op. cit., p 99.

Our Party Congress set many new requirements for the work style of key cadres and bodies. Especially important among these for the Bulgarian People's Army are those having to do with improvement of planning; organization of the fulfillment of plans and missions resulting from party decisions, orders, directives and instructions; fruitfulness of monitoring and assistance.

We must realize that missions have grown in dimension, scope and complexity. This requires much thorough planning, precise allocation of forces and time and resources, good organization and monitoring of their execution.

In recent years some staffs, political organizers, technical and rear area services have been buried in a great deal of unnecessary paperwork and red tape, on which valuable time is wasted. For everything and anything a written document is made up. Plans, programs, evaluations, conclusions, reports, speeches and what not are in writing. There are commanders who have left off the habit of thinking and expect to have everything written down for them. A number of political sections have substituted written work in offices for political work among personnel. This evil, to be sure, comes from above and traces back to the checkup methods and requirements of superior echelons. Instead of simplification, the result is complication of planning and reporting. It is time to grapple with this evil, eliminate it and create a setting for operational efficiency and businesslike methods in the work of commanders, staffs and political organizers. The approach and criterion for evaluation of their activity must be decisively changed. The point is that the activity of cadres and bodies should be evaluated by the state of combat readiness of troops, by the training and education of personnel, rather than by the number of written evaluations, the measures that are written out or the meetings that are held.

/The sixth question of political and organizational work for fulfillment of the decisions of the 12th Party Congress has to do with party, Komsomol and trade-union organizations./

The congress gave much attention to their role and development. They have an exceptionally important role not only in carrying on political and organizational work for fulfillment of the decisions of the 12th Congress, but also in raising the state of combat readiness of the troops in keeping with the demands of the congress.

It must, above all, be emphasized that the army has launched well organized activity aimed at raising the role and combat-mindedness of the primary party organizations in the campaign to fulfill the decisions of the 12th Congress of the Bulgarian Communist Party. The inspection of the primary party organizations is a vast and vital initiative, which is taking place under the guidance of the Central Committee and which encompasses all primary organizations. It is an organic extension of the inspection of the primary party organizations' ideological and educational work and of the replacement of party documents. The inspection will help party organizations in the army win still more recognition as an effective mainstay of commanders in the campaign to raise the combat efficiency and combat readiness of units and formations. New and faithful champions of the party in the Bulgarian People's Army are rising up in their ranks.

In addition, much work still lies ahead for further improvement of the quality of party membership, for strengthening of the party nucleus in small military and labor

collectives, and for an increase in the progressive role of all army communists both in improving party and organizational activity and in enriching inner ideological life, in keeping with the congress's demands.

The 12th Party Congress assigned the task of speeding up the reorganization and of making qualitative changes in the activity of Komsomol societies and organizations. The main thing is to bring about fulfillment of the tasks resulting from Comrade Todor Zhivkov's letter to the Central Committee of the DKMS [Dimitrov Communist Youth Union]. We have a good long-term program for the purpose, but implementation thereof is not proceeding purposefully everywhere.

We are confronted also with the question of raising the role and improving the activity of trade-union organizations in the Bulgarian People's Army. We must make a reversal in our attitude towards these and they must occupy their merited place in the life of the collectives of military office and manual workers. They have an important role to play in the introduction of the economic mechanism into the economic sector of the Bulgarian People's Army.

Among the many questions which must have a place in the political and organizational work to fulfill the tasks resulting from the decisions of the 12th Congress of the Bulgarian Communist Party are those involving ideological work and cultural activity to raise the quality of production and the fruitfulness of economic activity in the Bulgarian People's Army etc.

The main thing now is that every serviceman, military office and manual worker, every communist, Komsomol and trade-union member, every administration, staff and political organization should find his place and actively participate in practical work to implement the congress's decisions. All the work should be done under the richly meaningful and significant party appeal, "Deeds, deeds and only deeds!"

6474

CSO: 2200/107

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

GDR SPIES SEEN PREFERRING WESTERN PROSECUTION TO EASTERN RETIREMENT

Bonn RHEINISCHER MERKUR in German Vol 37 No 18, 30 Apr 82 p 8

[Article by Friedrich-Wilhelm Schlomann: "Spies Who Go Out Into the Cold--GDR Agents' Methods Are Getting More Refined"]

[Text] The number of criminal proceedings against Eastern agents for military and economic espionage is growing. Many experts fear that the GDR spies are now better than those of the Soviet KGB.

Recently West German newspapers revealed that the Office for the Protection of the Constitution in Lower Saxony had discovered an unusually powerful ultra-short-wave radio near Oldenburg. Although it had been packed in a watertight container and buried in the woods a considerable time previously, it proved to be operational immediately. Experts estimate the value of the equipment to be close to DM 80,000, while in their view the development costs must have amounted to at least DM 1 million.

The confiscated radio probably formed part of a "silent network" for Eastern espionage, which was not to be used now, but only in the event of tension or a serious turn of events. From the range of the radio, which extends to Moscow, Western intelligence agencies conclude that it was to be used to report Western troop concentrations and to give directions to the advancing armies from the East in the event of war. Contrary to many press reports, this was by no means the first discovery of this kind in Lower Saxony.

These so-called "preparatory actions," which make actual espionage activity possible, are estimated to amount to one-quarter of all the activities of Eastern secret services. This means that, more than ever, the Soviet bloc is operating with a view to very far ahead. For some years past now, bridges and roads have been among the reconnaissance targets, for example, of the East Berlin intelligence agencies in the FRG, recently energy producing companies have been added to them.

In some cases, GDR spies have even surveyed canals and sections of autobahns in West Germany. In the Lower Saxony area, for example, interest was centered mainly on investigating blasting shafts. Truck drivers from "the other side," who drive through the FRG on their way to Holland or Belgium and all too often park at inter-sections to find out the turning circle, have a special kind of mission--in the case of many of these "drivers" there is reason to believe that in reality they are offi-

cers from the "Main Administration for Collection of Foreign Intelligence," the espionage department of the Ministry for State Security (Mfs).

Not least, the reconnoitering efforts of the East are increasingly concentrating on the telecommunications system of the Bundespost. All indications are that extensive acts of sabotage must be expected if there is a serious state of affairs. The view that groups of saboteurs from East Berlin are already in the FRG as "moles," is not definite; high NATO circles are of the opinion that they would not be sent in until between 3 to 5 days before a conflict--either in Bundeswehr uniforms or in civilian clothes.

There is also no detectable slackening in real espionage. For example, before the German public knew exactly where the AWACS would be stationed and have their "home bases," Soviet intelligence service agents had already been infiltrated into these places. At the end of February, a Bundeswehr conscript was arrested in Bad Mergentheim; during a stay in Leipzig he had been approached by instructors from the "Main Administration for Collection of Foreign Intelligence" and had willingly revealed the troop strength, weapons and equipment of his station for a reward of DM 150. Another member of the Bundeswehr, however, remained steadfast, even in the face of the DM 50,000 that two unknown persons offered him for the teleprinter cipher machine Elcrotel.

At the end of March it was finally learned that the "Administration for Intelligence," under the cover name of an "East-West Study Society," was sending letters to Bundeswehr soldiers, in which quite specific questions were to be answered; if these letters are mailed in West Berlin, they all carry a return address in the Eastern sector which is scarcely recognizable to those unfamiliar with the area.

Recently, an engineer who had spied for East Berlin for 6 years had to stand trial before the Bavarian Supreme Court; he had betrayed the plans of the engines for the NATO multirole combat aircraft "Tornado" for an agent's "salary" of DM 60,000. His best allies were naivete and West German carelessness: He was able to make photocopies without supervision, to borrow plans and take them home and he would doubtless have been able to continue working for the GDR, if his wife, in a weak moment, had not said too much, and the West German Intelligence Service was informed.

In this instance, East Berlin killed two birds with one stone: It succeeded in learning the flight characteristics of the "Tornado" from a military aspect and in spying out its engine technology, and in this way it was able to save the development costs for its own production. Saving research and development costs in those areas where these costs make up a large portion of the final price is an extremely important goal of GDR economic and industrial espionage. Experts have calculated that East Berlin is saving at least DM 300 million in research and development costs each year by economic espionage in the FRG.

One important area of emphasis for GDR economic espionage is the acquisition of computer equipment and goods which are forbidden by trade embargo regulations. In view of the economic plight of the Soviet bloc, one can safely assume that this activity will increase in the very near future.

While communism earlier officially denied all espionage against the West, it is now making propaganda for the "scout," and East Berlin has openly admitted for several

years that it is conducting espionage operations in the FRG. According to Eastern propaganda, it is an "honor" and an "example" to be a GDR "scout." The Minister for State Security, Erich Mielke, even voiced this opinion in EINHEIT, the theoretical organ of the Communist party of the SED: "The work of socialist scouts is in fundamental agreement with the humanistic character of socialist policy."

East Berlin's espionage must be evaluated as professionally and qualitatively good; on FRG soil it is very probably even better and thus more dangerous than the secret service activity of the Soviet KGB. The latter has the power of the USSR behind it, but its methods have often been cruder during past years, while those of the "Main Administration for Collection of Foreign Intelligence" seem to be better thought through, are more perfect and hampered by less bureaucracy than in the case of the KGB. But even the GDR's intelligence services have some weaknesses, which lie partly in their system, partly in the quality of its main office personnel.

The technical equipment of an East Berlin spy is very good, at least as a rule. In the case of passports, one has to differentiate between the infiltrated spy, who is to "work" for many years in the West, and the "instructor" or "courier," who enters the FRG for just a short time. The spy will always try to acquire genuine papers as soon as possible--even if its under a false identity. For many years this was made easier by using falsified reports of changes of residence from a registration office in a major city in south Germany--there were no consequences from replies because the official in charge was also a GDR agent.

The "instructors" and "couriers," on the other hand, always enter the FRG with forged passports, and these passport forgeries are so good that even police and border officials do not recognize them. Only the specialists in the Land crime headquarters, using suitable equipment, can determine whether it is a forgery or not. The forged passports are always made out in the name and with the particulars of an (unsuspecting) citizen of the FRG or West Berlin. One must assume that East Berlin came across these passports when the person in question was entering and traveling through the GDR.

The quickest method of transmitting intelligence through the main espionage office in East Berlin to the agents working in the West, and naturally the other way, is by radio. In the first instance, the spy in the FRG receives his instructions by radio transmissions in the form of coded numbers which are announced in groups of five--and for this there is not only the well-known GDR transmitter at Straussberg (close to Berlin), but a total of three. With the help of a "Caesar," a decoding block, the digits are converted into letters and a text which is encoded once and usually several times.

Radio transmissions from the FRG to the East are much less frequent. If they are made at all, then a form of "high-speed transmission" is used: The text with the information is recorded on tape which is then played at maximum speed to "the other side." The receiver in the GDR records the radio message and ultimately reproduces it at normal speed.

Today, top spies are no longer equipped with a "punch" [hand transmitter], but with an electronic coding set, and the coded tape can transmit about 3,000 Morse code signs per minute. But very recently it has become possible to tap the transmission

into an ordinary telephone conversation to "the other side," using special equipment. In this case, only a short whistling sound is heard--for a period which makes it realistically impossible to take bearings on the agent successfully.

Major general Markus Wolf, the head of "Main Administration for Collection of Foreign Intelligence," has the reputation of taking good care of his spies working in the West. It is known that the "case officer" in question works out a warning system with his agent; usually it consists of a coded message on a postcard or in a telegram. In fact, this security measure is rarely able to save a spy from the threat of arrest in the West, if matters become serious.

In some cases, GDR spies who were already in custody in the FRG received radio instructions from East Berlin to remain in place and to continue working, since they were in no danger. The reason is simple: The need of communist intelligence agencies for information always takes precedence over the personal safety of the individual agent. In the case of Erich Ziegenhain, the agreed code word for flight was not sent to the West until one and one-half weeks after the defection of senior lieutenant Werner Stiller of the "Main Administration for Collection of Foreign Intelligence," who was also working for the Federal Intelligence Service. But it was shown that, at the time, there was hopeless confusion in the East Berlin main office in this critical situation.

If a spy does obey the order from East Berlin to leave and he really goes to "the other side," only those who acted out of inner conviction as a communist, or who proved to be a top spy, can expect gratitude and recognition. Until now, the only ones have been the KGB agent, Heinz Felfe, who was in the Pullach office of the BND [Federal Intelligence Service], or the former Bundestag deputy, Karl-Franz Schmitt-Wittmack, or Wilhelm Gronau from the board of the DGB [German Labor Union Federation] and--naturally--Guenther Guillaume.

For the great majority of ex-spies, however, there is absolutely no joy and no pleasure in having to spend the rest of their lives on the other side of the wall as a "blown" agent--without any contact with their former "circle of friends" in the West and no opportunities to travel in Western Europe. The accommodation and salary that he receives are on a level with conditions there and represent a clear decline, compared with his previous standard of living in the FRG. Funds are available to help him make the transition, but only as long as the spy and his knowledge are of interest to his employers.

It is certainly no coincidence that, in the last one and one-half years, the cases in which Eastern spies are preferring to face trial in the West rather than an ultimately uncertain future in the GDR, have been considerably more frequent. Conversely, quite a number of former agents see only a final return to the FRG as a way out of their being watched and their isolation in the GDR, although they must expect criminal charges here for their previous espionage activity. One of the most recent examples is the former senior government advisor in the Ministry for Social Affairs in Hesse, Erich Ziegenhain, who spied for East Berlin for 7 years as a convinced Marxist, who went to "the other side" with his family in the spring of 1979 because he feared arrest, was decorated, but was permanently disappointed by the way he was treated as a human being. Following violent arguments with his former employers in the GDR and after a total of 23 applications to leave the country, he finally returned

to the FRG in the spring of 1981. It was the same for Reiner Paul Fuelle, a spy for the "Main Administration for Collection of Foreign Intelligence" in the Nuclear Research Center in Karlsruhe, who made headlines when he escaped at the time of his arrest on 20 January 1979 from the policeman who slipped on the ice. He was deeply embittered by his treatment in East Berlin. He described his nostalgia for the West to his wife, who was still living in the FRG, when she visited him in Klein-Machow; one day he was approached by a BND agent on the Black Sea beach in Bulgaria and for another one and one-half years he worked for the West in the GDR, under the eyes of the Ministry for State Security, in an intelligence capacity, using "dead letter drops." In the early days of September 1981, he was brought back secretly into the FRG by way of the CSSR.

Irene Schultz is particularly bitter; as chief secretary for two ministers of science, Gerhard Stoltenberg and Hans Leussing, she betrayed Bonn cabinet secrets to East Berlin for years and has now returned to Duesseldorf from the GDR: "I paid more than my share financially and as a human being," she said. It was with the same sense of resignation that one of the agents who had stolen a Sidewinder rocket from a military base in south Germany in spectacular fashion in 1968 spoke to a Swiss weekly: "The life of a secret agent is not a James Bond existence, and at the end one always faces the ruins of one's own life." But what does communism care about the fate of a human being?

9581

CSO: 2300/277

'HYPOCRISY' CHARGED IN STATE'S REACTION TO DOMESTIC PACIFISTS

Vienna PROFIL in German Vol 13 No 19, 10 May 82 pp 20-21

[Article by Dr Werner Perger, PROFIL staff: "'Impudent Hypocrites': Happy About the Pacifists in the West, GDR Reacts Hysterically to Its Own"]

[Text] Swords into Plowshares

Free and independent movements in the socialist countries are of great, substantial and decisive importance for the future. Here in the GDR, too, I believe, such a free movement has come into existence. It may not be a union, nor does it wish to turn the state upside down; it is not a counter-revolutionary force in the normal sense in that it certainly does not aim to restore capitalism in this country—but it does awaken all the hopes we have cherished for a long time. (Robert Havemann)

We are proposing that a great debate about peace be conducted in a climate of tolerance and the recognition of the right of free speech and that every manifestation of the will to peace among the public be condoned and promoted. We are appealing to the public and to our government to debate and to decide upon the following issues:

(A) Should we not forgo the production, sale and importation of so-called military toys ?

(B) Should we not replace military affair education in our schools with courses on the issues of peace ?

(C) Should we not permit conscientious objectors to perform civilian social service instead of the present substitute military service ?

(D) Should we not forgo all public displays of the instruments of military might and make use of our official celebrations instead to give expression to our people's desire for peace ?

(E) Should we not forgo the so-called civil defense exercises ? Since there is no chance for viable defense in a nuclear war, the dangers of nuclear war are merely being minimized by such exercises. One might even say that this acts as a kind of psychological preparation for war. (Excerpt from the "Berlin Appeal" by GDR youth pastor Reiner Eppelmann)

Our soldiers carry their weapons for peace. The better they know how to use them, the more reliably is peace secured. As much as we would like to scrap our weapons some day—for the time being both socialism and peace are in need of our plowshares and of our swords as well. (GDR Minister of Defense, army general Heinz Hoffmann)

Those were the days back on that almost legendary 10 October last year when 300,000 people demonstrated in Bonn against NATO missiles, against the double-track resolution and for peace without nuclear arms.

Those were the days when SPD "eco-peacenik" Erhard Eppler really gave it to the Americans and to the Bonn government that did not dare raise its voice against them at that 10 October peace rally. "We are not afraid of the slogan "anti-Americanism." What kind of a slave language is this," Eppler had said, "that measures every expression of our own interests against the frowns of some foreign government."

That was a really festive occasion when peace pastor Heinrich Albertz, with the powerful authority of age and decency to support him, referred to the young West German demonstrators as "...not wanting to live in an occupied and dependent country forever and ever."

All of this sounded just great to the GDR leadership and it worked just fine on the GDR media, producing live sound on radio and live pictures on television. The SED top brass both praised and had their media praise this powerful manifestation of the desire for peace in the West.

But those great days are gone now. Meantime, the SED has its hands full trying to get pacifism under control in its own country. Only a few months have passed; but now the GDR itself is confronted with a youth movement of its own that it did not foresee.

Official reaction in the East has all the earmarks of police state panic. The idea is to use bans and repressive measures to stamp out a fire of which only the initial sparks could be seen at first. In the eyes of the SED, the sparks jumped across from the West but should not have been fueled in the East.

"Make peace without weapons," the popular slogan adopted by the West Berlin evangelical "Penance Movement," was welcome as long as it seemed aimed at undermining the concept of balance prevalent in the West. Now it has turned into a tool of subversion and anti-socialist activity because East Berlin youth pastor Reiner Eppelmann has included it in his "Berlin Appeal."

"Swords into plowshares," this main slogan adopted by the GDR pacifists, was not devised in the West at all, but in the Near East a long time ago. This slogan which serves as the rallying point for anti-militarism, love of peace or simply denial of state authority under the aegis of the Protestant Church and which, crudely speaking, goes by the name of "GDR peace movement" is taken from Micah in the Old Testament. The evangelical Land churches of the GDR had cited the passage last November as they were preparing for a "peace decade" as had the churches in the FRG—to include meditation, church services but also lectures on the subject of peace. At the time, the GDR authorities did not consider any of this objectionable.

In selecting the scriptural text, the East German churchmen were thinking along secular lines as well. No other Bible quote could be less suspicious than this one. After all, the Soviet Union itself had presented a sculpture on this same motif to the UN in 1959, showing an athletic man beating a sword into a plowshare. That very text "we shall beat swords into plowshares" appears on the sculpture of Soviet artist Yevgeniy Uchetish, a copy of which can be seen at the Moscow Tretyakov Gallery. Every youngster in the GDR can see a picture of it on page 249 of the instructional volume presented to him on his 14th birthday by his "socialist fatherland": "Socialism—Your World."

The Soviet motif was also used for a sew-on emblem manufactured by a church-owned plant in the GDR. The peace emblem "swords into plowshares" shows a pacifist blacksmith doing just that. The emblem was an immediate favorite among East German young people. There were no official objections raised against its distribution during the initial phase at the end of last year. But the emblem had an unmistakable air of spontaneous authenticity such as can never be lent to anything anywhere by the government but can only come from "down below."

Perhaps everything would still have been "all right" from the point of view of the GDR authorities, if German history were not shot through with so many somber anniversaries. On Saturday, 13 March was the 37th anniversary of the destruction of Dresden by Allied bombers. To commemorate the event, the Saxon Land church scheduled a "peace forum" for that day at Dresden's Kreuzkirche. The church was overcrowded and the gathering turned into the first manifestation of a spontaneous, unorganized desire for peace. Following the event, about 1,000 young people bearing lighted candles went on a silent march through the streets of night-time Dresden. Land bishop Johannes Hempel recorded questions put to him in writing, mostly by young people, on tape:

"Why are peace demonstrations forbidden in the GDR ?" "An obligatory course on peace education should become part of the school curriculum." (Lengthy applause)

"300,000 people in Bonn demonstrated against nuclear missiles. In my view, they were demonstrating so that these missiles would not fall on our heads." (Applause)

"Should we not begin counting our own missiles at long last ?" (Applause)

This demonstration by about 5,000 people in Dresden was a signal to the authorities that something was gathering momentum here that had better be stopped in time. Until then, young people wearing the peace emblem had merely been reprimanded on occasion by their teachers or by state security officials; but now a wave of repressive measures against the pacifists began in earnest.

There are a number of such measures, all designed to hamper the future prospects of young people in the GDR: dismissal from institutions of higher learning; non-admission to qualifying examinations; refusal of apprenticeships; expulsion from school and/or place of work.

The official propaganda apparatus now took effective charge of the issue. In the face of the militarization of the NATO countries, anyone who spoke out for scrapping arms in the East, said "Radio GDR" in early April, is "a hypocrite and an impudent one at that."

GDR Defense Minister Heinz Hoffmann referred to the Micah quote in a speech to the Volkskammer, the "parliament" of the GDR and the SED came out with the official slogan: "Peace must be armed."

At length, wearing the peace emblem was expressly forbidden. The reason given was that young people had used the emblem "to give expression to sentiments inimical to the state and the participation in an illegal movement." There was no direct reference made to the church.

In late March, the Saxon church issued a bitterly worded public declaration addressed to young people. "We are forced to tell you," it said, "that we are no longer in a position to protect you from the consequences that might arise from your wearing the emblem..."

Things have since, if anything, gotten worse. There was only one exception to the almost hysterical smallmindedness characterizing the reaction of the GDR apparatus. As philosopher Robert Havemann lay sick and dying, the authorities gave permission to former GDR citizen Wolf Biermann to visit him at his bedside—for a last time as it would turn out. Rumor has it that the permission was granted on orders of SED chief Erich Honecker who, like Havemann, had been a political prisoner of the Nazis.

3 days later, on Good Friday, Havemann died in his house in East Berlin at the age of 72. When Biermann saw him, Havemann spoke once more of the hopes he had for the peace movement in the GDR. Amateur film makers recorded this "last will and testament" of the lifelong oppositional socialist.

It is hard to say whether the East German peace movement will realize the hopes of the dying Havemann. The GDR, which has successfully withstood infection with the "Polish bacillus" is likely to avoid becoming as seriously "ill" from the "Dutch bacillus" as the FRG already has.

But meanwhile, the interactions between the two peace movements are hard to overlook. The courageous and incomparably more risky commitment to peace on the part of young people in the GDR has become an important issue for the West German peace movement—much to the chagrin of the DKP, the West German version of the SED.

When they demonstrated last Saturday on the eve of the Munich party congress against the double-track resolution, the reporters from the GDR had a lot less to do—which is another way of saying that they had no intention of noting down or recording on tape all the references the speakers were making to their solidarity with the GDR pacifists. After all, who would print it or broadcast it back home ?

This new longing for peace has thus turned into an all-German issue in a more profound sense—perhaps even, as some feel, into a new, national cohesive link between the populations of the two separate states.

This is no accident. In fact, both governments are agreed that the first—and presumably last—battlefield of a war between East and West in Europe would lie on the soil of divided Germany.

The "German question" of when and how to overcome German division would in such an event be settled for all time.

9478

CSO: 2300/286

# PARTY RESPONSIBLE FOR GUIDING ECONOMIC LEADERS

Budapest PARTELET in Hungarian No 4, Apr 82 pp 3-6

[Article by Istvan Petrovszki, deputy department chief of the Central Committee: "Greater Possibilities, Increased Responsibility"]

[Text] A normal accompaniment of development in our socialist social system is that requirements are increasing in every area of life, political, economic and intellectual. We have to make a greater effort to achieve success and in fact to guard our results in many instances. Our tasks are made more difficult by the unfavorable changes which have taken place in the world in the past decade and which have afflicted primarily our economic life. And still, as was stated by the 12th Congress, the solution to social questions, the rise in living standards, the development of culture, and in general the successful building of a socialist society depends on the results of economic work. In this situation, particularly large burdens rest on managers, and most of all on economic managers on whose work, good or bad, a great deal depends. Our party's 12th Congress spoke of the fact that under the present circumstances emphasis will be placed on such managerial qualities as initiative, undertaking of responsibility, sensitivity to the new, flexible adaptability, high-level organization and firm control over execution of decisions.

The continuous modernization of the management of the economy has further increased the managers' decisionmaking sphere of authority and responsibility. Our experiences in recent years have also shown that the large majority of managers have grown with their increased tasks and can meet the higher requirements that have been placed on them. There are many among them who by adjusting rapidly to circumstances have achieved good results and have become successful managers. The party is encouraging, and will continue to encourage in the future, those managers who discover and want what is new, who seek carriers of progress, and who accept responsibility for the risks of change. All managerial posts are accompanied by power and the exercise of power. We can rightly expect these officials to use this power correctly. The manager who does not search for the new for reasons of comfort or conservatism is at least as harmful as the irresponsible risk-taker.

The most important requirement the managers face is that they must be suitable from every point of view to carry out their tasks--politically, professionally and in respect to their leadership capabilities and human qualities.

The 12th Congress put it this way: "Let those managers be given greater social recognition who care about people, take initiative, are disciplined, manage well with the wealth that the people have entrusted to them, fulfill well the production requirements and require discipline and order from others as well."

In the case of economic managers, the first and most important standard for suitability to the task is the success of the enterprise they lead. The first, but not the only standard. It is also rightly expected of managers who are resolute, purposeful and demanding of order and discipline that they should have a high degree of socialist morality. They should never forget that they are fulfilling their leadership office with the confidence of the people, and by exercising their office they are serving the people. The large majority of managers understand this well, and they live and work accordingly. In some cases, however, we may find that power turns the head of otherwise worthy men. This danger particularly threatens those who in the intoxication of success easily lose their self-control, who listen more willingly to the voice of the flatterer rather than to criticism. Sorry facts bear witness that there are a few managers who cannot guard themselves against this danger. It is in this way that the attitude develops which, despite every economic success, irritates public opinion and evokes antipathy.

We are not speaking here of those who coarsely abuse power and commit breaches of discipline and perhaps crimes. These people can be caught in the act and relatively quick action can be taken against them. They are also negligible in number. There are more of those, however, who violate not the law but morals, good feeling, and the requirement of modesty obligatory on managers. We are speaking of those who hold wastefully luxurious court at public expense claiming that they have to receive guests and negotiating partners under worthy circumstances. But this is a matter of banal arrogance and vanity. These "chiefs" regard their subordinates as nothing, but they bow to the ground before their superiors; they can be merciless in calling to responsibility someone below them, but they seek tirelessly for connections if they need to ease their own responsibility.

We could go on listing similar phenomena. The number of such managers as compared to the several tens of thousands is negligible, but the phenomena are socially serious, and even a few are too many. Managers stand in the spotlight of public opinion. People frequently pass judgment on the basis of the behavior of certain individuals, and this is how they arrive at generalized conclusions. Therefore, the moral requirements are much stricter on managers than on the average man. Society does not expect or ask them to be ascetic, but requires respectable human behavior, modesty and the observance of socialist moral norms.

In the shaping, maintenance and development of desirable managerial behavior, or in preventing the occurrence of negative phenomena, the party organizations have a greater role than ever before. Above all, it is necessary that they correctly interpret their rights and obligations that accompany the cadre sphere of authority and use these appropriately. In personal questions, the principle has already been realized that they should make the decisions on

cadres in every case where they know them the best. Accordingly, in recent years a conscious decentralization has occurred in the exercise of jurisdiction. Thus the political and organizational conditions are given in order that the authoritative party organs may exercise their actual rights. But the problem is that some of them limit the tasks to incidental duties on the employment, firing, evaluation and the granting of distinctions to managers. It must be recognized, however, that these represent only a part, and perhaps the simpler elements, of the exercise of cadre authority. The substance of authority requires much broader and more constant work than this. In this concept, the cadre sphere of authority means that a given party organ accepts political responsibility for the work and behavior of the manager belonging to it. It follows their development continuously and carefully, assists them in solving difficulties and attending to their tasks, and from day to day evaluates their work and behavior or rates it with words of recognition or criticism.

Undoubtedly, this kind of responsibility requires more attention, constant effort, more work and greater firmness, but without it there is in fact no cadre training. The existing rating system--prescribed by political decisions and state statutory provision--is necessary but by no means sufficient to be the exclusive and only means of cadre training. In part, the rating processes occur only infrequently, every 3 to 4 years, and in part they do not fulfill their training function and are frequently formal and without substance. In short, they do not assure continuity of training, and thus it is only secondary to the everyday tasks of cadre training.

Jurisdictional rights in the party are only exercised by bodies. This, however, cannot mean that the individually responsible communists should feel they are released from attentively following the work of the managers in their areas, to point in a timely way to recognized problems, to take the initiative for necessary changes, or from performing other similar tasks. Taking cover under collective responsibility and the attitude of "Why should I bring it up?" are frequently the reason why small, harmful matters accumulate over time and become so strong that only radical "surgical procedures" offer a solution. The life career of many a valuable and promising manager has come to a dead end because the communist environment did not give warning in time of minor, one-time mistakes. We also know of examples of many who have "boldly" revealed mistakes after the manager has been removed from office. The manager, the collective, and the matter in question would have made out better if boldness had been shown earlier and put into words.

The continuous training obligation stemming from the jurisdiction does not mean, or primarily mean, only the observance of negative phenomena and their timely signalling. It is the work of the party organs and the communists working in the environment of the manager to help in managerial work by political means. They should encourage and stimulate where necessary, and where the shackles of uncertainty paralyze real possibilities and good intentions. Praise and recognition should not be omitted when merited, because they are of great incentive strength. They should help in developing correct decisions, in having them accepted, in organizing execution and in mobilizing for tasks.

In the work of plants, enterprises, cooperatives and institutions, the party organizations are also responsible for the correct implementation of policy, although this is largely embodied in the form of various and specific managerial decisions. This is the reason it is necessary that joint thinking and responsible discussion should characterize the preparation of decisions. It is the obligation and important political responsibility of the party organizations, the trade union and the youth organization to give to every deserving manager moral protection against unjust criticism and demagogic charges. If policy encourages a leadership style that undertakes rational risks, then one must also recognize the right to occasional mistakes and acceptance of its political consequences. But protection should not be extended if the decisions were made by circumventing democratic forums and if an obvious sense of irresponsibility and the myth of infallibility lurk behind the decisions. The political shield should not defend the mishaps that occur in such cases even for prestige reasons.

The party organizations function firmly and consistently to see that managerial work is democratic not only in form but in actual content. There are many managers who watch carefully over the functioning of democratic forums in their working method. The factory quadrangle cooperates, the trade union exercises its rights, but intervention in the course of affairs can hardly be caught in the act itself. Democracy loses its credit where the manager frequently uses the expressions "my party secretary," or "my trade union steward," and so forth. Very little likelihood exists in these cases that the managers feel any dependence on their subordinates, or that they would seriously ask for their views. Where this atmosphere is permitted, those who might otherwise represent a healthy social control will sooner or later play the role of subordinates. In no way will this lead to something good, not even if we are speaking of a manager who is economically successful for the moment or over the short term, and the enterprise or institution is prospering well. The party organization is serving the interests of the matter at hand, the collective, and the manager when it opposes showy formalities, and when it urges substantive democracy and a worthwhile voice by the communists, the trade union or cooperative collective. Of course, the condition for this is that the party life itself must be clean and democratic. No office holder can expropriate the rights of the membership meetings of basic organizations or of party committees. He cannot make decisions or take a position in the name of the bodies without their knowledge and authorization. Experience shows that an autocratic leadership style may develop where the democratism of political life is harmed. Therefore, we cannot begrudge time for the continuous and effective operation of party and trade organizations and KISZ [Hungarian Communist Youth League] bodies, and for exchanges of views with the communists. The strength of the party organizations and the moral and political security of their guidance and control work is a given fact when they constantly feel they are backed by the helpful, supportive confidence and the understanding views of the communists and workers.

A significant share of the managers are communists. These communist managers, as well as those who are not in the party, seek to carry out their assignments sincerely and with work that is as intensive as their best knowledge permits. The increased independence and responsibility represent for them increased burdens but considerably greater possibilities and proof of their suitability. All this is made easier to a considerable extent by the political guidance and assistance work carried out demandingly by the party organizations.

# STREAMLINED LOCAL COUNCILS TESTED

Budapest PARTELET in Hungarian No 4, Apr 82 pp 17-20

[Article by Tibor Csiba: "Modernization of the Local Council Organization"]

[Text] Quantitatively the manifold tasks of a socialist state are constantly increasing, and qualitatively increasingly higher level tasks are also expected from the organs of the local councils. After more than 3 decades of local council operation--in harmony with the socialist features of the state and the further development of socialist democratism--significant results have emerged in the modernization of local administration.

Formerly, the councils and their organs could meet without organizational changes the constantly changing and developing requirements of society. But in the early 1970's they recognized in more and more areas of state administration that a further rise in their level of operation and an increase in their efficiency was being inhibited in most cases by existing organizational limits. Even stronger is the requirement that the organization must adjust to the tasks, that is, such an organization is needed as is not only stable but capable of changing and modernizing uninterruptedly according to developing social needs.

There are also objective roots to the fact that the bent and capability for renovation, as well as the demand for organizational transformation, appeared first of all in the local, village and, even more, the urban councils. The 1971 law on local councils defined tasks for the execution of which in some respects traditional organizational limits proved unsuitable.

This recognition is reflected in the joint resolution of April 1970 by the MSZMP Central Committee and the Council of Ministers on the development of the work of the councils and their organs, which also determined that the specialized administrative organs must be transformed according to the character of their activity (official, institutional managerial, enterprise supervision department and so forth).

At the beginning of last year in seven towns within four megyes--Barcs in Baranya Megye, Balassagyarmat in Nograd Megye, Karcag, Torokszentmiklos and Turkeve in Szolnok Megye, and Ajka and Balatonfured in Veszprem Megye--an experiment was undertaken to develop and test a new urban council administrative-organizational and operational model and an appropriate leadership

structure. With the concurrent support of the megye and town party organs and the trade union of public employees, with the coordinated guidance of the MT TH [Bureau for Local Councils of the Council of Ministers] the megye council organs, and not least of all with the professional-procedural help of the MT TH State Administrative-Organizational Institute, the experiments with the seven small towns--popularly called the "seven"--were concluded. The experiences were summarized and evaluated at various forums--in the towns conducting the experiments, at the megye organs and nationally.

During the experiments the assumption proved right that in small and medium towns it would be advisable to convert from the traditional 8 to 10 branch and functional approach to a specialized administrative-organizational system consisting of fewer units and developed with consideration for the main activity areas. With the appropriate integration of the specialized tasks, the number of specialized administrative organs could be reduced to three or four, and the working personnel could also be more rationally used.

According to practical experiences, the work of specialized administrative organs combined in this way is more organized. We succeeded largely in eliminating the unnecessary overlapping of the traditional organizational system as well as superfluous parallels. In the combined organization, the overall council thinking of the workers and the complex outlook developed significantly. The activities of the specialized administrative organs became more purposeful, more coordinated, more unified and more successful.

Generally, four organizational units were established in the towns cooperating in the experiment--administrative services (ugyfelszolgalat), organization and legality (secretarial), town management, and institutional guidance.

The variants of client service that were tested in various forms perceptibly improved the level of official work, in the opinion of the town populations as well. Office work became faster and simpler. The personal and objective conditions were developed for high-level administrative service to the population. After their initial uncertainty and sometimes their antipathy, most of the administrative service workers--as if "tuning up" to the new work--sought the best means to do the work while the workers who carried out various specialized tasks helped and encouraged one another to the best possible work performance and a cultured and courteous attitude. Moreover, official supervision became more successful and efficient, and the preventive activity of the council administration for uncovering of situations improved, particularly where these tasks are performed by work groups organized in a planned manner.

The organizational and legal departments of the traditional administrative organizational structure turned out to be the most stable. The experiment affirmed their functions, basic missions and major tasks, but their scope of activity was expanded with a number of tasks. In this way, their role was increased in the legal supervision of the vb [executive committee] secretariats. Central records and centralized copyist (typewriting) activity became the task of this department. It proved to be true that the centralization of these tasks, with good coordination of duties, increased significantly

the efficiency of the work, and the possibilities are more favorable for modernizing the objective conditions and employing the whole of the urban council, and respect for the workers' performance in the tasks increased. In the future we shall have to try further to reduce the monotony of these tasks.

In accordance with local possibilities, characteristics and demands, the task systems of the town management and development departments were formed differently in the various experimenting cities. Leaving the details aside, I shall mention only several solutions that can be generalized. Planning-development problems and supervision of enterprises is the task of this department in every city. In respect to branch duties, the solutions are mixed, but the trend is that most of the various official branch spheres of authority are exercised by the client service. According to experiences, with the integration of the planning and technical administrative tasks into an organizational unit, planning became more complex.

With the combining of the education, health, social and sport administrative tasks, an institutional guidance department was established. These organization units for the most part preserved independence in their line of work, and at the same time the joint leadership successfully coordinated the indicated tasks. This is important because most of these tasks directly serve to meet the needs of the population, and the development of service-type administration is a task of political importance. This specialized administrative organ attends to the various conditions for operating teaching, education, health and social and sport institutions, and promotes a higher level of work that is both independent and coordinated at the above-mentioned institutions.

The new order of administrative organization, as outlined, influences of necessity the management structure as well. The role of the council chairman and his general supervisory rights were strengthened. The secretary of the executive committee has become the principal of official work and legality. At the same time, the possibility of a new solution, not known before in the council, has also been raised. In the course of the experiment, they tested the institution of the deputy council chairman as department leader, that is, some of the department managers also received deputy chairman offices with social responsibilities. The experiences varied, depending on local circumstances, chiefly on subjective conditions and many other factors. Opinions were also different. It is a fact, however, that in the new leadership structure the leadership levels have been reduced, and the number of "subordination grades" declined. The relationship of the deputy chairman who heads the administrative organ with the actual officer-in-charge has become more direct. The methods for linking together officer and administrative functions have also helped in making the importance and the task-determining role of the council bodies stronger in guiding local administrative activity. The result has been more rapid and more accurate mutual information, more unified decisions and execution and more effective control.

The change in the specialized administrative organization and in the leadership structure has had a favorable effect on the further development of

operations. The workload and the responsibilities of the individual organizational units have become more proportional. Reserves have been released which could be placed partly in the service of people's representative bodies and partly in direct service of the population.

Following the evaluation of the experiments, the chairman of MT TH--in agreement with the interested ministers and the leaders of the national organs--for the sake of the national utilization of successful organizational and leadership solutions, modified and published in a unified layout the guidelines for organizational problems of the councils. With its publications on procedures, the State Administration and Organization Institute is helping in the fulfillment and broadening of the work.

Among other things, the guidelines emphasize that it is advisable to keep in the present framework the megye, megye-urban, and the urban council specialized administrative organization of the megye seat. In other cities--depending on their character and their role, etc. in the settlement network--the guidelines offer three variants for the development of the specialized administrative organization.

In towns with a population over 30,000 persons, in addition to maintaining the present specialized administrative organization system, the guidelines recommend adding the handling and copying of documents and central recording tasks to the secretariat.

In towns with a population between 20,000 and 30,000 persons--by combining specialized administrative organs or task groups that perform related tasks--it is advisable to establish a financial, planning and labor department; a town management department, and education, health and sport department, a secretariat and administrative service office or--with the approval of the megye council executive committee--an official department.

In towns under 20,000 population, as a further simplification measure, the financial, planning and labor department may be combined with the town management department under the name of town development and management department, and in place of the client service department an official department may be established.

In case of an organizational transformation, it is not unconditionally necessary to elect an independent deputy council chairman. Where a deputy chairman is not elected, it is advisable that one or more of the department heads--in social assignment--should also fill the office of deputy council chairman.

In consideration of the guidelines, the development of the specialized administrative organization of the executive committee belongs to the council's sphere of authority. For the most successful possible carrying out of the tasks related to the rights and responsibilities of the town council, it is suitable to develop the specialized administrative-organizational and leadership structure.

The further development of the town council organization requires basic preparation from the local party and council leading bodies and its officers.

Thus from the point of view of political work, it must be taken into account that the councils attend to their people representative and self-government functions as a part of the state organization. Among other things, it may derive from this that the local councils must express the relative identity of the national system of councils and the local characteristics. Therefore, in every phase of the preparatory work, it is necessary to assure the harmony of national and local interests. The complete realization of this harmony requires both a basic understanding of the central efforts and a careful exploration of local demands and possibilities. The party organs must strive to see that among the options available they should support solutions which meet social expectations and the demands of the town's population. In some places, various undesirable partial interests may also be emphasized, and therefore the town party organs and the council party organizations should obstruct every effort which would put the emphasis, during work or organization modernization, on the self-interests of the apparatus, or perhaps of certain individuals.

It is well known that the more a given organization can successfully identify its workers with the goals of the organization the greater will be its operational efficiency. Great attention should be devoted to this, particularly in the case of an organizational renovation and transformation. Our experience is that parallel with or prior to the creation of conditions for the goals to be attained, they have not everywhere concerned themselves with enlightenment and conviction of the workers who carry out the tasks. Human relations are frequently deemphasized, and they do not have nearly such a great role among the requirements for development as wages or the provision of work and technical conditions. The reason apparently is that in forming the goals, in preparing the programs, and in realizing the task, the leaders assume that the organization workers instantly identify with the goals. They do not stop to think that traditions, ingrained attitudes, even in the case of the best intentions and the greatest endeavor, can inhibit appropriate attitudes and actions by the members of the organization. Thus in preparatory political work it is necessary to devote particularly great care to democratic methods and to human factors.

The town councils and their organs attend to their people representative, self-government and state administrative functions as cells of the national system of councils and as parts of the national system of state organs. Organizational transformation also has a great effect on relations inside and outside the organization's system. Therefore, an important condition of successful modernization is that organs performing the central and megye guidance of council activity should support good initiatives, help in the development of the best solutions, and contribute to a more successful operation of modernized organization by further development of the guidance methods.

6691

CSO: 2500/236

COMMENTARY ON POLISH 'SOLIDARITY' OCTOBER 1981 PROGRAM

Rome L'UNITA in Italian 9 Apr 82 p 3

[Article by Francesco Galgano: "Another Look at the Platform Solidarity Presented at Gdansk in October Last Year. Today It Is Even More Current. The Eastern Countries: Are the Closed Societies Really Creating Stability?"]

[Text] Only recently have we gained access to the full text in Italian of the platform which Solidarity presented at Gdansk in October of last year. That was 2 months before the proclamation of martial law and the interruption of the troubled career of free trade unions in Poland. Many things about this document are impressive. It brings forth new bits of evidence to make Polish developments more understandable and, further than that, permits discussion of Soviet bloc countries within the same context.

The first and most far-reaching revelation is that this last formal action of the independent Polish trade union is, with its more than 40 theses, actually a constitutional program which takes into account every aspect of society and proposes guidelines for a new constitution. This is merely the documentary, structural, and dated confirmation of what daily experience has already shown: namely, that Solidarity, born as an independent trade union, had little by little become a political party, albeit still an anomalous party. It had become a party because of the universality of its objectives and its represented interests, but not because of the instruments of action at its disposal which remained those of a trade union; that is, the right to strike and to bargain.

A second revelation, realized at the same time, is that this constitutional program, although it never uses the word "socialism," is articulated entirely within the ideal horizon of socialism completely expanded to envision the picture of a possible socialism different from the present socialism. Its slogan is "self-government." Its chief argument is that, through self-management, "the workmen can become the true owners of the enterprises." (The wording and role assigned the managers recall the Yugoslav experience.)

On the foreign policy level there at least seem to be signs of a break [with the government]. Membership in the Soviet bloc is not called into question, [however], (and at this point the analogy with the Yugoslav situation ends). From the outset, [the Gdansk platform] explicitly declares fidelity to the

international alliances of Poland and the intention not to endanger present international balances of power. It even adds that a "self-governed Poland" will be able to express a more convinced and therefore a more effective loyalty to these alliances.

The real sign of a break appears at another place: it occurs when terms of the agreement signed by Solidarity are infringed upon and the uniformity which characterizes not only the countries of the Soviet Bloc but all "true Socialist" countries (Yugoslavia included) is destroyed. In the agreements of August 1980, Solidarity had accepted two restraints. The first, which seems still to be respected in the October 1981 document, was acceptance of a system based on social ownership of the means of production and a return to socialist construction. Although presented as a comprehensive alternative to the present system of running the economy, the self-government proposal did not contradict the fundamental postulates of the written Constitution of Poland.

On the contrary, the evolution of the Polish Constitution, from 1952 to 1976, had already shown a considerable transformation. The Constitution of 1952 had designated "state industry" as the decisive factor in the socialist transformation of society as well as the principal instrument for assuring the right to work for Polish citizens. Then in the constitution of 1976 all emphasis on state industry disappears and, by contrast, catch phrases like self-government of enterprises and like the contribution of subordinates to the management of state enterprises make a sudden appearance. The Polish constitutional formula is, moreover, "social ownership" of the means of production. This corresponds to the Yugoslav formula and is antithetical to the formula, dominant in the East, according to which "state ownership" is elevated to "the principal form of socialist ownership."

But another restraint imposed by the agreements of August 1980 was acknowledgement of the role of the Polish United Workers' Party [PZPR] as the ruling party in Polish society. This restraint was also imposed by the Polish constitution of 1976 which actually opens with recognition of the leading role of the PZPR and with acceptance of the two other parties, the United Peasant Party [ZSL] and the Democratic Party [SD], only in affiliation with the PZPR within the National Front. Well now, this restraint is denounced in the Solidarity platform of October 1981. For one thing, merely the existence of a vanguard party is identified as the cause of the ills afflicting Poland. For another thing, the theses develop a proposal for a political system based on political freedom: freedom to establish political parties and freedom for each party to present its list of candidates at elections.

This denunciation of the vanguard party and this call for political freedom brought into full focus the knotty problem which had existed in Poland ever since the August agreements. (I am not, as I have already written "heatedly" in this column, among those who think Solidarity "went too far.") The recognition of the freedom of trade unions cannot co-exist with the denial of political freedom. Otherwise the overburden of tasks falling to the union and the exasperating contentiousness generated in a society in which the

right to strike is the only instrument for taking up arms no matter what the social grievance--these conditions open up a lacerating contradiction and plunge a country into a situation where it absolutely cannot be governed. In the October document a similar analysis was implicit. It held that only a dialogue among parties or equal standing would have been able to absorb, refine, and coordinate the continually more insistent thrust of Polish society.

In a way then it was a question of returning to the 1952 constitution which defined Poland as a socialist republic and directed all energies of the country toward socialist construction (although at that time in the form of State socialism), but which ignored completely the principle of the vanguard party and, at least on paper, recognized Polish freedom with the sole proviso that every "political association" respect the objectives of socialist construction specified in the Constitution. But rather than untying the knot, [the government] preferred to cut it. What would untying it have meant? In the general sense of the Gdansk document, it would have meant that the PZPR would have had to set aside the dogma of "cohesiveness" of the political system which in the political philosophy of the Eastern countries excludes "rivalry" among political parties, renounce the privilege of vanguard party, and compete dialectically with other political parties. The latter would not have been protagonists of an antisocialist vision for Polish society (favoring restoration of capitalism), but rather of a different vision for socialist construction in Poland. The stakes in the game would have been the "how" and not the "whether" in regard to socialism, not only concerning international alliances but also concerning basic options in the political and social systems.

There remains, among many, one question which reaches across the boundaries of Poland and invades the very ground of international balances of power which the Polish case has so sharply put to the test. This dogma of "cohesiveness" of the political system, in the name of which the principle of the vanguard party is termed irreconcilable in each of the Eastern countries, is in a sense a heritage of the primitive way to socialism regarding which we in the West have developed a definite critical opinion. But in another sense, it is, contrariwise and overridingly, the reflex of a permanent condition of "defensive emergency" in which the Soviet Bloc lives.

That is the question: is this "cohesiveness" really a guarantee of stability within the Soviet Bloc and therefore a factor in the world balance of power? Or rather is the opposite true? The Polish case and the regression which followed it on the difficult road toward relaxation of international tensions show how imposition of this "cohesiveness" on the individual societies of the East is a factor which generates instability and endangers, rather than safeguards, the world balance of power. The Warsaw agreements of August 1980 had just revealed how the Eastern systems contained considerable margins of previously unsuspected elasticity. The Gdansk document, although breaking one point of that agreement, still was maneuvering within reasonable margins of tolerance. It did not hurt, but rather helped, the cause of socialism; it did not hurt, but rather helped, the cause of world security.

9972

CSO: 3104/183

DIRECTIVE ON CONSCRIPTION PLANS FOR 1982 PUBLISHED

Warsaw MONITOR POLSKI in Polish 20 Mar 82 pp 89-90

[Directive of the Ministers of the Interior and of National Defense of 1 March 1982 Concerning the Execution of Conscription in 1982]

[Text] In accordance with article 29, paragraph 1 of the law on the comprehensive duty of defense of the People's Republic of Poland of 21 November 1967 (see DZIENNIK USTAW, 1979, No 18, item 111) and also in conjunction with the decree of the Council of State of 23 January 1982 on the applicability of regulations concerning the duty of military service under martial law (see DZIENNIK USTAW, No 3, item 20), the following is decreed:

§ 1.1 The conscription of males born in 1963 will be carried out in the territory of the country between 14 April and 25 June 1982.

2. Under obligation to report for conscription in the period determined in paragraph 1 are also males:

- 1) born in the years 1962, 1961, 1960, 1959 and 1958,
- 2) admitted to institutions of higher learning, who have not reported for conscription yet.

§ 2. Also called to report to regional conscription commissions are:

1) males born

a) in the years 1962, 1961, 1960, 1959, 1958, 1957, 1956, 1955 and 1954, who have not been transferred to reserves, if

--they are petitioning for deferral due to the necessity of taking direct care of family members, operating a farm or for certification as the only breadwinner in the family,

--they have been pronounced temporarily unfit for service and the certification expires in 1982.

b) in the years 1962, 1961, 1960, 1959 and 1958, who have applied for a repeated examination of fitness for service or for whom the doctor in charge of medical examination has ascertained a change in the state of health,

c) in the years 1957, 1956, 1955 and 1954 who have not yet reported for conscription;

2) Students and graduates of institutions of higher learning, who have filed petitions for deferral or for certification as the only breadwinner in the family.

§ 3. In the period determined in paragraph 1, point 1, males are required to report for conscriptions who:

1) are turning 18 in 1982 and have been assigned by the recruitment officer to receive military training;

2) have turned 17 and enlisted on a voluntary basis to serve in the armed forces or to receive military training, and

3) are applying to be drafted into service as candidates for regular-army soldiers.

§ 4. Females born in the years 1964, 1963, 1962, 1961, 1960, 1959 and 1958 employed in the units (facilities) of health care and possessing professional skills outlined in paragraph 1, item 1, point 1 of the directive of the Minister of National Defense of 22 May 1973 on the duty of military service for women, may be drafted.

§ 5. Conscription will be carried out by governors and mayors of provincial-status cities with the cooperation of provincial military headquarters and territorial organs of state administration of the primary level through conscription commissions.

§ 6. 29 March 1982 is designated as the date of announcement of conscription in the territory of the country.

§ 7. 1. Governors and mayors of provincial-status cities can, in agreement with the chiefs of provincial military headquarters or at their request, institute further activity of particular regional conscription commissions in the period between the end of conscription in the territory of the country in 1982 and the announcement of conscription in the territory of the country in 1983.

2. Working time of a regional conscription commission during the period mentioned in paragraph 1 cannot exceed a total of 3 business days.

3. Subject to reporting to the regional conscription commission in the period mentioned in paragraph 1 are:

1) Conscripts, who

a) are petitioning for deferral due to the necessity of taking direct care of a family member, or of operating a farm, or for certification as the only breadwinner in the family, in accordance with the ordinance of the Council of Ministers of 7 September 1979 concerning the granting of deferrals and certification of conscripts and enlisted men as the only breadwinners in the family (DZIENNIK USTAW, 1981, No 3, item 16),

b) have not reported for conscription in due time,

c) have not returned by the end of the 1982 conscription from special examinations or observation, if they have been undergoing those in the manner envisaged by paragraph 40, item 4 of the decree of the Ministers of the Interior and of National Defense of 12 September 1979, concerning the preparations for and execution of conscription (DZIENNIK USTAW, No 21, item 128),

2) students and graduates of institutions of higher learning assigned in 1982 to active service in the first half of 1983, who are applying for deferral due to the necessity of taking direct care of a family member or of operating a farm or those who are applying to be certified as the only breadwinner in the family.

§ 8. This directive is effective date of publication.

Minister of the Interior C. KiszczaK  
For the Minister of National Defense F. Siwicki

9761

CSO: 2600/551

## VOIVODSHIP POLICE COMMANDER EVALUATES KRAKOW SITUATION

Krakow DZIENNIK POLSKI in Polish 23, 24, 25 Apr 82 pp 5, 6

[Interview with Colonel Adam Trzybinski, Citizens Militia Commandant, Krakow Voivodship]

[Text] DZIENNIK POLSKI recently asked for an interview with the Voivodship Commandant of the Citizens Militia, Colonel Adam Trzybinski, on the subject of law and order and public safety. Our first question: how would you characterize the developments that have taken place from 13 December 1981 up to the present moment.

[Answer] I do not believe that the 20 weeks that have passed since 13 December can be described in homogenous terms. This time period can be broken down into three consecutive phases. The first phase spanned the period from the date on which martial law was declared to the first week of January 1982. This came as something of a shock to the criminal world. Criminals were almost completely put out of business and things were quiet on virtually all fronts. During February criminal elements managed to regroup and got used to the new situation. Then came the present third phase including March and April when the statistics showed an increase in crime in comparison with the weeks just after 13 December. But on this score we have to talk about two distinct realms of criminal activity, i.e., ordinary crime and the kinds of crime aimed at undermining national interests; during March we witnessed an upsurge in the distribution of illegally printed leaflets, and last month a fairly large number of indictments were handed down against persons charged with painting hostile slogans in public places. Lately, however, these kinds of problems have been cropping up in a more sporadic fashion....

[Question] Let's get back to this post-December chronology. All things considered, is there more crime now, in this third phase, than there was before the declaration of martial law?

[Answer] In all honesty I can say that we have fortunately not witnessed a resumption of criminal activity on the scale that existed throughout 1981. But let's not forget that we are still living through a period marked by the enforcement of strict standards of wartime justice, summary court proceedings, and the court martial prosecution of certain categories of accused. And it is quite certain that all this has done rather a lot to help reduce the crime rate, and it has in effect brought law, order, and a sense of stability into our lives. It is unfortunate but true that the social costs of what we have accomplished are high.

[Question] What bothers and disturbs you most these days?

[Answer] The fact that young people are getting mixed up in crimes against our socialist state. It is mainly young people who are involved in the distribution of leaflets, in painting slogans on walls, in a word--in actions which--especially nowadays during a state of martial law--threaten young people on the threshold of life with severe legal penalties. Young people are naturally attracted to conspiracies, a fact of which their teachers are very well aware.

And this is why, in my opinion, teachers and parents should above all take an absolutely unequivocal stand on these matters, explain to young people that they should not do these things under any circumstances, and teach them to respect the basic rules that govern harmonious community life. In the meantime, we know from evidence in our possession that some teachers are taking an attitude toward these matters that is--to put it as mildly as possible--apathetic. They are not taking a clear stand in response to the troublesome questions being raised by their pupils. And there are even instances in which they actively encouraged young people in their unlawful actions or even--and fortunately this has happened rarely--openly participated in these actions themselves!

I am not making these assertions--and I want to stress this once more--without being able to back them up with hard evidence. Anyway, these kinds of educators have already been put on trial. What are we to call people who deliberately endanger university students, secondary school pupils, and also--for this is going on too--children in the upper grades of elementary schools? Here is an example of something that happened a few days ago. A 13-year-old girl who is in the third grade of a special school because she is mentally retarded, was caught distributing hostile leaflets. We have incontrovertible evidence to back up every charge I have made here....

[Question] But does the whole burden of looking after young people have to fall solely and exclusively on the shoulders of parents and the schools?

[Answer] In talking about "young people" I am not shifting all the blame onto the two partners in the educational process--the home and the school. What about youth organizations, the authorities that administer the school system, and social organizations? In any event, we have a large number of diverse institutions in this country that should be ministering to the needs of young people, not just school-age young people, but also young people working in factories. This kind of wise counsel and guidance is especially necessary right now in this difficult and threatening situation for young people. After all, these days they are often confused, adrift, and unable to recover their sense of direction--since it was only yesterday that they were free to do so much. "Solidarity" and the former Independent Students Association were calculating and deliberate in their efforts to get young people involved in the printing and distribution of leaflets. University students, secondary school students, and pupils from the upper grades of elementary schools were put to work on nighttime campaigns devoted to the pasting up of posters and leaflets, painting various slogans, and so on. These teams were even provided with special affidavits explaining that in case they were picked up by the Citizens Militia the Union would come to their defense. And so now we are harvesting the bitter fruit of such practices....

[Question] In your opinion, what kinds of approaches can be taken right now to provide young people with the guidance they need?

[Answer] Several or maybe a dozen or so years ago these used to be special teacher-parent troikas which made it a point to find out what young people were doing in cafes, movie theaters, and other public places during school hours. In Krakow there was also a special citizens task force that was concerned with the problems of drug addiction among young people, and the work done by this group produced some noteworthy results. Court appointed probation officers who are responsible for keeping an eye on young people who have run afoul of the law used to do their jobs more effectively than they do nowadays. Unfortunately, even now we can see how the cafes and movie theaters are filled with young people--during hours when they should be sitting at their school desks. Nobody is keeping track of them. The drug addiction problem is growing, but the drug abuse control task force is no more! This is why we are proposing to the school superintendent's office that we should put together some kind of joint action programs, since it is after all true that the guidance of young people is a problem that concerns us all.

[Question] I suggest that we should now move on to a topic that is a subject of general public concern and much uncertainty. Namely, let's talk about the people that were interned after the declaration of martial law.

[Answer] Very well then, here are the facts. During the period running from 13 December 1981 to the third week of this month a total of 216 people were interned in Krakow Voivodship. Of this number 190 were interned on the grounds that it was feared that they would engage in political activities which would violate the provisions of martial law. Rumors going around to the effect that on the thirteenth day of every month we intern a certain number of people as a deterrent measure are obviously false. However, the truth of the matter is that we are releasing internees almost every week.

[Question] ...but not until after they have signed a special loyalty oath....

[Answer] Let's be precise. What we are talking about is a brief declaration which reads as follows: "I hereby declare and affirm by my signature below that I promise to obey all laws currently in force and, in particular, not to engage in any kind of activity that is prejudicial to the interests of the Polish Peoples' Republic." This in fact is the paper that is being signed by those who are released from internment centers.

In isolation centers people have a lot of time to think over their past conduct and political activities and to discuss these matters with other people. They keep up with what is going on in the country, they listen to the radio and watch television programs, and, finally, they keep in touch with their families both by correspondence and through personal visits. And many people are coming to the realization that the things they were doing prior to 13 December were wrong.

[Question] Who else has been released? Personal emergencies and problems come into play here too don't they?

[Answer] In most cases humanitarian and family considerations were the decisive factors in the issuance of release orders. Included among the people who have been released from these centers are people who are ill and women raising children. I have released many university students so that they could resume their studies, and just before the start of the spring planting season I released all interned farmers. Altogether, during the period running from December right up to the present moment, I have so far signed 100 internment discharge orders, and 96 of these were for persons who had been interned for reasons of a political nature. When signing release orders--in contrast to internment orders--I am always pleased and hopeful that these people will not engage in any activity that would be in violation of the provisions of martial law. Here is another interesting piece of information: the form of confinement for 21 internees has been changed to investigative detention. The reason for this being that it came to light that these people, who did not wind up in internment centers as soon as martial law was declared, but rather later on, had been active organizers of the strikes that took place after 13 December 1981, had been involved in the printing and distribution of leaflets or painting slogans on walls while martial law was in force--hence their criminal liability for these actions.

[Question] Have there been any cases where people who had been released are sent back to internment centers?

[Answer] I am pleased to be able to say that only a few individuals have resumed engaging in unlawful activities which resulted in their temporary detention and prosecution.

[Question] Colonel, has internment been reserved exclusively for those persons who it is feared will engage in political activities in violation of martial law?

[Answer] No. There is another group of 26 whom we have taken into custody made up of people who we believed, were they to remain at liberty, might pose a potential threat to public law and order or actually engage in unlawful activities, i.e., repeat criminal offenders. As you have probably noticed, some of those so-called "scalpers," i.e., professional dealers in foreign currency and dollar coupons, have disappeared from their posts in front of the PKO Bank or the "Pewex" store. We have interned these people too. Even though I have released four people who belong to this segment of the underworld--for reasons of a purely humanitarian nature--I will not hesitate to sign more internment orders. To recapitulate the numerical statistics--a total of 95 Krakow residents are now interned. Of this number, 22 are in fact repeat criminal offenders.

[Question] A lot of rumors are going around among the public concerning the inhumane conditions under which internees are being held....

[Answer] After a quite brief transitional period, our whole group of internees from Krakow were relocated to a penal institution in Zalez near Rzeszow. This is a new facility which, as places of confinement go, has rather decent accommodations. I was down there recently, just before the Easter holiday. In passing I would like to note that during this visit I ordered the release of

several more individuals, and I gave out temporary passes to several others which made it possible for them to spend a couple of days with their families over the holiday. Did they report back to the internment center? Yes, they did. We are issuing these kinds of passes in cases that are warranted not only for personal emergency reasons, but also in connection with various family matters.

But let's get back to the question of living conditions. It is my conviction that the rules and regulations of internment at Zalez are being fully adhered to. These rules guarantee that people being held there are entitled to receive visitors from among members of their immediate family, to carry on regular correspondence, and to receive packages not only from family members, but also from charity groups, e.g., church groups and the Polish Red Cross. They can listen to the radio and watch television, they have access to games, books, and Polish dailies and periodicals. They intermingle freely, since they are housed in unlocked rooms with space for one to three people. They go for walks outdoors. A physician is present to look after their health. Their right to attend religious services is guaranteed. I appreciate that internment per se is an unpleasant circumstance, but as far as the social and human services aspects of life in this institution are concerned, not a single complaint has come to my attention--either in writing or during my visits there. Nor have any such complaints been received by the Voivodship Court or the Prosecutor's Office.

[Question] Have there been any visits to Zalez by--so to speak--independent outside groups? And if so, might they have any critical observations to make concerning compliance with the rules and regulations of internment?

[Answer] Zalez has been visited both by representatives of the Episcopate, very high-ranking, senior representatives I might add, and by a delegation from the International Red Cross. So far I have not been made aware of any criticisms that might have been made by these visitors.

[Question] Colonel, do you foresee any more internees being released?

[Answer] I assure you that I personally would very much like to sign some more release orders. After all, we are not trying to increase the number of people being held in custody, quite to the contrary! This is attested to by a policy which we have consistently followed since the very beginning of martial law, that is starting in December of last year. This is in reference to our program of preventive-warning interviews. Our appropriate services have conducted a total of many hundreds such interviews with "Solidarity" officials of various ranks. I declare openly that these interviews had one sole aim, that is, we wanted to warn these people and persuade them to reconsider their past actions in this regard. This is because we were perfectly well aware of the fact that these people had been subjected to an enormous amount of pressure by an otherwise narrow and tiny faction of extremist "Solidarity" leaders. They had been deluded by these extremists and subjected to an earsplitting onslaught of internal propaganda. Acting in a very cautious and deliberate manner, we proceeded to differentiate these rank-and-file "Solidarity" members from the union's full-time paid officers who were engaging in political activities with full knowledge of what they were doing.

[Question] What was the outcome of these interviews?

[Answer] We fully accomplished the task which we had set for ourselves as described above. To the best of my knowledge, so far only a very small number of the people we interviewed--maybe around ten or so or a few dozen out of nearly a thousand people interviewed--have tried to engage in political activities in violation of the provisions of martial law.

[Question] Nevertheless, everyone knows the price they would have to pay for this--the law is very severe....

[Answer] No, one need not go into great detail to prove this. You have summary proceedings, trials--often courts martial, tougher sentencing rules, sentences that are carried out immediately. These are the consequences facing anyone who engages in this kind of activity. We truly do not want to be faced with any more cases associated with infractions of the provisions of the decree on martial law. But if people whom we warned during the course of these preventive-warning interviews are going to engage in activities that violated the provisions of what is now the law of the land, we will refer their cases to the Prosecutor's Office.

[Question] Colonel, is there anything you would like to say to conclude our interview?

[Answer] I would like to address an appeal to all citizens, but especially to parents and officials responsible for the guidance of young people. I appeal to them for discretion and calm, for compliance with the--to be sure--strict provisions of the state of martial law in which we now are living. After all, we have to carry on with our lives and work as usual. Let's not forget one thing--the sooner peace and tranquillity is restored, the sooner things will get back to normal. And this is undoubtedly something that we all want....

[Question] Thank you for granting this interview.

11813

CSO: 2600/598

## ZPP HOLDS FIRST PLENARY MEETING UNDER MARTIAL LAW

Warsaw PRAWO I ZYCIE in Polish No 8, 24 Apr 82 p 2

[Article by P.A.]

[Text] The first plenary meeting of the Main Board [ZG] since the imposition of martial law took place in Popow and lasted--another first--2 days, from 5 to 6 April. The rich program encompassed two large groups of subjects. The first included ZPP [Association of Polish Lawyers] organizational problems and tasks, particularly in the area of: labor legislation taking into account the regulations of the martial law decree; economic reform; stimulating the activity of ZPP circles and commissions and revitalizing reporting-electoral action in circles; aspects of social issues and issues of daily life of particular legal professions; problems of environmental legal advisors and of the creation of their future self-government. The second group of topics concerned the role and tasks of lawyers in civic-legal youth education. It was divided into five topics: education and upbringing activity for the development of civic attitudes among youth; the situational determinants of upbringing and development; ZSMP [Union of Socialist Polish Youth] activity in the formation of prosocial attitudes among youth; legislative plans regarding youth and ZPP legal-popularizing activity.

In his opening address, Dr Zdzislaw Czeszejko-Sochacki, chairman of the ZPP ZG, stated that the time for general declarations had passed. He made a plea to speakers and discussants for concrete statements, and particularly for succinct proposals and demands. While the gradual but significant moderation of the rigors of martial law is taking place, the situation is nonetheless disturbing in some milieus. This refers above all to the youth, but attitudes characterized by distance, reserve and waiting things out are in evidence among the intelligentsia. The attitude of so-called internal emigration is likewise quite characteristic among them. These phenomena cannot be ignored.

Colleague Czeszejko-Sochacki continued, saying that the association has maintained a certain continuity in the sphere of the concepts it represents; resolutions passed years ago have preserved their currency. Today's major task is to transform it from an organization that makes demands to an organization that works and creates together. When creating a law, one must incline oneself toward outstripping time, toward consistency and toward

stability when considering the purpose the law is to serve. The order of the day is to rebuild, or rather to build legal culture and awareness, for it is not the economic but the legal-political aspects of the renewal of our social life that will be more perilous if they are not taken into account properly or in time.

Next the general secretary of the ZPP ZG, Stanislaw Kolodziej, presented those assembled with information concerning the work of the ZG Presidium, and treasurer Henryk Kwasny announced the rather alarming news that the association is without a budget, since it did not receive the indispensable data (indexes) from the Ministry of Justice. Temporarily it is operating on the same principles as last year.

Colleague Professor Zbigniew Salwa stated that in consequence of the suspension of cooperation between trade unions and plant managements, because of the automatic suspension of protection of the stability of labor relations of plant members of union echelons and due to the suspension of the Social Labor Inspectorate, many managers are making arbitrary decisions. Some are simply denying the existence of labor law at present, claiming it to have been suspended by the martial law decree. As a result, many cases have reached appeal commissions for labor matters and district labor and social security courts. Thus, the ZPP should open consultation centers concerning labor law under martial law, it should conduct meetings with the legal advisors of plants and institutions which include the participation of persons handing down rulings in appeal commissions and courts of labor and it should likewise revitalize the work of the labor law commissions under ZPP voivodship boards to adapt to needs.

Colleague Salwa's address provoked a discussion in which Supreme Court Chief Justice Tadeusz Szymanek and Colleague Jozef Szczerski participated. While the three disagreed widely, generally speaking, the discussants did concur that the decree regulations are rather imprecise and that the understanding of certain concepts and jurisdiction, which differ in various parts of Poland, must be standardized.

Colleague Docent Bronislaw Slotwinski made a statement regarding economic reform in which he said that the mutual relationship of the local administration and enterprises in a situation where central directives are misleading is unclear. How are autonomy and self-government to be reconciled with the powers of the local state administration? Reform is threatened both by routinism and by the fact that where the reform is to be put into effect, i.e., in the enterprises themselves, it is approached without particular conviction.

Deputy Chairman Witold Pawelko (Main Arbitration Commission) spoke of the tendencies toward preserving the relative persistence of the transitional period (distribution, the lack of economic equilibrium). Here and there the thesis is being propounded that enterprises need guardianship. The legal community should oppose these ideas. However, certain administrative functions performed until now by associations should continue to be executed, and it is not known who is to do this, since the ministries maintain that they

cannot. Even if it is necessary to impose some restrictions on the autonomy of enterprises, this is so that they do not become extinct.

Colleague Zdzislaw Kminikowski: "The plenipotentiaries of some industrial ministries cannot find a place for themselves. The concept is being born of the broad creation of associations, not of voluntary associations, but obligatory ones. In 1 1/2 or 2 years the mechanisms of reform that will enable us to get out of debt and set the market in order will begin to work efficiently. The proposed 'temporary' solutions will ruin everything. We cannot allow this to happen." Next, the speaker moved on to issues associated with the community of legal advisors. The ZPP ZG has prepared a fundamentally innovative draft of a law concerning this profession, anticipating a series of future legal solutions. The draft has reached the Sejm; representatives the association and its advisors also sit on the subcommission. The community has accepted the thesis we have announced, the ZPP exists, most advisors have not come from its ranks, but this is for us a great opportunity to integrate the advisors around our organization.

Jerzy Jaskiernia, chairman of the ZSMP ZG, described the new statute concerning ZSMP social-legal centers, which also bring together many lawyers. At this time the most important issue is economic reform, whose contents have not yet reached most young workers. Today the reform is associated primarily with the price increase, its detrimental effect on the budget and even the prospect of unemployment. There is a lack of information concerning martial law regulations and a lack of knowledge about the law in general. The discussion of legal issues in youth publication is poor and, but for a few exceptions, we have not created an educational system in which the graduate not only of the higher school, but also of the middle school and trade school has an idea of the law. Social organizations cannot replace the activities of education in this area, although they can and should bolster them. ZSMP social-legal centers, while not abandoning the sphere of issues connected with prevention and pathology, will shift the center of gravity to legal knowledge and culture. Workers universities are not utilized sufficiently toward these ends.

Jerzy Wojciechowski, deputy minister in the Ministry of Education and Upbringing: "A relatively large number of young people are involved in various ways in 'anti' activities, although this phenomenon does not affect the entire country. Familiarity with the law is nonexistent in postelementary school, and students are easily led, without being aware of the possible consequences. We estimate that 10 to 15 percent of the postelementary schools are threatened. One's first acquaintance with the law is generally the student code, the oath, which is not merely ceremonial. Certain elements of the law come into play in lectures on defense education, preparatory instruction in social sciences and preparation for family life. There is a somewhat basic knowledge of labor law in vocational schools (especially regarding bhp [industrial safety and hygiene]) and civil law, and some vocational schools even teach jurisprudence. Nonetheless, both the youth and the teacher cadre lacks a systematic training in law. There is a shortage of suitable texts. Recently we sent around a circular according to which, within the framework of disseminating legal knowledge, schools of all types

could organize sociolegal activities. This does not exclude the introduction of an individual particular subject. We wish to cooperate with the ZPP in this regard."

Colonel Wrzesniak from the MO [Citizen's Militia] KG [Main Headquarters] discussed preventive actions of the militia. He noted parental alcoholism and parasitism as crime-producing, destructive factors in the upbringing of young people. It is estimated that approximately a million children and young people live in families suffering from alcohol abuse. There are 400,000 who come from families of inveterate alcoholics. Frequently the militia directs the case of a juvenile to court, the court refers it to a school and the school returns it to the militia, saying, "you help."

Colonel Kwiatkowski, MSW [City Military Headquarters]: "At the end of the 1970's, illegal political youth organization underwent quite a broad development under the influence of the KOR [Social Self-Defense Committee], KPN [Committee for National Independence] and ROPCiO [Movement for the Defense of Human and Civic Rights]. The young teaching cadre likewise took part in this. Regarding so-called fascist groups (26 in all), they served as a symbol but it was difficult to discern any sort of ideology. Recently we arrested 149 school pupils and 42 students, treating this as a last resort, since earlier attempts at persuasion brought no results. We are also speaking with parents and teachers. A total of 30 illegal groups has been dissolved."

Colleague Jozef Musiol recalled the existence--and lack of use--of the Museum of Law in Katowice. This could serve as a place for legal and social education. The obvious thing is the opening of numerous original exhibits showing scenes of some noted trials.

Colleague Ireneusz Olszta: "The ZPP in Olsztyn has wanted to take the law into schools within the standard organizational framework. But the prosecutor answered, 'we have already made a separate understanding.' So much for integration."

Colleague Andrzej Dobrzynski: "The Commission for Popularizing the Law proposes that the ZPP ZG approach the Sejm commissions of internal affairs, of the administration of justice and of education to undertake the matter of introducing an obligatory subject beginning in September 1982, namely: preparatory training for sociolegal sciences in postelementary schools. The preparation of textbooks for teachers and students, and teacher training in courses held during this year's vacation breaks are indispensable. Next, the following PZPR Central Committee commissions should be approached: the Law and Law-and-Order Commission and the Ideological Commission, for the purpose of discussing the issues of the systematic popularization of law within the mass media. The ZPP voivodship boards should develop concrete plans of action in the area of the legal education of society. The Main Board should concern itself with the subjects of (1) conformity in the application of the law; (2) legislation and that state of legal awareness.

Colleague Maria Regent-Lechowicz discussed legal documents in preparation for preventing alcoholism, parasitism and the demoralization of youth (see article below).

Colleague Zygmunt Iwaszkiewicz: "The young people ask: 'What does the ZPP offer us?' We must show them their own suitability by giving them opportunities to find outlets in social work and by helping them to find work, which may be more and more difficult."

Colleague Zdzislaw Czeszejko-Sochacki defined a number of elements making up the low level of legal knowledge and awareness. They are: a lack of good traditions and habits, approval for ignoring the law (sometimes the approval of the mass media), the weakness of moral-behavioral systems and the associated tendency toward all-embracing legal control, the great fluidity and, thereby, instability of the law, the general breaking of social ties, a worldwide phenomenon, extremely weak legal-social training (television especially does not fulfill the hopes placed in it) and the weakness of models and values systems.

Other colleagues participating in the discussion were: Mieczyslaw Huchla, Zofia Markiewicz, Zenon Mlynarczyk, Jozef Ostas, Wiktor Sadowicz, Tadeusz Skora and Czeslaw Ura.

The ZPP ZG Plenum passed a resolution whose text we will publish in the next issue.

8536

CSO: 2600/555

JUSTICE MINISTRY OFFICIAL INTERVIEWED ON NEW LAWS

Warsaw PRAWO I ZYCIE in Polish No 4, 27 Mar 82 pp 4,5

[Interview with Maria Regent-Lechowicz vice minister of justice, undersecretary of state, by Joanna Konieczna; date and place not given]

[Text] [Question] A specially appointed team in the Ministry of Justice is preparing the drafts of new laws that have a certain common denominator that they broadly encompass preventive action and upbringing in society.

[Answer] It is no accident that at the Government Presidium, the minister of justice presented a package of laws that have the common denominator: the legal regulation of phenomena that are the basis of social pathology. Of course, alcoholism has the most painful effects, both socially and economically. Let us begin, then, with this problem.

It is known that alcoholism is a crime-producing factor that affects the increase in crime. It is a cause of accidents at work and is a source of family conflicts. The fact that younger and younger people are coming into contact with alcohol is likewise disturbing.

[Question] The law currently in force concerning combating alcoholism dates from 1959. I have heard many times that it is the most modern law in Europe. Does it have to be changed?

[Answer] Actually, this legal document--I myself helped to prepare it--seemed to us very progressive at the time of its creation. It set up legal, administrative and punitive instruments for limiting the phenomenon of alcoholism. However, while it specified directions of action, it did not create effective means of control. The law was based on the concept of compulsory treatment, an ineffective concept in the opinion of the specialists with whom we are currently in consultation on this problem. More than 20 years ago, we had no experience in treating alcoholism. Today the experts speak more and more not of alcoholism, but of dependence on alcohol, treating the alcoholic as a sick person. What is needed here is not only a doctor, but also the cooperation of the patient in the treatment process, which cannot succeed by force. This is one reason why the system set up in the 1959 law does not yield total results.

[Question] What other provisions of the 1959 law are criticized today?

[Answer] The law speaks of appointing sociomedical commissions. In the first place, we do not have enough psychiatrists to make up these commissions; secondly, bringing a doctor into the decisionmaking process, asking him to state his opinion, had decidedly negative consequences and continues to have them. The doctor ceases to be an expert and becomes an arbiter. Not to mention the fact that given such a situation, he loses contact with the person that becomes his patient. The next serious drawback of this law is its adoption of the assumption that a suitable counseling network of institutions for closed and open treatment would be created. As we know, these hopes were not realized. To be honest, the necessary base to execute these provisions does not exist. Here is an example: the number of persons whom the court committed to a closed facility for alcoholism amounts to more than 7,000. However, approximately 3,500 court judgments have not been carried out due to a lack of space. Thus, half of the court judgments are not being executed, and are consequently ineffectual. This degrades the court's authority, not to speak of the social repercussions of such a state of things.

[Question] What use has been made of these experiences in the current work on the law?

[Answer] In developing a program of activities, we have tried to create such legal, administrative and social instruments as would subject to inspection the implementation of a program for preventing alcoholism and for combating its effects, as well as a program of specific restrictions contained in the regulations of the law. The draft entrusts the programing, the initiation and the evaluation of activity associated with counteracting alcoholism and with the management of the state funds earmarked for this purpose to the commission functioning under the Council of Ministers. It likewise imposes the duty on organs of authority and administration of supporting the actions of social institutions operating on behalf of the struggle against alcoholism, which include the Social Antialcoholism Committee [SKP], the Transport Workers' Sobriety Society [TTT] and the Alcoholics Anonymous Club [KAA]. It is important that legal scope is being given to this socially necessary activity. The draft includes a program of social policy that will be taken into consideration in general socioeconomic plans.

[Question] Until now it has been maintained that the availability of alcohol has an effect on its consumption...

[Answer] The opening of special enterprises handling the distribution, the turnover and the purchase of alcoholic beverages is being proposed. The draft of the law stipulates that the sale of alcohol should take place only at separate locations on the basis of permission granted by the voivodship governor. Since the price is a factor in the volume and structure of alcoholic consumption, the draft of the law imposes the principle of setting the prices of alcoholic beverages so that the price increase for beverages containing a high percentage of alcohol would outstrip the increase in people's incomes. The draft of the law likewise contains a regulation for eliminating any financial interest in the sale of alcohol. It is proposed in this regard that an evaluation of the economic results of enterprises and employee

remuneration not be contingent upon monetary revenues from the sale of alcoholic beverages. These matters, however, are in the discussion stage.

[Question] The drinking of alcoholic beverages at the work place is also a problem.

[Answer] The draft absolutely prohibits the sale, distribution and consumption of alcoholic beverages at work plants and prohibits their being brought into the plant area. Failure to abide by these prohibitions will be punished, in accordance with the draft of the law. Bringing alcoholic beverages into sporting events is likewise prohibited.

[Question] However, if the financial means to implement the program are not insured, these are only regulations on paper.

[Answer] According to the draft, 2 to 3 percent of the value of alcoholic beverages sold is earmarked for the fund to combat alcoholism. This will be a large sum, larger than the amount previously available. These means will enable us to develop the withdrawal treatment base, primarily the infirmary base. These means will be designated for the organization of a suitable network of withdrawal clinics, for the creation of social aid homes for persons dependent upon alcohol who are incurable, who must be isolated from the community and need supervision and care, and also for various forms of assistance for those abusing alcohol and their family members, for training medical and other personnel, for scientific research and for other purposes.

[Question] Madame Minister, you mentioned at the beginning of this interview that the use of compulsion by treatment centers is being abandoned. The concept of treatment will thus change.

[Answer] At the level of local organs of the administration, commissions are being appointed to combat alcoholism within a new structure. The doctor, who will not be a member of the commission, will play the role of the expert. His task will be to define the state of the sick person, to make a prognosis and to indicate the indispensable kind of treatment in the given case. Commissions will not have an opinion rendering function. They are to act to persuade and influence the patient to yield voluntarily to treatment, as well as to conduct preventive activity and to organize assistance. The solutions proposed in the draft are based on the conviction that abandoning the use of force will enable better results to be attained.

[Question] What is to be done when a patient refuses to be persuaded?

[Answer] If, due to alcohol abuse, such a person causes the disintegration of family life, the demoralization of juveniles, shirks his work or systematically disrupts peace or public order, the expert, after examining the patient, determines the degree of his dependence on alcohol and recommends a suitable treatment facility. Only the court can render an opinion concerning the patient's duty to submit to treatment. If such a ruling is given, and despite this the patient does not report to the facility, means of coercion may then be used against him.

[Question] What if there is no room at the facility, as is now frequently the case?

[Answer] Currently there is a group of persons being housed at institutions of this type who are incurable due to permanent, irreparable changes wrought by alcoholism. These persons qualify as being incapacitated. If the courts hand down such a decision, they will be transferred to social aid homes intended for this category of persons.

[Question] It is hard to believe that such facilities will come into being. Even if they did, do, will this not happen at the expense of the elderly, the infirm and the single, for whom there is a shortage of room in social care institutions even today?

[Answer] We cannot say that the new law will be binding immediately to its full extent. However, the existing fund will enable the successive creation of the indispensable treatment and counseling base, as well as the preparation of suitably qualified personnel.

[Question] In spite of everything, are these drafts not overly optimistic?

[Answer] I should say not. According to the most conservative estimate of the Ministry of Health and Social Welfare, 2,000 places are needed in infirmaries. Various structures are now being reassigned to meet health service needs. This process will continue as the administrative apparatus is reduced and a number of units are liquidated. These really do not have to be large, modern investments. And besides, even if our plans are overly optimistic, they provide a better solution than being stuck in the vicious circle of the 1959 law. The concept I speak of was recommended by health service representatives as the optimal solution. People dependent on alcohol who are completely untreatable should not remain in their community due to the state of degradation of their personality and the threat they pose to their immediate surroundings. Thus, it is also a question of protecting the family and society.

[Question] During the phase of the creation of the draft, undoubtedly various proposals for resolving these problems were made.

[Answer] Exactly. During the course of the creation of the draft, we consulted with theoreticians, practitioners and with people from institutes and scientific organizations; the team preparing the draft was an inter-ministerial one. The situation of the commission for combating alcoholism was a matter for discussion, for example. It was proposed that an office of a government plenipotentiary be appointed to deal with this question; there was discussion of setting up this commission under the Sejm; there were also proposals that the commission chairman be a member of the Government Presidium. However, the major issue was that the commission be guaranteed broad powers. This would be one of the first commissions operating under the Council of Ministers, and having the backing of the law.

[Question] Society is counting on the law against alcoholism to resolve this painful problem.

[Answer] The effectiveness of the battle against alcoholism cannot be contingent upon the operation of the law alone. Its role should not be overestimated. This assumption has been made many times, and it is in error. It is not legal regulations that are the weak link in the struggle against alcoholism, but the broad plane of development of social culture and customs.

[Question] That is a process that will take many decades to change.

[Answer] Naturally, and that is why we are not resolving the issue, but only determining the law. Upbringing activity directed above all toward the youth and the propagation of habits of abstinence are indispensable. Teachers, instructors and youth organizations have a major role here. The church is an important partner in the struggle against drunkenness. Work with parents is needed. An alternative method must be created for spending free time and for amusement; customs and habits must be changed. Cultural institutions and the mass media provide a broad field of action.

[Question] The Ministry of Justice is also preparing two other drafts of laws of social importance.

[Answer] Yes. Efforts are underway to establish principles of action against adults who shirk work or study. A preliminary evaluation of the proposals was made by the PZPR Central Committee Commission on Law and Law-and-Order, the Government Presidium, the Sejm Commission of Internal Affairs and Social Justice and the Sociopolitical Committee of the Council of Ministers. Of crucial significance here will be the observations and experiences associated with the functioning of the regulations contained in the Council of Ministers decree dated 30 December 1981, concerning the imposition of the universal obligation to perform one's job while martial law is binding.

[Question] In conclusion I would ask you to characterize the draft of the law concerning action to be taken with juveniles threatened by demoralization and delinquency. Here the elements of preventive action are undoubtedly most evident.

[Answer] This is a draft of a law that the courts have been waiting for more than 10 years. It is the only field of court law that has not yet been codified. The many years of judicature practice with juveniles, and now of the operation of family courts, has been based on a law from the interwar period (from 1928 and 1932) in its dealing with juvenile criminal offenders. Although this was not a bad law, in the present situation, given the current state of knowledge, science and experience gained over many years, it is no longer suitable.

The draft of the law regulates the total picture of the activities of family judicature, a problem of great social magnitude. The following figures illustrate the scale of the problem: in 1981, 394,210 cases reached family courts, 209,554 minors and juveniles were placed under the supervision of family courts, and upbringing-correctional methods were used with them.

The law deals with that portion of the youth which, for various reasons, has found itself under the supervision of the family court. A major goal of the proposed solutions is to insure the quick intervention of the ward's court into family life when a child's good and interests are threatened, to use methods for preventing demoralization and to disseminate upbringing methods and their flexible application conspicuously. Thus, the necessary scope is given to upbringing elements and not formal-legal elements. This means that the court in each instance has the option of changing the methods used, flexibly adapting them to the person and changing the child's living circumstances. In accordance with the draft, guardianship-upbringing activity is a basic direction of action. This complies with the increased tendency of the courts to place a minor in a correctional institution only when indispensable. The draft of the law consolidates the experiences of the family court verified in daily practice.

The draft is based on the assumption that the parents are the first and the major upbringers of the young generation. In order to stress parental responsibility for raising children, the draft imposes legal sanctions on those who make light of their parental responsibilities. The sanctions imposed are based on informing the place of work or the social organization concerning the faulty execution of one's obligations to the child and his demoralization, on the imposition of a monetary fine, on the obligation of repairing the damage done by the minor and bearing the costs of a court proceeding, including costs connected with the execution of a ruling.

Apart from these regulations in the area of parental authority and care, the regulations of the family and guardianship codex are also used when appropriate.

The right to make binding decisions in matters vital to the child is entrusted exclusively to the family court by the draft.

This is a very brief characterization. I think that in light of the fact that it is a draft of a law that arouses great interest both among lawyers and among public opinion, this subject should be returned to, and the motivation behind the solutions proposed in the law and the proposed directions should be presented in greater depth.

[Interviewer] Thank you for the interview.

8536

CSO: 2600/555

## SIGNIFICANCE OF MILITARY AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION DISCUSSED

### 1981 Achievements

Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 16 Apr 82 p 8

[Article: "Agricultural Successes of People in Uniform"]

[Text] [PAP] In addition to their basic mission our armed forces have a series of additional duties. One of such duties is farming. In view of the current, difficult situation in the food market this missions is particularly important.

It can be attested by the fact that this mission receives consideration in our armed forces. For example, the armed forces secure over 50 percent of their own needs for meat and its products. From their own plastic "tent hothouses" they supply all their demand in kitchen vegetables. As compared to 1980, there has been a considerable improvement in utilization of farmable land, mainly low grade soils located in the training areas.

On 15 April of this year, the "Marian Buczek" Higher Officers Academy of the Quartermaster Service in Poznan, hosted a meeting for the Quartermaster [Corps] director cadre from all military districts and from all branches of service. During the meeting farming achievements for 1981, have been discussed. Among the participants were the Minister of Agriculture and Food Economy Jerzy Wojtecki, the Vice-Minister of National Defense and Chief Quartermaster of the Armed Forces, Lt Gen (Dipl Eng) Mieczyslaw Obiedzinski.

During the meeting Minister J. Wojtecki awarded the challenge trophy pennant of the Minister of Agriculture, for achievement in farming and animal husbandry. For the second time in a row, the winner was the Warsaw Military District. He also awarded several "Distinguished Agricultural Worker" badges. The representatives of 15 military units, which have achieved higher than average farm production results received certificates of appreciation from the hand of the Chief Quartermaster of the Polish Armed Forces--Gen M. Obiedzinski.

Minister J. Wojtecki also met with the Officer Cadets from the "Marian Buczek" Reserve Officers School of the Quartermaster Service in Poznan, who have completed their agriculture oriented studies.

Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 28 Apr pp.1, 5

[Report from staff correspondent, 2Lt Henryk Wierski: "Intensification of Plant and Animal Production"]

[Text] In view of the obvious priority of training tasks, the management of farming in armed forces is being treated as an auxiliary, i.e., secondary sphere of activities. Nevertheless, within the total frame of activities of the Quartermaster services within a unit, it occupies an important position. This is especially noteworthy today when the inadequacy of food supplies on the market tends to multiply the value of all initiatives aimed at increasing plant and animal production by the units.

Numerous activities are being undertaken with this object in mind by the aviation units to achieve good results in many areas. To realize the earlier accepted developmental projections, efforts have been concentrated to further cultivate areas and land around airfields and other terrain designated for that purpose following the comprehensive agricultural review conducted in 1979. It was in following those concepts that more acreage was gained for planting and for animal husbandry. Total acreage of farming activities reached almost 11,000 hectares (ha). At the same time, thanks to utilization of grain fodders and kitchen wastes, it was possible to improve hogs and sheep production.

The principal value of the achieved results can be expressed as a considerable enrichment of the soldiers' diet with a simultaneous relief of pressure on the civilian market. In early spring the menu contained home grown "green vitamins" for enlisted men, service support and aviation school students and aviation personnel. Some were also diverted to the military club network.

Good results were obtained in fruit and vegetable production by fulfilling all domestic needs. A considerable degree of self-sufficiency has also been reached in meat supplies.

#### Shortages of Equipment Are Not the Only Worry

The advantages are obvious even if the planned objectives have not been fully achieved. The decisive factors in purely objective reasons stem from the, generally bad, economic situation of the country. It has been very difficult to achieve all the production goals because of such factors as, for instance, general food shortage. The status of farming machinery needed for crop cultivation leaves a lot to be desired. Instead of the four needed combine harvesters the aviators have only one. They also have only 34 tractors at their disposal, they need at least twice that number. There is a shortage of several tens of rotary mowers, several fertilizer spreaders and about 100 of hay baling machines.

Considerable difficulties, which have nothing to do with the Air Force, have surfaced relative to modernization of pig sties and farm facilities, not to mention construction of new facilities which would cost several million zlotys.

In view of these any many other obstacles, it is worth a particular note that on the total balance, there were some enterprises which have surpassed the plan last year.

For example, the air force farm in the Pomeranian Military District achieved 157.5 percent production, the Aviation-Technical Warehouse Unit achieved 134.2 percent and the Signal Unit of Aviation Troops obtained 121.4 percent of planned production.

#### High Results, But...

A detailed, farreaching comparison of intentions versus capabilities, such as was conducted among aviation troops, has shown that much more could be gained despite all other factors. Future plans provide for a marked increase in slaughter hogs production from 1,152 tons, this year, to 1,443 tons in 1985 and an increase in sheep from 1,930 to 2,900 head. It has also been decided to engage in fish farming, particularly carp, under the professional auspices of the Military Circles of the Polish Anglers Union (PZW) [TN: a sport fishermen's society], also decided upon was to engage in rabbit breeding. By way of an experiment one garrison will take up raising geese. Also, there where the conditions are favorable, preparations will be made to raise slaughter cattle.

Success of these useful initiatives will be qualified by many factors. Realizing this, it has been decided to bring under production additional, existing, though heretofore unexploited production reserves. Among others, it has been decided to increase cultivated acreage from 1,517 ha this year to 1,861 ha by the end of the current 5-year plan. This would insure additional amounts of feed and the achievement of the planned daily weight gain of slaughter animals by about one half kilogram.

By 1983 (inclusive) 10 hog farms will be constructed with a production goal of 20 tons from each. It should be added that these facilities will be constructed within the framework of the military units' own handling capabilities. The average planning figure used was 180 kilograms of slaughter hogs per one square meter of hog farm. Within the program of the agricultural/livestock farming complex, provisions have been made for procurement of equipment and mineral fertilizers, with an average target dosage of 250 kilograms per hectare. Also planned was a rapid development of orchard farming by planting fruit trees and bushes in all areas suitable for such purpose.

## Shortages Should Be Eliminated

The deciding factor in the realization of farming objectives will be an expedient elimination of the, still existing, weak points possessing subjective characteristics. Those weak points have, so far, surfaced in lack of proper supervision, imperfect agricultural engineering, improper crop rotation or failure to use those varieties which produce greater yields. These shortcomings can be eliminated.

At the same time, food service unit chiefs were requested to prepare detailed plans and models of farming activities for areas under their jurisdiction. This should also have an influence in achieving the common goal. All the measures which have been undertaken should, without a doubt, bear fruit in the near future, according to the oft confirmed adage that a honest, systematic, well thought out and organized work will always result in good yield.

## Silesian Military District Activities

Wroclaw GAZETA ROBOTNICZA in Polish 14 Apr 82 p 3

[Interview by staff writer Adam Kilian, with (Military District) Quartermaster, Col Dipl (Academy Graduate) Zdzislaw Graczyk, Deputy Commander of Silesian Military District: "On Our Own Account." Date and place not specified]

[Text] [Question] Always in the front lines. There where it is most difficult, where different jobs have to be done with speed and skill, that is where we will always find the soldier. They neutralize the havoc of natural disasters, work in the steel mills and in ports, on the highways and in railroad marshaling yards, in the factories and in the mines. One hears with a deserved recognition about the accomplishments of soldiers on behalf of the city and village dwellers....

[Answer] That is correct. However, soldiers' foremost obligation is to defend the country, to increase the level of combat preparedness in military units and tactical organizations, to systematically develop and perfect military skills so as to be able to use modern weapons and equipment with the greatest degree of effectiveness. This demands experience and qualifications. In the process of preparing the soldier to carry out his mission a tremendous role is also played by the ideological-educational process, this forms his outlook on the world, on principles of behavior, morale and personal traits, and it also gives a deep conviction as to the nature and purpose of action in the defense of the socialist fatherland. Martial law has imposed additional duties on the soldier. He protects the public law and order, safety, assists the operational teams, strengthens the country's defenses. Soldiers stood up to defend their threatened state and saved the nation from a catastrophe.

[Question] To an average civilian the military represents territorial units, honor guards, military maneuvers as seen on television and most recently patrols in the streets. However, to coin a phrase: "The Army does not live by cannon alone." A modern army also means large economic, production and service complexes which are designed to insure efficient operations and materiel sufficiency for the principal function and missions of the military. This is

the province of the quarter master services who have the responsibility to feed, clothe, procure equipment, provide medical services, etc., for the military.

[Answer] Our entire military farm economy, although it has its own character, has to observe the same rules as the state enterprises--be it in construction, industry, agriculture or transportation fields. In the many tasks which we have accomplished in the Silesian Military District (SLOW) we are continuously striving to improve the effectiveness of our management, our financial transactions, to discover and utilize those, simple or complex, unused reserves which are still available. In years past we have achieved a good measure of success in this respect.

In view of the extremely difficult national food supply situation we are developing our own animal husbandry, vegetable gardens and orchards. During the last 10 year period, the acreage of our [military] farming enterprises has grown from 48 to 2,500 hectares (ha), while production of slaughter hogs grew from 360 to 1,800 tons (t). This is the measure by which we have reduced the demand on national economy. In the Lower Silesia region alone, the military has 1,100 ha of arable land and intends to increase it by an additional 400 ha. They receive almost 1.5 thousand tons of meat from their animal husbandry, the herd is to be increased in the near future to achieve a further increase of 200 t.

As it appears in SLOW, we are capable of supplying our own meat for a period of several months, however, this is not all. We shall continue to increase our production of slaughter animals. We intend, for example, shortly to undertake breeding of some 300 head of slaughter cattle which are exceptionally disease resistant. In any case we are already raising some 40 percent of that. Some time ago, as I recall, we had modest beginnings--somewhere, in some units, a small animal raising undertaking was started. Today we are organizing large slaughter farms in garrisons.

[Question] Where do you get the feed which is in short supply in agriculture....

[Answer] We do not disturb the supplies which are earmarked for the state, cooperative or individual farms. We are trying to become self sufficient. We use our own feeds because we also produce and increase the production of our own feeds. We are farming wherever it is possible to farm, on pieces of land which, as a rule, are considered useless, mainly V and VI class soils, even on sands, edges of training areas or drill fields, etc. We take over land which nobody wants to have or to cultivate. With us such soil must produce and it usually does. This of course demands extra care, however, we do not let even a smallest piece of land go to waste.

We also accept land abandoned by the Agricultural Circles' Cooperatives (SKR's). We receive lists of such lands. We have already accepted lands from three SKR's--a total of 100 ha. Those acreages are valuable feed resources. We are also taking in lands in which nobody has shown any interest for a long time. Chiefs of gmina [parish] have so far unsuccessfully sought occupants for those lands and they have failed. In the end they turned to the military and the military have accepted it. We also have listings of other locations,

for example, cattle and poultry farms which are idle because there is no one to take care of them. Therefore, since it is so--we shall give it a try. However, I must stress, we do not intend to put anyone out. It is of course understood that the military will not lay down their arms, abandon the classrooms and training areas and take to the plough. On the other hand, the military may also assist the economy and it will.

We shall continue to cultivate all waste land and improve yields per hectare in order to be able to base our animal production entirely on our own resources. This requires many undertakings, we shall need specialized services to assist us and we do have them at our disposal. We shall continue to introduce new cultivation techniques. We are employing, with an ever increasing degree of success, a new agro-technical methods, we observe crop rotation rules, etc. We have also increased our feed production by utilizing the most appropriate plant varieties.

[Question] In order to develop animal husbandry one needs farm buildings, meanwhile, investments are in a bad shape....

[Answer] The military also cannot afford new construction. Besides, we are not aiming for volume production or for new construction. We need immediate investments and outlays if it is possible to obtain comparable results without them? We repair existing structures or remodel them to our purposes. We do not scorn anything which has stood idle until now. We build sheds [shacks], structures made from railroad crossties [pig pens] which can accommodate 200-300 animals. We have done so in the Zielona Gora voivodship, they may hold up 3 or 4 years--that will suffice. We are even utilizing old railroad cars which were taken out of service. In this way we do not deprive the national economy of cement, bricks or steel.

It appears that we can organize pig sty spaces for our herds with a one-time expenditure of several tens thousands zlotys. Nevertheless, we need some lumber but we can get it from taking down windbreaks. Otherwise, quite a lot of timber would go to waste in the woods. Our soldiers units obtain some 200,000 cubic meters of cheap construction material annually since we help the foresters with land clearing and firebreak construction. We operate field lumber [frame] saws. Soldiers of the SLOW are working in the principal forestry districts of Swidnica, Walbrzych and Swieradow. The timber from windbreaks is also suitable for fuel. Which results in coal and coke savings.

In the near future we plan to separate and professionalize the service which takes care of our tree farming economy; similar to what was done by the Czech Army. After all, we do not only have fields on our training area, we also have forests.

We have been awarded permanent possession of the Challenge Pennant (military sector) by the Minister of Agriculture for our achievements in the agricultural farming field which we have attained during the past few years. This would not have been possible without the skill of the leaders, sacrifices of the soldiers and operational qualities of the quartermaster services. Of course, we do have our troubles, however, we do manage. We also suffer a lack of spare parts and sub-components for agricultural machinery and equipment. In this we make do by ourselves, we reconstruct various parts in our own workshops.

Not only do we have to overcome our own difficulties, we must also assist state farms (PGR's). We dispatch repair teams to the repair bases of State Agricultural Machine Stations [POM] and SKR's as well as to private farmers.

[Question] This year has found our economy in an exceptionally difficult situation. One hears opinions that the military is costing us too much.

[Answer] The military costs a lot everywhere. We cannot afford to have it weakened. What is more important is the defense of the socialist fatherland, and one cannot put a price on that. However, we undertake many activities to reduce the burden on the state treasury. There are many such undertakings. In the spring we do not go to the vegetable merchants to buy early vegetables, we have our own. In the SLOW we have some 30,000 square meters under plastic sheeting [greenhouses], in Lower Silesia there are about 7,5000 square meters. We want to increase this acreage by at least 2,500 square meters. We try to be self-sufficient in kitchen vegetables, later in the season we remove the plastic but continue cultivation. In this way we have better management of structures and acreage, and we are capable of accumulating vegetable stores for the winter.

We collect fruit in the orchards, even the fallen fruit which would normally be wasted, we use it to make preserves and compotes. We have a profit of almost 50 million zlotys from our farm-orchard production. Part of this amount is earmarked to improve the soldiers' menu, another part is ploughed back for farming development. We do not shy away from even smaller enterprises, as long as they can reduce the demand, especially on food items. In some garrisons, particularly there where the terrain is limited, we started breeding rabbits, by the end of the year we shall have about 3,000 head. All in all this is quite a considerable amount. We intend to increase breeding to the maximum during the summer, but in winter we shall retain only as many as are needed for further breeding.

We exploit every possibility for fish farming. Such farming is already in progress at two centers. After all, within our fences we have large and small ponds, lakes, some marshes--why not take advantage of them for fish breeding? We already have plans for fish farming on other bodies of water.

[Question] Farming management is only one of many aspects of the quartermaster services activities....

[Answer] Of course. This which we have discussed so far makes only a small part of what we are engaged in. In fact, many of our other activities are also aimed at reducing the burden on our national economy. We want evermore to manage our own account and to cover our expenses with the income from our work, initiative and resourcefulness. For example, we have our own repair teams, in this way it cannot be said of the military that they take away from the already impoverished working capabilities of the state enterprises. Thus we accomplish ourselves various modifications and adaptations. We have established our own medical service. The military health service has often given hospital space and clinical specialist services to civilian patients. It should be noted here that the soldiers of SLOW have donated over 16,000 liters of blood to medical centers--blood obtained by honorable blood donations.

What about "White Sundays?" This is when military doctors conduct medical examinations for the civilian populace in rural localities. I would like to mention here, at least, the personnel of the Health Service of the "Heroes of the Soviet Army" 10th Sudety Tank Division [of the Polish Army].

In order not to burden the market we produce many delicatessen and confectionary items, we deliver those to our military consumers. We also have our own bakeries, service shops for laundering, clothing and shoe repair centers, etc.

[Question] The military operates mechanized equipment, this creates need for fuels....

[Answer] We have tightened controls on issuing and accounting procedures for liquid fuels and lubricants. There must be a strict discipline in this respect, after all "this is the Army." We have revised norms and limits and we reward soldiers for conservation. Our yearly savings, in this respect, exceed 10 million zlotys. This is the result of proper utilization of vehicles, a well working technical-distributive rear support base and a scrupulous, monthly technical-economic analysis. We collect spent motor oils which can be reconditioned, we have an 80 percent recovery rate. Our efficiency experts have worked out several interesting solutions aimed at an achievement of savings in the use of gasoline, diesel fuel and lubricants. These can also be introduced in civilian establishments. A lot has been accomplished to eliminate burn-outs, we are working closely with our technical services on this subject. Results of this cooperation can be measured in millions of zlotys.

To sum it up: In many undertakings the military combine the realization of their principal mission of defense with the fulfillment of meaningful functions which serve the public interest. Each commander receives his mission and the means to carry it out. He has to make such decisions and effect needed coordinated to carry out all his training and economic tasks and he then has to show concrete results of such operations.

Experience teaches us that soldiers who defend their country are capable to serve it not only by force of arms but also by a solid economic support. We want to participate in leading the country out of the deep economic crisis, we want to preserve law and order, we also want to serve the society in an ever increasing degree. It is no accident that our soldiers are called "People's Soldiers"--we serve the people.

9511

CSO: 2600/602

RURAL YOUTH UNION LEADER INTERVIEWED

Warsaw SZTANDAR MŁODYCH in Polish 2-4 Apr 82 p 4

[Interview with Waldemar Swirgon, chairman of the board of the National Rural Youth Union, by Jozef Szewczyk]

[Text] [Question] You stated in an interview that the ZMW [Rural Youth Union] gathers together persons neglected in respect of civilization. Is this not an attempt at justifying a smaller activity than that which prevailed at the time of the birth of this organization?

[Answer] I said then and I repeat now that the rural youth is neglected in respect of civilization and culture, which does not mean that it is inferior, less capable and sensitive, or less hard-working than the youth of the cities. Every newly formed organization lives through a period of euphoria, when it does away with structures and creates its own program through negating what is not its own. While creating the ZMW we had a common negative denominator and we were all united against something. In a Polish society it is more difficult to find a common positive denominator. Our psyche is rather such that we pay more attention to the things we do not have than to those we have, and to what we object to rather than what we would like.

Now it is time to examine the ZMW's positive program in actual social practice. I do not think that we should talk about a great policy at present, even though we do not intend to renounce it, but we should talk of organic, positivistic work in the countryside. The attitude in the youth movement that one should first settle large problems and only afterwards the smaller ones is universal. But hundreds and thousands of the young people in the countryside do not want to lose their youth and the joy of life while waiting for the general problems to be solved. They not only want to work but also to tour Poland, travel, get to know the national culture and have a good time. And meanwhile they are unable to do this, and if the ZMW will not help them, then the large problems will not be solved and they grow old sad and resigned.

[Question] To what extent are you able to help them? Who in the countryside, in the gmina [rural parish] is able to cultivate and foster desires for an active, cultural life? Are not those recreations and tourism going 'against the tide' when one does not have an adequate job and a decent home?

[Answer] To date the Union has gathered 180,000 members. It is very little, always too little, but at least most of these people declare that their lives have become interesting, that through the ZMW they get to know more, that thanks to it they emerge from the isolation of the countryside, they come to know their people of the same age in the cities, they manage to obtain building materials for a club, or to remove a corrupted official. I might quote the examples of a group in Grepkov near Siedlce, which had an attractive club room built, or in Lubawka Gmina, in Olsztyn Voivodship, where a barn was provided for a community club, which had been standing there unfinished, for many years.

You have touched upon a basic problem. We are not going against the tide, but our national river has many currents. We are one of them. The ZMW is a social movement for a civic regeneration of rural youth and equalization of its social rights with those of people of the same age elsewhere. Formally, it has the same political and constitutional rights and duties. But on the other hand because of its social position and its limited access to an educated teacher, books, physicians, travel agencies and tourism, it benefits very little from these rights.

The problem is broader. We were organized after August 1980. We were not dissolved or suspended. This proves that the state authorities deal with social realities dialectically and not mechanically. The ZMW was and will continue to be an organization of a meritorious opposition. We wish, as far as it is possible at present in Poland, to change, correct and improve these realities, and not to question the political system. We wish to make improvements, not to replace. The Polish state is to be put in order.

[Question] While founding the organization you had expected to be able to attract a considerably greater part of youth to your organization. Meanwhile there are cases of some groups being dissolved.

[Answer] No, it is not a reverse process. About 70 percent of the ZMW members are first-time members of a youth organization. The other 30 percent were from the ZSMP [Union of Socialist Polish Youth] and they simply rejoined their former union. There is another dangerous phenomenon--the wait-and-see attitude of youth, in which organization it will get more. In the ZMW we say: We give you the highest right: a right to real, independent activity. Those who avail themselves of our offer will soon see for themselves that this is the highest good in a youth movement. The "wait-and-see" tendency will end sooner or later in moral bankruptcy. Not because someone will be unwilling to give, but because there will be nothing to give. The point is to turn the

organization into a mutual aid society so that the ZMW might help those who want to help themselves. And this is something different.

[Question] The consumer-minded youth must be finding its way to you...  
Joining an organization was connected with...

[Answer] Not in the countryside.

[Question] And when somebody got a tractor, did he give it back?

[Answer] Such cases were minimal ... it is not these persons that present a problem but those that do not believe in anything, for they were disappointed now and again.

[Question] But you did form the organization for a definite purpose and you drew the youth to it for that purpose.

[Answer] We said that we are setting up an organization of the rural youth, whom practical circumstances had placed in worse living conditions, to which the principles of socialist social justice were not fully applied. We are a youth that has not received from the state and society at least a part of the fruits of the labor of our own parents, so that through collective consumption we would become full and equal citizens of People's Poland. And we said further that we are giving you the right to organize, express your own aspirations, formulate the most important problems to be solved and to have political representation.

[Question] But listing the problems to be solved will not bring about an immediate influx of physicians and teachers in the countryside nor the immediate appearance of clubs and libraries there.

This should result from the action undertaken by the state authorities. What then have you achieved during the past year as a union?

[Answer] On our recommendation many social workers have taken up their positions among gmina authorities. Social clubs and library units have been opened. A couple of thousand persons have taken pleasure trips. The health councils organized by socially-minded rural physicians are now in operation. Together with the LZSS [People's Sports Unions] we are organizing spartakiads and opympiads. "The People's Scene," a ZMW cultural association, has also been formed. In the cities "clubs of young authors" are being formed, as an expansion and continuation of the "Correspondence Club of Young Writers." We are preparing the presentation of a concept of "equalizing points" for studies. Many groups of amateur performers have been formed.

[Question] Malicious tongues say that your meritorious opposition results from the fact that the ZMW has a socialist top echelon, whereas its infrastructure consecrates banners in churches.

[Answer] Then perhaps you know for whom it is important and who wants to introduce this division to the present Polish tragedy? That can be done only by those who think the best way of changing the consciousness is to break it on the wheel. On the other side there are Catholic chauvinists who do not want, in our society, to include the right to be an unbeliever in the right of religious freedom. We reject both attitudes.

No one becomes the atheist by joining the ZMW, and there is no wrong in it. On the other hand, we are a secular and socialist organization and we do not introduce church rites into our organization's life-style.

The belief of some of the Party members, who identify the youth unions under socialism ideologically and programmatically with the [Communist] Party or other political parties is erroneous. These unions bring together the youth such as it is. Their main function is not to fulfill current political aims but educational work, upbringing and formation of the personality of man. As a result of years of ideological-educational work the ZMW will produce a mature non-party citizen, or a man, who following his natural need, will join the PZPR or ZSL. And if he remains a non-party, good citizen, no one will lose by that. After all, the greatest defeat suffered by the PZPR was not of a political and economical nature but was related mainly to ideological attitudes and values. As a matter of fact the opposition movements included 20 and 30-year-olds who grew up in 1970s in the youth organizations.

[Question] The attribution of the particular youth organizations to political parties was and is practiced, as well as the endeavors of the parties to maintain a close relationship with organizations. The ZMW is fully conscious of this. After all, it is wooed by the PZPR, and there were also attempts to subordinate it to the ZSL. Of what practical significance is this to you?

[Answer] I think that a primitive factionalism was always ruining Poland. It can also do harm to a socialist state, including the youth movement as well. It cannot be under exclusive control of political parties, although it must recognize their role in the system and implement its goals.

In the late 1970s we were faced with ideological sectarianism and dogmatic tendencies in the party, which considered the tripartite system as a transitory stage, as a necessary form between a society of people's democracy and socialist society. Therefore, decisions from the years 1973-1976 in practice cut off the allied parties ZSL and SD from the institutional influence on the youth movement, which meant cutting them away from cadre sources and thereby from historical continuation and development of these parties.

The principle of a "stretched sling" bore fruits and the former sectarianism of the PZPR produced today a new sectarianism of a part of the activists of the ZSL and a tendency to create party-controlled youth annexes. Only the independent organizations with full political and organizational autonomy can exist genuinely among the youth.

I, as a member of the PZPR, have difficulty in imagining the absence of the members of the party in any organization whatever. But a simple transplantation of the tripartite system into the youth movement would be harmful. It is difficult to require a 14-15-year old youngster who decides, often accidentally, to join this or that youth organization, to consciously coerce himself to choose a party.

[Question] How do you appraise the government's policy in relation to agriculture, conditioned sale, grain loan, and the propaganda noise about the countryside?

[Answer] Poland for many more years will be a country of discordant, often contradictory interests. The July Manifesto, the Decree on Agrarian Reform and on the Nationalization of Industry, only liquidated class antagonisms, but the contradictions remain. The reality of the countryside will not be changed through a succession of brilliant ideas, just as this matter will not be changed through conjurations or through quotations, but only through the sensible action of those that organize themselves on the basis of common group interests. The Ninth PZPR Congress determined two basic socioeconomic priorities, mining and agriculture. Mining has received real aid, but in agriculture we are still at the stage of half-measures and conjurations.

At present we are being faced again in Poland with the problem of agriculture and its solution. I won't be conceited and I won't say that we have a comprehensive program of action. But we can suggest solutions of certain problems.

In the first place, because of the importance of food in the present sociopolitical and international situation one should pay full price for the food being produced. Not as in the conditioned sale, where for 10 zlotys produced the state could cover only 1 zloty with goods of the least needed assortment. If we as a society are unable to pay for food, then the farmer too will not be in a position to produce.

Secondly, we should unequivocally say, without fear of the outcry of other strata and groups, that because of the backlog of work and its arduousness the incomes of farmers must be higher than those of other groups. The youth votes with its feet. The youth will not stay in the countryside under constraint or because of appeal.

[Question] But you did not issue an appeal concerning a grain loan.

[Answer] For it would mean giving ourselves away. And under present circumstances the giving away of grain would mean no stock breeding. We oppose speculation by individuals. We have issued statements to that effect. Another matter is the myth which was launched by "Solidarity." The farmer

has it but will not give it, because he does not like the government, or he will give it when he comes to an understanding with the urban "Solidarity." This is one of the most nonsensical positions adopted by the workers' "Solidarity" and many decision-making centers of public opinion. Farmers have no excess food. If food is a strategic raw material, and if we have to pay in dollars for American wheat, then let us pay justly in zlotys for the Polish wheat.

[Question] The keeping of the youth in the countryside is connected with prospects for its future. What economic vistas of the countryside do you wish to bring out?

[Answer] We are not police who will detain youth in the countryside. We wish to create an environment in which one would wish to remain, with a proviso that it will be remunerative from both a civic and professional viewpoint.

You touched on the most important problem--an agrarian structure of the countryside, so that it would be a national specialty. Shortly an ideological conference of the ZMW will be held, concerning the future of the Polish countryside, not quite such a countryside as at present, but not necessarily a collectivized countryside--a countryside which is both efficient and also a decent place to work and to live. At present I do not have a model that could be presented in three sentences; it must be based on economic calculation and economic law, inspecting adequate farms and not models, with equality of rights in all sectors, and in the private one, specialized 20-30-hectare farms managed by educated young people, interconnected with one another by various forms of cooperation.

[Question] The restoration of economic links between the countryside and the cities is conditioned by understanding of the needs of both groups by both groups, and by their mutual acceptance. Why, therefore, was the ZMW in contact with all other organizations but not with the most important partner, functioning in workers' environment--the ZSMP?

[Answer] But also in the rural environment... We have no prejudices and we do not want to repeat other people's errors concerning the monopoly of environments. The ZMW becomes generally accepted. We were accepted into the SFMD [World Federation of Democratic Youth], we cooperate with the Leninist Komsomol, as well as with organizations of socialist countries and with progressive organizations of capitalist countries. The question is therefore justified--it is strange that statutory authorities of the two unions did not meet and did not coordinate their current cooperation. I do not want to comment upon the fact nor look for its reasons. But I reiterate the repeatedly-made proposal that will be in the interest of the membership of both unions and in the interest of the Polish Youth Movement that the

authorities of the ZMW and ZSMP meet without any preconditions. We expect awareness of the need for such a meeting to mature. Recently the Plenum of the National Board took the initiative and proposed creating a consultative committee of Polish Youth. I reiterate it on my part as well. It is needed as a place of consultation for independent and autonomous unions. We can thus end the stage of the unnecessary guerrilla war between leftist youth organizations.

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## DISCREPANCY BETWEEN SCHOOL STRUCTURE, ECONOMIC NEEDS SEEN

Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 8 Apr 82 p 3

[Article by Janusz Tymowski: "Concerning National Education, Economic Needs and Young People's Aspirations"]

[Text] The present structure of disciplines in higher education meets neither the economic and cultural needs nor the aspirations and potential of enrollees in higher education. It is the outcome of crossbreeding two outmoded views.

The first view centers on the acceptance of the principle that there exists only one type of higher education--the academic education whose graduates are capable of contributing to the development of their fields. The second view holds that society's requirement for graduates in higher education can be determined quite closely in particular fields and that the numbers of graduates in particular disciplines, established for five-year plans by the Planning Commission and based on anticipated requirements as reported by individual ministries, correspond with genuine needs.

### The Need To Diversify Higher Education

The first of these views was decisively rejected after World War II following a tremendous expansion of access to higher education that resulted in considerable diversification in the preparation, preferences and self-imposed goals of the young people applying for admission. Consequently, there arose a need for departing from the single type of education and for changing the scope of the concept of "higher education." Even this designation itself is being changed to tertiary education (education of the third degree) which includes, aside from a highly theoretical academic program, a number of more practical and generally shorter 2- to 3-year long programs. This is particularly true with regard to engineering, agricultural and economic studies, though social sciences and medical sciences (nursing) tend to be included as well. At the same time, opportunities are being expanded for continuing education, permitting improvement of qualifications throughout one's lifetime. In this setting, encouragement is provided for earliest possible start for professional work, combined with supplementing one's knowledge by self-study or, possibly, by returning to school in keeping with one's changing situation and goals to be achieved.

The second view collapsed because of a number of reasons. Basic among them was the clash between attempts to disseminate higher education in its academic form as widely as possible and possibilities for sensible utilization of graduates, i.e. ensuring them of jobs matching their qualifications. An additional complication was created by the fact that virtually none but the needs of the government administrative structure and socialized economy are taken into account in planning, and qualifications of employees in the economic administration are neglected. Under these conditions, attempts to maintain the averages of students per 10,000 inhabitants have led to excessive numerical prioritizing of technical studies. This is evident in the chart below, in which percentage shares of particular groups of disciplines in the entire student populations of selected countries are presented. In the socialist countries, limitations are imposed on numbers of places in particular disciplines. In the capitalist countries, except for sporadic cases, admission numbers are proportionate to the number of applications by individual candidates.

#### Predominance of Technical Disciplines

The socialist countries are marked by exceptionally small shares of technological disciplines, along with very small shares of legal and social sciences. Less clearly visible is limited participation of the humanities with parallel humanities departments in teacher training colleges. Mathematical and natural sciences also have markedly smaller shares. The share of medical sciences is distorted because of the inclusion of physical education, highly developed in the socialist countries. Predominance of technological disciplines in the socialist countries, especially in Poland, was justified in the early postwar years in view of the forced industrialization policies conducted by all of them. However, these large shares of technological disciplines, if maintained, will cause a drop in quality and a surplus of engineers who will be placed in positions that do not require engineer's qualifications. The engineer's standing will lose prestige, frustration will follow and motivation will atrophy. This is seen with particular clarity in Poland at this time.

To provide benchmark figures, in 1979 in Poland 23,818 diplomas, including 15,535 in regular full-time courses of study, were awarded, while in the same year 10,700 engineering diplomas were issued in France.

When considering correct proportions in different academic disciplines, two large groups should be distinguished. One includes those disciplines that primarily provide preparation for work in a specified field in which personnel requirement is limited because of the level and rate of growth. Such disciplines are engineering, agricultural and medical studies which, in addition, require labs, study rooms and workshops, or clinics equipped with regularly updated equipment. These disciplines are expensive both during investment stages and in ongoing operation.

The second group includes those disciplines whose graduates for the most part are not closely connected with only one profession and can work in highly different fields. Such are academic university disciplines--law, social science, economics and the humanities; relatively inexpensive and generally (except natural science) requiring libraries alone.

In the first group of disciplines, enrollment should be limited to match anticipated requirements, provided that the curricula should be developed so that the choice of specialization occurs as late as possible. It is desirable for the students to sign preliminary employment contracts prior to their last year of study and decision on their graduate theses. This would ensure opportunities for selecting appropriate subjects for their theses and, possibly, for taking supplementary courses.

For the second group, on the other hand, the state's financial possibilities should be the only constraint. Discipline selection should be left to the interested party alone, to be influenced only by means of suitably developed professional counseling. Candidates should merely be forewarned that graduation is not a guarantee of employment matching the qualifications and, more important, the aspirations of graduates.

Given these assumptions, enrollment in engineering studies should be reduced to 60 percent of the present figures, that is, down to approximately 14,000 enrollees in regular full-time courses of study and approximately 3,000 in courses of study for those already employed, which would provide for proper equipping of laboratories, currently exceeding the country's capacities because of duplication of identical departments. Moreover, around 30 percent of regular courses of study and 80 percent of programs for job holders should be conducted as professional education (the remaining 20 percent of study programs for job holders would be reserved for supplementary work leading to M.A. degrees). Enrollment in agricultural, economic and medical studies should be maintained on the 1981 levels, provided that in agricultural and economic programs a division should be retained between job-oriented and M.A. degree programs, similar to those proposed for the engineering disciplines.

#### Increased Demand for Humanities Liberal Arts Majors

Social science and legal disciplines should be expanded so that overall percentages of college students in each year's age bracket are not reduced, provided that approximately 40 percent of the total number of students in those disciplines would be channeled into job-oriented programs.

Mathematics and natural science disciplines should be run only in strong, well-equipped and staffed academic institutions, restructuring other institutions for job-oriented programs. All extensions of universities should be similarly restructured, admission requirements in programs for job holders should be substantially more stringent, and consultation outposts should be reduced to their proper role.

Of major importance is appropriate structuring of job-oriented programs. Rather than being patterned on simplified M.A. programs, they should have their own profile, producing graduates expertly familiar with professional practices (these programs should include 2 semesters of work on the job or alternate work with study).

Teaching staff should, above all, have had professional expertise and achievements, and academic degrees should be required from lecturers in theoretical subjects alone.