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5 December 1984

EAST EUROPE REPORT

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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CENTRAL COUNCIL OF TRADE UNIONS HOLDS SIXTH PLENUM

Report on Proceedings

Sofia TRUD in Bulgarian 25 Oct 84 pp 1, 2

[Article by Sonya Gulubarova and Petur Bobanats: "Sixth Plenum of Central Council of Bulgarian Trade Unions"]

[Text] The facts are convincing: since the 12th Party Congress Bulgaria has entered upon a new stage of its development; profound changes have ensued in all areas of life. The key role in this process is allotted to the primary links of the political system, and first and foremost to the labor collectives. This creates a still more favorable sociopolitical situation and conditions for the creative activity of trade unions. They too have entered upon a new stage of their development--the problems of the labor collective and the laboring man more and more deeply pervade the sphere of their activity. This whole process of really entering into the territory of the labor collective raises a number of complex problems. It is precisely these that put on the "agenda" of trade-union daily routine the necessity of significantly reshaping trade-union organizational structure so as to decisively improve trade-union work in the collective for the release of its vital energies as the steward of socialist property.

This problem, imposed by our development, was the basic theme of the Sixth Plenum of the Central Council of Bulgarian Trade Unions, held yesterday. Georgi Atanasov, candidate member of the Political Bureau and secretary of the BCP Central Committee, participated in its proceedings. Also present were chairmen of central committees of sectorial trade unions and of BPS [Bulgarian Trade Unions] councils who are not members of the Central Council, chairmen of BPS obshtina councils, and chairmen of trade-union committees.

The plenum was opened by Georgi Evgeniev, deputy of the BPS Central Council and chairman of the Committee on Labor and Social Welfare. On his motion those present adopted the following agenda: 1) Report on decisive improvement in the quality of trade-union work; 2) Organizational questions.

Under the first item of the agenda the floor was given to Comrade Petur Dyulgerov, chairman of the BPS Central Council and candidate member of the Political Bureau of the BCP Central Committee. [See Dyulgerov report, below.]

Comrade Petur Dyulgerov's report and the other study documents distributed beforehand ("Decision on Further Improvement of the Organizational Structure of the Bulgarian Trade Unions" and "Working Program of the Central Council of the Bulgarian Trade Unions for Further Accomplishment of the Decisions of the Ninth Trade-Union Congress and of Tasks Stemming from Comrade Todor Zhivkov's Policy Speech to the Congress and for Implementation of the National Party Conference's Decision on Quality") evoked lively debate.

Speakers included Ivan Simov, chairman of the Central Committee of Trade Unions of Workers in the Chemical Industry; Prof Vasil Mruchkov, secretary of the Legislation Council of the State Council of the Bulgarian People's Republic; Zhel'o Miluev, chairman of the BPS Okrug Council in Varna; Evelina Georgieva, deputy editor-in-chief of the newspaper TRUD; Angel Luchkov, chairman of the combine trade-union committee at the L. I. Brezhnev SMK [Economic Metallurgical Combine] in Kremikovtsi; Hero of Socialist Labor Miladin Shaterov, chairman of the Central Committee of Trade Unions of Workers in Agriculture and the Food Industry; Docent Krust'o Petkov, director of the G. Dimitrov NIIPP [Scientific Research, Planning and Design Institute]; Yanka Chobanova, chairman of the Obshtina BPS Council in Razlog; Yanko Trifonov, chairman of the Okrug BPS Council in Lovech; and Bogdana Mikhaylova, chairman of the trade-union committee of the primary trade-union organization at the Sickie and Hammer Plant in Stara Zagora.

In his summary after the expressions of opinion, Comrade Petur Dyulgerov voiced his satisfaction with the thorough and creative discussion of the problems raised in the report, in the draft decisions and working program.

It is clear, he said, that the approach to the practical improvement of organizational structure must be careful and considered, without undue haste or prolongation, and after detailed study of the specific conditions. The essential work in the primary and basic trade-union organizations will be done right now during the report-and-election campaign in the trade unions. The restructuring of the territorial trade-union organizations will take place at the same time and in keeping with the improvement of the other links of the sociopolitical system.

Comrade Petur Dyulgerov focused the attention of the plenum's participants also on the most important task of the trade unions now--the utilization of all forces and resources to energize the activity of the labor collectives in fulfillment of this year's production goals, and at the same time to prepare and adopt counterplans for 1985--the last, decisive year of the 5-year plan. The compilation of these must begin after serious and comprehensive assessment and analysis of the real state of the collectives and of all undiscovered and unutilized reserves.

Study, discussions and practical actions for implementation of the decisions of the present Sixth Plenum, Comrade Petur Dyulgerov observed, must become a stimulus to still more-successful work to realize the socioeconomic strategy formulated by the 12th Party Conference.

On behalf of the elected commission on the plenum's decisions, the head of the Organization Section of the BPS Central Council, Iliya Avramov, reported the proposals that had been received for changes in and additions to the working program of the BPS Central Council, while the secretary of the BPS Central Council, Andon Traykov, reported proposals regarding the draft decision on further improvement in the organizational structure of the Bulgarian Trade Unions. The participants in the plenum unanimously adopted the proposed drafts with the additions that had been made.

The problems in and measures for increasing the part trade unions play in, and their contribution to the solution of the key problem in our development, viz., high quality everywhere and in everything, have a central place in the working program of the BPS Central Council approved by the plenum. The thrust of the efforts clearly delineates the ways to the goal: discovery and mastery of the most effective forms, means and methods for creative, zero-defect and highly productive labor; further strengthening of the BPS as public guarantor of the consistent application of the new economic approach and its mechanism; further strengthening of trade-union organizations and trade-union committees as organizers of the activity of labor collectives and collective administrative bodies; improvement in the organization and administration of socialist competition; strengthening of the science-production relationship; accelerated introduction of scientific and technical achievements and progressive experience; reduction of manual labor.

The new working program of the BPS Central Council makes greater demands on the trade unions to increase their contribution to the comprehensive and high-quality satisfaction of the laboring man's vital needs. It sets ideological and educational work the specific tasks of turning the campaign for high quality into conviction and deed of all toilers. It indicates the real possibilities for bringing the organizational activity of the trade unions up to the level of the new tasks.

The working program adopted by the plenum enriches and elaborates upon the previous program of the BPS Central Council, and on the basis of favorable experience accumulated in recent years sets the trade unions high criteria and responsibilities for implementation of the congress' plans.

Concentration of trade unions' entire activity on the labor collectives, the reduction of multiladder and multistage features in structure, and the elimination of parallelism and duplication between sectorial and territorial trade-union bodies--this is the essence of the approved decision on further improvement of BPS organizational structure.

To be more precise, the organizational structure and the scope of activity of trade-union organizations are brought into conformity with the structure and new functions of the labor collectives.

In the primary labor collectives--in the new-type brigades--wherever it is possible and advisable, the constituent trade-union organizations are turning into primary organizations with trade-union committees, while in the basic labor collectives (enterprises, institutions, institutes, etc.), primary

organizations are being reshaped into basic trade-union organizations. In economic trusts (corporations) and some other socialist organizations trade-union organs of a new type--trade-union councils--are being established. These will consist of representatives of the basic or primary trade-union organizations, elected at report-and-election meetings (conferences).

The present okrug committees of sectorial trade unions are being converted into okrug trade-union councils. Their work will be directed and organized by chairmen-by-proxy of the central committees, who are approved by the latter.

In the future, the central committees of trade unions will concentrate their activity mainly on the study of specific problems of trade-union work in their respective sector of the national economy--the setting of goals and the basic tasks of labor collectives, and the creation of conditions for the practical accomplishment thereof in close cooperation with the sectorial ministries. To this end there are taking shape in these, in the main, two lines of development--economic and social.

The plenum's decision also envisages and extends simplification of the trade-union apparatus and elevation of the role of the obshtina (rayon) BPS councils as fully adequate governing bodies of the overall activity of the basic and primary trade-union organizations in the territory of the obshtina (rayon).

A commission was approved which, in the spirit of the decision that was taken, will prepare the necessary proposals for additions to and changes in the Charter of the Bulgarian Trade Unions. This will be done at their 10th Congress.

The Bureau of the BPS Central Council will in the very near future approve individual instructions regarding the basic questions of structure and relationships between sectorial and territorial trade-union governing bodies and regarding the bylaws and tasks of the new bodies.

Under the second item of the agenda Comrade Petur Dyulgerov made a statement about several personnel changes. The plenum relieved Comrades Georgi Borgov, Georgi Georgiev and Petur Braykov as members of the Bureau and secretaries of the BPS Central Council by reason of their transfer to other employment. A favorable evaluation of their past activity was made. The plenum coopted to the BPS Central Council and elected as members of the Bureau and secretaries of the BPS Central Council Comrades Rusi Kararusinov and Ivan Angelov.

Dyulgerov Report

Sofia TRUD in Bulgarian 25 Oct 84 pp 1, 2

[Speech of Comrade Petur Dyulgerov, chairman of the BPS Central Council and candidate member of the Political Bureau of the BCP Central Committee, at the Sixth Plenum of the BPS Central Council in Sofia on 24 October 1984, reported by Sonya Gulubarova and Petur Bobanats: "On Decisive Improvement in the Quality of Trade-Union Work"]

[Text] New Approach to Labor Collective and Laboring Man
for Release of Their Vital Energies as Stewards of Socialist
Property

Improvement of Organizational Structure

Timely Response to Urgent Problems

The party has elevated the task of quality improvement everywhere and in everything to the central question of its socioeconomic strategy. Fulfillment of the long-term program adopted by the National Party Conference is already in progress. The quality problem pervades the content, and increasingly will determine the image of every activity, of all spheres of life. Moreover, quality is becoming the main criterion of how somebody works and how much he contributes to the practical implementation of party policy, to the progress of our socialist society.

The trade unions have responded at once, with specificity and in a business-like manner, to the new tasks and demands. Trade-union organs and organizations at all levels have outlined their immediate obligations and responsibilities. And this has become a natural extension of the efforts to implement the decisions of the Ninth Trade-Union Congress and the positions in Comrade Todor Zhivkov's policy speech to the congress.

But the very start of our work on quality showed that this great and difficult matter makes it imperative that we set in train new forces, that we harness the entire potential which the trade unions actually contain as an organization of the working people in our country. And this means delving deeply, with a critical and self-critical look, into the content of trade-union activity and into its organization and structure. That is, into everything that actually predetermines the quality of trade-union work itself, without which we cannot work successfully to improve quality everywhere and in everything.

The quality of trade-union work has many facets and aspects, is predetermined by many factors. But at present, in my opinion, there are three basic questions on which the successful solution of all the rest depends in maximum measure. It is these that the Bureau of the Central Council raises for discussion at the present plenum.

The first is: How, from now on, shall we work in the labor collective so that it will master its role as steward and prove itself as a powerful factor in the campaign for high product quality?

The second is: How shall we work still more closely with the individual so that he becomes a concerned and active participant in the campaign for high labor and product quality?

The third is: How shall the trade-union be restructured in order to function still more effectively under present-day sociopolitical conditions?

Further Trade-Union Work in the Labor Collective

At the very start of the first section on further trade-union work in the labor collective, the speaker pointed out that we have recently had repeated occasion to assess what the trade unions have done since the 12th Party Congress and our Ninth Congress. What is most significant in the progress we have succeeded in making during this period is the strong orientation of trade-union work toward the labor collective. The policy that everything we undertake should be aimed at the collective, should reach it, foster the processes taking place there and turn into practical results has been adopted by trade-union organs and has become the style of thinking and acting.

Going on to point out the most characteristic features of this endeavor (promotion of developmental activity at BPS Central Council and not only there, rejection of universally valid solutions and regulation, working meetings in trade-union organizations, etc.), Comrade Petur Dyulgerov emphasized that this entire process of actually going into the territory of the labor collective brings the Bulgarian Trade Unions face to face with complex problems of a new nature.

But this is easy to explain, for our country has made a reform of major character in turning the labor collective into the actual master of socialist property.

Let us see how in the present situation the relationship between the trade-union organization and the labor collective looks and is developing, and what problems are arising.

The trend is for self-organization and self-administration of the labor collective to develop. It receives the right to elect directly the governing bodies through which it decides fundamental production and social questions and voices and defends its interests. As a result, a number of tasks traditionally regarded as purely trade-union tasks are gradually passing, and cannot help but pass, into the sphere of competence of the labor collective and its organs. This applies, for example, to some aspects of counterplanning, workers' suggestions in socialist competition, progressive experience, organization of wages, social development of the collective, etc.

In this situation there are few trade-union organizations and trade-union committees, however, that know how to find appropriate methods and forms of procedure, the speaker said, and gave examples of the deficiencies most often encountered in practice.

A characteristic phenomenon is that the economic and brigade councils take away the legal powers of the labor collective and of its highest organ--the general meeting. In many places they continue to make decisions even on such questions as the adoption of the counterplan, internal rules on the organization of wages, the brigade organization of labor, profit-and-loss accounting, etc., which the regulations governing the economic mechanism say expressly are in the jurisdiction of the general meeting.

Cases are frequent where the economic council and the administrative management disregard the trade-union committee and decide without it questions which are a common obligation as, for example, the fixing of output norms and wages, labor conditions and labor safety regulations, social and domestic services, and sometimes even the organization and direction of socialist competition and the introduction of progressive experience. This creates a real danger of trade unions' losing their spheres of influence in the areas of prime significance in the life of the collective.

We should be alarmed by a very disquieting fact. It turns out that many of the trade-union committees which have lapsed into a state of passivity neither last year nor this have, on their own initiative, introduced for consideration and decision by the collective administrative bodies a single question that inheres to them, while some have done this only for social and domestic problems. In this way another danger arises--hiding behind the back of the collective, the trade unions will depersonalize their own specific responsibilities.

The conclusion is that the process of turning the labor collective into a self-administering unit has run into serious difficulties, into misunderstanding including even distortion. At this point a real conflict arises which we must see right now. On the one hand, behind ostensibly democratic forms the old administrative character and approaches are preserved; on the other, the trade-union organization lags behind in its development as organizer of the collective organs of administration.

Actually, comrades, in the middle of the post-congress period the trade unions find themselves at an extremely crucial moment of their development. It is becoming quite obvious that the trade-union organizations cannot operate in the same way now that the labor collective is becoming an independent subject of economic, labor and administrative relations. It is precisely here that a radical change must take place which will impart a new image to the trade-union organization and a new quality to its interrelationships with the collective.

The main thing to understand now is that the trade-union organization does not and cannot compete with the labor collective. It is not and cannot be a party or, to be still more precise, a partner in its relationships with the latter. The trade-union organization is not something above the collective or to the side of the collective. On the contrary, as a sociopolitical form of the collective's existence and functioning, the trade-union organization is called upon to organize and serve the collective and the collective's organs, to help in the performance of their functions, and to realize its purpose through their activity.

There is no room for any apprehensions, Comrade Dyulgerov emphasized, that the content of trade-union work will be watered down. Just the opposite--many wider opportunities are opening up for the activity of the labor-collective organizer. Moreover, this is activity of a higher nature; the responsibility here is greater.

As a result, the very formulation of his own image, of the specific field of trade-union work, takes on a different sense and content. The trade unions,

their activity, the results thereof must be evinced through the collective. This is something qualitatively new; this is the calling of an organization like ours under present-day conditions.

Hence, from the standpoint of content and subject matter there is no reason to divide into separate fields between the labor collective and the trade-union organization the integrated activity and functions of the labor collective. For all of us trade-union workers, this is a rule which we must comply with in practice.

It is now becoming a matter of decisive significance to find and strictly observe the rules and procedures for the preparation, consideration and decision of the labor collective's basic questions, by which rules and procedures unity of action will be assured, with no duplication or buck-passing between the labor collective's organs, the economic management and the trade-union committee.

It is felt necessary that every labor collective have its own internal regulations on the structure and operating procedure of its administrative organs. It is now adopting such regulations on many other questions--the organization of labor, wages, profit-and-loss accounting, internal labor discipline, supervision of socialist competition, etc. Trade unions can and must become initiators in the solution of this problem.

The multifaceted and dynamic life in the collective cannot be regulated by directions and prescriptions from above. It must proceed and improve in accordance with the changing social practice, maturity, needs and specific conditions in every labor collective. From this fact follows every trade-union organization's vital role of establishing consistently, and making a principled defense of, the intracollective regulations and procedures by which the steward's functions in practice are accomplished. Or, as Comrade Todor Zhivkov says in his lectures, so do that every collective knows how to proceed in different specific instances of its activity in order to concentrate its attention on the actual substance of its job rather than on bureaucratic red tape. This is one of the most essential characteristics and signs of the organizer of a labor collective's activity.

In this profoundly independent behavior of the trade-union organization there are, however, fundamental, universally valid and mandatory principles, which the party as political guarantor of democracy elaborates and substantiates. These include the following,

- the inseparable unity between rights and responsibilities; the complete responsibility of the collective for not harming the interests of society;
- the organic combining of collectivism with one-man management in order to achieve greater order, discipline and organization in production;
- final and binding force of collective decisions within the limits of the legal powers granted to the collective to express its will;
- the preferability of direct over representative democracy so that everybody will be involved in the destiny of the common cause;

--equal right of all members of the labor collective to participate in the collective organs of administration, a complete elective system, succession and renewal so that all workers pass through the administration school;

--development of criticism and self-criticism in order to eliminate all barriers in the way of the collective's initiative and activism, as well as to rebuff selfish and group interests;

--the representatives of the collective at all levels of administration should voice and defend its opinion. And this means accepting this opinion and reporting back to the collective.

Clearly, comrades, an extremely important task is emerging for the trade unions --that of cultivating in the collective the skills to work with the difficult instrumentarium of the democratic system and using this strong lever to move ahead.

Decisive improvement in the quality of trade-union work is inconceivable without the consistent application of a differentiated approach.

We have said that trade-union work is firmly oriented toward the labor collective. This means reaching the brigade labor collective and here deploying all its energies and capabilities. At this level the new processes go on most intensively and not always smoothly, and the need for the organizer's specific and energetic activity is felt especially acutely.

We cannot come into the primary labor collective, the brigade, section, sector, and so on, with the same questions and operate in the same way as in the basic labor collective. The characteristics of the new-type steward-collective are delineated in maturest form on the production line in the brigades. Here, however, the abilities of the present constituent trade-union organization or trade-union group are most limited. The need for a new organizational structure and status of these links arises objectively here. We have already begun to transform the trade-union groups into constituent trade-union organizations with trade-union committees. But this in fact has not changed things. The character and level of their activity remain like those of the former trade-union groups in many respects.

As is known, in the primary labor collective the basic and highest form of organizational life is the trade-union meeting. But the general meeting of the brigade also functions with the same membership. The duplication between them is already a fact which with good reason disturbs the trade-union workers in the enterprises. The question is rightfully asked: Under these conditions, what will the trade-union meeting deal with, and how?

The right answer cannot be sought either in a merger of the brigade meeting with the trade-union meeting or in establishing parity rights of both or in converting the trade-union meeting into an advisory body.

The person is the same and we must not ask him to participate in two roles simultaneously, and that on the selfsame question. To prevent this, we need a

new type of trade-union meeting with changed content and management of its conduct.

What would it look like from the organizational viewpoint?

Let us take the commonest procedure according to which trade-union work is conducted: preparation of decisions--making of decisions--implementation of decisions. In this entire cycle the trade-union organization has hitherto acted and expressed its opinion independently. That is the way it will be in the future as well on all questions of organization and regulations and on questions which are in the exclusive jurisdiction of the trade unions as, for example, the monitoring of labor safety regulations, compliance with labor legislation, protection of the interests of the individual member and individual groups in the collective, organization of the activity of the collective administrative bodies, etc. But in respect of the problems which have passed to the jurisdiction of the collective, the position from which the trade-union organization acts has changed. In respect of these problems the trade-union organization assumes a great part of the duties and responsibilities involved in the preparation of the labor collective's decisions. In the making of these decisions the autonomy of the labor collective is complete. To be sure, here too the trade-union organization may make motions or express its reasons and standpoints when a given question is being discussed and decided. As regards the implementation of the decisions that are made, it has a broad and independent field for working, but with the power of public influence and control.

The trade-union organization neither creates economic and material conditions nor decides, instead of the collective, questions of planning, profit-and-loss accounting, organization of and payment for labor, and so on. It sees to and requires observance and application of established principles of management and democratic life; in a word, it creates the social conditions and atmosphere therefor.

Comrade Petur Dyulgerov also took up the question of the trade-union presence in scientific-research collectives and in collectives in the sphere of public administration as insufficiently responsive to the spirit of the Ninth Trade-Union Congress. Indeed, it is becoming urgent for the Central Council, together with the central committees, to find a timely and promising solution for enriching the content and elevating the quality of trade-union work there.

When we speak of concentrating trade-union work in the labor collective, this in no wise relieves the trade unions of the duty of also working **/for/** [in boldface] the collective, i.e., representing, championing and defending its interests in a horizontal and vertical line. The trade unions in our country are not a mechanical sum of the labor collectives' trade-union organizations. They are an integrated sociopolitical organization of the working class, of all people of labor, erected from bottom to top on the basis of democratic centralism. Given the diversity of interests and the difference in conditions, they can and must ensure a unity of direction in the actions of all the collectives and working people in the entire social system.

Although in the labor collective itself our representation, as thus far conceived, is to a great extent being transformed into an organizational function, in outside contacts and relations the need for strong and effective representation is increasing more and more.

Comrade Dyulgerov went on to consider the question of the role of trade unions in strengthening relations among brigades and among the collectives in the conurbation system. He called attention also to trade-union cooperation with state and economic organs, as well as with other public organizations. It must be based on competence and efficiency, without duplication, without sidestepping of duties, with practical results sought without fail.

The speaker emphasized that the great reforms taking place in society and collective are new in principle both as theory and practice. The party is the leading and organizing force which is breaking the path for these reforms. It is the political leader also of the processes taking place in the labor collective. Under the party's leadership, trade unions are shouldering and performing their new responsibilities. This is the guarantee of our organization's development and growth. In entrusting them with the role of organizers of the labor collective, the party has shown great political confidence. The efforts we make to develop trade-union work in the collective are a manifestation of our endeavor to respond with deeds and results to this high confidence.

Trade-Union Work With the Individual

Trade-union work with the individual is the gist of the second section of the report.

Concern for the laboring man and work with him have always been the deepest ideological, political and social motive of the trade unions' entire activity and have determined its sense and substance, the very character of trade unions as an organization.

Now, however, this position is enriched with qualitatively new content. As Comrade Petur Dyulgerov pointed out, trade-union work with the individual must be considered as a necessity and a necessary extension for implementation of the position that the labor collective is the main center of overall trade-union activity.

For our work with the individual to become concrete and effective, we must know how to transform every problem--whether it is technical, economic, planning, etc.--into human problems like the problem of working with people, which is solved by people.

The Ninth Congress itself, standing firmly on the platform of the 12th Party Congress, succeeded in giving a concrete interpretation of trade-union tasks for work with the individual on the most complex problems of our development such as intensification and scientific and technical progress, application of the economic approach, the development of democracy. We try to proceed thus in explaining and organizing the execution of every major task. This is precisely what we must also achieve with regard to the key problem of labor and product quality. We have assumed such a commitment to the National Party Conference.

Formulating a task intelligibly and concretely in such a way that every worker and specialist understands it is a guarantee of success. But this is not enough. It is simply mandatory that this task be given meaning and promoted to the utmost via the interest of the individual, for without this his activism cannot be elicited.

The area of the laboring man's interests and the area of their connection with the collective's interests will be the most important area for trade unions from now on. Trade-union work, even in its purely organizational aspect, must be built on the interests and needs of the people.

In the interests of the trades, for example, the speaker said, is to be found one of the deepest roots of the trade unions; their very name as an organization derives therefrom. It is here that a significant stable and extremely promising field for their activity is emerging. On it we shall increasingly base our work with the laboring man and shall win recognition as a necessary and sought-after vocational organization.

Among the questions in this area that we must solve--and in a different manner at that--Comrade Dyulgerov singled out the question of skill as a basis of professional growth, quality of labor as the essential trait of high professionalism, growth on the job, competitions and elections, and the mechanisms that advance a person in his profession.

These are party positions that have been clarified, but they are new questions in our social practice. The main thing is that in every labor collective we must create a situation where normative decisions can be converted into effectively operating social mechanisms, adopted and set in motion by the people themselves, the speaker emphasized. This is the most difficult transition, for deep-rooted habits, formalism, envy, misunderstood authority, and frequently even resistance have to be overcome. We see, for example, with how much difficulty the election of brigadiers is making its way--a question categorically decided in the regulations governing the economic mechanism. The data show that such an election is held in fewer than 50 percent of the brigades, and there are still fewer where the election is the kind it should be.

The very character of trade unions puts them in a very responsible role and position in solving the present-day problems of a person's development and advance in his occupation. From this viewpoint a serious change in the trade union's protective function is imperative. It is oriented now toward protection of the status quo and established occupational and official privileges. Thus not infrequently trade-union committees lapse into the position of a restraining factor, which very often successfully shields mediocrity, and at the same time fails to extend a firm hand to the innovator, the talented, get-ahead person. The new constructive and socially progressive sense of protection is that it should be the foe of any kind of professional stagnation and should become the motive force of professional progress.

Very often we use the argument that trade unions are an umbrella and democratic organization. The sense of these concepts is that trade-union work is intended for all and must be performed by all trade-union members.

If we want to carry this principle to its conclusion, we shall have to reconsider our present views about the very firm division into activists and regular trade-union members that has sprung up. What is meant by regular trade-union member--one who is not committed to anything, who only pays his membership dues and asks for privileges? And the activist one who is always included in this group?

The data we have from investigations which have been conducted show that about one-third of trade-union members have received no assignments along trade-union lines and many more have never been elected to trade-union governing bodies. It is imperative to expand organizationally the group of trade-union members enlisted in public forms of work.

The goal is that every laboring person should go through the great school of public commitments to his trade-union organization and labor collective. This is one of the guarantees that at all times the best suited person will rise to leadership work in the trade-union system.

In this connection the report noted the importance of current information about the problems of collectives and personnel. Information received through the trade unions must have the character of a responsible report to the collectives so that the confidence of the people in them will constantly grow.

From all that has been said thus far the general conclusion is inescapable that the quality of trade-union work, its meaningfulness and effectiveness, its prestige with society and the individual is to be judged not by what the trade-union organs and cadres themselves think of it, but by how the people, the broad masses perceive trade-union work, what their personal attitude toward the trade unions is, what their conduct as trade-union members is.

Improvement of Organizational Structure of Bulgarian Trade Unions

The section devoted to improvement of the organizational structure of the Bulgarian trade unions is exceptionally well-reasoned.

In considering practical approaches to decisive improvement in the quality of trade-union work, one inevitably comes to the question of the organizational structure of the trade unions. It is inevitable, for how the trade-union links will operate, what the cooperation among them will be, what the main direction will be in which their main efforts are pointed depends in great degree on structure.

The question of improvement of the organizational structure of the trade unions has always been a matter of constant attention for us, the speaker pointed out. Many discussions have been conducted and different solutions have been tested. This is easy to explain, too, for trade unions have specific characteristics distinguishing them from other sociopolitical organizations. Such a characteristic is the combination of the sectorial and territorial principle in the organizational structure and in the leadership of trade-union activity.

The sectorial and territorial principle is an objective necessity for the trade-union system, resulting from their character as a united and all-inclusive organization of all workers built on the craft-and-industrial and on the territorial principle.

The Ninth Congress set specific goals for the improvement of the organizational structure of the trade unions. The critical analysis made in connection therewith shows that the sectorial and territorial principles, carried to their conclusion and applied to the entire structure of the trade unions, divide and make two-directional the united and indivisible trade-union membership and the united and indivisible basis of the trade unions--the primary trade-union organization.

A big question arises: How, without impairing either principle, is the guiding activity of the sectorial and territorial trade-union organs and cooperation between them to reach the primary trade-union organization and trade-union member as a united and one-directional leadership? And at the same time, what changes should we make so that the problems and needs of the primary organizations and labor collectives get, without hindrance, to the levels at which they can receive speedy solution?

This is the place to say that the ideas on the improvement of organizational structure have been developed and perfected thanks to Comrade Todor Zhivkov's memorandum to the Political Bureau regarding some urgent questions in the application of the economic approach and the improvement of administration, which was considered and approved by the plenum of the Party Central Committee on 3 January 1984. It gave us the political program and created the situation for a thorough updating in the structure of the Bulgarian Trade Unions in harmony with the changes adopted in the entire system of social administration. At the same time the demands of the National Party Conference for the improvement of quality in all links of the social system direct our attention to this problem.

What are the starting points in the proposed reshaping of the organizational structure of the Bulgarian Trade Unions? As the speaker stressed, the key goal in this reorganization is to concentrate the entire trade-union activity in the labor collective, to reach the individual, and to raise the efficiency and independent action of the trade-union organization to the maximum.

The reorganization must provide the necessary and advisable conformity of the structure and content of the activity of trade union organs with the administrative structure of the national economy.

Duplication in the activity of sectorial and territorial trade-union organs must be abolished and the multichanneling of managerial influence on the basic trade-union organization must be overcome.

The internal structure of the machinery of trade-union organs at all levels must be consolidated and simplified so as to become flexible and rational; the businesslike character of trade-union activity must be heightened, and the quality thereof elevated.

The report went on to consider also specific questions in the reorganization of trade-union structure in the spirit of these initial principles. It substantiated the necessity of building in the primary labor collectives--mainly in the new-type brigades--primary organizations with a trade-union committee, and in the basic collective--enterprise, institution, institute, combine--a basic trade-union organization.

This predetermines trade-union structure in both economic organizations and corporations. In these a new trade-union organ--the trade-union council--is set up. This form will reinforce the positions of the sectorial central committee in the economic organization in solving the basic socioeconomic problems of the labor collectives. In order for the new structure to be more dynamic, rebuilding must also take place in the organizational structure of the sectorial trade unions. In the place of the now-existing okrug committees, it is advisable to set up trade-union councils, which, jointly with the okrug BPS councils, will work on specific problems in the sector. In the future, the central trade-union committees will have to orient their activity toward the solution of specific sectorial problems that lie outside the jurisdiction of the basic trade-union organizations in the labor collectives, mainly in the economic and social-protection area. In order for the trade-union system to function more effectively, the reorganization envisages the strengthening of the obshtina BPS councils as governing bodies of the trade-union organizations in their territory.

The cause in which we are engaged is by no means easy, Comrade Petur Dyulgerov pointed out in conclusion. It puts all trade-union workers to serious testing--testing of cadres for mastery of party strategy, approaches to implementation thereof, and their capacity to educate and organize workers in the practical realization of the bold party initiatives.

The decisions which the plenum makes will affect all the cells of the trade-union system. We must now, however, permit the organizational questions of restructuring to divert attention from genuine trade-union work, from the fundamental tasks we have to perform. It will be a great error if we slacken our efforts for the successful fulfillment of the counterplans for this year and the preparation thereof for next year, for implementation and constant enrichment of the programs for the improvement of product quality, for the accelerated introduction of scientific and technical progress and advanced experience, for savings of physical resources, for raising labor productivity, etc. Nor is it admissible in carrying out the organizational and structural changes for anybody to put his interests ahead of the interests of our multimillion organization. Nor is it admissible to be apathetic towards the personal fate of the people.

What is needed is high-mindedness, organization and consistency in actions.

From a practical perspective, what must we begin with, what are our most immediate tasks?

The first task is to carry out the reorganizations affecting the structures of the Central Trade-Union Council, the central committees and okrug trade-union councils. It is understandable why this restructuring has to begin precisely

from top to bottom. Special instructions and intervention from the center regarding this must not be expected. Specific proposals must be formulated by the trade-union organs concerned in conformity with the positions and decisions of today's plenum.

The second task is to prepare and conduct the impending report-and-election campaign in such a way that it will accomplish some of the changes which, according to the charter, must be decided in accordance with this procedure and at the same time lay a firm foundation for the further restructuring of trade-union work and a decisive elevation of its quality. More specifically, it is a question of report-and-election meetings to set up new trade-union organs and organizations in the primary and basic labor collectives, as well as trade-union councils in the economic organizations and okrugs.

As is known, the 2-year survey of the competence of the primary trade-union organizations was recently wound up. At meetings they made an overall evaluation of their work. This gives us reason not to repeat in this report-and-election campaign what has already been done, but to look ahead to new problems.

The third task is to create a firm organizational-and-statutory and normative foundation for the reorganization that we are undertaking.

By preparing the necessary changes in the Charter of the Bulgarian Trade Unions at the next congress we must consolidate all the necessary changes that are taking place in the structure and activity of our organization.

By means of the new Labor Code and concomitant documents we must incorporate completely into reality all the basic principles of party conception having to do with the labor collective, the individual worker and the new responsibilities of the trade unions.

By our participation in the preparation of the economic mechanism for the Ninth 5-Year Plan, we must contribute to the utmost to the creation of conditions and preconditions for turning the labor collective in truth into the steward of socialist property, and the trade unions into organizers of its activity.

Responsibility for the fulfillment of these tasks falls first and foremost on the Central Council and on the governing trade-union organs in the sectors and okrugs. They are called upon to give an example of innovative approach and rational and principled action.

In a happy combination of far-sighted leadership from above, freed of all kinds of stereotype and schemes, and with strong initiative from the bottom lies the key to success, the wellspring of new vital forces, which will win recognition for the Bulgarian Trade Unions as a prestigious and firm bulwark of the party in the implementation of its policy, and as an organization of and for the working people.

Biographies of New Secretaries

Sofia TRUD in Bulgarian 25 Oct 84 p 1

[Text]



Rusi Kararusinov



Ivan Angelov

Comrade Rusi Stoyanov Kararusinov was born on 5 March 1932 in the city of Malko Turnovo, Burgas Okrug, in a working-class family. RMS [Workers' Youth Union] member effective as of 1946 and BCP member since 1955. As a high-school student in his home town, he participated actively in EMOS [High School Students Youth Union] and SNM [People's Youth Union] life and then was employed in the Okoliya Committee of the People's Youth Union in Malko Turnovo as department chief and first secretary. He completed his higher education at Moscow State University.

During the period from 1957 to 1984 he was a department chief of the BCP City Committee in Malko Turnovo, instructor and deputy department chief of DKMS [Dimitrov Communist Youth Union] Central Committee, department chief of Blagoev Rayon BCP Committee in Sofia and of BCP City Committee in Sofia, first secretary of Lenin Rayon BCP Committee in Sofia, deputy and first deputy chief of Propaganda and Agitation Department of BCP Central Committee, director of BAN [Bulgarian Academy of Sciences] Contemporary Social Theories Institute, first deputy chief of Mass Media Department of BCP Central Committee.

Comrade Rusi Kararusinov is a candidate of philosophical sciences and a docent. At the 12th BCP Congress he was elected a candidate member of the BCP Central Committee.

Comrade Ivan Khristov Angelov was born on 21 June 1931 in the city of Plovdiv in a working-class family. RMS member effective 1945 and BCP member since 1954. As a student he participated actively in RMS and EMOS life. He is a graduate of the Karl Marx Higher Institute of Economics in Sofia.

During the period from 1954 to 1984 he was secretary of the VK [expansion unknown] of the DKMS at the Karl Marx Higher Institute of Economics in Sofia, department chief and secretary of the DKMS City Committee in Plovdiv, instructor of the BCP City Committee in Plovdiv, director of the "Druzhiba" [Friendship] Glass Works, chief of the Industrial and Economic Department of the City and Okrug BCP Committee in Plovdiv, secretary of the BCP City Committee and Okrug Committee, first deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers' Price Committee, first deputy minister of finance, chief of the Main Administration for State Finance Control with the rank of first deputy minister, deputy chairman of social principles of the NTS [Scientific and Technical Unions] Central Council.

At the 11th and 12th BCP Congresses he was elected candidate member of the BCP Central Committee.

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CSO: 2200/30

WAYS OF MEASURING RADIOACTIVE CONTAMINATION DESCRIBED

Sofia GRAZHDANSKA OTBRANA in Bulgarian No 9, 1984 pp 12-14

[Article by Kostadin Stoychev in the column "Training Aid": "With Greater Attention! How to Measure Radioactive Contamination"]

[Text] The irradiation of people and animals on contaminated terrain is greatest in the first hours after the deposition of radioactive dust. A dose accumulates in the organism nonuniformly--in the first 6 hours it is up to 30 percent of the entire possible dose,* and in the first 24-hour period it is up to 47-50 percent. Later on accumulation takes place more slowly.

Therefore measurements of radiation level are made as frequently as possible during the first and second 24-hour period after the moment of contamination. The accuracy of measurement of radiation level, as well as of the degree of contamination of personnel, machinery, equipment, food products, feeds, water, etc., is of great importance for the combat efficiency of formations and for the protection of the population and animals.

Fission products for the most part are beta or beta-gamma active substances. Therefore the measurement of radioactive contamination can be a measurement of both beta- and gamma-radiation contamination. We know that beta radiation is highly absorbent by air. If a flux of beta particles at a height of 10 cm above the earth's surface is taken as a unit, at the height of the hands it is attenuated 10-fold, and at the height of the head approximately 100-fold. That is why in measuring radiation level the ionizing action of beta radiation is taken into account only when at a height of about 100 cm the radiation level created by beta radiation exceeds the level of gamma radiation. Hence, in measuring a radioactively contaminated terrain the principal readings taken are the gamma radiation level and the resultant dose.

The following tables give the permissible external gamma-irradiation doses and degrees of gamma-radiation contamination of various objects, food products and water.

*The entire possible dose is that which the organism would receive if irradiated continuously from the moment of radioactive-dust deposition till the drop of the radiation level to 0.

Table 1

HUMAN EXTERNAL TOTAL GAMMA-IRRADIATION DOSES INDUCING
NO NOTICEABLE LESSENING OF WORKING CAPACITY

No.	Character of irradiation	Dose in r
1	Single irradiation	50
2	Multiple irradiation in the course of first 10-30 days	100
3	In the course of 3 months	200
4	In the course of 1 year	300

Table 2

DEGREES OF CONTAMINATION BY NUCLEAR-EXPLOSION PRODUCTS
(MORE THAN 1 DAY OLD) NOT INDUCING RADIATION INJURY

No.	Name of object	Radiation dose (dose rate) in mr/h
1	Human body surface	20
2	Underwear	20
3	Facepiece of gas mask	10
4	Accouterments, equipment, shoes, means of individual protection	30
5	Materiel and technical equipment	200
6	Inside surfaces of bakeries, ration supply dumps, wells	50
7	Animal body surface	50

Nota bene: In measuring the degree of contamination of the objects and food products indicated in the tables, the distance between the counter (probe of the instrument) and the surface under examination must be 1 to 1.5 cm.

Obviously in many cases it is imperative to know the age of the nuclear-explosion products. To determine this, two radiation-level measurements (R_1 and R_2) must be made in a known time interval Δt , following which age is determined with the use of Table 4.

Table 3

DEGREES OF CONTAMINATION OF FOOD PRODUCTS AND WATER
NOT RESULTING IN RADIATION INJURY

(1) Наименование на продуктите	(2) Мярка	(3) Степен на заразяване в мР/ч при възраст на продуктите на ядрения взрив			(6)
		(4) 1 дено- нощие	(5) 5 дено- нощия	повече от 10 денонощия	
7 Вода	л 15	10	5	2	
8 Течни или в насипно състояние продукти (зърно) и храна в готов вид	л/кг 15	10	5	2	
9 Тестени изделия (фиде, макарони и др.), сухи плодове и зеленчуци	кг 17	5	2,5	1	
10 хляб	кг 17	6	3	1,5	
11 месо	кг 17	50	25	10	
12 риба	кг 17	10	5	2	
13 мляко за възрастни	л 15	0,6	независимо от възрастта на продуктите на ядрения взрив (18)		
14 мляко за деца	л 15	0,1			

Key:

1. Name of products
2. Measure
3. Degree of contamination in mr/h when age of nuclear-explosion products is
4. 1 day
5. 5 days
6. More than 10 days
7. Water
8. Liquid or bulk products (grain) and ready-to-eat food
9. Paste products (spaghetti, macaroni, etc.), dried fruit and vegetables
10. Bread
11. Meat
12. Fish
13. Milk for adults
14. Milk for babies
15. Liter
16. Liter/kg
17. Kg
18. Regardless of age of nuclear-explosion products

Table 4

TIME FROM NUCLEAR EXPLOSION (AGE OF PRODUCTS) TO FIRST
MEASUREMENT OF RADIATION LEVEL (IN HOURS)

$\frac{R_2}{R_1}$	0.1	0.2	0.3	0.4	0.5	0.6	0.7	0.8	0.9
$\Delta t = t_2 - t_1$									
0.5 (30 min)	—	—	—	—	—	0.9	1.5	2.5	6.2
1	—	—	—	0.9	1.3	1.9	2.9	5	12.5
2	—	—	1.1	1.7	2.6	3.8	5.9	10	25
3	—	1	1.7	2.6	3.8	5.7	8.8	15	38
4	—	1.4	2.3	3.5	5.1	7.5	12	20	50
6	1	2.1	3.4	5.2	7.7	11	18	30	75
8	1.4	2.8	4.6	7	10	15	24	40	100
10	1.7	3.5	5.7	8.7	13	19	29	50	125

Example: At 1100 hours radiation level $R_1=30$ r/h is measured, at 1500 hours (in the same place) $R_2=15$ r/h.

We determine (by means of the table) the age of the nuclear-explosion products (or moment of the nuclear explosion) in the following manner: we calculate the ratio $R_2/R_1=15/30=0.5$ and determine the time interval between the two measurements $\Delta t=t_2-t_1=15-11=4$ hours.

We find in the table that the value corresponding to 4 hours and ratio 0.5 is 5.1 hours, i.e., the explosion took place 5 hours before the first measurement (made at 1100 hours), i.e., about 0600 hours.

The radiation level or degree of gamma-radiation contamination is measured with RR-51-M, RR-51-A, DP-5-A, etc., roentgenometer-radiometers.

It must be borne in mind in reading the results that, depending on the subrange in which we are measuring (this holds true especially for the sensitive subranges), the needle of the instrument wavers between two values—one of which is the minimum and the other the maximum. The arithmetic mean of these is taken.

Example: The minimum reading is $R_1=15$ mr/h, and the maximum $R_2=23$ mr/h. The arithmetic mean= 19 mr/h.

In measuring the radioactive contamination of various objects the following basic requirements are observed: the instrument is prepared for operation in accordance with the instructions; the degree of contamination of objects is measured in an uncontaminated area; the gamma background in the spot where the object is to be examined is determined before the measurement itself;

in measuring the gamma background the contaminated objects are removed to a distance of at least 15-20 m from the spot where the measurement is made.

The measurement of the gamma background is accomplished in the following order: the shield of the probe is fixed in position "G" [expansion unknown; possibly gotovo, ready] (window open); the probe (with supports down) is placed at the spot where the degree of contamination will be measured; the instrument reading R_{bkg} is taken.

The measurement itself is made in the following manner: the object is placed at the spot where the gamma background has been measured; the probe is brought near (with supports towards the surface which will be examined) at a height of 1 to 1.5 cm, and by moving the probe nearer the points of most intense contamination are found; the instrument reading $R_{m.obj}$ is taken.

The degree of radioactive contamination of the object R_{obj} is determined by subtracting the gamma background R_{bkg} from the measured contamination of the object $R_{m.obj}$, divided by the coefficient K, which takes into account the shielding effect of the object itself, i.e.,

$$R_{obj} = (R_{m.obj} - R_{bkg}) / K$$

The values of K in checking the contamination of various objects are as follows:

- for personnel of formations and for farm animals 1.2;
- for hand arms, means of individual protection, unfolded clothing, medical equipment, food containers and packages, cooking utensils, equipment of mess-halls, bakeries and ration supply dumps 1;
- for motor transport and other machinery 1.5;
- for tanks and armored carriers 2.

Example: 1) In checking a motor vehicle, the degree of contamination $R_{m.obj} = 210$ mr/h is measured. The gamma background, determined beforehand, has a value of $R_{bkg} = 30$ mr/h. The degree of contamination of the motor vehicle will be $R_{obj} = 210 - 30 / 1.5 = 190$ mr/h. Since the permissible degree of motor-vehicle contamination is $R_{per} = 200$ mr/h, it is considered contaminated.

2) In examining contaminated clothing (unfolded), the rate of contamination $R_{m.obj} = 90$ mr/h is measured. The gamma background has a value of $R_{bkg} = 30$ mr/h. The degree of contamination of the clothing will be $R_{obj} = 90 - 30 / 1 = 60$ mr/h; hence it is contaminated.

In measuring the radioactive contamination of tents, tarpaulins, shelter halves, truck tilts and other objects which are no barrier to gamma radiation,

in order to determine which side is contaminated, two measurements are made at the same height (1 to 1.5 cm) from the surface, once with the window of the probe open (position "B" [expansion unknown] and "G"), and then with the window closed (position "G"). If in the first case readings are appreciably greater, this indicates that the surface under examination is contaminated with beta-gamma radioactive substances. If, however, both readings are the same (or approximately the same), the surface is not contaminated with beta radioactive substances, or else the reverse side is contaminated and must be examined.

Example: The degree of contamination of a tilt removed from a motor vehicle is measured $R_{m.obj} = 350$ mr/h. The gamma background has a value of $R_{bkg} = 30$ mr/h. The degree of contamination of the tilt is $R_{obj} = 350 - 30 / 1.5 = 330$ mr/h, i.e., it is contaminated. It is necessary to ascertain which side of it is contaminated. Two measurements of each side are made. The following results are obtained:

--in the first measurement, with the window of the probe open, $R_1 = 355$ mr/h;

--in the second, with the window closed, $R_2 = 350$ mr/h.

Consequently, there is no contamination of this side.

Examination of the other side yields the following results:

--with the window closed, $R_1 = 420$ mr/h;

--with the window closed, $R_2 = 350$ mr/h; hence this side is contaminated with beta-gamma radioactive substances.

In measuring terrain radiation level, the probe shield is in position "G," i.e., the window is closed. The probe, with supports down, is held at a height of 100 cm. The hand is extended to the side of the body. In this case it is not necessary to correct the values of the radiation-level readings of the instrument. If, however, the hand with the probe is drawn in towards the body, or if the probe is in the instrument case, the readings are multiplied by the coefficient $K = 1.2$, which allows for the shielding action of the body. For the instrument DP-5-A this is mandatory for the subrange $5 \div 200$ r/h, since the counter for this subrange is in the instrument itself and it is right next to the body.

Example: The radiation level $R_m = 800$ mr/h is measured, with the instrument probe in its case. The actual radiation level is $R = R_m$. $K = 800 \cdot 1.2 = 960$ mr/h.

Good instruction and training of the personnel of the civil defense bodies concerned and excellent acquaintance with the above-indicated requirements in the detection and measurement of the radioactive contamination of different objects by the external environment are a guarantee that the combat efficiency of the formations will be preserved and that the population and national economy will be protected against the harmful effect of this injurious factor of nuclear weapons.

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RESCUE OPERATIONS FOLLOWING USE OF CHEMICAL WEAPONS OUTLINED

Sofia GRAZHDANSKA OTBRANA in Bulgarian No 9, 1984 p 31

[Article by Maj Vlado Vladimirov in the column "In Answer to Your Inquiries":
"Rescue Operations at High Temperatures"]

[Text] Question asked by Yordan Lyutskanov, chief of Civil Defense Staff in city of Letnitsa, Lovech Okrug: The use of gas masks and protective antichemical clothing is obligatory in rendering aid to the casualties from organophosphorus toxic agents at the center of mass chemical contamination. At great heats with an air temperature of +25 to 30° C, however, one cannot spend more than 30 to 45 minutes in a gas mask and in antichemical clothing because of the risk of overheating of the organism and the onset of acute disorders, heart shock or heat stroke.

Since there are people over middle age (45-60 years old) in the formations, I should like to hear how to organize rescue operations, and how and in how many shifts to operate.

Answer: Organophosphorus chemical warfare agents possess high toxicity in low concentrations and have a rapid casualty effect on the human organism, which becomes apparent on inhalation of contaminated air or skin contact with the drops. Therefore it is of extreme importance to organize and carry out timely first-aid work for casualties at the center of chemical contamination.

Formation personnel must use the supplied means of individual protection for the respiratory organs (gas mask) and the skin (protective socks, gloves, overalls or protective clothing).

High air temperatures do not significantly affect how long a person can work in a gas mask, protective socks, gloves and overalls, but do limit how long he can remain in protective clothing. This is shown in the table below.

Failure to observe the indicated norms can lead to overheating of the organism due to its total isolation from the external environment and the disruption of natural heat exchange. To increase the time one can work in protective clothing, a "shielding" cotton coverall can be put on over it. The coverall is drenched profusely with water as often as possible and as it dries, it cools the organism. In this way working time at an air temperature of +25-30° C, for

example, can be increased from 30 minutes to 1 hour. To increase working time in the winter, protective clothing is put on over woolen outer garments, gloves and shoes (boots).

Air temperature	Time spent continuously in protective clothing
Above +30° C	15-20 minutes
From +25° to +29°	Up to 30 minutes
From +20° to 24°	40-50 minutes
From +15° to +19°	1.5-2 hours
Below +15°	4-5 hours

Rescue work at the center of contamination is usually carried on at a rescuer-to-casualty ratio of 1:1 and must be completed within 3 hours after contamination. Shift work is imperative at a chemical contamination center falling within zones of radioactive contamination so as to prevent overexposure of formation personnel. Casualties are partially decontaminated at the center of contamination itself or immediately after leaving it, and from the collecting point they are immediately directed to medical installations where they are given specialized medical aid.

The casualties and formation personnel who have carried on rescue operations at the center of contamination undergo complete personnel decontamination at fixed shower facilities. Clothing is decontaminated at clothing-decontamination stations.

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BULGARIA

NEW DATA ON U.S. STRATEGIC AIR COMMAND CAPABILITIES

Sofia GRAZHDANSKA OTBRANA in Bulgarian No 9, 1984 pp 35-37

[Article by Engr-Col Veselin Stoyanov: "Carrier of Nuclear Death"]

[Text] Militaristic circles in the United States are continuing their war preparations. As before, the Washington administration is endeavoring to attain military superiority over the USSR and the other countries of the socialist community. And although recently frequent sounds of "peace-loving" assurances have been heard from across the ocean, even with the best will we cannot detect the slightest signs of readiness to back them up with practical measures.

Militaristic Ambitions Camouflaged

White House leaders Reagan and Shultz camouflage their militaristic ambitions with peace-loving rhetoric but their assistants are cynically frank. Here is part of the statement of the former U.S. National Security Council staff member Pipes: "The Soviet Union must be strangled by military and economic means." And here is a quotation from the magazine NATIONAL DEFENSE: "The advantage of the first strike was vividly demonstrated by the results of using nuclear weapons against Japan. . . No words can change the fact that first use of nuclear weapons creates the opportunity, if you do not annihilate the enemy, of paralyzing him."

Guided by these aggressive views, the U.S. military and political leaders are paying a great deal of attention to the further increase of the nuclear-missile potential of aerospace offensive means, and first and foremost of the Strategic Air Command (SAC).

Strategic aviation, which numbers in its effective combat strength 346 B-52 heavy bombers and 65 B-11A medium bombers, along with 1053 intercontinental ballistic missile launchers and 648 ballistic missile launchers mounted on 40 atomic missile submarines, represents one of the composite units of the U.S. strategic offensive forces. These means can put aloft in one launching (takeoff) about 10,000 nuclear missiles with a yield ranging from 50 kilotons to 10 megatons each. The strategic air force is deployed in the continental part of the United States and partially on the island of Guam in the Pacific Ocean zone.

In addition to the basic purpose of delivering nuclear strikes, the American military and political leadership assigns other missions to strategic aviation as well and uses it as one of the most important means for a show of force in peacetime. For this purpose B-52 bombers regularly make flights, including flights with nuclear weapons on board, over "regions of vital importance" for the United States (the Near and Middle East, Western Europe, Australia, etc.).

Foreign aviation specialists link the growth of strategic aviation's combat capabilities with the equipping of B-52 G bombers with long-range winged missiles.

Rearmament Program

Plans are to arm a total of 150 bombers with winged missiles. According to reports in the foreign military press, the rearmament program will terminate in 1989. Originally, every B-52 G bomber will carry 12 winged missiles. After modernization, during which launchers of the revolver type will be installed, the maximum number of onboard winged missiles per bomber will be increased to 20.

In progress since as early as 1978 is the long-term program for modernization of the onboard electronic equipment of the B-52 G, a program which is spelled out till 1987. It envisages equipping the aircraft with an improved sighting and navigation system, modern electronic countermeasures, instrumentation for protection of the rear quarter sector and means of satellite communication.

Other subsystems of these bombers are also being updated. An automatic ground-relief tracking system is being incorporated in the forward scanning radar. It is envisaged that all vacuum-tube instruments will be replaced by instruments with solid-state elements, and all analog systems by digital. As American specialists contend, this will significantly cut down the weight of onboard equipment, enhance its reliability and reduce operating costs.

Improvement of Radioelectronic Countermeasures System

Great importance is attached to improvement of the radioelectronic countermeasures system since, in the opinion of the American command, it is one of the most important means of overcoming the enemy PVO [air defense] system. The system hitherto existing on board the B-52 cannot, in the opinion of the military specialists, guarantee mission accomplishment in the European theater of war since new PVO means have appeared. Modernization of this system is planned throughout the entire period of combat employment of the B-52.

Envisaged during the current stage is the expansion of the number of simultaneously neutralized types of targets, as well as the automation of active and passive jamming processes, as well as raising the degree of automation of the REB [radioelectronic countermeasures] system, increasing the power of active jamming and widening the frequency band that it covers. For this purpose a new system is being devised for the B-52 that makes possible the aimed active jamming of several electronic devices simultaneously in respect of frequency, pointing and direction.

The American command believes that, as a whole, the modernization of the on-board electronic equipment of the B-52, together with the further improvements made earlier to reinforce the structure of the glider for combat employment at low altitudes, will enable the B-52 to remain as a bomber for PVO penetration till the end of the 1980's, and as a winged-missile carrier till the end of this century. In the Pentagon's estimation, piloted strategic bombers will retain their significance as a fully adequate component of the strategic offensive forces in 1990-2000.

Conceptions of a Promising Aircraft

The scheduled discarding of the B-52 and FB-111 bombers at the end of the century requires the creation of a new strategic bomber by then. That is why, simultaneously with the modernization of the present B-52 inventory, research is being conducted on various conceptions of a promising aircraft. In the process a wide range of new technical solutions is under consideration that rely on promising developments in aerodynamics, engine building, aviation designs and flight control systems, as well as reduction of reflecting surface. As possible options for the creation of a promising aircraft, the following are being considered: a multipurpose bomber based on the B-1, a modernized FB-11 bomber and a fundamentally new aircraft.

The conception of the creation of a new strategic bomber based on the FB-111 envisages the conversion of 66 of the medium FB-111A bombers existing today and 89 B-11D fighter-bombers into strategic bombers. According to reports in the Western military press, aircraft of the new type will be able to carry up to 12 items of nuclear ammunition: guided SRAM [Short-Range Attack Missiles] or nuclear bombs. Also envisaged is the possibility of arming aircraft with the multipurpose supersonic ASALM [Advanced Strategic Air Launched Missiles] that have been created.

In the Decade Ahead

The basic aircraft detector in the decade ahead will continue to be radar, for which reason the American specialists attach great importance to the radar-contrast reduction measures that have been designated "Stealth Technology" abroad. It is achieved by comprehensively taking such measures as use of radioabsorbent materials, improvement of the shapes and reduction of the size of aircraft, use of special shields to reflect signals, etc.

The U.S. Air Force Command believes that the new bomber must come into service at the beginning of the 1990's. The total cost of the work in this area is estimated at \$4 billion. . .

Training for Waging Nuclear War

The maneuvers of the U.S. strategic forces conducted this spring under the code-name "Global Shield" did not in the slightest match the character and unprecedented scale of the provocative action in which Canada, a number of Western European NATO countries and Japan were involved. In fact, this was training for waging nuclear war. The dangerous character of this regular militaristic

demonstration is indicated by the fact that it differed in no way from the deployment of the U.S. Armed Forces for waging war on a world scale by delivering the first strike. Such a strike was simulated by the actual launching of two Minuteman intercontinental ballistic missiles from the Vandenberg Base in California, three ballistic missiles from atomic submarines, and a winged missile on board a B-52 bomber. We must add also that 328 strategic bombers participated in these maneuvers, with 200 B-52 bombers put into the air simultaneously.

Are there ways to slacken this tension and extricate mankind from constant anxiety over the fate of the world? Yes, there are. They have repeatedly been pointed out by the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries. But the aggressive forces of U.S. imperialism and their NATO allies continue to threaten mankind and strive for world domination. This situation compels the states that are Warsaw Pact participants to give the most serious attention to their defense.

The resolution of the workers of our country to do everything necessary for the further strengthening of our socialist homeland's defensive capability finds its embodiment in their deeds, in their selfless work, in the enhancement of organization, order and discipline at every workplace, in their active participation in all civil defense measures. Under conditions of today's extremely tense situation all this is not only an obligation, but also a patriotic duty of every Bulgarian citizen, of every workforce.

6474

CSO: 2200/34

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

PROSPECTS OF SOCIAL SCIENCES IN CSSR

Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 19 Oct 84 p 3

[Interview with the deputy chairman of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences, Zdenek Snitil, by Jaroslav Mazal]

[Excerpts] [Question] No serious problem of the further development of an advanced socialist society can be resolved today without close cooperation with social, natural and technical sciences. This reality was emphasized by the 16th CPCZ Congress, as well as the 8th Central Committee Plenum, where it was clearly stated that those responsible for scientific and technological progress must make sure that scientific research is managed conceptually, in harmony with the needs of society. How would you, Comrade Academician, characterize the specific conditions of social sciences, given the need for the closest possible integration of science and its practical application?

[Answer] Natural and technical sciences affect social life in that they manifest themselves in the sphere of material culture (notably in the technical and technological fields). As to the sphere of future prospects for society, which always contain elements of socioscientific theory, these sciences influence social reality in not only a more complicated but primarily also in a more global and substantive manner. In other words, they cannot only provide substance to the entire social organism of society, institutions, organizations and overall socioeconomic conditions and relationships, but also fulfill at the same time important functions in ideology, world outlook, education, incentive, etc. Social sciences thus become the theoretical foundation of policy and scientific management of society, a cornerstone of a purposeful formation of the individual in all key areas and directions of his or her social endeavor.

[Question] The basic element of management at the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences [CSAV], aimed at closer cooperation with social practices, is--as set forth in the "Main Directions of Development and Application of Czechoslovak Science in the Seventh 5-Year Plan"--the application of a targeted programmatic approach. What have we learned from experiences to date in this area?

[Answer] We have found that we must continue the transition from research of individual facets of social life to comprehensive research of the relationships among phenomena which, in terms of a differentiated system of special disciplines, have thus far appeared marginal or remote. It is, therefore, necessary to move from analysis toward synthesizing operations, toward an aggregate of scientific knowledge, starting with more intensive recognition of the individual facets of reality, to the formulation of a complete theoretical picture of real social development, including its natural components. Only in this manner will we be able to present a synthesized image of further development of our socialist society, which would be directly linked to the requirements of party and state policy.

[Question] With this goal in mind, socioscientific research was assigned certain priority thematic areas. Could you, Comrade Academician, discuss these more concretely?

[Answer] This involves three problem areas which are being worked on in three targeted projects and in the state plan for social research. The first is called "Developed Socialism in the CSSR," the resolution of the fundamental theoretical questions of its construction, and initiating research on basic theoretical aspects of its future development. The second deals with hypotheses and prognoses of long-term social development (through the years 2000 and 2010). The third area includes theoretical analysis of experiences gained by communist and workers parties in the course of socialist construction. Generally speaking, the main objective of a targeted approach, first applied for the period 1982-1990, is to lead and influence, in harmony with practical social needs, appropriate research in selected key areas, to strive for a synthesis of the scientific findings gained, and to summarize them in the form of professional theoretical studies. These, along with conclusions and recommendation, will be submitted to the top party and state leadership organs. If such work maintains a high theoretical level, it can be applied in the formulation of scientific, technological, economic, social and cultural policy, and in the preparation of long-term concepts for the future development of the socialist society in the CSSR.

[Question] An important element in the integration of science and practical application is the consultative function and expertise, which the CSAV departments provide for party and state organs. Could you characterize these more closely?

[Answer] By expertise in the area of social sciences we understand not only routine work on a given subject but primarily the preparation of theoretical and analytical background materials, specialized analyses, probes and recommendations, as well as other types of long-term research needed by the party and state organs. Our consultative activity consists mainly of the preparation of specialized assessments, inclusion of scientists in commissions and working groups engaged in the preparation of documents, and proposals of a conceptual character in the individual areas of party and state policy, etc. An important contribution to the unification of this extensive activity and higher participation of social sciences in key problems of social practice was the adoption of the "Principles of Permanent Consultative and Advisory Activity of CSAV Departments for Party and State Organs." The adopted system

notably broadened the prerequisites for the development, quality and practical application of socioscientific findings, adjusted the procedures and administration allowing permanent consultative and advisory activity, especially the commissioning of such work, its integration in CSAV departmental programs, its evaluation and compensation.

While the expertise and advisory functions of the CSAV have developed well in recent years, they have not yet become part of everyday life. The process of commissioning tasks lacks appropriate targeted planning, while their implementation is encountering capacity problems in the CSAV departments and institutes.

[Question] We have found that certain types of research suffer from onesidedness and parochialism within the narrow boundaries of one discipline, while overlooking the comprehensive nature of a problem, common to most instances of real practical application.

[Answer] This is really a weak spot in much of our endeavor. The goals and means to achieve social progress must be scientifically distinguished in the true wealth of their forms, which necessarily presuppose cooperation among many fields and an interdisciplinary approach in the resolution of the complicated problems of our time. Some studies also fail sufficiently to emphasize the ideological aspects of a given problem, which apriori reduces their practical usefulness. Scientific discoveries in the sphere of social legalities and ways of their implementation can only be achieved in close linkage with the work of the party and other social institutions which foster objectively-based interests of society as a whole.

[Question] The developing cooperation of socioeconomic institutes of the academy with practical application still encounters certain difficulties of a theoretical nature. Many areas of basic research, needed to clarify the legalities of our present stage of development, have not been sufficiently developed. By the same token, many areas lack applied research, or it is not adequately advanced where it does exist.

[Answer] Unfortunately, we must note that we do indeed at times encounter an overly narrow understanding of this cooperation, which in itself represents a limiting factor. The relationship between science and its social application is often too simplified in this respect, and people expect that basic socio-scientific research developed within the CSAV will provide ready-made solutions for the resolution of immediate practical problems. Such an approach negatively affects both research and application in that it reduces the role of theoretical research, in fact reducing sociopolitical activity to the level of social engineering, thus impoverishing the sources and dynamism of socioscientific research proper.

Basic sociological research in the CSAV must produce--and therein lies its essence--theoretical knowledge, a higher level of theoretical discovery. At the same time, it is essential that scientific theory assist in the resolution of serious current problems of social development, and help overcome cases of erroneous practical application. In the overall growing importance of basic research throughout the scientific spectrum, its role in social sciences becomes more significant, for it becomes a trailblazer in those ways and means of

finding solutions which stem from the theoretical universality of experiences in the building of socialism. It also makes it possible to focus on concrete application of research, on key problems of further social development. In many respects, the level of concrete and practical application of research and the quality of background materials for the preparation of strategic concepts of social development depend on the quality of basic research, which represents fundamental theoretical knowledge.

9496

CSO: 2400/67

SOCIAL POLICIES IN CSSR

Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 20 Oct 84 p 3

[Article by Svatopluk Smutny]

[Excerpts] The basic goal of the policy of the Czechoslovak Communist Party and the cornerstone of its activity are its care about the welfare of our citizens, the full and harmonious development of the individual, and the satisfaction of his material and spiritual needs. The development and improvement of the standard of living and the securing of social security are not, however, a result of different desires but rather the results of the creation of the necessary means to meet this security. In other words, the result of economic activity in all branches of our national economy.

The 16th CPCZ Congress called for a development of our national economy proportional to the gradual intensification of economic activity during the 1981-1985 period. It also stated the goal of strengthening and modernizing the material-technical base of our economy and applying science and technology in production better and more effectively with the help of new knowledge and improved utilization of machinery and equipment as well as better use of raw materials and energy to increase the production of resources needed for further economic development and for maintaining and raising the achieved material and cultural standard of our people.

The program of the 16th CPCZ Congress thus relates to the positive development of the national economy and society in the 1970's. But it also takes into consideration worsening conditions, especially as far as external economic relations are concerned.

The results achieved so far during the Seventh 5-Year Plan on the whole have met the projections and in certain cases have even exceeded these estimates and are in line with the development whose purpose is to secure the basic tasks of the CPCZ policy. This can be concretely illustrated by numerous data from long-range and short-range studies. For example, in comparison with 1948, the volume of industrial production is 12.3 times greater, and that of construction 13 times greater. Agricultural production has more than doubled. The social productivity of labor has increased fivefold. The national income is 6.2 times greater.

All this has made possible a systematic increase of personal consumption, which has grown per capita in the indicated period by a factor of 3.4. A dynamic growth of the national economy, the growth of social productivity of labor and the formation of resources have created prerequisites for the growth of income. While in 1953 the overall monetary income of our people amounted to Kcs 80 billion, it stood at Kcs 393.5 billion by the end of 1983. To this overall monetary income of our people one has to add the benefits our citizens receive from social funds in the form of free goods and services. Their value was almost Kcs 80 billion last year. The deposits of our people in state savings banks also indicate a stable financial situation. While in 1975 these savings amounted to Kcs 116 billion, they grew to Kcs 192 billion last year.

The rise in the standard of living is also concretely demonstrated by the purchase of durable goods for our households. While only 28 families out of every 100 owned a washing machine in 1955, there were 139--of which 40 were automatic machines--per 100 households last year. Similarly, in the indicated period there was an increase of refrigerators and freezers from 3 to 106 per 100 households. The number of radios increased from 76 to 192, the number of TV's from 1 to 116 (of which 11 are color TV's), and the number of passenger cars from 3 to 47.

Economic development and capital formation have made it possible to carry out a vast social program. Since 1953, social income became 7.1 times greater, and the rate of its growth exceeded the increase in wages and salaries. While in 1953 social income constituted 16.4 percent of wages and salaries, by the end of 1973 it constituted 28.7 percent (this increase was influenced by both larger social security payments and the growing number of retirees).

The development of social benefits significantly improved and strengthened the basic social security system of our citizens. The most important forms of social security include social security payments, aid to families with dependent children, and hospitalization insurance.

Care for senior citizens is being constantly improved. In 1969, low retirement benefits paid to 382,000 recipients were increased at a cost of Kcs 79 million. In 1971, the benefits of almost 1 million low retirement recipients were raised at a cost of Kcs 900 million.

The successful implementation of the program of economic and social development adopted at the 14th CPCZ Congress created prerequisites for the passage of a new social security law, which became effective in 1976. This was the most important measure taken in our entire social security system since the adoption of the new law on national insurance in 1948. While this law has been in effect, i.e., after 1976, a number of other social security measures have been adopted. Our public was informed of the latest proposals for a further increase in social security benefits by our daily press on 13 October 1984.

With respect to the level and scope of aid to families with dependent children, Czechoslovakia holds a leading place among the industrially advanced countries. Maternity leave in our country is one of the longest in the entire world. In

addition, mothers receive a maternity allowance provided for by law. All families who take good care of their dependent children receive child allowances. Starting 1 January 1985, child allowances (including an educational allowance added to social security payments) will be increased by Kcs 240 annually; maternity allowances will also be expanded.

Direct financial aid to families with children amounted to Kcs 22 billion in 1983. Together with the so-called in-kind benefits (state payments to institutes for infants, nurseries, kindergartens, for meals and youth hostels) and individual aid, overall social assistance to families with children amounted to over Kcs 36 billion last year.

Hospitalization insurance is another, very important, part of social security. It covers all employed persons. Last year, the average number of workers with hospitalization insurance was 7.2 million. Starting with the beginning of the next year, the ceiling of the net daily wage from which hospitalization insurance is computed will be increased from the existing Kcs 120 to Kcs 150. Consequently, the amount of paid hospitalization insurance could reach up to Kcs 2,950 monthly.

The standard of living of our working people under socialism is to correspond to the contribution each individual gives to the society and to the amount, quality and social significance of his work. However, there is no secret that the merit principle is being adopted very slowly, that there are people among us who in fact live off the work of society, part of whose income is not based on real work. The principles of our social policy require us to fight with determination against such manifestations of parasitism and speculation.

Our price policy and the formation of prices of all types also correspond to the intentions of our social policy. In the socialist system, retail prices not only have an economic function, but also express social priorities. It is generally true that there is a relationship between economic results and prices. In the determination of retail prices, however, we pay attention to how these prices function and influence the different social groups of our citizenry. For this reason, many retail prices do not express the real cost and other expenses involving the goods sold. They are lower than the cost, and the difference is covered from the state budget, i.e., from the assets created by the entire society. At present, retail prices of the most important necessities of life are subsidized to the tune of Kcs 52 billion annually, of which foodstuff subsidies amount to Kcs 34 billion.

The system of subsidized retail prices makes it possible for low-income social groups to purchase selected types of goods. Disproportionate price subsidies which do not correspond to costs cannot be considered as permanent. It suffices to note that during the 1971-1983 period retail prices grew by 19.5 percent, while the overall income of the population increased by 65 percent. The fact that income grew by more than three times shows that it is possible gradually to eliminate certain subsidies or to use other measures to make it possible for low-income groups to purchase certain types of goods.

The development of retail prices--as emphasized at the 16th CPCZ Congress--will to a great extent depend on the increase of labor productivity, effectiveness, quality, and thrift. To sell on the domestic markets for less than we pay for our purchases on foreign markets is not possible forever. Our price policy must take these things into consideration.

Social Consumption

Social consumption is a significant part of our standard of living. It consists primarily of health care, education, and cultural expenditures. At present, the scope of social consumption exceeds Kcs 10,000 per capita annually.

Our housing facilities are an indivisible part of our standard of living. The party is paying permanent attention to this sector. Statistics demonstrate the progress we have achieved. Between 1946 and 1983 we built more than 3 million apartment units whose quality and equipment have been constantly improved. Today, almost two-thirds of our population live in newly constructed apartments.

It is certainly gratifying to note that the growth in numbers of medical centers decreases the ratio of people per physician. Today, there is on the average 1 physician for every 287 citizens. The state budget allocates annually more than Kcs 4.5 billion for drugs, i.e., over Kcs 300 per inhabitant. Our spas serve more than 456,000 citizens annually.

Our people realize that the work of our health care personnel is not easy, that it requires sacrifice and patience. On the other hand, they are bitter when they see unnecessary shortcomings stemming from faulty organization or lack of responsibility. The principles of our social policy aim at equally high-quality health care to all citizens. Consequently, this care cannot be improved, as some of our people unfortunately believe, through various gifts, bribes, or payments for services performed.

The environment we live in is an inseparable part of our quality of life. During the course of the current 5-Year Plan, we will spend Kcs 7 billion on protecting and improving the environment. And this amount only covers investments.

One Cannot Divide More Than One Makes

It is in the interest of all our working people to help in the creation of resources and assets which the society needs to realize its vast and multifaceted plans in the economic and social sectors. However, we cannot divide more than we make. The growth of our national economy and the improvement of its effectiveness--in other words, increased production--is the alpha and omega of our entire activity.

One has to keep in mind that competition with the rest of the world puts before us evermore challenging tasks, realistically evaluates the technical level and quality of our products. From this viewpoint it is obvious that the achieved results in our economy must be evaluated soberly and that we must pay attention to our weak points and unsolved problems.

Our economy, in the period of transformation toward more intensive development, has made certain important but only initial steps. Numerous very complex tasks in this respect are still before us.

1277

CSO: 2400/66

JUVENILE DELINQUENCY REVEALED

Prague TRIBUNA in Czech 17 Oct 84 p 5

[Article by Ida Rozova and Frantisek Andrysek: "Faded Blue Boredom"]

[Excerpts] There are troubles which are discussed not so much in public as in professional circles--they fill the columns of multipage statistics. They cause headaches to parents, pedagogues, educators, psychologists, sociologists, criminologists.

They have a tangible form--crimes and misdemeanors. No less tangible are their perpetrators--children and juveniles. Every year the statistics publish warning figures which could hint at many things, perhaps also at the possibility that a mistake was made somewhere.

Ales T. celebrated his 16th birthday recently. At first glance he did not differ in any way from the rest. He had his gang, a nickname that somebody--he no longer remembers why--invented, a girlfriend with whom he occasionally went to movies and gave a few kisses in the park afterwards. Every month he got pocket money from his daddy from which he made loans to his friends to pay for the beer. "You can rely upon Fussi," the boys used to say of him. This sentence warmed his heart. Because of that, he continued to loan money. Suddenly he was an important person, the center of attention. That is, until the next occasion.

At first glance he did not differ at all from others. At second glance, however, it could definitely be recognized that he was gnawed by boredom--great, omnipresent boredom. He succumbed to it to such an extent that everything was passing him by. He actually liked it. Until one day in August...

An elderly woman carrying a basket with laundry appeared in the garden not far away. First she hung out shirts, then socks and finally jeans, trousers and jackets. He watched her and then he looked upon his torn pants, which were sure to fall apart before the summer was over. He kept looking at the jeans long after the woman had left.

He made up his mind within seconds. He rapidly climbed over the fence and hid under the bush. With fascination he observed for almost an hour the jeans from which bluish water was dripping.

He was interrupted in his observation by creaking of the garden gate. The woman appeared with a bicycle, fastened her shopping bag to the carrier and stepped with vigor on the pedals. The boy stayed put impatiently for a while. Then he started: he pulled down the jeans from the clothline, climbed over the fence and ran away.

He did not see that a man was standing by the beehive nearby... Later on he was again watched from the car for the second time by the same man, who had telephoned to the nearest station of Public Security and told them about the young thief.

That day in August naturally had--what else one could have expected--its aftermath in the courts. The first punishment--imprisonment for 6 weeks, conditionally for 1 year--was entered in the penal register of Ales T., who only at first glance did not differ from other members of his peer group.

Contrary to what somebody might believe, the case of Ales is not unique. There are hundreds of more or less similar ones every year, and the investigators list them under the headings of crimes against property. All these cases have one thing in common--the age of these criminals, which takes us aback and forces us to cry out: after all they are still children: Yes, children who are not even 12, 15 years old...

Let us look together at the statistical data for 1983 and also at what these criminals below 15 years of age are interested in. And for accuracy's sake, let us refer to some uncompromising figures. In the first place, we found the thefts of bicycles and their parts (1,994 cases), in the second place money (1,480 cases), and food and alcoholic beverages (757 cases). There also are motor vehicles, both double- and single-track (696 and 461 cases, respectively), and naturally radios, tape recorders and TV sets (547 cases).

The question is: when are the most crimes against property committed? Naturally, mostly in the afternoon--after school but not later than 6 pm. We also should not overlook the days of the week on which most crimes are committed: Mondays and Fridays. And in order to make our report complete, let us add that the most critical months are January, March and May.

We have recounted the story of Ales, who was already 16 years old. But let us not leave out "his" age group of criminals, that is, juveniles up to 18 years of age. They also commit crimes in the afternoon, mostly on Fridays and Saturdays. From other people's property they select almost the same articles as the criminals who are somewhat younger. Only the sequence changes and the number of cases increases--money (1,839 crimes and misdemeanors), motor vehicles, both double- and single-track (1,192 and 958 cases, respectively), textile products (1,008 criminal cases), bicycles (877 cases), food articles and alcoholic drinks (851), radios, tape recorders and TV sets (744), and even leather products (414 crimes and misdemeanors).

Theft, thieves. These words sound offensive, insulting. Equally insulting should also sound the word boredom, which gave rise to the most of these cases. It is sometimes a much stronger motive than the idea "to own something which I

do not have so far." In reading these figures some ideas came to our mind, which we were not able to answer. The answer may be found by the teachers in the school groups, leaders in the pioneer or youth associations or parents who have heard from their children what they are bored by. They should not overhear this sentence so that they are not annoyed later on by the invitation to come to the school or apprentice center or the Public Security station.

Statistics warn, and for those who reflect upon this, it can be also the first step to prevention.

10501

CSO: 2400/58

SAFARIK UNIVERSITY ANNIVERSARY

Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 19 Oct 84 p 4

[Article by Prof Mikulas Stec, CSc, dean of the Faculty of Philosophy at Presov of Pavel Jozef Safarik University in Kosice: "First Quarter-Century of UPJS"]

[Excerpts] The Pavel Jozef Safarik University [UPJS] is now celebrating the 25th anniversary of its foundation. These years represent in the life of the university a dynamic, indeed revolutionary development typical of all areas of our society's life after we embarked on the socialist road of development.

The restoration of university traditions in eastern Slovakia required general socioeconomic and cultural-educational transformations after the liberation of our fatherland by the Soviet Army and especially after the victory of the working people headed by the CPCZ in February 1948. The foundation of the UPJS was motivated by the urgent social need of securing the education of high-quality cadres for the area of East Slovakia. This demanding task has been successfully fulfilled, already as part of the new university center in East Slovakia, by the faculties of medicine and philosophy since 1959, to which were gradually added the Faculty of Natural Sciences (1963), the Pedagogical Faculty (1964) and Law Faculty (1973).

The mission of the Faculty of Philosophy at Presov of UPJS in Kosice was to improve the qualification of high school teachers, noticeable particularly in eastern Slovakia, but also to establish a scientific research basis in the area of social sciences. For the training of teaching cadres, a branch of the pedagogical faculty of Slovak University was set up in Kosice in 1947; it moved to Presov in 1952 and gave rise to two schools: an independent advanced pedagogical school at Presov with a 2-year course of study and the predecessor of the UPJS Faculty of Philosophy--the Philosophical Faculty of the Advanced Pedagogical School in Bratislava (as a faculty at Presov with a 4-year course of study).

The profile of the faculty has been gradually augmented since its foundation in accordance with society's needs. To the four original disciplines--Slovak, Russian and Ukrainian languages and history--other disciplines were gradually added: art education, German language, philosophy, adult education and psychology.

The period after the 14th CPCZ Congress was extraordinarily successful in the life of the faculty. The kraj and okres party organs must be credited with the creation of good political, material and personnel conditions for the completion of the faculty and its qualification standard. Additional disciplines were introduced in the 1970's: French language, civics, scientific atheism and pedagogy. In accordance with the document "For Further Expansion of the Czechoslovak Educational-School System," we have begun to restructure the contents of studies and to eliminate the duplicate disciplines at the Presov faculties (philosophy and pedagogy). The central idea which the UPJS Faculty of Philosophy observed in restructuring these disciplines lay in the effort to make the educational process more effective in terms of the economic and social needs of the Seventh 5-Year Plan.

At the present time the Philosophy Faculty in Presov represents a modern socialist scientific and educational institution. During its 25-year existence the faculty has educated 2,732 daytime students, 775 part-time students, 135 four-semester students of supplementary study, 25 extension students, 13 students in supplementary pedagogical study and more than 1,000 doctors of philosophy. These college graduates have considerably contributed to the elimination of inadequately trained high-school teachers, primarily in our East Slovakia Kraj, and also to filling the gap in the needs of graduates of philosophy, scientific atheism, pedagogy, psychology, adult education and pedagogy, with special emphasis on preschool and off-campus education.

This successful development of the educational process, political indoctrination and scientific research was made possible by the systematic improvement of the qualification structure of the faculty. While there were 33 teachers, including 5 docents and 1 candidate of science, at the faculty during the 1959-60 school year, we now have 8 professors, 24 docents, 94 teaching assistants, 2 scientific workers, among whom are 4 doctors of science and 45 candidates of science.

During its 25-year existence the teachers from the faculty and the Institute of Marxism-Leninism actively participated in mass political work as lecturers primarily in Presov Okres, but also as lecturers and activists of higher party organs. They regard this ideological-political work as a natural part of their basic duties and perform it responsibly, for which appreciation was expressed on various occasions by the party and state organs and mass organizations.

Ideological education and mass political work occupies at the Philosophy Faculty an irreplaceable position in the professional and political training of graduates. During the 25-year organization and development of the faculty, this work has become a systematic, planned and supervised activity.

Important, and intensifying from year to year, is the cooperation of the faculty with the training centers of the State University at Uzhorod, which has resulted in joint research, education of candidates of science, preparation of joint publications, collections of articles, scientific conferences and symposia, exchange of students and ample personal contacts between the two universities. We are also successfully implementing the agreement signed by our university with the Friedrich Schiller University in Jena. We have established

contacts with the Lajoss Kossuth University at Debrecin and the university at Lodz. We also closely cooperate with the CSAV [Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences] and SAV [Slovak Academy of Sciences] centers, with the ministerial research institutes, and also with philosophy and pedagogy faculties in the CSSR.

It is symbolic that our faculty has received the most precious gift--new modern classrooms--precisely during the celebration of the 25th anniversary of its foundation.

10501

CSO: 2400/59

BRIEFS

WATER SHORTAGE IN MORAVIA--A moisture deficit has persisted in the South Moravia Kraj for 3 consecutive years. In comparison with the long-term norm, there has been the biggest precipitation shortage during the period from October 1981 to September 1984--391 liters per square meter--in the Uherske Hradiste Okres, while the Jihlava Okres is only 9 liters better off in this respect. Information from the Brno kraj branch of the Czech Hydrometeorological Institute has confirmed that, with the exception of Brno and the Brno region, the precipitation in the other 12 okreses of Southern Moravia had likewise been below the long-term values during the last economic year (October 1983 to September 1984). The lower precipitation also negatively affected the drinking water supply primarily from the underground resources in the Blansko, Uherske Hradiste, Breclav, and Brno regions. Likewise, due to the long-lasting drought, the source of underground water at Brezova and Svitavou, which constitutes the principal water supply to Brno, is becoming less abundant and the city now receives approximately one-third less water than before. For this reason, the water consumption by socialist organizations agreed upon in the economic contracts was reduced by 25 percent beginning September 1984. [Text] [Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 20 Oct 84 p 2] 10501

ENVIRONMENTAL POLLUTION DAMAGE--More than 2.5 million cars are registered in the CSSR whose operation emits into the environment as many as 350 million kilograms of various particles--exhaust, salts used for melting snow on roads, gravel, materials which fall from trucks during transportation, and so on. The resulting damage is estimated at approximately Kcs 3 billion. In view of the fact that the highway network of our state is 74,000 km long and in addition to public highways we have approximately 35,000 km of local and 315,000 km of special-purpose roads, and the particles emitted by transportation permanently affect vegetation within 50 meters of the roadway, an area of approximately 425,000 hectares is adversely affected. Although according to research maximum pollution is on the edge of the roadway, the concentrations of lead, cadmium and chlorides are at a 200-meter distance five times as high as in the evergreens and soils beyond the reach of automobile traffic. The amount of pollutants also depends on the type of timber species. Sallow, for example, catches more than maple, beech and rowan. Young fir, on the other hand, is more sensitive than spruce and pine. The negative affects of expanding automobile traffic, however, can be mitigated. One of the ways is the replacement of damaged trees by less sensitive ones and--as suggested by the experts--there should be along the highways 10-meter wide forest protective strips which would

work as filters for the largest emitted particles. This would prevent the pollution of greenery and agricultural land farther away and at the same time would supply the trees with the optimum amount of nutrients. The drivers also should pay more attention to the technical condition of their vehicles, which significantly contributes to air pollution. [Text] [Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 20 Oct 84 p 2] 10501

CZECHOSLOVAK-MONGOLIAN COOPERATION--The Czechoslovak-Mongolian Intergovernmental Commission for Economic and Scientific-Technical Cooperation opened its 12th plenary session in Prague today. The Czechoslovak delegation to the negotiations was led by CSSR Government Vice Premier Ladislav Gerie, while the Mongolian delegation was headed by Choynoryn Suren, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Mongolian People's Republic. During the session the results achieved in the area of economic and scientific-technical cooperation, and in commodity exchange since the last session of the commission, which was held in Ulan-Bator in fall of 1983, were evaluated. In the first place, the tasks concerning further intensification of cooperation between both countries in the leather and shoe industries as well as in geological research and mining of mineral raw materials in Mongolia were discussed. On the same day, the chairman of the Czechoslovak-Mongolian Friendship Committee attached to the Czechoslovak Society for International Relations, Deputy Minister and head of department in the Office of the Presidium of the CSSR Government Josef Kopca, received the chairman of the Mongolian-Czechoslovak Friendship Society, Minister of Light and Food Industry of the Mongolian People's Republic Gombojabyn Naydan, on the occasion of his participation in the 12th plenary session of the Czechoslovak-Mongolian Intergovernmental Commission for Economic and Scientific-Technical Cooperation. With the participation of the main secretary of the Czechoslovak Society for International Relations, Vladimir Berger, the fulfillment of the plan of cooperation between the fraternal organizations during the 1981-1985 period and prospects for the future period were discussed. [Text] [Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 23 Oct 84 p 2] 10501

NEW TURKISH, BELGIAN, COLOMBIAN AMBASSADORS--Gustav Husak, president of the republic, received the credentials of the new Turkish ambassador to Czechoslovakia, (Berduk) Olgacay, at the Prague castle today. During the course of the reception the present state of mutual relations was positively evaluated, and it was emphasized that their further development in all areas is in keeping with efforts to preserve peace and strengthen international trust and security. The ambassador of the Belgian Kingdom to Czechoslovakia, Hugo (Walschap), presented his credentials to the president of the republic. It was emphasized in the conversation that there were no unresolved issues in Czechoslovak-Belgian relations which means they can make use of the existing possibilities in the political, cultural and economic sphere in particular, to further deepen mutual relations and cooperation. Gustav Husak, president of the republic, also received the credentials of the new Colombian ambassador to Czechoslovakia (?Umberto Avili Muri). During the meeting both sides agreed that relations between Czechoslovakia and Colombia are developing in the spirit of peaceful coexistence between states with different social systems, and that nothing hinders the further widening and deepening of relations in all areas of mutual interest. [Text] [Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1730 GMT 15 Nov 84]

SEMINAR ON PARAMILITARY ISSUES--The 3-day all-Slovak seminar on the tasks of the paramilitary upbringing of youth was opened on 8 November in Banska Bystrica. The seminar is to evaluate the results of the CPCZ's paramilitary policy in youth's upbringing in the socialist spirit. The seminar is attended by Ladislav Sadovsky, head of department in the Slovak Communist Party (CPSL) Central Committee; Major-General Egyd Pepich, chairman of the Slovak Central Committee of the Union for Cooperation With the Army (ZVAZARM); Lieutenant-General Jozef Kovacik, chief of the Political Administration of the Eastern Military Okrug; Lieutenant-General Jiri Reindl, chief of the Klement Gottwald Military Political Academy; Marian Parkanyi, secretary of the Slovak Central Committee of the Socialist Youth Union; more than 180 secretaries of district and regional committees of the youth union and the ZVAZARM and of Regional National Committees, members of the commissions of paramilitary education attached to the youth union's Slovak Central Committee; and others. [Summary] [Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 9 Nov 84 p 2 AU]

TU DELEGATION IN CYPRUS--The official delegation of the Central Trade Union Council, led by Vaclav Bezel, the council's deputy chairman, visited Cyprus from 31 October-8 November at the invitation of the PEO, the All-Cyprus Labor Federation. It expressed deep solidarity with the anti-imperialist fight of the Cyprus people to preserve the independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity, and nonalignment of Cyprus. Both sides appraised the WFTU's role in consolidating the action unity of working people in the fight against imperialism, to preserve world peace, for democracy and social progress. The CSSR delegation's visit proceeded in the spirit of friendship and class cooperation; and it resulted in the signing of a cooperation plan of the two organizations for the period 1985-1986. [Summary] [Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 10 Nov 84 p 2 AU]

UNIVERSITY STUDENTS LEADER--The Sixth Statewide University Conference of the Socialist Youth Union, which ended in Bratislava on 10 November, elected a new 27-member Czechoslovak University Students' Center. Hana Pazderova, secretary of the Central Committee of the Socialist Youth Union, was then elected the center's new chairwoman. [Summary] [Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 12 Nov 84 p 2 AU]

PACEM IN TERRIS CHAIRMAN--The third congress of the Pacem in Terris Catholic Clergy Association in the Czech Socialist Republic, which ended in Brno on 13 November, elected a 50-member Central Committee of the association, whose chairman is now Vaclav Javurek, dean of the Hradec Kralove chapter. [Summary] [Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 14 Nov 84 p 1 AU]

CEMA AVIATION DIRECTORS' MEETING--A session of directors of "specialized aviation enterprises" of the CEMA member-countries will be assessing the results of the plan of work of the CEMA countries' "association of aviation companies" since the latest--the 16th--session. They also will discuss the utilization of air craft in the national economy, the introduction of progressive experience and new solutions as regards the utilization of the aviation sector in the national economy and in the application of the latest findings in the development of specialized aviation. [Summary] [Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 14 Nov 84 p 2 AU]

INTERNATIONAL SEMINAR--A 2-day seminar attended by social scientists from the USSR, Bulgaria, Hungary, GDR, and CSSR, was opened on 7 November on the premises of the CPCZ Central Committee's Higher Political Academy in Prague. The main paper was read by Stanislav Adam, and dealt with the Influence of Economic Conditions on the Shaping of the Working People's Social Awareness and the Role of Economic Theory and Propaganda. [Summary] [Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 8 Nov 84 p 2 AU]

TRENDS IN POLICY TOWARDS WESTERN STATES

Concentration on Neutrals

Zuerich NEUE ZUERCHER ZEITUNG in German 28/29 Oct 84 p 6

[Article signed sk.: "Cautious Western Policy of the GDR"]

[Text] The GDR leadership, after the cancellation of Honecker's trip to the Federal Republic -- obviously at Moscow's wish -- and Gromyko's trip to East Berlin, is eager to make use of the latitude still left to it for foreign policy action toward the West European states. The present political activity of East Berlin's leadership is concentrated above all on neutral West European states, to whom readiness to maintain dialogue and cooperation with all the forces "of peace and relaxation of tension" is being announced.

Honecker's Visit in Helsinki

The visit of the SED chief in Finland, his first foreign trip after the cancellation of the visit to Bonn, was obviously above all to make this basic foreign policy clear. In the preparations for the visit of the Austrian prime minister, Sinowatz, in East Berlin 5 and 6 November, this point of view is also clearly being put forth by the GDR.

A few days after Honecker's return from Helsinki, the central party organ of the SED, NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, summarized the significance of his Finland visit in a commentary with the headline, "In the Service of Peace and Good Neighborliness." The extensive exchange of opinions between Honecker and the Finnish president, Koivisto, it said, had confirmed the strong agreement in basic contemporary questions between the two states.

It went on to say that the GDR and Finland were determined to do everything to see to it that the interest of peace, disarmament, and relaxation of tension, dialogue and cooperation replace confrontation and arms race. In the SED paper's commentary, which was probably inspired by the East Berlin leadership, the problem-free relationship between Finland and the GDR is called a "striking example" of the practice of readiness for peaceful coexistence between countries of differing social structures. To be sure, the commentary welcomed the latest suggestions of Chernenko on the questions of arms limitation and the removal of the already installed American intermediate

range ballistic missiles in Europe, but this was obviously done with a view toward Finland and without polemic sharpness against the United States.

Long Range Goals

The main purpose of Honecker's trip to Finland is summarized in the last paragraph of the commentary by NEUES DEUTSCHLAND. Beyond doubt, it says, the meeting of the heads of state of Finland and the GDR will have a long range effect. This applies, it continues, not only to further cooperation of both countries, but above all also to common action for the assurance of peace and of security and cooperation on the continent. Particularly in the present situation, it said, in which the advocates of armament and confrontation are having a destabilizing effect on the lives of the European nations, this is of particular international importance.

The political analysis of Honecker's Finland trip by the central party organ of the SED indicates that the East German leadership, after the cancellation of the visit to Bonn, wants to avail itself of the chance to take up a foreign policy position in neutral Finland, which is also bound to the Soviet Union by a mutual assistance treaty. Honecker, who could certainly count on an agreement in Helsinki with a policy of continual readiness on the part of the GDR for dialogue with the West, also took the wind out of the sails of a possible Soviet criticism when he pointed to the Passikivi-Kekkonen line of Finnish foreign policy, a policy always supported by Moscow, which he said was "highly regarded" in the GDR.

Before the Visit by Sinowatz

East Berlin also wants to demonstrate the policy of GDR readiness for dialogue with the West during the coming visit by Sinowatz in East Berlin. To publicize harmony on the theme of the visit, GDR journalists presented a "Conversation with Sinowatz," which confirmed completely in different words what Honecker had said previously in Helsinki. It said that the close cooperation between the GDR and Austria was really an example of how countries of different social and economic structures could cooperate even in a world that has become cold and gloomy from the point of view of world politics.

Within the framework of East Berlin's political-diplomatic activity in West Europe, the politburo member, Axen, paid an official visit to the Belgian parliament, and GDR People's Chamber President Sinderman, during a visit in Paris, renewed the invitation of the East Berlin government to the French prime minister, Fabius, to an official visit in the GDR.

At present, however, no signals are being sent to Bonn of East Berlin's readiness for dialogue. On the contrary, the GDR is using the Barzel affair as a retroactive justification of the cancellation of Honecker's visit. But here, too, Honecker is obviously leaving the door ajar. During his visit in Finland he declared that the GDR was placing no preconditions on his visit to the Federal Republic.

Relations with Austria

East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 27/28 Oct 84 p 6

[Article by Dr. C. Duemde: "Austria's Role in the Heart of the Continent"]

[Text] Austria introduces itself to its visitors as the "country in the heart of Europe." This is obvious. Even a casual glance at the map confirms that many lines of communication run through the alpine republic from north to south and from east to west. And the fact that here the Romance, Germanic, and Slavic languages and cultures of our continent meet is seen both in the architectural monuments and in the Viennese cuisine.

But the reference to the "country in the heart of Europe" is today for many Austrians much more than a description of geographical position. This came forth in all the discussions that a group of journalists from the GDR was recently able to have thanks to an invitation of the Federal Press Service with numerous representatives of the Austrian economy. Whether in the prime minister's office at Ballhausplatz or in the clubs of the three parties represented in parliament, in the federal chamber of the professional economy or in the discussion with press colleagues -- there was always great concern noticeable about the tense international situation, the armament race, and a policy of confrontation and force. Precisely because they live in the middle of Europe, the Austrians feel themselves involved. And from this they draw the conclusion that their country -- in their own well-understood interest as well -- must hold consistently to its active neutrality policy that aims at the assurance of peace and detente.

Federal Chancellor Dr. Fred Sinowatz characterized at the beginning of September a basic element of the foreign policy of his SPO and FRO coalition government with the words: "Austria sees its role as a neutral state at the dividing line between East and West to be a stabilizing, peacekeeping element in the international community. From this comes a natural interest in good and if possible intensive relations to all states regardless of their social order."

Austria has followed this course in all the years since the recovery of its independence, it was stressed to us. We heard that this gave the country at the same time the possibility of being active beyond the bilateral framework. Club Chairman Josef Wille, parliamentary leader of the SPO, stressed that today the view must prevail that nowhere in the world can conflicts be solved by warlike confrontations: "There is no alternative to coexistence."

And Dr. Ludwig Steiner, foreign policy spokesman of the oppositional OVP, stressed that one must come step by step to the reestablishment of trust. Austria's foreign policy initiatives and contacts, including the very marked diplomacy of visits, according to FKO member Friedrich Peter, could be helpful in the way of "relaxation" and "accomplishment."

Ambassador Dr. Friedrich Bauer of the Foreign Office sees in this connection a specific role for Austria at present in the Stockholm Conference just as it

had in Helsinki, Belgrade, and Madrid. To be sure the results depend essentially on the relationship between the Soviet Union and the U.S., upon serious discussions on arms control and arms limitation. But through detailed discussions with other delegations on their attitudes toward the confirmation of the rejection of force and other trust-building measures, Austrian diplomacy can certainly be helpful.

From an economic point of view as well, our conversations showed, Austria thinks of itself as the "country in the heart of Europe." Through the Trans-Austria-Pipeline Soviet natural gas flows to Italy, Yugoslavia, and France. In Duernrohr in upper Austria a "current switch" went into operation in the East-West Energy Union. Trade relationships throughout the world are vital for the country that realizes about 24 percent of its gross national product from export. Trade with the European CEMA countries accounts for -- with a rising tendency -- 11 percent of its total turnover.

In the Ministry for Public Economy and Transportation, as well as in the Finance Ministry, we were told that Austria also places great political importance on these relationships. Minister Ferdinand Lacina sees in them the "best means of understanding." Secretary of State Holger Bauer spoke of their "peacekeeping function." It is not surprising, therefore, that in Austria one hardly ever meets proponents of overseas cries for embargoes and boycotts on socialist states. "This can only harm us," Lacina said. And General Secretary Dr. Kehrer of the Federal Chamber of Commerce stressed that Austria does not let this influence the export of its products and technologies. The neutral country in the heart of Europe, to sum up our discussions in Vienna, wants to be a reliable partner for East and West both in the political and in the economic spheres.

Honecker's Finland Visit Assessed

East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 24 Oct 84 p 2

["In the Service of Peace and Good Neighborly Relations"]

[Text] The GDR and Finland are good and friendly neighbors. The state visit of Erich Honecker in Finland, its successful course, and its results, have impressively confirmed this. The extensive exchange of opinions of the prime minister of the GDR with Finland's president, Dr. Mauno Koivisto, showed what great agreement in major current questions there is between the two states. The GDR and Finland see in the maintenance and assurance of peace and in the prevention of a nuclear inferno the most important task of the present. They are determined to do everything so that, in the interest of peace, disarmament, and detente, dialogue and cooperation replace confrontation and arms race. Thus the two statesmen, in their concern for the future of humanity, agreed candidly on current international problems, in a constructive and friendly spirit, as in the long-standing tradition between our countries.

In the city in which just a decade ago the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe took place, Erich Honecker stressed: "In agreement with

the Helsinki Accords, our states are following in word and deed a course of peace and of cooperation. It is based on the recognition of the realities that have arisen from the result of WWII and of postwar developments, and it is based on the conviction that only the preservation of peace, consistent advocacy of arms limitation and disarmament on the basis of equality and mutual security as well as on constructive cooperation will be of benefit to the nations."

Concerning the Baltic Sea, which joins our countries, Dr. Mauno Koivisto stressed: "Finland as well as the GDR strives to see to it that this sea, which is also important for all Europe, will remain a peaceful sea in the service of the interaction and prosperity of nations. Both states have kept this goal in mind in the efforts they have made to maintain the vitality of the cooperation that was introduced in Helsinki in the framework of the CSCE. This cooperation is now as before directed toward the recognition of the security interests of all participants."

In the discussion of current international questions, Erich Honecker clarified the goals of GDR foreign policy, which finds its expression in the peace and detente proposals of the states of the socialistic community. He welcomed in Helsinki the most recent proposals of Konstantin Chernenko that are aimed toward an international relaxation of tension. He said that it is the GDR's position that the return to reason and normality in international relations is necessary and that it is possible when the forces of peace and detente unite their efforts. This is also served by the policy of dialogue with all states and forces that are interested in the assurance of peace. It is now important to reverse the deployment of U.S. nuclear missiles in West Europe. This would be the most simple and reasonable thing, Honecker declared. This would make possible the withdrawal of the military countermeasures of the socialistic countries and the resumption of negotiations.

Both heads of state declared themselves in favor of measures for arms limitation and disarmament, particularly in the nuclear sphere, and in chemical and other mass destruction weapons, under the conditions of equality and mutual security. They spoke for the immediate beginning of negotiations for the prevention of the militarization of space. They supported the creation of nuclear-free zones or corridors in various parts of Europe. Dr. Mauno Koivisto explained Finnish initiative for such a zone in northern Europe and stressed its significance for the entire continent. Honecker confirmed the stated position of the GDR toward this and also its unchanged readiness to make its own territory into a nuclear-free corridor at the dividing line between the two military alliances. The GDR and Finland will, as their heads of state stressed, make an active contribution to the success of the Stockholm conference.

Honecker and Koivisto also discussed the current centers of conflict in various parts of the world. They spoke in agreement for negotiated settlements that would do justice to the legitimate interests of the nations in question.

A striking example of what readiness for peaceful coexistence between states of differing social structure can do in practice is the problem-free relationship between the GDR and Finland. The basic agreement in the vital questions of humanity works favorably on the bilateral relationships. The statesmen could draw up in Helsinki an impressive positive balance, and they could establish the guidelines for future development.

The relations between the GDR and Finland now have a tradition of three and a half decades. A stable neighborly relationship of understanding and of friendship has been built up. The representatives of the two countries meet regularly. President Dr. Koivisto has in Helsinki gratefully accepted the invitation of Erich Honecker to visit the GDR.

The desire for equal cooperation, the productivity of the economies, the high state of science and culture in both countries are decisive factors for the dynamics in the development of cooperation, particularly in the past ten years. In the past year alone mutual trade increased by over 17 percent. A wide range of treaties and agreements gives this cooperation a solid, reliable base.

Both states will now significantly increase their exchange of goods. In the next four years rates of increase of up to 15 percent are expected. Industrial cooperation is to be expanded, as are the exchange of intellectual accomplishments and cooperation in other markets. Both sides place great significance on long range, stable economic and trade relationships. The agreements and signed contracts in Helsinki will doubtlessly stimulate these developments.

Honecker and Mauno Koivisto touched in their discussions on further possibilities of the formation of bilateral relationships in the areas of education, culture, science, environmental protection, youth, and athletics. At the same time they agreed to expand what has already been accomplished in cooperation and to improve it qualitatively. Here the principle of always considering the partner's interests applies. The foreign ministers and foreign trade ministers of both countries also discussed questions of further cooperation.

The four days of the state visit in Finland were marked by mutual trust and genuine partnership. In the official discussions, at the meetings in the parliament and in the Helsinki City Hall, with politicians and economists, in the capital and during the trip into the country, Honecker and his escort noticed openness, attention, and a constructive spirit: in a word, good neighborliness.

In Helsinki Honecker stressed that the Finnish peace policy is highly regarded in the GDR. The realistic Paasikivi-Kekkonen policy has brought Finland great recognition, he said. The order of "The Great Star of Friendship to Nations," which the GDR head of state presented to the Finnish president, was meant in great part to encourage the continuation of this policy by Koivisto.

For their part, the representatives of Finland praised the development of the GDR, its peace policy, and the accomplishments of its citizens. President

Koivisto called our republic a modern and prosperous industrial state that has overcome the damage of war with diligent work and that has directed its view toward the future. He asked Erich Honecker to give the citizens of the GDR his best greetings and wishes for success for the anniversary year.

Parliamentary President Erkki Pystynen spoke of the traditionally close relationships between the parliaments of both countries and of the common striving of their representatives for the assurance of peace. This most important task of our times was also the central point of the friendly meetings between Honecker and Minister President Kalevi Sorsa, who is also at the same time the Chairman of the Social Democratic Party of Finland, and in Honecker's meetings with the Chairman of the Communist Party of Finland, Arvo Aalto, and with the representatives of the Finland-GDR Society, which has done special service in the friendship between both nations. There was also a friendly spirit in the words of the Chairman of the City Council meeting on the Finnish capital, Harri Haolkeri, who stressed things in common between Helsinki and Berlin as cities of peace.

Beyond doubt the meeting of the heads of state of the GDR and Finland will have long range effects. This applies to the further expansion of the cooperation of both countries for their mutual benefit. And it applies above all also to the common measures for the assurance of peace, for arms limitation, and for disarmament, as well as for security and cooperation on our continent. Particularly now, when the advocates of confrontation and arms race are having a destabilizing effect on the coexistence of the European countries, this is of special international importance. The strong echo that the state visit of Erich Honecker in Finland has found in world opinion is also evidence of this.

9124

CSO: 2300/93

SUMMARY OF DEBATE ABOUT HEALTH CARE

Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 20 Oct 84 p 9

[Article by Laszlo Szabo: "We Should Also Think About the Future of Health Care, Summary Contribution to the Debate"]

[Text] Our society's great achievement, the civil right of public assurance of the material conditions necessary for the restoration of health, in plain terms, provision of the basic conditions for convalescence free of charge, must not be renounced in the future, not even if this is a constitutional principle difficult to implement at present. This was one of the most sharply worded ideas in the debate conducted in recent months in our newspaper and on the television program "The Week."

Is Everything Outdated and Obsolete?

A great many letters have arrived at the television station and our editorial office; they refer to the fact that by arranging this debate we have placed on the agenda issues which concern the entire society. No one has disputed that our society has done a lot in recent decades to create the material conditions for providing cost-free health care. There are twice as many hospital beds today as there were 3 decades ago. The results are positively spectacular with respect to development of the last two 5-year plan periods. During this time 44 new hospitals have been built in the country, and many older hospitals have been repaired and remodeled. For example, here are a few which have been built or rebuilt: the hospitals in Bekescsaba, Nyiregyhaza, Tatabanya, Salgotarjan, Szolnok, Kecskemet, Eger, Gyor, Szombathely, Zalaegerszeg, Vac, Kerepestarcsa, Kiskunhalas, Oroshaza, Kazincbarcika, Dunaujvaros, Hatvan, Cegled, south Pest in Budapest, Csepel, the Margit, Tetenyi Ut, Heim Pal and Laszlo hospitals, the National Institute on Rheumatism and Curative Spas, the Traumatology Institute, individual clinics at the universities in Szeged, Pecs, Debrecen and the capital, the world-famous pediatric health care center in Miskolc, the MAV [Hungarian State Railways] hospital in the capital, the cardiology hospital in Balatonfured. And the list is by no means complete.

Today 100,000 modern and very valuable pieces of equipment are used in medical treatment. A nationwide network of specialists who treat and cure increasingly widespread diseases of the cardiovascular system has taken shape over the last 8 to 10 years, and one of the very essential conditions for more favorable

population distribution has come into being: a nationwide system of intensive care for the prematurely born. Every modern device--from ultrasound equipment to nonreusable sterile instruments--which the world's scientists and specialists have invented and perfected for use in medical treatment has been introduced in large numbers into the Hungarian health service. Half a decade ago, when the guiding principles of the Sixth 5-Year Plan were laid down in our party's leading bodies and then in government agencies, despite much more limited financial resources for development and upkeep and despite increasingly troublesome economic circumstances at home and abroad, health care was named a priority which figures as an emphasized item in the budget. And our state continues to uphold this priority in spite of the troublesome circumstances. (From the paper BUSINESS EUROPE: "Since the start of the 1980s there has not been enough money in the seven leading capitalist countries to expand the social insurance establishment, and a severe decline has already begun in most countries...")

What we have mentioned are facts. Nice facts. Nevertheless, a multitude of problems traceable to objective and subjective causes has piled up in public health; these problems hinder the effectiveness of this enormous investment. There are still not enough sickbeds in some places, dozens of hospital buildings are outmoded, we have not reached the targeted goals in every aspect of improvement of basic care's material conditions, modernization of the health care infrastructure has not kept pace with the introduction of new beds, in this place there is a certain medical instrument, in that place there isn't, doctors and nurses often struggle due to a shortage of thermometers and other such instruments, and the patient frequently feels he is not receiving the most up-to-date treatment and medication. He therefore tries to be "grateful" in advance so that he will receive it. Meanwhile, the 200,000 persons who treat the entire population, look after our health, and supply us with health care that they could offer much more if the picture which has emerged of them was more correct and faithful to reality, if there was management on every level of health care and not just "planned spending," if the supervisory and organizational system--obsolete in many respects from the standpoint of practical needs--was renewed, if the sociopolitical tasks were separated more sharply from the health care assignments, if...

Scores of problems--important and less important, but in any case living--have been aired in this debate, and not just by doctors, nurses and other specialists working in the public health field. Party workers, state officials, economists, sociologists, televiewers and newspaper readers have also taken pen in hand and contributed their remarks to the debate which has received the name "Let's Talk About the Entire Spectrum of Health Care."

Let It Remain Free of Charge

We have published many contributions. Our readers were able to discern how extremely dissimilar opinions were on the same issue or problem. Naturally, we do not want to decide among them and assume a standpoint for the future; after all, this is not our task but rather that of those bodies which, even prior to this debate, extensively examined and still examine the entire spectrum of health care. They definitely take into account what kind of tendencies

were indicated by the issues which emerged on television and in our newspaper; our letter writers generally sided with us. Therefore, in connection with the cost-free nature of health care or modification of this principle, we can only publish the prevailing notion which we indicated in the introduction: the basic services should be free of charge hereafter as well. All the same, there is a small number of debaters who state that every element and aspect of health care service should be converted into forints and this should be paid by everyone--with the exception of retirees and those who are demonstrably the most indigent--who consults a physician, occupies a hospital bed or takes a convalescent vacation; and the insurer should refund what is reasonable, i.e., what seems established after verification. According to the great majority of letter writers, the conditions for this do not exist in our country, and some even argue that this would be a step back in our social order. On the other hand, many want the supervisory role of the social insurance organization to be increased with regard to those who are insured and the health care service alike.

Opinion is much more divided, of course, on what basic health care provision means. Without all kinds of research, most people feel that the entire society is hardly obliged to defray the costs for someone, let us say, whom the ambulance would take to the local hospital but who wants to go to a clinic 50 kilometers farther away. Or for someone who, unable to control his appetite, becomes obese and--without his having any actual disease--wants to undergo weight-reduction treatment in a hospital bed with a physician's assistance. This should be a personal expense and not society's. But we could also mention that additional requirement when the patient is not satisfied with the medical examinations performed on him and the consequent treatment and wants the same examinations performed over again immediately in another place. Let him do it, but have him pay for it. The medical specialist considers 10 curative massages sufficient, but the patient thinks that 20 would benefit him even more--let him request them, but at his own expense. Someone wants a hospital room with two beds instead of one with six beds; there is a possibility for it, but let him pay for it. It is also open to question whether society should assume the complete costs of therapy for someone who requires health care due to extensive consumption of alcohol.

There is no doubt that from a scientific, professional and--last but not least--social viewpoint we ought to examine and ascertain more precisely what we mean today by the provision of basic health care: what is an additional requirement or an exceptional convenience which cannot now be offered to everyone free of charge. This could also help the public health service see to it that every citizen's restoration to health really takes place free of cost and on a higher level. Many people in the debate have claimed that if this is combined with decent administration, the current capacity could be doubled. However, the conditional mood receives emphasis here.

Administration and Organization

And now we are at the spot many contributors reached: a multitude of financial constraints impedes the judicious, expedient and desirable use of money currently guaranteed by society. Consequently, significant sums for the health

care institutions are left in some budget columns at the end of the year; in one place it is this, and in another place it is that, while columns for other purposes suffer from a shortage. It seems it would be really desirable to relax these rigid constraints. It is probably worthwhile for the responsible state agencies to reflect on whether hospitals built on integration principles will continue to receive their funds according to the number of beds and nursing days or according to the types of diseases, the seriousness of the operations and the number of patients treated. It is hard to accept the counterargument that in this case the patient will continue to occupy a bed, because rare is the person who has a home and family and does not "flee" from the hospital any way he can; doctors often have to restrain the fleeing patient! Our letter writers supported their views with a lot of practical experience that if the institutions would share more realistically in the public funds, it would result in proper administration of the institutions, it would increase their involvement and it would help to make better use of bed space. This way it would be possible to gauge the quantity of finished work better. There is a great need for this in public health care! For example, many people consider it tantamount to squandering assets if in the same health care center where the patients awaiting operations stand in line, the operating room lights are turned on from Friday noon until Monday morning only when the institution is on emergency call. On the other hand, we can attribute the low usage level of very valuable instruments to the fact that often certain persons and not entire institutions can employ these implements. Many laymen have been struck by the suggestion that the continuous use of instruments on a multishift basis, or rather the shared performance of several complex fundamental tasks, could be an enormously powerful factor in increasing efficiency. Several people mentioned the example of a surgical block where not only the general surgeon but also the laryngologist or urologist can work; it is unnecessary to keep the operating rooms separate and run them at a poor efficiency/use level. Also mentioned as an example was the diagnostic block, to which the earlier arguments likewise refer. It is evident that judicious and professional organization and administration of a health care institution are two closely linked spheres of authority.

Who Should Run the Institution?

After this comes the controversial issue raised by many people: who should run the health care institution in the future, a physician or an economics specialist? The prevailing answer was: a physician with organizational skills. But it also became clear that administration of the institution should be entrusted unequivocally to the economic director, and in addition to precise formulation of jurisdiction it would be advisable to distinguish sharply between the authority of the economic director and the physician who heads the institution. Maybe it is also noteworthy that the health care college does not clearly undertake the preparation of health care economic directors through managerial training and suitable courses of instruction. (It is time to train specialists in this field at the School of Economics, the same way engineering economists are instructed.)

Now that we have brought up the subject of the institution's internal supervision--and we did so because it has not been dealt with superfluously in the

debate--we must briefly touch upon the entire supervisory and organizational structure of health care. Some people have trenchantly criticized the administrative approach--taken in its bad sense--which does not want to allow for the genuine interests of the citizenry and tolerates the idea that large numbers of sick people travel long distances, even though there is a nearer solution in another administrative unit. This approach has lost its popularity to some degree with the abolishment of administrative districts, here and there an effort is made to look at and weigh matters in a more open-eyed manner, but even today the megie boundary is a "Chinese wall" in many cases. It is worthwhile to turn one's attention to the part of the debate which many emphasized in an admonitory manner: if the city councils continue to have sway in the personal supervision of local health care and in budget determination, and there is reason to believe they will, the special administrative agency--the department of culture, sports and health care--which today has a hand in assignments that differ greatly from one another can easily lose sight of the needs and the relative importance of functions.

Many claimed that in numerous respects social policy has become entangled both regionally and nationally with health care tasks, and the one often weakens the other. At least six ministries have a direct hand in social policy--not one of them unambiguously! For example, in connection with the two basic spheres of activity, medical treatment and so-called human services, heavy emphasis has been placed on their inadequate differentiation at present, and therefore the chronically sick, chiefly elderly people who require human services and nursing, occupy 30 percent of the internal medicine beds. Naturally, a lot of money, organization, "beds for the chronically and socially ill" and preparatory work at home are necessary in order for elderly people who are crippled and require the physical help of younger persons to find themselves in circumstances which are completely adequate but much less expensive for society. The difference in upkeep between a therapeutic bed and a so-called aftertreatment bed is enormous. But one of the important conditions for its realization--this took on a sharp outline in the debate--is precise clarification of social policy's task and the relegation of its supervision to a government agency which--up to and including supervision of regional social policy--can keep a constant eye on society's interests and represent them, in accordance with their importance, in the government.

The government resolution which states the most important tasks of population policy for subsequent years indicates that the complex assignments are not negligible. Among them are the elaboration and implementation of such enormous programs as the suppression of alcoholism and smoking, more wholesome nutrition, a system of screening tests for early detection of cardiovascular and cancerous diseases, the discovery of new forms of geriatric care, etc.

Awarding Gratitude Money

Naturally, there was a lot of talk in the debate about gratitude money, which impugns our professed principle of free medical treatment. It was pointed out in the discussion that the creation of a multitude of conditions--among others, a more clear-cut distinction between therapeutic activity and the sociopolitical operations which precede health care, or, which is not possible nowadays,

a substantial increase in doctors' pay--is necessary for us to bring order to this domain and abolish gratitude money. Despite this, we cannot resign ourselves to the patient who feels: "I have to give gratitude money, because that's the only way I'll regain my health!"

It is true that our letter writers did not call attention to a single case with a concrete name in which a physician responded to a patient requesting treatment: "I'll treat you or operate, I'll restore your health, only if you pay me such and such an amount!" There are not many doctors like that. But enough cases confirm that there are doctors who have forgotten their calling and extort gratitude money indirectly.

It might be easier to thwart this and to curb those who are inclined to do it, if each offensive case would receive broader or local publicity, especially in the office of the chief medical officer. In this case the picture would be more authentic in the social consciousness as well. Because every sign indicates that the subjective element, the social psychosis in judging the extent of and reasons for gratitude money, is greater than the objective facts would justify. We are human beings, persons who--if we are sick--want to believe in the physician's power to work miracles and cure us. Wouldn't we give everything we have for that? Yes, he who takes unfair advantage of this human weakness of ours deserves society's contempt. But are doctors that way in general, or is it true that the overwhelming majority of them practice their vocation zealously, remain faithful to their oath, and do their job on terms of payment like those who work in other intellectual professions? Contributors to the debate proved it to be an irrefutable fact that the so-called high-income recipients, those whose monthly earnings are in five figures (forints), make up a fraction of the 200,000 persons who work in the health care field. Roughly one-fourth of them, including nurses, physical therapists, health spa employees and other part-time health care practitioners, enjoy reasonable benefits on a moderate scale. But then the majority never find themselves in a position to obtain gratitude money and gifts.

No matter how extremist the views people have about gratitude money, which undoubtedly is spreading--but not just in the health care field--a position should be taken only on the basis of realities. The debate has proven that it is impossible to take administrative measures against this phenomenon--aside from underhand practices in conflict with the law. Would it be appropriate to issue a decree which prohibits a citizen from paying gratitude money for his alleviated suffering to his physician or the nurse who tends to him around the clock? Hardly...But recourse to penal measures is reasonable if the purpose of the gratitude money is bribery, if, for example, someone is "shaken down." It may also be a criminal case if the doctor obtains the gratitude money by force, although one does not often come across this kind of conduct. Every kind of irresponsible generalization is unfair and harmful to the community of physicians and to the tens of thousands of nurses and health care employees.

It has become indisputable that we must insist more categorically on--and at the same time spread the word more widely about--the thankful nature of gratitude money, i.e., its "after the event" characteristic: the doctor or nurse

can accept gratitude money or a gift only when treatment is finished, when the patient leaves the hospital, and anyone who violates this rule commits an ethical offense and must be called to account for it.

"Little Cash Box" and Payment

A great many observations were made about how it might be possible for all the "material gratitude" to be more equitable, so that not just the person who has direct contact with the patient shares in it. Many kinds of suggestions--from a "gratitude check" to a deposit in a central pay office--were heard in the debate, payable primarily for the time of hospital treatment and care. It is hardly worthwhile to require more of a National Health Service doctor than adherence to the standards of medical ethics. A physical therapist also deserves personal gratitude. The situation is more complicated in an operating room, where not only the doctor with the scalpel in his hand "operates" but at least two or three other physicians and an equal number of nurses. An in internal medicine, where the internist is able to make a proper diagnosis only after a long series of tests, and the X-ray technician works under him in the laboratory. Nor is just the nurse active at bedside. What is already done in several places should probably gain adherents: the whole "envelope" is placed in a "joint cash box" or in the so-called "little cash box," as it was formerly known, and in full view of medical community--the department--it is divided up in accordance with the chief medical officer's decision; also given a share are those--the radiologist and cleaning woman, the laboratory assistant and the stretcher bearer--who "help" the department. One of our letter writers wrote this about it: "If the state cannot give more, it must not be ashamed to say so. Let what is legal and at any rate exists be of a more communal nature. Especially when doctors and nurses are paid what they're paid."

What are they paid? The reader and televiewer have probably learned more about this--through collaboration of television and the press--in recent weeks than during the preceding few years. Well, they are paid no worse than an industrial engineer or a local state official or an educator. With respect to inequalities among the wages of unskilled laborers, skilled workers and university graduates, it is confirmed that the physician has the longest educational time, 18 years. So one should not be upset if a hospital pediatrician takes on a second and sometimes a third job at a day nursery, or if an internist at an outpatient clinic works 4 hours a day as an industrial physician in some small business firm. The state is unable to take out more from society's common purse for doctors and nurses than it does at present. It is certain that a change must be made here as soon as possible. But in the debate it was proven by examples that even now, under the current economic restraints, the health care institutions can improve the situation to some degree.

Television Resumes This Evening

Naturally, there is more to what it takes to improve the situation of public health care and those who work there than what we have mentioned in this debate summary. Other significant problems we could not dwell on here also

cropped up in the debate. Participants in the roundtable discussion of "The Week" and NEPSZABADSAG will undoubtedly express their opinions on such important issues as the future of health care integration; what can be done for elderly people who are squeezed out of hospital beds, cannot count on the daytime help of working family members and can hardly afford to pay a nurse; how do we cope with the great number of retired people and what should society tell them; what are public health care's key issues in rehabilitation and disease prevention; how did the shortage of nurses come about in the big cities and not in the countryside; where can the free choice of physicians begin and how far can it spread; where is the already launched reform in medical training headed, etc. These issues have emerged in the exchange of ideas.

Diagnosing the situation and determining the methods of treatment call for conscientious government work! We wanted to help in this by talking about the entire spectrum of health care and reflecting on the future, by publishing our readers' opinions and trying to summarize the standpoints which, according to the lessons of the debate, many people consider acceptable and realizable.

12327

CSO: 2500/63

PURPOSE OF NEW INSTITUTION DEFINED

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 23 Oct 84 p 4

[Interview with Boleslaw Kapitan by Maria Olszewska: "Professional skills -- Constantly Improved"]

[Text] [Question] The recently-announced news of the inauguration of activities by the Schools Center for Cadre Training and Improvement of the Worker's Cooperative Publishing House [RSW] was received with wide interest, especially among journalists. What are the origins of the initiative that established this entirely new institution within the organizational structure of the "Prasa-Ksiazka-Ruch" Worker's Cooperative Publishing House?

[Answer] The center established by the Worker's Cooperative Publishing House Central Bureau is supposed to coordinate activities in the political and professional education of journalists and other professional circles within the cooperative, including the administrative, management and reserve cadres. The idea of creating a system for improving the knowledge of this professional community is not a new one. It has been discussed for years.

Therefore, the accepted concept when the center was established was the result of many years of discussion of the need to provide continuous support to the journalist community in its performance of its social and professional duties.

[Question] The the center's role above all...

[Answer] ...is a matter of organizing a system of courses and seminars. Every journalist will participate in some form of training at least once every 3-5 years for a period of two to three weeks. These courses are to cover the specific interests of particular groups and professions and will conclude with an examination and the awarding of a certificate.

We know that a journalist's ability to not only reflect but shape public opinion depends a great deal on his erudition and his knowledge of the various areas of life. And this is where the center should be most helpful.

[Question] Ambitious goals must be met by an ambitious program.

[Answer] Training will take place in three thematic blocks. The first block of training will be concerned with deepening theoretical knowledge of Marxism-Leninism, propaganda, international politics, etc. The second will be devoted to our contemporary political, social, economic and cultural problems while the third block will serve to add to and improve professional knowledge.

Particular emphasis will be laid on current information that is so important to the work of a journalist. The guarantee of the high quality of journalism will be the participation taken in this by the co-creators of our living conditions, representatives of political, economic and cultural life such as the secretaries of the PZPR Central Committee, vice premiers, ministers, etc.

[Question] It is not only the journalists that will benefit from the professional training system in the Worker's Cooperative Publishing House.

[Answer] Other than journalists, we will also be training another large group, the management cadre from all RSW enterprises, from the print shops to the editorial board for its publications. Select professional groups such as book publishers, legal advisors and merchants will also have their courses in accordance with current needs.

The center does not foresee that it will serve to provide professional training for administrative cadres of institutions outside of RSW. On the other hand, we are open to any proposals on the cooperative training of journalists that may be presented by the Polish Press Agency, Polish Radio and Television, newspapers such as RZECZPOSPOLITA, etc. We do plan to exchange training benefits with, for example, the Association of Polish Journalists or Polish Radio and Television.

Furthermore, the center will also be involved with research and publications work. We are only now organizing this and its primary goal is to analyze the efficiency of our work. We are also preparing didactic aids for persons taking the courses.

[Question] What methods will be used to train journalists at the center?

[Answer] The program of courses and seminars include such topics as selected problems of history, philosophy, political science and sociology. We are not, however, concerned with theory. If, for example, we discuss the subject of society's historical awareness, it is in the light of social, political, economic and cultural tasks. If we deal with certain problems of party theory, we approach them in the context of the party's function in relation to the real problems of life in Poland.

We intend to make the most use in our activities of modern, participatory methods of training. This involves unorthodox lectures in the participants are divided into listeners and speakers as well as every other form of group participation such as seminars, discussions, panels, dialogues, etc. We will count a great deal on the journalists themselves to be inventive during discussions. We must be sincere and incisive in voicing our opinions. After all, one of the basic tasks of this activity is to explain to each other our

questions and doubts concerning the difficult problems we face in the world today.

[Question] Does the center foresee any cooperative work involving exchanges of lecturers, for example, with scholarly institutions?

[Answer] The value of our activities are being closely observed by a program council led by the historian, Dr Jan Sobczak. The council and the lecturers we have found include many well-known scholars and practitioners of various disciplines. They come from many different institutions and centers of learning patronizing the center such as the Academy of Social Sciences, the Military Political Academy, the Institute for Press Studies, the Council of Ministers Institute of Organization, Management and Cadre Training, the Polish Academy of Sciences, etc.

[Question] The establishment of a comprehensive system for training journalists has led many to the question of whether participation in courses and seminars will be obligatory.

[Answer] We cannot look at this in such terms. We do not intend to arbitrarily deal with this problem either. Let us look at it as a conscious need of the journalists above all. After all, the idea of the center is also to provide a means for journalists to discuss with their colleagues the complicated problems of social and professional life today.

We have already prepared an ambitious and broad program of action for this year and there are many difficulties. This is more than anything due to the fact that every step we take is a new one. We are only now gaining experience in all that we do. Without the participation of the journalist community and of other groups, without knowing that they feel that the center's activities are their activities, the enterprise will be unsuccessful.

12261

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POLAND

KUBIAK COMMENTS ON ROLE OF IDEOLOGY IN SOCIETY

Warsaw PRAWO I ZYCIE in Polish 29 Sep 84 pp 3,4

[Interview with Prof Dr Habilitatus Hieronim Kubiak, member of the Politburo of the PZPR Central Committee, founder of the Institute of Polonia Research, Jagiellon University, by Joanna Konieczna and Andrzej Wielunski: "Man Without Dogma"]

[Question] Comrade Professor, do you agree with the claim that the Polish historical experience, both in the older and the more recent past, shapes a Polish mentality common to the entire society?

[Answer] Yes, but what is common is, contrary to appearances, extremely limited and applies chiefly to the domain of cultural heritage. Most often, when we speak of cultural heritage and the sum total of the consequences of the process of Polish history, we mean the perception of that sum total in a conscious manner as a consequence of reflection. I doubt greatly whether this is indeed how that heritage is perceived. I claim that in general this heritage is perceived unthinkingly. And hence I believe that it is not possible to define unambiguously the effect of that heritage on us all. It is moreover experienced regionally and, in addition, filtered through the personal experience of individuals and through the particular social groups to which they belong.

I would hazard the statement that what matters most is the unmeditated but homeostatically necessary role of the cultural heritage, which results in a certain similarity among all Poles, but only a certain similarity. I do not believe in what is with much ado called the national character. That is a concept which I consider obscurantist, at least in its colloquial meaning. This is because I don't believe in the predestination of any particular nation, including the Polish nation; I don't believe in the Messianism of Poles or of any other national community. In the long run, the importance of nations hinges solely on their accomplishments.

I believe that a comparative analysis indicating the attributes we ascribe to Poles in the context of those ascribed by other nations to themselves would

yield findings surprising to some people. For essentially the qualities which most peoples ascribe to themselves are much alike. This concerns, e.g., love of collective and personal liberties. On the other hand, the differences among various nations consist in the cultural conditions for translating all these values into reality and the degree to which this is accomplished.

I'm thus convinced that the attributes which we could sensibly isolate as distinguishing the Polish nation from other nations are essentially very few. Now what decides the present derives not so much from abstract reflections on the past as, above all, from individual and collective wrestling with the resistance of the reality, of which the past as well is a part--in the material sphere as well.

[Question] Comrade Professor, your statements are going to be unpopular, because after all we Poles are greatly attached to our national identity.

[Answer] Perhaps if Poland were to exist somewhere in the borderlands of Europe--and I say so because I view the so-called geopolitical factor positively rather than (as some do) negatively--our fate would have been different. Our place in Europe is precisely defined, and from this fact many consequences have ensued. We understood these consequences too late, and we were too late in inferring practical conclusions from them. Hence also we were unable to exploit the opportunity represented by the place we occupy on the map of Europe. As a state and a nation, we had arisen fairly early. Subsequently, as a state with a greatly advanced nation-forming process, we were influenced by the varying development dynamics of other nation-states, which influenced shifts in the shape of our territory, until finally we could not cope with the behests of the times. I don't want to touch here upon all the historical events, but I don't agree with the theory that, following the loss of their independence, Poles had become mere romantics who wanted to bring salvation to themselves and others; we were dominated by revindictory patriotism.

If we survived, it was not at all owing to romanticism. We survived because the nation's structure began to be continually expanded by new groups that had previously lacked any opportunities and rights other than the right to call themselves Poles. We survived, paradoxical as it may seem in view of the successive national uprisings, whose importance I'm not at all denying, owing to the growing sense of realism among Poles, a realism that is too readily, and by too many, identified with resignation. I suppose that such a claim may raise eyebrows, but this feeling of realism became strengthened also during and after World War II.

I don't mean at all to say thereby that we are vacillating between postromantic visions and a solid awareness of reality. But I believe that nowadays what is much more important is reflections showing that it was the sense of realism that had engendered not the abandonment of national aspirations but their particular shape and the new political formula for achieving them. We need this kind of reflections greatly. We need them all the more considering that too many people are exhausting their energies in

disputes about which vision of reality should prevail instead of altering reality through positive action.

When it is said that Poles are a nation of romantics or anarchists, a nation that lacks the sense of realism, what is actually meant? The attributes of a certain stratum of individuals who don't have to perform physical labor, and who most often can afford to regard life as a game are meant. But neither the Polish bourgeois nor the Polish peasant nor the Polish worker is meant when such statements are made. Were these large social groups indeed to possess the attributes ascribed to, e.g., the gentry, neither they nor the gentry itself could have existed.

[Question] Comrade, you mentioned the sense of realism. At times it waxed and at times waned. When did it reach its apogee? What was the situation in this respect after World War II?

[Answer] To me, a clear manifestation of the new sense of realism was, e.g., the Three-Year Plan and the manner of its fulfillment. I urge everyone who can do it to carry out a thorough historical and social analysis of that period; unfortunately, few such analyses exist. Much could be learned from an analysis of this kind about: the attitudes of the Polish intelligentsia, which after all had been in those times so numerically small; the attitudes of the population migrating from the countryside to the cities; and lastly the attitudes of the rising generation making a start in life. After all, that had been a time of wounds still unhealed, of conflicts that were not only ideological in nature, and yet the plan was fulfilled, both materially and socially (in the integrative sense).

I consider an important cause of the slowdown in--though not the halt of--this development trend to be the practical neglect in the years 1948-1949 of the Leninist principle that socialism, universal by nature and indivisible into national versions, can be built only under particular historical conditions at a particular moment in the historical process of a particular national community, on taking into account the attendant determining factors. At the moment when this mistake was made, the Polish leftist movement not only forfeited for a time the developmental dynamism natural to it but also created convenient conditions for its own antithesis, for various types of political opposition.

On tracing the currents of that opposition and analyzing the periods of its effectiveness it is readily concluded that the principal matrix in which it had arisen and established contact (particularly during crisis situations) with the larger social groups was a mistaken attitude toward its own historical heritage, a misreading of its own reality, and escapism into the universals. Socialism cannot be built in the absence of the universals--that is not open to doubt--because one has to know what one wants to build. But also socialism is built not in some social vacuum but under particular conditions regardless of how difficult and entangled they are, regardless of whether some like them or not.

There is another matter, which I consider unusually important, because it hampers the natural growth of [the sense of] realism. Being desirous of releasing the society's energies, which are indispensable to any development, we appeal to social awareness and consolidate in it the vision of the desirable situation. Unfortunately, this is most often not accompanied by popularizing the knowledge about specific goals and the particular conditions for achieving them, and neither is this accompanied by constant comparisons of goals with their fulfillment. There is also the absence of a rational evaluation of the complex whole of the factors resulting in divergences from these goals, the absence of readiness to make revisions, and often also the absence of readiness to develop the roads of building socialism. Such a situation is bound to produce fatal consequences both politically and in the social awareness.

To me, a classical example of this divergence between visions of the future and the reality was the 1970s. The mistake made in those years was not the launching of the slogan of accelerated development, nor the procurements of foreign credit, nor, the more so, the desire to tap a great new potential of human energies, considering that the slogan "We'll help" used to mean so much then. The mistake rather consisted in the belief in some miraculous self-correcting mechanism of success and in the attendant decline of interest in the reality and failure to consider the real conditions for accomplishing the vision of "a second Poland." And once signals appeared indicating that this accomplishment was a chimera, because it collided with the hard facts of the reality, living on credit was bound to produce the consequences which it has produced. But at the same time a sufficiently large number of data demonstrates that, despite all the disturbing events (including those most dramatic ones), the sense of realism was becoming an increasingly stronger and more explicit aspect of human behavior.

[Question] But, side by side with this, quite sizable domains of resignation and discouragement are observed, on a scale unprecedented in previous difficult situations in the country's history.

[Answer] Yes, but these phenomena cannot be divorced from tensions which caused them. Whenever tensions are caused by the superiority of myth over the sense of reality or by an exceptional accumulation of the society's wrath, whenever the psychosis of the crowd, sedulously exploited by false prophets, begins to manifest itself, the collapse of a vision or concept engenders a feeling of apocalypse among many individuals and social groups. Such periods are of varying duration. That feeling of resignation is stronger when the system of government cannot (or is temporarily unable to) find a prescription for meshing the activities of discrete communities and individuals into a coherent whole, when the fields of action designated for these activities are narrow or--this being much worse--when these activities are considered to be menacing to the system. What we are so tenaciously seeking is a sagacious and authentic vision of collective action that is free of utopianism.

[Question] This is the general theory. It appears that here some ordering factor is needed. Can--and should--ideology be that factor?

[Answer] But that is what ideology has always been. Even if not in the form of systems of postulates of organized theory, then in an elementally arisen form. Let me resume for a while my previous thread of thought. What happens when, within the framework of the established political system, we fail to link sapiently individual and collective actions by means of a feedback? The consequence is such that, as a rule, the programs of the opposition begin to deal with the problem of the individual. Then the concepts of the individual, who by his very nature is an organic element of any ideology, including Marxism, are surrendered to some other ideology or vision, such as, in the past, existentialism in its various forms, or at present Christianity [as published], inclusive of the Catholic vision of man. It is readily perceived that the fulfillment of this vision is acquiring the form of a political program.

In a situation in which we overlook the individual, we also overlook the fact that he is unique and lives under particular conditions, and at the same time we forget that the individual transforms these conditions within the social microsystems of his personal life--in the family, among neighbors and friends, at his workplace, etc. Thus, when we neglect this, the vacuum thus created becomes filled by the institution of the omnipotent, almighty, all-giving state, and it is precisely this that engenders lack of personal responsibility. Everything becomes anonymous, everything depends on some or other institution. Even at the lowest level of societal life the individual begins to lose the feeling of his own identity. This is a disease which must be cured. It does not ensue from the principles of socialism but, on the contrary, it represents their denial. It causes in social awareness a terrible erosion of trust in these principles. I am convinced that our social and political system has already begun to cure itself of this disease.

[Question] At a certain moment ideology will collide with politics, with the exercise of power, with the particular human-engineering methods indispensable to directing large masses of people.

[Answer] Here we face yet another problem. Essentially, in human life, both individual and collective, we always are dealing with two attendant processes whose proportions differ: the elemental and the goal-oriented. Elemental processes used to be the principal processes for centuries. This ensued from, among other things, insufficient and partial cognition of the reality, let alone the impossibility of foreseeing all the consequences of every action. After all, the great planned processes ensuing from the cognition and analysis of the reality, from taking the side of particular social classes and strata, from a goal-oriented selection of development strategies, represent a relatively new development. Yes, indeed, it was only Marxism that has initiated this type of large-scale planned activities.

It is a delusion of weak minds to hope that mankind can some day relinquish one of these two types of processes. Both are to some extent limited, and they are mutually complementary. Except that the interpretation of elemental processes is partial, whereas planning processes must be based on a certain holistic vision of the desirable goal prior to the active pursuit of that

goal, a vision that is intellectually detached yet at the same time inspires emotional ardor.

If that is so, then ideology becomes politics, the more so the stronger these planned processes dominate--by accelerating development--given conditions of societal and economic life. That is why ours is not at all a situation in which we abandon ideology. No society can dispense with ideology. In this connection, the worst form of ideology is precisely the one which appeals to elemental behavior and is not supported by a coherent cognitive system.

[Question] There is a fairly common view that the crisis that had begun in the 1970s originated from a schism between ideology and politics.

[Answer] To me the crisis of the 1970s, within the social stratum in question, consisted primarily in that Marxism-Leninism had been effectively applied to analyses of other realities while at the same time being applied very incompetently or reluctantly to the analysis of our own Polish reality. In effect, in those times we had been, if I may say so, ivory-tower Marxists. In the sphere of practice those times could be variously described, but in the sphere of authentic knowledge of reality we had been inconceivably distant from Marxism. When applied to our own reality, Marxism is an extremely disturbing factor.

[Question] And possibly a dangerous one as well.

[Answer] Dangerous to those who would like to perceive this reality in only one dimension. But safe as a tool for development, social service, knowledge about social conflicts. For if our own reality is perceived critically, the divergences between goals and accomplishments also can be perceived and the real social status of the larger social groups becomes perceivable. The moods of these groups then also become perceivable, along with the sight of the tremendous mass of people who can and should effectively participate in people's rule instead of a small clique or an apologetic clique. If all this is perceived, then politics can and should be corrected. At times, owing to such a critical analysis, a leader has to resign because he is not in step with the times.

[Question] Is Marxism alone such an effective cognitive instrument?

[Answer] Of all the systems known to me, Marxism alone is so deeply critical and so broadly open-minded. Marxism is the principle of undogmatic thinking, the principle of fearless approach to the findings of cognition, and lastly the principle of an open-minded view of the future.

Some people still oversimplify and claim that being a Marxist and practicing Marxism means engaging in an exegesis of the thoughts of the Marxist classics. This is needed, of course, this is the fountainhead; a Marxist has to be familiar with the history of Marxism, the principles of its thought and the axioms ensuing from that thought and that cognition of reality. But being a Marxist also means knowing how to apply that experience and these methods and axioms to one's own reality, perceiving that reality as not finite but in a

state of becoming, and viewing it precisely from the vantage point of critical, dialectical thinking. By contrast, this kind of thinking is not suitable for apologetic practices.

[Question] Comrade Professor, in Poland we have a fairly rich market for ideological offers.

[Answer] The question arises: under what conditions and to what extent can the struggle among ideas and values (interpreted as the competition between argument and vision) be conducted to the benefit of a majority of the society? Where to draw the boundary lines that cannot be crossed? I believe that these lines are determined by the particular historical conditions of the stability and development of our sociopolitical system. This is not a simple solution, of course, because it signifies the elimination of certain ideologies and certain possibilities for translating them into reality rather than a free interplay of forces. Moreover, this harbors the danger of an arbitrary or opportunistic interpretation of these conditions.

In our Polish situation, I believe, regardless of the degree of complexity, a certain chance is afforded to us. This chance consists in that the two great ideologies existing in a mutual conflict due to, among other things, their different interpretations of the nature of man and the mode of fulfilling man's destiny, can cooperate without abandoning or blurring the real differences between them. If they genuinely desire so, they can serve man as an individual. If they genuinely desire so, they can--and that not only in word but in deed--serve to make his life fuller, richer, simply happier, here on earth.

Reflections about what we really have are, when viewed dispassionately, practically the same on both sides of the barricade. Our real capital, our present-day national wealth is only minimally a result of nationalization and the land reform, that is, of taking from the haves and giving to the have-nots. It is much more the product of collective toil, hopes and sacrifices. To the majority of the society the dilemma is not whether private enterprise should or should not be restored but merely how to make our economy more efficient. Socialism, yes, but it should be more efficient. And this is the true and great formula for national accord.

[Question] Comrade Professor, how do you view the future? What factors would be decisive to a more confident view on your part?

[Answer] I will begin with a viewpoint, which I did not originate besides, that I'm trying to "sell" [advocate] during this interview, because I consider it realistic. I first heard it during a discussion of a report by a commission of the PZPR Central Committee on the analysis of conflicts in the history of the Polish People's Republic. The assessment was as follows: during two periods of great social tensions, in 1956 and 1970, the reintegration of the opposing sides in these conflicts, a distinctive uniting of the society's energies, occurred fairly rapidly. In this connection, in 1956 another factor was the rallying of the society round the figure of Wladyslaw Gomulka, round the program of the 8th Central Committee Plenum, etc. The reintegrative

processes occurred rapidly and harbored in themselves tremendous hopes of the society. But already in the mid-1960s their antithesis began to arise. As known, these energies were not completely channeled into lasting consequences, and there appeared evident trends toward stagnation that raised the question of why it had to be so.

Following December 1970 the slogan "We'll help" was launched. It too was authentic and it too united the society's energies. But how soon were they dissipated! The conflict of the year 1980 broke out, a great chance was provided to the various opponents of socialism, capitalizing on our misfortunes, and foreign indebtedness mushroomed.

And what about the present? Have the society's energies become by now as united as they were in 1956 and 1970? No. Have misdirected social hopes arisen in the years 1980-1981? Yes. Did the argument of force have to be employed in order to halt a course of events pernicious to all? Yes. Has this magnified the scale of doubt? Yes, it has. Has it facilitated the solution of urgent problems? No, it has not. Is the rebuilding of these energies progressing rapidly? No.

And it was then that I heard a person declare as follows during the abovementioned discussion: this precisely is wherein the strength of the present period resides. Perhaps precisely because the reintegration is proceeding sluggishly, in face of such great resistance, perhaps precisely because the resistance of both matter and human awareness is so great, this process will engender a sapient construct open to the changing external world, permanent. Perhaps this precisely accounts for the optimism about which I was asked. I see no other alternative. And because I see no other alternative, I perceive the strength of what is possible.

[Question] Comrade Professor, thank you for the interview.

1386

CSO: 2600/160

SUPERIORITY OF MARXISM DEFENDED

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 10 Oct 84 p 3

[Article by Prof Adam Lopatka, director of the Institute of the State and Law, Polish Academy of Sciences: "The State, the Classes, the Nation"]

[Text] Certain authors compare the state to a ship and its leaders to the helmsman or ship captain. The captain, the crew and eventually the passengers have a common interest in keeping the ship from capsizing or getting damaged and having her reach her destination. This interest is promoted by the order that normally reigns on the ship. The value of the captain and the crew is measured by the extent to which they contribute to promoting that interest. This analogy, fallacious as it may be in general, sheds light on an essential attribute of the state, namely, that the life and welfare of all those belonging to the state depend on the fate of the whole.

Every state always was and is of a class nature. For the state is an organization of societies divided into social classes and strata. In every state there was and is a ruling class that leads the society. This class exerts a decisive influence on the fate of the state. It identifies its class interests with those of the entire state. So long as its class interests do not explicitly conflict with the interests of the state as a whole, it possesses the historical legitimacy for leading the state.

It forfeits this legitimacy when, while promoting its own interests, it is incapable or unwilling to promote the interests of the whole. The ruling class makes allowance in its policies for the needs and goals of other classes to the extent to which they are consonant with its own interests and do not endanger these or the interests of the state as a whole. The ruling class always sacrifices the interests of other social classes that are antagonistic with respect to its own interests.

The ruling class in a given state also may forfeit its legitimacy when it resorts to unworthy means imperiling the existence of other nations or of

mankind, when it practices the exploitation and oppression of other nations, and when it resorts to war, and particularly when it is ready to wage nuclear warfare.

Ruling classes--slave owners, feudalists, the bourgeoisie--were or continue to be classes exploiting other classes of their own societies. The working class, which is the ruling class in the socialist society, is --for the first time in the history of mankind-- a ruling class that is not an exploitative one. Therein above all is reflected the moral superiority of the socialist state over the bourgeois state. It also is reflected in that the working class, and hence also the state which it leads, does not view the exploitation and oppression of other nations as being in its interest. On the contrary, it views the liberation of the oppressed and exploited nations as being in its interest.

The interest of the working class is primarily promoted by assuring the permanence of a particular system of economic and social relations, a particular political system, as well as by the dominance of its ideology in social awareness. The interest of the ruling class is not identical with the interest of every individual member of that class. In the event of a conflict, the interest of the class as a whole has priority. This also applies to group interests within the framework of that class.

In every ruling class, as besides in other social classes, the proper interpretation of class interests is the subject of a continuing dispute. Sometimes this dispute becomes dramatic. More than one civil war has been conducted to resolve this dispute. The maturity of a given ruling class as the leading class in the state is also measured by its ability to articulate its interests by means which are not injurious to the interests of the state as a whole.

The national function of the state is to assure and protect the process of the production and distribution of goods. In present-day world there can be no substantial production process in the absence of government. The state, or the government, also assures a particular social order, organizes the life of the society and preserves it from disturbances. It provides security for the individual as well as for social groups and the society as a whole. It also provides external security. It organizes and protects foreign trade and the flow of people across frontiers. Nowadays it is only through the mediation of an efficient government that individual nations can properly participate in the life of the international community represented by the UN and other universal international as well as regional organizations.

Individual nations may contribute most effectively to the maintenance of peace through the mediation of the state. Only the state nowadays can assure effective protection against epidemics and drug addiction as well as sanitary protection and public health. It is only through the mediation of the state that nations can have access to the common heritage of humanity, to the riches concealed in the sea bottom, the oceans, outer space, heavenly bodies and certain parts of the terrestrial globe. It is only through the mediation of the state that environmental protection and proper management of the living

resources of the seas and oceans can be assured on the national, international and global scale.

The state, while led by one class, also expresses and promotes the interests of other classes of a given society, to the extent to which they are the same as or reconcilable with the interests of the ruling class. It always did and still does pursue the general interests of the society as a whole. It is through the mediation of the state that a society takes part in promoting the interests of mankind as a whole. This applies to every state in which the ruling class takes into account the interests of other nations and the interests of mankind.

In pre-partition Poland the gentry and the aristocracy--the contemporary ruling classes--had for centuries meshed their own exploitative class interests with the interests of the state as a whole. The national misfortunes, the partitions and the loss of statehood took place only after the contemporary ruling class had given preference to its own narrowly conceived class interests and the personal interests of individual magnates, over the general interests. In this manner, tragic to the nation, that class demonstrated its incompetence as the leading class.

The Polish bourgeoisie and big landlords as the ruling classes in 1919-1939 Poland also failed to pass the historical test before the nation, because owing to their selfish domestic policies and a foreign policy blinded by hatred of the Soviet Union, they caused the greatest misfortunes ever encountered by the Polish nation in its entire history. During World War II as well, these classes had been incapable of formulating new political conceptions for Poland, conceptions that could have assured a successful future for our nation. In this way, the bourgeoisie and big landlords demonstrated once and for all their incompetence for leading the nation, their inexcusable class egotism. This is a truth that no one ever can refute, although many have been continually trying to refute it.

During World War II the Polish working class won for itself first ideological-political leadership and then, in 1944, leadership in the state. Inspired by Marxism-Leninism, the political concepts of this class pointed to the sole realistic road toward the rebirth of the Polish state within just and secure frontiers. Leadership by the working class assured a rapid reconstruction of the country from its wartime devastation as well as a complete integration of all of its parts into the whole national organism.

Under the leadership of the working class, productive forces were developed and the nation made a great civilizational and cultural leap forward. Poland's standing in the international community has grown. Its contribution to the resolution of problems of the world and mankind has become tangible. Poland has secure frontiers. All of its frontiers are frontiers of friendship. The interests of the working class and those of the nation require that this ever remain so.

The already 40-years-long history of a Poland led by the working class also includes failures, mistakes and difficulties. But the working class has always

succeeded in demonstrating its ability to lead the nation. Difficulties and crisis situations are being surmounted with our own resources. Every crisis has been, in the final analysis, utilized as a vehicle of progress and a means of getting rid of the obstacles to development. There is no social class nowadays that could be capable of leading the nation better than the working class. The interests of the working class nowadays are most fully identical with the interests of the nation as a whole. It is certain as well that the ability of the working class to adequately articulate its interests is not promoted by attempts to inoculate it with the bankrupt political conceptions of the Polish bourgeoisie and big landlordism, and neither is it promoted by attempts to split its political and organizational unity substructed on the soil of Marxist-Leninist patriotic and internationalist inspiration.

Leading the state entails certain obligations, which include continually facing up to new challenges. Promoting the ability of the working class to cope with these challenges is our greatest need of the day.

1386

CSO: 2600/119

HISTORY OF UKRAINIAN RESISTANCE RECOUNTED

Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish No 37, 15 Sep 84; No 40, 6 Oct 84

[A series of two articles by Jan Rozdzynski: "Discovering the Archives" and "On Withdrawing, I Committed Suicide" under the rubric "The Sign of the Trident"]

[15 Sep 84 pp 1,10,11,12]

[Text] In July 19__ [illegible] during land-clearing operations near Bircza in Przemysl Province the roots of the stump of a century-old oak resisted the shovels and axes of laborers. A meter under ground the implement struck a rusty metal container resembling a milkcan and containing rotting sheets of paper covered with dense handwriting, old newspapers and leaflets with the characteristic logo of a stylized "trizub" (trident).* The verdict of the experts confirmed the preliminary assumptions: the container harbored yet another collection of the archives concealed years ago by a detachment of the Ukrainian Partisan Army (UPA) operating in this area. Reports on executed death sentences, records of the interrogations of detainees or suspects from among the partisans themselves, reports on combat activities, quartermaster accounts, reports on the activities of the local elements of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN)--such are these documents, dating from the years 1945-1946 and relating to the "Kholodnyy Yar" Suprarayon located in "District 1" of "Zakerzhonskiy Kray" of the OUN, comprising the southeastern corner of Poland.

The container had holes in many places, these being the work of time and dampness. It was not easy to remove from it its damp contents. I perused its contents, made available to me by the Archives of the MSW [Ministry of the Interior]. There are roughly speaking several thousand pages, nearly all in Ukrainian, most typed on a Cyrillic-alphabet typewriter equipped with

*Translator's note: All terms in quotation marks are Ukrainian terms or pseudonyms quoted in the Polish-language original, and they are accordingly transliterated from the Cyrillic alphabet instead of being reproduced in the Polonized version used in the original.

Ukrainian characters. There also are prints or mimeographed copies. Some of them disintegrate when picked up while others, being glued or compressed together, cannot be separated. Some documents in Polish also are present. I find a small map sketched by hand in copying pencil, containing a delineated area within which the unit probably was active.

How did that document-filled container happen to be present among the roots of the oak tree that once used to grow there? Several possible answers may be considered, but the most likely one is that the archives had to be concealed owing to an urgent need to get rid of the container together with its contents by a UPA detachment or an OUN combat unit in the spring or summer of 1946. That is to say, these documents could have been secured better in one of the numerous hideouts or in one of the bunkers built in the forest. An exact reproduction of the circumstances under which the documents had been buried is not feasible nowadays.

The more time elapsed since these events, the greater is the calm with which the historian can investigate them and the better--on the basis of increasingly more numerous sources and studies--can they be described by the journalist. However, reflections on the activities of the groupings of Ukrainian nationalists should be made in the awareness that they should not be identified with the Ukrainian nation, if only in view of the ideology followed, the number of followers and, primarily, the terrorist nature of these activities. The recently discovered documents are not the only proof that these nationalists attempted to pass themselves off as the sole representatives of that nation. This truth is confirmed by all that is known about that movement and its history, which dates back to the beginning of this century, its close collaboration with Hitlerite Germany during the Occupation and also its distinctive phraseology directed against leftists throughout the world and still practiced to this day in Ukrainian emigre communities in the West. And although these documents reflect a fairly short and already postwar period of activities within a relatively small geographical area, their reading provides an idea of the operations of the OUN and the UPA during that period.

[Inset]

FOR BETRAYING THE UKRAINIAN NATION--DEATH

Citizen _____ of the village of _____ was punished with death by hanging (shooting).

Such is the end of anyone who betrays and injures his people, who like a Judas serves the Invader-Foe and turns over to his hands his blood brother for torture and death.

UKRAINIAN PARTISANS

The blank spaces in this form were filled out by the executioner, who also specified the mode of execution and then left the notice in an obvious spot. Documents of this kind were used by OUN combat units and UPA detachments from the spring of 1944 until the completion (in 1946) of the resettlement of the Ukrainian, Belorussian and Lithuanian population from Polish territories to the Ukraine, Belorussia and Lithuania, accompanied by the resettlement of Poles from these areas to Poland. The repatriation took place on the basis of agreements concluded between the PKWN [Polish Committee for National Liberation] and the governments of these republics. The joint Polish-Soviet instructions on the implementation of these agreements specified: "The evacuation is voluntary, and hence duress may be applied neither directly nor indirectly. The desire to evacuate may be expressed either verbally or in writing."

"Samoistna Ukraina" [Independent Ukraine]--the goal of all these nationalist groupings--increasingly receded. The Third World War, in which hopes for a different solution of the Ukrainian question were placed, had not broken out for the time being. But it was a future possibility, as was increasingly declared among the retinue of Stepan Bandera, the chief of the "provid" [leadership] of the OUN. One result of the "wait-and-survive" policy, then followed also by the pro-London Polish underground, was retaliatory actions by the OUN: hundreds of death sentences pronounced and carried out on Ukrainians reporting to resettlement points. Such actions, conducted with ruthless brutality, produced effects: they markedly complicated the course of the repatriation. Fear of the "penalty," despite the protection which units of the Polish Army and Citizens' Militia had attempted to provide, forced the Ukrainian civilian population to cooperate with the OUN and the UPA. Terror was also applied against the Poles repatriated from the USSR who had the courage to take over the farms of the evacuees or who, after the war ended, returned home from, e.g., work in Germany.

[Inset]

Case No 35

11 July 1945

"Smikh," "strilets" [private], SKV
Protocol No 1

Re: "Strilets," SKV, 1 Kusch, Chota [Platoon] 2, "Chernomor'ye" Rayon

Concerning: Liquidation of Kaszycka, Karolina, a Polish woman, of Pawlukomy Village, who returned from Germany on 7 July 1945, and was liquidated by SKV personnel "Smikh" and "Yastrub" on the order of "Kushch" Chief "Yar."

Testimony: "Kushch" Chief Yar ordered "Yastrub" and me to liquidate Kaszycka, Karolina. On departing I remembered the order given to "Yastrub" to the effect that any fabrics or underwear could be confiscated by him. Immediately afterward we left. The following persons were present in the house where the abovementioned Polish

woman was staying: Ivan Mudryk, Dimitro Sokil and Anna Potoczniak, the wife of the Pole living in that house. Following the confiscation of items suitable for shirts, we returned to our quarters. En route "Yastrub" took the confiscated materials to a Polish woman of Kotow Village for sewing shirts from them. Before leaving Kaszycka, Karolina, we ordered her to depart from the village within an hour. After we returned to our quarters, "Yastrub" reported to "Yar" about the confiscation of skirting materials and their placement for sewing into shirts. An hour later "Yar" ordered us to escort the Polish woman to the forest and liquidate her (by shooting). "Yastrub" led her out of the house and passed her on to Muzyk, Ivan, for escorting her to the forest. In the forest we stopped and liquidated her: we divided among ourselves the belongings she was carrying. "Yastrub" took for himself the following items: a bed sheet, 1 1/2 meters of cloth fabric, a ladies' blouse, a sweater, a scarf, and stockings which he gave to Kushnova, Taniya. I took for myself the following items: a sweater, a ladies' dress, a scarf, socks. We did not inform "Yar" about these items. Two days later "Yar" asked "Yastrub" where and what were these items. "Yastrub" reported to "Yar" only two items: two bed sheets and stockings.

Read and signed: "Smikh"

The "kushch," a group of 5-10 villages, had been since 1943 a lower element of the OUN's structure. In each of these villages, inhabited by a sufficient number of Ukrainians, was formed a "stanyts" [station], the lowest echelon of the Organization. The "kushch" chief maintained contact with the "stanyts" chiefs, received periodic reports from them, and transmitted to them higher-level instructions. He headed the so-called "zveno" or link, of two to three persons constituting the leadership of the "kushch." He also collected information on village inhabitants, the behavior of OUN members, their mood, etc. In addition, he was responsible for the stores of food and arms and medical stations present on his territory. As of 1944 the so-called SKV or Kushch Self-Defense Units were formed in each "kushch," with each SKV consisting of 30 to 50 trained and armed persons with arms concealed in their places of residence, who outwardly led the lives of ordinary citizens. The reason for the existence of these groups was simple: at the moment when even a small UPA detachment appeared on their territory, it could, by absorbing the SKV, expand within a few hours into a sizable formation disposing of considerable firepower during a raid. Following the raid, the group members scattered and the UPA detachment shrank to its original size and continued its operations.

The next higher level, the "rayon," comprising three to six "kushchi," was somewhat more elaborately structured. It was headed by a "providnyk" or chief who, in addition to other departments, directed the so-called "Sluzhba Bespeki" [SB or Security Service] together with a special SB combat unit consisting of about 15 men, a quartermaster's department supplying food and arms to the UPA detachments on its territory, and a propaganda department responsible for the dissemination of press and leaflets, organization of

propaganda activities, etc. Above the "rayon" was the "suprarayon," consisting of two to six "rayons" and headed by a "providnyk" who not only directed the counterparts of the region's departments but also a "technical unit" operating a printing plant, mimeographing facilities, typewriters and sometimes also a radio transmitter. "Kholodnyy Yar," for example, until 1946 operated its own radio transmitter serving to maintain contact with the "Okrug" [District]. Two suprarayons formed an "okrug," which maintained, in addition to its own counterparts of the lower-level departments, a so-called military "referentura" or department, directed by the commander of the UPA "kuren" (battalion) operating on that territory and including a field gendarmerie unit. Three "okrugi" constituted a "kray" or province which had a corresponding structure. The "providnyk" of the "kray" and other members of the kray's leadership were authorized to maintain contact with the central "provid" of the OUN, that is, with Bandera himself and his associates, and later with the so-called Foreign Mission of the OUN in the West.

The department chiefs at every OUN level submitted periodic reports on the results of operations as viewed from the standpoint of their departments, kept records of captured materials and valuables, kept accounts, etc.

[Inset]

Case No 90

15 July 1945

Field Gendarmerie Commander "Igor"

Protocol No 1 (No 1 for the second time in the original--J.R.)

Re: "Igor," field gendarmerie commander, "Chernomor'ye Rayon"

Concerning: Liquidation of Jan Lis, a Pole from Liszawa Dl., who, on returning from Germany, was detained at Limne Village by Kushch Chief "Stavur" and taken over by Rayon Chief "Morski" with the object of verifying his identity.

Testimony: On 22 June 1945 I was notified by "Morski" to come to him together with gendarmes. Upon my arrival, I saw Jan Lis of Liszawa Dl., whom I recognized. I told "Morski" that he was a Pole and should be liquidated. The liquidation was performed as follows: On 22 June 1945, in the "Rebieriec" Woods (not far from Liszawa), the gendarmes "Igor," "Izh" and "As" prepared an ambush into which Kushch Chief "Stavur" led Jan Lis. As the prisoner was crossing the forest, the gendarmes emerged from hiding, detained him for the second time, checked his identity, confiscated a certificate written in Ukrainian and Russian which did not specify his nationality, and choked him to death. Following the execution, the abovenamed was found to have a Polish birth certificate, a German labor pass and a white-and-red brassard with the seal of the Polish militia, all sewn into his trousers.

The following belongings of the executed prisoner were confiscated: three coats, four shirts, one rucksack, one towel, a pair of boots (taken by "Izh"). Kushch Chief "Stavur" examined all these

items in the presence of the undersigned. I gave them all for safekeeping to a third party, i.e., Cichocki of Lipa Village: I did not surrender them to the quartermaster. The corpse was buried in a suitable site and properly camouflaged.

Read and signed: "Igor"

The most elaborate system of reports, pertaining to practically all aspects of the OUN's activities, was mandatory in the "Sluzhba Bezpeki" [Security Service] which acted as a kind of political police vis a vis the elements, departments and individual members of the Organization. During the Occupation chiefs at individual levels of this service openly collaborated with the Gestapo, considering that the principal tasks of their work outside the OUN were to combat the Polish and Soviet resistance movements and, after the Liberation and the formation of "Zakerzhonskiy Kray" by the OUN on Polish territory, to combat the authorities of the people's rule which, by its very nature, was another "sore spot" to the Ukrainian nationalists.

[Inset]

Przenysl Suprarayon
SB [Security Service]

Glory to Ukraine!

Report on SB Activities from 10 May till 10 July 1945

During the above period 131 persons were detained and interrogated, with the minutes of the interrogations being recorded for 33. Of this latter figure, three persons were released and the remainder given the death penalty by hanging or shooting.

Thirteen persons received five to 10 strokes with a stick each for their negative attitude toward the Organization or for failure to carry out duties.

Eleven members of the Organization were vetted: five were found to lack moral fiber and betray secrets of the Organization, while six others behaved in a worthy manner. The remaining interrogatees, a total of 60 persons, were mostly persons returning from work in Germany, from concentration camps and from the Red Army, and following their interrogation they were registered and released.

Two training courses were conducted. The first course was for regional SB chiefs, their deputies, and the commanders and deputy commanders of combat detachments, as well as for medics. Altogether, 33 persons took part in this course. The training lasted from 12 till 15 May 1945, and the following subjects were taught: intelligence and counterintelligence, criminology, surveillance, interrogation and its recording, secret signs of recognition, sanitary rules and propaganda. The lecturers were: "Lotun," "Vuyko," "Vadim" and "Potap."

The second course, for chief "kushch" scouts, was held from 3 till 6 June 1945. It was attended by 27 persons and the subjects of instruction were: intelligence and counterintelligence, ciphers and codes, surveillance and weapons handling. The lecturers were "Potap," "Pugach" and "Khryn'."

Five meetings with rayon SB chiefs were held, at which organizational matters were discussed, advice on interrogations and their recording was provided, and directions of further work were indicated.

The rayon chiefs held seven briefings at which SB-related matters were discussed.

Hideouts constructed: 3 each in every rayon, plus 4 in I, altogether 13.

In addition, in every "kushch" the chief "kushch" scouts and their deputies have their own hideouts, totaling 17.

From every rayon combat detachment two best members were assigned to the military and sanitary course.

Raids: During the period considered, raids were carried out in population centers previously inaccessible to us: Rayon I, suburban settlements; Rayon II, Jurkowa, Wojtkowa; Rayon IV, Luczkowa, Niewiastka. Their purposes were terrain reconnaissance and intelligence gathering. This was accompanied by propaganda work among the population.

From 15 June until 10 July 1945 every rayon was checked. During the vetting, talks were held with rayon SB personnel, chief "kushch" scouts, and members of combat detachments. Some members of combat units and "kushch" scouts were found to display shortcomings in political-educational work.

In Rayon IV two assistants are needed by the rayon SB chief.

The intelligence gathered was evaluated as unsatisfactory owing to the lack of suitable personnel and informers (weak element). Bivouacked 12 July 1945.

Glory to the heroes!

Potap

In accordance with the principles of deep conspiratorial work, every OUN member and UPA soldier used one or more pseudonyms. In addition, all levels of these formations had their own cryptonyms. "Kholodnyy Yar" was for a short period of time termed the "Przemysl Suprarayon" and it comprised the southern part of Przemysl Powiat, the eastern part of Brzozowski Powiat and the southeastern parts of the Sanok and Leski powiats as far as the San River. Its director was "Taras" a.k.a. "Ruslan"--Piotr Kavuza, and the chief of its SB department was "Potap," Vasil Tsapiak.

[Inset]

"Kholodnyy Yar" Rayon

19 October 1945

Report on SB Activities from 10 September till 10 October 1945

During this period 41 persons were detained, of whom 37 were interrogated. Of the above number, 21 persons were liquidated (7 Ukrainians, 14 Poles) and (the confessions) of 10 persons were recorded. Twenty persons were released, on punishing six of with strokes of the stick.

The combat detachments now take part together with UPA units in operations against Polish villages and carry out raids throughout the area with the object of propaganda and recruitment.

Rayon SB chiefs held briefings of kushch SB chiefs at which they transmitted instructions for further work.

The combat detachments are currently improving their hideouts and, insofar as possible, laying in stores for the winter. Throughout the area suspects are being interrogated, vetted and kept under surveillance.

Resettlement is under way throughout the suprarayon, and large detachments of the Polish Army are stationed in a majority of the villages. For this reason, our combat units often are unable to carry out their work, lacking access to certain villages.

Glory to Ukraine--Glory to the Heroes

"Potap"

Thus, during just one month, from 10 September till 10 October in 1945, the combat detachments in "Kholodnyy Yar" killed 21 persons. The figures on the victims should be enlarged to include the victims of operations by the UPA (the military formation of the OUN) in this area: Polish servicemen, militiamen, PPR [Polish Worker Party] activists and the civilian inhabitants of villages and towns. This total should also be augmented by the casualties during that period in two other suprarayons--"Beskyd" and "Verkhovina," which together with "Kholodnyy Yar" constituted "Okrug 1," and it should be borne in mind that "Zakerzhonskiy Kray" consisted of three "okrugi."

[Inset]

"Kholodnyy Yar" Suprarayon

SB Department

Report on the Bircza Raid of 7 January 1946

Battalion Commander K. ordered the B. L. and M. O. UPA detachments (more exactly, "sotni" ["hundreds"]) as well as the Security Service units from the individual rayons (except V) to destroy Bircza, which as for a long time now been a base for sallies by the Polish Army and Citizens' Militia.

The raid began on 7 January 1946 at 0200 hours. The mission of the detachments was to attack the town from every direction, penetrate its center and destroy all housing so as to deprive Polish Army and Citizens Militia detachments of future billeting facilities. However, the assault units failed to approach undetected the very walls of the town, because the WP (Polish Army) deployed a strong chain of sentinel posts around the town. These posts opened machine-gun fire upon noticing the stealthy advance of the assault units, thus alerting the military personnel in their quarters. Part of the Polish military, who slept on their posts in full combat gear, also opened fire against the attackers upon the first gunshot. Within a very short period of time the enemy's mortars began firing and their shells exploded in places among the houses on the town's outskirts. The attackers met everywhere with strong resistance. Even so, they broke through into Bircza, where they succeeded in burning down 15 or so buildings and occupying several bunkers, which also were burned down.

The fighting lasted till 0700 hours. The coming of dawn emboldened the Poles and they went over to counterattack. A cavalry detachment attempted to cut off the retreat route of the attackers. This aim was not accomplished. Our men, having realized that further fighting for Bircza was fruitless, began to retreat, also owing to their declining stocks of ammunition. The Polish garrison of Bircza at that time consisted of about 500 men. The enemy suffered about 70 casualties killed; the number of the wounded was not established.

In this raid the following fell on our side: the commander, Lt. "Konyk" (missing in action), Platoon Leader "Lev," Platoon Leader "Pavlenko," and 20 "stril'tsy."

A SB member, the deputy commander of the "Izh" Combat Detachment, also fell.

There were about 20 wounded.

Potap

A "strilets" was the equivalent of an army private. The other ranks in the UPA were: "strilets" first class, "vistun" (corporal), "vistun" senior (platoon leader), "bulavnyy" (sergeant), "khorunzhiy" (junior lieutenant), "poruchnyk" (lieutenant), "sotnyk" (captain), major, lieutenant colonel, colonel, and general. The counterpart of the squad was the "roy" (10-12 men), that of the platoon the "chota" (3-4 roys), that of the company the "sotnya" (3-4 platoons), and that of the battallion, "kuren" (3-4 companies, altogether 800 men). Their commanders were termed correspondingly "royovyy," "chotovyy," "sotenny" and "kurinnyy." The battalions and autonomous companies composed the so-called "Viyskovyye Okrugy" (Military Districts, or VO) which in their turn composed combat groups. The area of an UPA VO corresponded in territorial structure to an OUN "kray." The units operating in Polish territory belonged to the "UPA-West" Combat Group and early in 1946 they

totaled altogether 2,500 men.* In two earlier military operations (on 22 October and 30 November 1945) 10 Polish soldiers lost their lives, but in the Ukrainian reports this figure was magnified to 170 persons. During the third raid (described in the document quoted above) eight Polish soldiers had fallen. Potap's exaggerated figure, like the exaggerations in other documents, can only be explained by the desire to utilize it for propaganda purposes in "political-educational" work conducted within the ranks of the OUN itself and among the intimidated population. The raid itself happened probably owing to poor reconnaissance by the UPA's scouts, considering that strong units of the Polish army had been stationed in Bircza at the time. For normally, applying the classic rules of guerrilla warfare, the UPA avoided direct clashes with numerically large combat-experienced units and preferred to ambush small sub-units, surround militia posts or--which happened rarely--attack larger units when confident of its own numerical superiority.

[Inset]

Henryk:

Surely you are wondering why I am writing you after such a long time. I know for certain that in my place you would do the same. We are roaming through Ukraine and the Subcarpathians in order to deport Ukrainians and liquidate the Bandera gangs. Whenever we deport an entire village population and transport Ukrainians abroad, the gangs in retaliation burn the village and escape to the woods. And the woods in these parts are vast, as you know from geography. As for us, we comb the woods and organize ambushes during which we trap entire detachments of the bandits, which include Germans and Vlasovites, those who, as you may recall, had been quartered on the other side of the Vistula in Pojezierze.

I live quite well and the only thing we lack is sugarplums, as the saying goes. Following their strenuous combat against the Germans our boys laugh and claim that now in comparison it is as if they are on maneuvers and combat exercises. In the daytime we either organize ambushes or march and carry out other operations. At night in every direction only conflagrations and flames of burning villages can be seen. Our only entertainment is getting letters from home or friends. Hence it is partly from boredom and partly from curiosity about how you are doing that I'm writing you, and I think that you'll reply soon and won't be surprised to get my letter. Here I'll end so as not to bore you. When replying, glue on a 1.50 zloty stamp, because our letters now must have postal stamps.

Greetings to your family

*Cited from the book by Antoni B. Szczesniak and Wieslaw [illegible], "Droga donikad" [The Road to Nowhere], Ministry of National Defense Publishing House, 1973.

The above is the Polish-language text of one of several undelivered letters from a Polish officer. The copy found in the archives of "Kholodnyy Yar" includes not only the contents of these letters but also a vita of their author, Warrant Officer Wladyslaw Cabaj, born on 27 June 1923 in Deblin. High school student in 1939, railroader in General Government, he had joined the Polish Army in Lublin in August 1944. He entered a noncom school and subsequently put on the insignia of a warrant officer in an officer training school and was assigned to the post of commander of a mortar company in 26 Infantry Regiment of 9 Division. [In early 1945, when the Russian-Polish armies were advancing into Germany] he took part in the fording of the Nysa River, in the fighting near Grossendorf and the encirclement near Budziszyn. There, he was wounded in the leg. The circumstances under which this and other letters and the vita of their author came into the hands of the Banderites are unknown. The fate of their writer also is unknown. Warrant Officer Wladyslaw Cabaj was then 22 or 23 years old. (If he is alive, or if someone in his family knows about his fate, the Editors request to be notified.)

*

The events taking place in Southeastern Poland 40 years ago were of course a result and a consequence of the prewar and wartime Polish-Ukrainian relations, which became all the more complicated owing to the change in the system of Polish statehood. It appears that we are making it easier for the reader to familiarize himself with these events by presenting documents that reflect isolated facts. The growing threat harbored in the activities of the OUN and the UPA and the deaths of a couple of thousands of people prompted stern countermeasures, sometimes with ruthless consequences, by the then still new Polish authorities then consolidating their rule. Corresponding countermeasures were taken in the USSR and Czechoslovakia, whose frontier territories adjoining Poland had constituted, together with "Zakerzhonskiy Kray," the area menaced by terror. The last surviving UPA "hundreds" on Polish territory were dispersed or liquidated during the well-known "Operation Vistula" in 1947. The commander-in-chief of the UPA, General "Taras Chuprynka" (Roman Shukhevych), fell in 1950 near Lvov.

UPA has long since ceased to exist. On the other hand, the OUN, along with other formations of Ukrainian nationalists within this grouping, still exists, in the West, under various names. The fate and history of the heirs of the UPA and the continuators of the OUN are a separate subject.

[6 Oct 84 p 14]

/Early in 1954 Polish Counter-Intelligence completed an operation lasting nearly 5 years which resulted in eliminating a network of agents of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) that was closely linked to the intelligence services of Western countries. The man who had played the key role in this operation is now nearing his seventies./ [emphasized]

Access to him is not easy. But once I met him after familiarizing myself with the details of the matter, through the mediation of an MSW [Ministry of

Internal Affairs) department, I was disappointed. He said: "I'll not tell you anything new. Everything is in the files. The operation in which I took part was after all just one of many conducted during that period. If I became, willy-nilly, a 'providnyk,' that is, an OUN chief in Poland, it was simply due to the causal logic of events. And please use in your article only the pseudonym I used in that operation: until the moment when, on withdrawing, I 'committed suicide,' I called myself 'Stepan.'"

Since "Stepan" insists on anonymity, I will only note that on the occasion of festivities at his ministry in connection with the 40th anniversary [of People's Poland] my collocutor added yet another, and a very high one at that, decoration to his collection.

In order to describe at least the most important element of that operation dating back to nearly 30 years ago, the realities of the late 1940s should be borne in mind. At that time the cold war had begun to loom over the international scene and two opposed military blocs were rising. In this country the most important contemporary events were the merger of the PPR [Polish Worker Party] with the PPS [Polish Socialist Party] and the preparations for the 6-Year Plan--the plan for industrializing Poland. The period of combat against the armed underground, including the OUN-UPA formations, was coming to an end. At the same time, on extensive areas of the Ukraine the security organs of the USSR were liquidating, one after another, the "sotni" ["hundreds"] of the [Ukrainian] nationalists. The "providnyk" or leader of a faction of the OUN, Stepan Bandera, after reaching the West early in 1945, established his headquarters in Munich.

An Attempt To Build a Bridge

A major issue: it ensued from the information available to Polish and Soviet security services that the Western centers of the OUN lost (owing to, among other things, "Operation Vistula" in 1947) contact with the ringleaders of the nationalist detachments operating on the territory of both countries. Thus, they undertook attempts to resume contact and--under changed conditions--transmit new instructions. Bandera wanted to build in Poland a "bridge" linking the Munich center to the "provdy" (high command) in the Ukraine. He also had to procure funds for his activities, because the funds at the disposal of the central "provdy" were very modest. He thus intended to accomplish both goals with a single stroke: the reactivation of the OUN "network" on Polish territory, with the members of that "network" not only establishing transit routes to the East but also gathering intelligence in behalf of the special services of the Western countries, which should pay for the information. Initially, Bandera concluded agreements with the British Intelligence Service.

What ensues from the dossiers which I am perusing?

It is July 1949. The functionaries of the Szczecin Province Office of Public Security identify a detainee as "Viter," a member of the so-called "Sluzhba Bezpeki" [Security Service] of the OUN, who had belonged to a combat detachment dispersed a couple of months previously in Hrubieszow Woods. "Viter" talked. He revealed that two liaison men from Munich, "Bogdan" and

"Pimsta," had illegally reached Poland with the object of establishing contact with "Orest" (Miroslav Onyshkevich), the UPA commander in Poland. He also described the methods for contacting couriers and provided addresses and passwords. From this it ensued that the OUN headquarters was unaware that "Orest" had been recognized and arrested on a Wroclaw street early in March 1948 and placed in investigative detention.

"Viter" expressed readiness to collaborate. He was released and, as it turned out later, he provided valuable services in liquidating the network. After a while he began to realize that he was not the only one to collaborate with the UB [(Polish) Security Office], because there was also "Stepan," the former chief of the combat detachment to which "Viter" had belonged. The latter was unaware, however, that "Stepan" had been for years an agent of the Polish security service and contributed to, among other things, the capture of "Orest" and the "legalization"--with the object of utilizing them in subsequent operations of the UB--of the members of the last OUN SB detachment from the Hrubieszow Woods.

The couriers were not personally acquainted with "Orest," and they learned from "Viter" that "Stepan" was attempting to gather together the surviving members of the OUN (including members of that last SB detachment) and reestablish the Organization in this country. The couriers notified accordingly the central "provid" [in Munich] and attempted to establish contact with "Stepan." After several weeks of cloak-and-dagger hanky-panky "Stepan" finally let first "Bogdan" and then "Pimsta" meet him. "Stepan" promised them help in establishing contact with the "provid" in the Ukraine. "Pimsta" advised "Stepan" to report on the status of his organization in a letter to Bandera. He gave "Stepan" addresses in West Germany, a cipher code, disappearing ink and a solvent. On 24 December 1949 "Stepan" in his first letter notified the Munich headquarters that he established contact with the couriers and started to organize liaison with the East. He stressed that gathering information of an intelligence nature would be difficult because OUN members in Poland hardly held any important posts and lacked opportunities for access to important information on the life of the Polish state.

The Anxious Waiting

A period of anxious waiting began. Taught by experience in UPA combat and in the underground activities of the OUN, the members of the "central provid" in Munich might have many suspicions about "Stepan," who had only now given a sign of life. Pragmatic considerations prevailed, however, and a reply signed by "Askold" (Bogdan Pidgaynyy of the "central provid," chief of the department for liaison with the homeland) arrived at the address of "Viter" in late January 1950. The reply contained the recommendation by "Biylikh" (S. Bandera) for "adhering to deep conspiratorial principles, because members of the OUN include agents of the [Polish] security organs; transmitting to the West blanks of the identity papers mandatory in Poland; and enduring at any price until the spring when couriers with precise instructions would arrive."

At the same time, thanks to "Viter," the mail carried by "Bogdan" and "Pimsta" and destined for "Chuprynya," the UPA commander-in-chief in the Ukraine, was photocopied. In addition, both couriers were installed by "Stepan" in new safe houses that were bugged so as to keep them under continual surveillance.

"Stepan" immediately wrote "Askold" of his willingness to carry out the instructions. When there was no reply after a month, he sent another coded letter in which he requested financial assistance and provided mailing addresses. [The Munich] headquarters was also notified that "Stepan" would dispatch in the spring to Ukraine a team including a courier from Munich. This time, "Askold" sent a reply. He accepted "Stepan's" plan and provided two Munich mailing addresses: W. Daciw, Lemmbuchstr. 17/5, and I. Kozak, Weissenhautstr. 5. Thus, contact was established.

Now it was time to strengthen "Stepan's" standing in the eyes of the "central provid." This was to be promoted by the "successful" passage of a courier to the Ukraine.

During a conference organized by "Stepan" in Jozefow near Warsaw it was decided that the courier would be "Pimsta," who in Poland was guarded by "Viter," "Bir" and "Bogdan." "Pimsta" was reluctant to cross the frontier alone and asked that "Viter" accompany him. This made possible regular and direct surveillance of "Pimsta's" activities as well as greater infiltration of the OUN network in the USSR. Late in April, on reaching in the company of his bodyguards the woods behind Przemyśl, "Pimsta" decided, together with "Viter," to go on foot on the road to Sambor and, once there, to take a train to acquaintances among whom they would seek contacts. "Bogdan" and "Bir" accompanied them as far as the frontier itself. Once there, after waiting several hours and hearing no sounds of pursuit, no gunshots, etc., they returned with the report that the couriers had crossed safely to the Ukraine. The dossier shows that they wasted their time taking cover and listening for any sounds, because-- as they were unaware of--the frontier was opened along a segment of several kilometers.

Rebuilding the Network

The activities of the "network" created by "Stepan" grew apace.

It was joined, one after another, by OUN members living in hiding or concealing their past. In late May "Askold" advised that a team led by "Chaban" would shortly arrive from West Germany at a site in Jelenia Gora Powiat. That was the first of the so-called organizational-and-intelligence teams planned by the headquarters. At the same time, a postcard from "Pimsta" and "Viter" reporting that they were "safe and sound and in numerous company" had arrived from the Ukraine at an agreed-upon mailing address.

Early in June "Chaban" found "Stepan" and handed to him a letter from "Askold" authorizing him to direct organizational work in Poland and advising that the "network" was incorporated in the so-called Foreign Parts of the OUN (established in the spring of 1945 in Vienna at the so-called First Conference of the OUN, convened by S. Bandera). This appellation was to imply that the

OUN headquarters was operating underground in the Ukraine. "Chaban" arrived in the company of: "Zenko," "Gay," "Mikhal" and "Mikolay." Armed with 10 Colt pistols and one Sten gun, equipped with a radio transmitter, espionage cameras as well as with propaganda materials and mail for the "provid" in the USSR, these men were given the mission of establishing contact with the OUN in the Ukraine through the mediation of the "network" in Poland. "Zenko" was to return to Munich with a report to be prepared by "Stepan" according to "Chaban's" directions. From his conversation with "Zenko" "Stepan" learned that the OUN's "Sluzhba Bezpeki" in Munich interrogated many members of the Organization who had reached the West and the "central provid" had suspicions about him in connection with the arrest of "Orest."

On 14 August "Stepan" sent across a "safe" frontier a team of couriers ("Zenko," "Vil'khovyy," "Smakhun" and "Sokil") with mail for Munich. The report which referred to the disbanding of the Organization in 1947 on the area of the former Third District of the OUN in Poland gave to understand that the "network" represented another stage in the OUN's activities in Poland. It was accompanied by a report on the break-up of the "provid" of the so-called "Zakherzhonskiy Kray" (i.e., on Polish territory), from which it ensued that it was precisely "Stepan" who was the only individual capable of further directing the OUN's work on Polish territory. Still another report discussed the problems of the rebuilt network--the considerable financial difficulties and the attempt to establish contact with the Ukraine. In his report on the circumstances of "Orest's" capture "Stepan" unambiguously pointed to "Khmelyk," an associate of the UPA's leader. The mail also included the postcard from "Pimsta" and "Viter" in the Ukraine as proof that good progress was being made in establishing contact with the "provid" in the Ukraine.

The further activities of the network were as follows: Early in September 1950 "Bagnisty," who carried identity papers in the name of Adam Sliwinski, reported at a meeting site (in Olesnica). In his talk with him "Stepan" established that during the Occupation he had served in the SS Polizei-Einsatz near Lublin. After the war, as a member of the OUN, he found himself in the American Occupation Zone in Germany. "Askold" directed him to work for the American Intelligence, which aided him in reaching Poland through its secret routes. "Stepan" helped him to "legalize" himself and find an apartment in Szprotawa--under surveillance by Polish Counterintelligence. All correspondence between "Bagnisty" and the headquarters passed through the contact points specified to him by "Stepan."

Nomination to "Providnyk"

On 19 September "Pimsta" and "Viter" returned from the Ukraine in the company of the liaison men "Grabovy" and "Pshchil'ka." They brought from the Ukraine a reply to "Askold's" letters as well as money--a large amount in rubles and dollars for the "central provid." The Polish security organs had to play the game properly: a part of "Chaban's" group, equipped with arms, a radio transmitter and printed materials for the OUN in the Ukraine was waiting to be "dispatched" to the Ukraine. Were these men to reach the Ukraine, the "network" in Poland would lose in importance. Direct radio contact between the Ukrainian "provid" and the headquarters in Munich would preclude the possibility of monitoring such

contacts by "Stepan." Similarly, it was desirable to prevent the coffers of the "central provid" in Munich from being replenished with the funds from the Ukraine.

Hence, events were manipulated as follows: "Stepan" supported the opinion of the Ukrainian liaison men that smuggling "Gay," "Mikhal" and "Mikolay" into the USSR at the time would not guarantee establishing contact between the team and the "provid" in the Ukraine. It was suggested to headquarters that awaiting a contact that could take place only next year would represent a major menace to the Organization. "Stepan" also obtained "Askold's" consent to retain the funds from the Ukraine for the organizational needs of the "network" in Poland.

In the letter expressing this consent "Askold" sent his congratulations on the establishment of contact with the Ukraine and demanded that "Pimsta," one liaison man from the USSR and "Chaban" be dispatched to Munich. The last-named was not eager to return. He had his reasons: he had failed to carry out the mission to transfer his group to the Ukraine and moreover he established a liaison with a girl whom he wanted to take along to the West later. Hence, "Pimsta" was sent to Munich together with "Viter," who, after his return from the Ukraine, transmitted to the [Polish] security organs detailed information on the operations and structure of the OUN in the USSR. Now an occasion arose for infiltrating him into the OUN headquarters. Together with "Pimsta," he departed on 21 October for Germany via Czechoslovakia.

A week later another planned group reported at the meeting point in Kwieciszowice Village, Jelenia Gora. This group consisted of its leader "Burlak," "Vil'khovyy," and radio operator "Lubomyr" (who were placed at "Stepan's" disposal) as well as the radio operators "Ivan" and "Orlyk" (who were to proceed to the Ukraine). They brought along two long-range radio transmitters, \$1,000, 2,000 rubles, more than 1,500 Czechoslovak crowns and espionage gear. But the most important thing was the contents of the mail from Munich: Bandera conveyed through "Burlak" greetings to "Stepan" and his nomination to the "providnyk" of the entire Organization in Poland. This meant promotion to a much higher rank authorizing the adoption of many independent decisions, and hence also the headquarters's confidence in "Stepan" and the strengthening of his standing.

The Second Stage of the Game

The nomination coincided, as ensues from the dossier, with the commencement of the second stage of the "operating game" against the OUN. The immediate cause of the broader scale of activities was the instructions transmitted by Bandera and "Askold" together with the nomination: "The OUN is at present acquiring funds through cooperation with British Intelligence and hence an intelligence department directing these activities has been established within the framework of the Organization. The OUN in Poland should assign for this purpose suitable individuals and provide them with watertight identities.... In order to popularize the problems of Independent Ukraine as a decisive factor in the East [during the new war supposed to break out--J. R.], there is a need for facts demonstrating the existence of links between the emigre community and the nationalist armed movement in the Ukraine--and this requires

regular liaison. At present the entire onus of establishing and maintaining this liaison rests on the OUN in Poland...." And here are the aims of the espionage activities: "In Poland this means chiefly military and rail and highway intelligence. The principal information needed concerns military transports proceeding westward on the lines Rovne-Brest-Bialystok, Kiev-Korosten-Lvov-Wroclaw-Legnica, along with information on Soviet military garrisons, rail-transit capacities, transloading stations, etc." On being later detained, the agents confessed that British intelligence was also interested in the garrisoning sites of Polish and Soviet army units, changes in the uniforms and gear of different arms of services, the sites of airfields, major factories and mines, harbors, administrative offices, personal data on [Polish] security service personnel, and detailed reports on "the attitude of the population toward the authorities."

An idea of the mentality of the "central provid" was provided to "Stepan" (and hence also to our Counterintelligence) by the letter from S. Bandera, included in that mail, who wrote: "The international situation tends toward war. The Western countries are making substantial military preparations. Korea helped a lot (the Korean war, started in July 1950--J. R.). The economy is being converted to wartime production and, once a strong army is ready, the policy [of the Western countries] will switch from defensive to offensive and the concept of a preventive war against the USSR, which for the time being still is being rejected, will mature. Such an unfolding of events will take about 2 more years as yet, but the next world war might begin sooner, in the immediate future.... The OUN expects that the situation will acquire a turn such that the frontlines will form far from the Ukraine. In such a situation armed defensive operations of the OUN in the enemy's rear would produce a greater effect against the background of the whole of the developing war. Energizing the struggle in the Ukraine and destructive activities within the Soviet Army units formed in the Ukraine and garrisoned outside its territory should play a major role here.... The Western countries view the struggle as being directed against the communist system. The Americans are betting on the Russian nation, which will have to be won over, drawn away from the communists and not vexed.... In this context they share a common language with Kerenski (1881-1970, premier of the provisional government overthrow of tsarism in 1917--J. R.) who in America has a strong standing and support. This concept is shared by our neighbors--Mikolajczyk, etc., who are solely concerned with changing the system of society in their own countries, restoring the old frontiers and cooperating with Russia. From this standpoint, the cause of Independent Ukraine is not an easy one.... A more serious political attitude toward our cause may, by contrast with the United States, be displayed by England, but only after the war breaks out. Prior to this, however, the publicization of the struggle under way in the Ukraine would be of tremendous significance, so that the world could appreciate the potential of this struggle and its importance to the general anti-Bolshevist world front. It is necessary to demonstrate that the OUN can plan and conduct this struggle so as to contribute to the general victory over the USSR as part of a coordinated plan, or conduct it independently while exploiting the wartime situation. By the same token, the OUN may either be an ally of the Western powers or not, because war against communism or a positive attitude toward Independent Ukraine in themselves may not warrant such an alliance...."

The facts presented so far above were only the principal "moves" in the game played during the first year. Wishing to present the chronology of the most important operations crowned with the bestowal of full powers by S. Bandera on "Stepan" and his "network," I have omitted in this narrative many dates and facts of lesser importance. A detailed description of the second stage of the game would have taken up even more space. It is worth noting, however, that "Stepan" and the other Polish agents subsequently infiltrated into the "network" succeeded, by dint of intricate and dangerous maneuvers, in both obstructing the intelligence-gathering activities of the OUN headquarters and effectively hampering the liaison between that headquarters and the "provid" in the Ukraine.

Let us add that the ranks of Ukrainian nationalists in the USSR began during that time to dwindle abruptly. The reasons are traceable to the capture and death of "Chuprynka" (March 1950), the liquidation of the last coherent detachments of the UPA and the coordinated activities of Soviet and Polish Counterintelligence. Not without importance was the mission of "Viter", who was dispatched from Munich to a training center in Great Britain and thence sent information on the arrivals of successive organizational-intelligence teams in Poland. During the period of the game a total of nine such teams had arrived. The description of the techniques of the passage of these teams into Poland, their surveillance and their elimination is contained in several dozen thick folders.

The Finale: The Liquidation

In the night between 14 and 15 May of that year, yet another team parachuted from a longrange British aircraft. The following landed in the environs of Dzikow Village, Lubaczowski Powiat: "Gnat," "Chayka" and "Bobi." They were surrounded by KBW [Internal Security Corps] forces and died in battle. On the same night two separate teams were parachuted from a similar aircraft in USSR territory, one led by "Pimsta" and the other by "Viter," with whose aid Soviet security organs were able to liquidate both teams. In July a team of three led by "Don" ("Serzhant" and "Malyy") arrived via Czechoslovakia. It was left free but kept under constant surveillance and monitoring.

On 8 October yet another team arrived. It consisted of its leader "Zenko," "Dudar," the chief of the intelligence department-to-be, and "Sosna," the chief radio operator-to-be of the OUN in Poland. Through their mediation the headquarters in Munich began to receive "reliable" information that was in reality of no importance to the defense security and interests of the PRL. Toward the end of October, warned by the Polish side, Czechoslovak security organs arrested "Bagnisty," "Serzhant" and "Malyy" on the train station in Tanwald: they could not be arrested in Poland as this might have exposed "Stepan's" cover.

This danger was not present on 23 May 1952 during the liquidation of "Vil'khovyy's" group in the environs of Leborg. Although he was notified by "Askold" of its arrival, "Stepan" did not know the date, site and means of its arrival. They had arrived by submarine from Hanover. Of the four agents

arriving only one, "Pavlo," survived a direct clash with an assault team of Polish Marines.

In September 1952 "Sokil's" team was liquidated while proceeding via Czechoslovakia to the USSR. Carrying out the urgent instructions radioed by "Askold" in this connection, "Stepan" dispatched to the Ukraine a team of three persons which, after carrying out its mission, "returned safe and sound" to Poland: this concerned creating the appearances of a regular liaison between the "providy" in Poland and in the Ukraine, and thus averting the suspicions that had been again growing with regard to "Stepan."

In mid-1953, pressured by the British, S. Bandera ordered an intensification of espionage activities and a corresponding adaptation of the structure of the "network" in Poland. "Stepan" divided his men into two detachments: liaison, headed by "Don," and intelligence, which he personally directed. In this way, he continued to control all information collected by the "network." Even so, however, there was no guarantee that "Don," who had contacts still unknown to Polish Counterintelligence, might not transmit to the West information that would unmask "Stepan." A detailed plan covering such an eventuality was worked out.

Early in 1954 "Don," who was an old and experienced conspirator, began to have certain suspicions. In the early spring he attempted to contact headquarters without "Stepan's" knowledge, through people known by him alone. It was time to end the game.

First, the most active agents, and "Don" foremost, were arrested and then, within several subsequent hours, so were the remaining members of the "network"--on streets, railroad stations, in apartments and in "legal" workplaces. "Stepan" at the time was in the company of "Lubomyr" in one of his apartments. The building was surrounded by militiamen and KBW personnel. As subsequently confessed by "Lubomyr," who was not privy to the secret, "In such a situation 'providnyk' Stepan swallowed poison and died on the spot."

The description of this affair culminates in a brief summary from which I quote the last few sentences:

"Throughout the period that this operational game was conducted, 86 persons were arrested, including 16 agents of British and American intelligence and couriers from abroad as well as 70 members of the OUN. Thirteen persons were killed, of whom 10 were agents of British intelligence and couriers and three OUN members.... The liquidation of the OUN's network in Poland induced the British to terminate their agreement for cooperation with S. Bandera."

The Munich headquarters began to look for other sponsors to cooperate with. Five years later Stepan Bandera was killed under unexplained circumstances. The work of the chief "providnyk" is being continued, though, by his successors, with only the operating procedures being changed.

1386

CSO: 2600/121

CAMPAIGN AGAINST SOCIOECONOMIC ABUSES CONTINUES

Foreign Travel Scrutinized

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 20-21 Oct 84 p 6

[Article by Marzena Spolnicka-Wieczorek: "Why Mexico? Why Hungary?"]

[Text] ... Complaints made by citizens about the directors of Wroclaw construction firms using state finances to cover the costs of their foreign vacations have been found to be totally true.

(Excerpt from a letter by the Wroclaw chapter of the Supreme Chamber of Control [NIK] sent in 1983 to the chairman of the provincial party control commission.)

Initiating party legal proceedings, the Wroclaw Provincial PZPR Party Control Commission stated that party members who were directors in Wroclaw construction enterprises were among the persons that took part in vacations paid for by state funds. Depending on their degree of guilt, all of these persons will be properly punished by the provincial party control commission.

On the basis of NIK materials, let us briefly recall how these morally objectionable dealings came to pass.

The Wroclaw bureau of the Polish Association of Construction Engineers and Technicians [PZliTB] regarded a broadening of the horizons of knowledge and experience of its members as essential to the further growth of construction in Poland. This is a very commendable idea because we do have many examples which prove that construction work can be done quicker, better and cheaper. However, the directors of construction firms in Wroclaw wanted more. Their trips, which were later called "specialist" trips, were carefully planned. They began in the United States and went on to Mexico by way of Cuba. The trips then led to Europe where they wound through Austria, Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia, Hungary and the Soviet Union.

The participants of these trips were also chosen very carefully. It can be said that lasting bonds of friendship were tied. The trip lists with few exceptions always included the same names: the directors or persons from the

management of construction firms. Sometimes a new face joined the company of those enjoying the 100-percent financing of foreign trips: it may have been a scholar from a school of higher learning in Zielona Gora, a couple from Warsaw or a secretary.

The cost of these trips was not low. In 1976-1982, 10 trips in all were organized. According to information obtained from travel bureaus, the cost of these trips amounted to 4.5 million zlotys. The participants paid in a little higher figure from their personal finances -- 1.7 million zlotys. The appropriations often covered even 100 percent of the costs and the travelling directors only used their own money to exchange currency.

Now we have the problem of how to come up with the money to finance these expensive so-called educational excursions but no solution has been found. According to the NIK materials: "Several Wroclaw firms were approached with requests for appropriations for the financing of joint ventures to encourage the growth of construction such as training, efficient organization, contests, training trips, etc."

The purpose of these appropriations must be known to the directors involved because, aside from training, these forms of "cooperation" are usually financed from funds donated by enterprises on the basis of pledges and annual fees paid to the International Club of Technology and Construction Organization according to legal regulations. The bureau provides training for pay and therefore obtains nontaxable profits.

In general, whoever paid was allowed to travel. One of the directors even ordered that 100 percent of the cost of his superior's trip be covered along with 50 percent of the cost of the trip taken by the bureau director. Five Wroclaw construction firms paid an amount of 80,000 to 150,000 zlotys in 1978 alone. We do not know how many of these "donations" were made because financial documentation was never the forte of the Wroclaw bureau of the PZiITB.

Other such shortcomings were unearthed in the NIK investigation.

The NIK does not negate the valuable achievements of the association's work for the Wroclaw region nor the commitment of its members to the development of construction; however, it has been said many times that this organization gives rise to many doubts. It was determined that the courses and training conducted by the Wroclaw PZiITB have been poorly documented, lack of conspectus and contracts with instructors and its training costs are not always justifiable. Furthermore, no one who had carried part of the cost of their trip was required to pay anything. Expensive items such as lamps, silver settings, epergnes, footlights and teacups were bought without proper documentation or receipts and later given to association members for their birthdays, name-days, etc.

Returning to the trips, the documents of the chapter's bureau did not carry any suggestion that might explain the technical or specialist nature of these expensive trips. For example, 39 persons, only 6 of whom were connected with

the construction firms, joined a Mexico-Cuba trip organized by Orbis [Polish State Travel Agency].

The Orbis director strongly denied that a separate tour program had been organized for the PZliTB members. The trips were tourism and recreation and nothing more. This totally contradicts the earlier justification given by one of the directors, the former secretary of the bureau, that the sight of foreign buildings and edifices can bring some people to great and useful initiatives and only bore others.

Is a state-paid visit to the Eiffel Tower, the olympic grounds in Mexico and Mayan and Inca ruins the best way to widen our knowledge of contemporary architecture?

We must take a moral point of view toward these questionable activities of the Wroclaw PZliTB. Indeed, we must demand much more from persons in positions of responsibility over others. There are responsible not only for their firms and the working conditions of their employees but must also set a good civic example.

They must have an attitude in which there is no place for private interests. None of the participants in these trips are excused by the fact that they had been socially active and that the trips were an authorized form of reward. Even if the prosecutor did not initiate legal proceedings due to the age of the case and the relatively low public injury from a legal point of view, the guilt of the persons involved is still quite evident.

The party members responsible for these indiscretions bear a special moral burden because they did take part in these trips and did not abandon such undoubtedly questionable practices.

This brings out several questions. What had internal control organs done about this earlier? Why did no one in these firms show how the plant funds were being used?

Strategy Planned

Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 20-21 Oct 84 p 5

[Article by masz: "Session of the NIK Collegium: For Control To Build"]

[Text] (Own information) The resolution by the PZPR Central Committee Politburo on party actions to increase the effectiveness of control is a significant step in rebuilding a control system in the state. Opening a session of the Collegium of the Supreme Chamber of Control on 19 October, Chairman Tadeusz Hupalowski said that it satisfied demands to improve the effectiveness of control as an essential element of economic management and to broaden its range. Assessment of the functioning of the control system in the state was the chief topic of the session.

Along with the control exercised by the union apparatus, public control of

worker and territorial self-management, trade unions, social and professional organizations and agricultural organizations is growing. There are continuing consultations and discussion on the establishment of a worker-peasant inspectorate and its situation, structure, range of action and powers. Therefore, the basic problem is not a lack of institutions of control but that of more efficient control. It is continually stressed in discussions that there has been no substantial improvement in many areas such as product quality, thrifty management of raw materials, elimination of waste, better organization of work and protection of property.

The most criticism was aimed at the internal control in firms and the inspection apparatus in cooperative enterprises. It is often a coincidence that there is no good cadre of controllers. Social control is work of low rank. It has therefore been proposed that control cells in firms be directly subordinate to the founding organs. Plant management would then have to place greater importance on the realization of control principles. In cooperative enterprises, the control of supervisory councils is no more than an illusion in many cases. The autonomy of a cooperative may not be overblown, it is said, to the point where its actions may be in conflict with the laws and principles of social harmony.

Much attention was devoted to the coordination of control activities. This is to prevent one factory coming under several different control organs at the same time. Furthermore, the union control apparatus needs to become involved in cases of great social and economic importance.

The system of control still has many shortcomings. We cannot, however, underestimate its value. Tadeusz Hupalowski said: "Realization of the Politburo's resolution making it possible to improve the effectiveness of control and to reveal the sources of negative phenomena in the economy and eliminate them should improve the efficiency of management. We must, however, remember that control cannot be a substitute for good work and a feeling of responsibility for the property of firms and cooperatives."

NIK organizations will receive instructions on how to realize the Politburo's resolution. Special attention will be paid to improving the work of the trade union control organs.

12261

CSO: 2600/127

NATIONAL REPORT ON BLACK MARKET GROWTH

Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 23 Oct 84 p 6

[Abridged version of Ministry of Justice report on speculation; article prepared by: K.L.]

[Text] The threat of speculative crime is not declining despite the systematic improvement in the consumer goods situation. This is confirmed by the following figures: in the first half of 1984, the courts convicted 4,355 persons of speculation, i.e., 803 more (22.6 percent) than for the same period in 1983. This fact, or more precisely, the need to protect society from this epidemic, has led to the exclusion of speculation from benefiting from amnesty.

The courts have a vital role in the battle against this type of crime. How do they perform this task? The report of the Ministry of Justice presented at a recent meeting of the Central Commission for the Struggle Against Speculation answers this question (we are publishing the report in a slightly abridged version).

Various Activities

Aware of the social importance of the threat of speculation, the Ministry of Justice has put this category of cases examined by the court under special supervision. Thus, various types of organizational efforts are being embarked upon to ensure the proper rulings, above all by increasing sentences of the absolute punishment of imprisonment and of the handing down of stiffer fines, particularly regarding the perpetrators of the most dangerous speculative crimes. That is the first thing. Second: the handing down of additional penalties, such as the confiscation of property, prohibiting one from holding specific positions or from practicing a given profession or conducting specific work and making the contents of the sentence public knowledge in a specific way, in all instances allowing for the application of these penalties. Third: indicating to the appropriate organs any transgressions or irregularities facilitating the perpetration of speculative crimes revealed during the examination of the case.

For the most part, cases of crimes of this kind examined by the courts belong to the petty and intermediate categories; only a small number belong in the serious category (in the first half of 1984, the percentage of those sentenced for more serious speculative crimes was 6.4 percent by comparison with the total number of persons sentenced for misdeeds of this type; during the same period in 1983, this figure was 3.5 percent).

Speculative crimes include primarily: the hiding of goods designated for sale from a customer; the selling of goods at a price higher than the binding price by a salesperson; the buying up of small amounts of alcohol by retail trade units for the purpose of resale with profit; the receipt by the directors of trade units of invoices and the cash equivalent of an item instead of the item; the collecting of producer goods cards that are not one's due.

Cases from the area of the most serious speculative crime affect primarily: --the making by a person employed in a unit of the socialized economy of a permanent source of income from a crime consisting of the purchase of an item for the purpose of resale with profit or speculation in an item of considerable value, exceeding 300,000 zlotys (article 221, paragraph 4 of the criminal code); --the purchase of items valued at more than 200,000 zlotys designated for sale in a retail trade unit or eating establishment outside this unit or establishment or in an amount greater than the set amount, or in violation of other regulations defining the principles of the sale of such an item or of the supplying to a retail trade unit (or restaurant) of the equivalent of an item instead of the item (art. 1, para. 5 of a law dated 25 September 1981 on combating speculation).

Results of the Comparative Studies

The various forms of activity of the central offices of the ministry and the heads of courts intended to step up the struggle against speculation are producing positive results, although they are still unsatisfactory. True, by comparison with the first half of 1983, in the first half of 1984 the percentage of absolute penalties of imprisonment declined, but the number of those sentenced to imprisonment and fines exceeding 20,000 zlotys rose by 11.3 percent, and the number of those sentenced to fines alone exceeding 20,000 zlotys also rose by 16.4 percent. The stiffening of penal measures taken against persons in this category of cases is also attested to by the fact that 276 persons were sentenced to an added penalty of being forbidden from occupying specific positions or from conducting a given activity. Meanwhile, in all of 1983, this penalty was administered to 131 persons. For 428 of those convicted, the order was given to make the sentence public knowledge in a particular way, while for the whole of 1983, such rulings were handed down to 276 persons. A total of 1,720 persons had the items in which they speculated and property confiscated for a combined value of over 27.8 million zlotys (only 2 persons had only property confiscated), while for the whole of 1983, 1,585 persons had the items in which they speculated confiscated for a combined value of 28 million zlotys, while no property was confiscated.

It also should be pointed out that until recently, the time for waiting for data on penalty was quite lengthy. Currently, since May 1984, in conjunction with fundamental organizational changes that have been initiated and associated with the implementation of a decision of the ministry heads on the computerization of collective data, the Central Convict Registry has no backlog. The average time for settling cases is 9 days for urgent cases and 27 days for regular cases, while in cases subject to a summary procedure, questions of penalty are settled manually.

Analysis of Rulings

An analysis of the court ruling in cases of speculation enables the assessment of the extent of this phenomenon and an evaluation of the correctness of the ruling in such cases.

During the first half of 1984, the regional courts ruled on the cases of 5,018 persons accused of speculation (during the first half of 1983, this figure was 4,252). Of these, 503 persons were tried in a summary proceeding (in the first half of 1983, this figure was 1,082). A total of 4,355 persons was sentenced (in the first half of 1983, this figure was 3,552), with 448 sentenced in a summary proceeding (in the first half of 1983, this figure was 719).

The structure of sentences handed down for speculative crimes (defined in articles 221-225 of the criminal code and in a law dated 25 September 1981, concerning combating speculation (DZIENNIK USTAW 1982, No 36, item 243)), was the following in the first half of 1984:

- the unconditional penalty of imprisonment was handed down in the sentences of 204 persons (in the first half of 1983 it was 199);
- 2,666 persons were sentenced to imprisonment with a conditional suspension of the sentence (this figure was 1,635 in 1983);
- 300 persons had their freedom restricted (305 in 1983);
- 1,183 were only fined (1,401 in 1983);
- none were subject to educative-corrective measures (art. 9, para. 3 of the criminal code) this year and 11 were subject to such measures last year;
- only 2 persons were given an added penalty this year, while only 1 was given an added penalty last year (art. 55 of the criminal code).

Fines in addition to imprisonment were meted out in the following amounts:

- 20,000 to 50,000 zlotys to 618 of those sentenced in the first half of 1983 and 1,258 sentenced in the first half of 1984;
- amounts in excess of 50,000 zlotys to 174 of those sentenced in the first half of 1983 and to 312 in the first half of 1984.

Fines alone in the following amounts were meted out:

- from 20,000 to 50,000 zlotys to 460 persons respectively;
- above 50,000 zlotys to 35 persons and 57 persons respectively.

It is not only this data that attests to the gradual stiffening of penal policy of the courts with regard to the perpetrators of speculative crimes, but also the more extensive handing down of additional penalties, as has already been stated, although the scope of their utilization is still unsatisfactory.

Fighting the Most Serious Crimes

We noted previously that most perpetrators of speculative crimes commit petty crimes or crimes that are of intermediate gravity. This shows that when we assess penal measures used against this type of crime, we cannot confine ourselves to drawing conclusions in the area concerned with the penal measures used by the courts as they refer to all of speculative crime. Therefore, we must isolate the penal measures used against the perpetrators of the most serious crimes of this type, especially since the basic issue in an effective struggle against such crime is the need to battle it, above all, in its most threatening forms.

The structure of sentences for this category of speculative crime (defined in art. 221, para. 4 and art. 223, para. 3 of the criminal code and in art. 1, para. 5 and art. 2, para. 2 of the law on combating speculation) is the following:

- 30 were sentenced to the absolute penalty of imprisonment in the first half of 1983 and 60 in the first half of 1984;
- 74 persons and 213 persons respectively were sentenced to imprisonment with a conditional suspension of the sentence;
- 2 persons and 2 persons respectively were sentenced to a restriction of their freedom;
- 17 persons and 4 persons respectively were only fined.

Fines in addition to imprisonment for the most serious crimes were meted out in the following amounts:

- 20,000 to 50,000 zlotys to 30 of those sentenced in the first half of 1983 and 103 in the first half of 1984;
- amounts in excess of 50,000 zlotys to 43 and 119 respectively.

The statistical data presented shows that the courts use correspondingly stiffer penal measures against the perpetrators of more serious speculative crimes, but not always. The data shows that:

- with regard to 76.4 percent of the perpetrators, the execution of the prison sentence was conditionally suspended;
- with regard to 15.4 percent of the perpetrators, the penal measures were limited to the penalty of the restriction of freedom or a fine;
- with regard to 56.3 percent of the perpetrators, the sentence was imprisonment and a fine of up to 50,000 zlotys;
- there were no penalties handed down additionally confiscating property, nor were perpetrators always banned from holding specific positions or from conducting specific activity, and sentences were not always made public in a particular manner.

Consequently, for these reasons, it is necessary that the supervision of the entire leadership apparatus continue to be intensified regarding these cases. Likewise, extrajudicial work must be increased in the area of the broader use of extraordinary reviews in all categories of cases of speculative crimes.

Ministerial Reviews

The minister of justice, aware of the need to make uniform and to structure properly the whole of the judicature in cases of speculative crime, has continued to make extraordinary reviews of faulty rulings and rulings that are not adapted to the needs of the present socioeconomic situation. In the first half of 1984, he ruled against 36 persons in 30 extraordinary reviews; meanwhile, in 3 cases the accused were responsible also for committing other crimes. Among the sentences of those prosecuted in extraordinary reviews, only three cases were examined by the review instance (one as a result of the review of the prosecutor and two as a result of the review of the defendants). In the remaining cases, the rulings became valid in the first instance courts.

In the extraordinary reviews, the minister of justice considerably stiffened punitive measures by handing down the sentence of the absolute penalty of imprisonment against 4 persons, the sentence of considerably stiffer fines and the appropriate additional penalty against 19 persons and the abrogation of the sentences and submission of cases to be re-examined in the case of 13 persons.

The Supreme Court took into consideration in their entirety the extraordinary reviews of the minister of justice with regard to 12 persons; it partly considered the minister's reviews with regard to 19 persons; it dismissed the minister's reviews with regard to 4 persons, and one review remained unexamined.

This shows that the SN [Supreme Court] shared the view of the minister of justice contained in the extraordinary reviews in more than 80 percent of the cases, as expressed in the total or partial consideration of the review.

Economic Measures Above All

The SN decisions showed that in cases of speculative crime, belonging particularly to the petty or intermediate category, economic measures must be intensified.

This direction of penal policy should become a vital guidepost for the general courts in the area of unifying judicial practice in such cases. A basic issue in these cases is that of the levels of seriousness of such crimes. Relatedly, in cases of petty crime, basic nonisolating penalties should be handed down. These should be reinforced by the appropriately severe fines and added penalties. In cases of more serious speculative crimes, on the other hand, the courts should be fully consistent in the broad use of the penalty of unconditional imprisonment and the added penalty of the confiscation of property.

The leadership of the Ministry of Justice frequently has criticized court rulings in cases of speculative crime, noting transgressions and critical shortcomings that have occurred. Primarily, this has concerned unsatisfactory penal policy used by courts.

While the situation in this area is improving continually, the progress is not significant.

The heads of the Ministry of Justice, aware of the importance of stepping up the battle against speculative crime, continue to exercise extra-instantial supervision over rulings of the most serious speculative crimes and over the efficiency of court proceedings in these cases. Moreover, within the framework of ongoing training, conferences and deliberations with judges and people's assessors, they point out systematically that issues associated with speculation, and particularly a strict enough penal policy in these cases continue to the subject of general interest, as well as that in the present socioeconomic situation, the stiffening of punitive measures for this category of cases is necessary.

All of the activities hitherto embarked upon by the Ministry of Justice aimed at improving the judicature and developing a socially sound penal policy in cases of speculative crime will be continued.

8536

CSO: 2600/116

RELIANCE ON CENTRAL AUTHORITY TO SOLVE PROBLEMS QUESTIONED

Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 13-14 Oct 84 p 3

[Article by Artur Bodnar]

[Text] Often it is stated that our nation has a natural tendency toward democratic governance. If this view becomes permanent among people, the politicians will not be able to ignore it. The politician will have to remember this constantly if he wants the public's support.

To govern means to choose between different points of view and to make decisions that have the support of authority and the law. To govern democratically means that a decision must be made through the evaluation of all pluses and minuses. But compromises also have to be made to ensure that the adopted decision is widely supported. A sensible political compromise must be adapted to the interests of the governed classes and their supporters.

Through all of the crises and social conflicts in post-war Polish history, the demand for democratic governance has arisen, especially among the workers and other social groups, to make decisions on not only state but also on local matters. Politics have a distributive character, which means the focus is on the contradiction within the division of material and public goods. Even more often the contradiction focuses on the conflicts inherent in the method of this division. Demands for improved living standards and better working conditions were the cause of most of the Polish crises. On the list of demands were even issues concerning cloakrooms and toilets, because the workers have had such difficulties with these matters. Today, some administrations do not even want to be reminded of these issues.

The above-cited natural tendency toward democratic governance in our country has special meaning because in reality it is central government. Moreover, it is a demand and not a habit. Democratic governance needs institutional protection, which means law, regulations, customs and the perpetual awareness that our point of view is not always the best, that there are others and that goals can be achieved in ways other than our own.

At the end of its Eighth Session, the Sejm resolved several rules and prepared a base for a new organization of socialist relations as to authority and method of governance. However, to transform this base to custom and to resolve disputes within the framework of the law will take a long time. Recently, Prof

J. Gierowski stated the following in POLITYKA: "We do not know how to govern ourselves democratically, because we lack broad experience."

In the meantime, this experience is acquired through decades of social awareness. Afterwards, this awareness is transformed into natural inclination or habit. We cannot fault only the period of People's Poland for this lack of habit. After all, a wide range of democratic processes have been introduced into society during this period. For the first time in our history, conditions for broad political democratization have been created.

We have in our historical memory noble democracy and a foggy view of it. We know that it was a democracy only for the upper class, an anachronistic democracy that increasingly restricted state power. The May 3rd Constitution was a delayed attempt to broaden democratic privileges for the other classes and at the same time to curb the nobility's liberty. Experiences obtained from the time of the partitions are different and mutually contradictory. In the Austrian partition, less frequently in the Prussian, the idea of independence was tied to respect for the rules of state law. Loyalty to the law and the state have remained from that time up to this day among Poles of the older generation. Meanwhile, Poland under the czar had no recollection of an independent state, as czarist Russia was far behind Austria in terms of legal and political freedoms.

Objective historians will have to say that formal political freedom functioned during the Second Republic, although the political opposition was held in check. Socialists and extreme nationalists, not to mention communists, were sent to Bereza Kartuska. After the May 1926 coup d'etat, Poland became an authoritarian state. Poland was a classically parliamentary bourgeois republic, where a seat in parliament was contested by several different parties, for barely 8 years. This existed only for central authority, because territorial authority (provinces, counties) was de facto in the hands of state administrators. After the May 1926 coup d'etat and into the 1930's, new laws gave the territorial self-government broad authority in theory--through state commissioners. We can cite here the mayor of the city of Warsaw, St. Starzynski. Therefore, we remember the Second Republic only in an exaggerated view, since the political democracy existed only at the highest levels of government. We simply do not see the fact that territorial democracy did not exist. It existed only as a "disbursed" democracy in the shape of political groups that had influence on territorial administration, village self-government (Chamber of Agriculture), self-government in the cooperatives, urban self-government, etc. Maybe the weak development of territorial self-government in this period caused the conflicts at higher levels of government, but in any case it did not neutralize the conflicts. Let us remember that in Great Britain, a period of almost 100 years was required to develop a complete system of local authority.

We entered the period of People's Poland with almost no experience in this area, with only the tradition of central government. M. F. Rakowski recently reminded us of this fact, stating that our nation has had a historical tendency toward central government. However, his views were not approved by the "liberals." In addition, socialist policies have had a tendency to shift local political matters to the central level.

Our Polish democratization has many dimensions and is weak in the sphere of democratic experience in government, especially in the organization of middle and lower levels of social life. The inclination for democratic government is expressed through ideological-political orientation and group attitudes on the one hand, and competence in social life derived from experience and functioning in social institutions on the other hand. If the rules had been observed, the apartment scandal in Walbrzych would have been settled at the local level, not at the highest levels of government. We frequently speak about democracy, but when our needs or interests are harmed we cry for government intervention to solve our problems.

The many reforms of the last few years have weakened the monistic aspects as a source of bad and good in central government. We need further action to continue this process and to overcome the passivity existing in using the law. We now interpret the word "opposition" in the context of decisionmaking, agreeing that no one individual has a patent on wisdom to achieve common goals. On the same note, why not bind together the middle level of the party's organization with regional and central interests through local interests? The effect of this would be a small reduction in the bureaucracy and more independent thinking. The government should stimulate different social groups, allowing more independence to the local authorities in matters of greater concern to them than to the central authorities.

We are far from the practical balance between what is the state's duty and what are our exuberant notions and demands concerning that duty. This balance can be achieved only through the positive experiences gained from the economic and state reforms in 1980. There should be no withdrawal from this course if we want to leave behind the old habits of thinking and the social and political activities that we have often criticized, but from which it is very difficult to break away.

9807

CSO: 2600/80

EDUCATIONAL ACHIEVEMENTS, FUTURE GOALS EMPHASIZED

Warsaw RZECSPOLITA in Polish 16 Oct 84 pp 3,5

[Article by Prof Boleslaw Faron, minister of education and upbringing: "The Holiday of Education, Schools and Teachers"]

[Text] National Education Day--the holiday of schools, education and teachers--is associated not only in name but also in substance with the beautiful and ever vital tradition of progress, the tradition of enlightened patriotism and thinking in social terms. Belief in the possibility of social renewal through education properly imbued with directed educational influences had its beginning in those who established the first ministry of education in Europe. More importantly, already in that time, 200 years ago, they proved the legitimacy of their conviction in the effects of their work.

For us, their descendants, that time is not only an occasionally remembered fragment of the history of our nation and people; it is above all a source of knowledge about a very significant historical experience; it is the beginning of many processes which we continue in a direct and uninterrupted way in education to this day.

Without this intellectual revolution, without these educational reforms, the shape of schools and their place in our social and national life would surely be different. What today is the essence of the work of Polish schools and what constitutes its goals expressed in universal terms does not come out of nowhere, but has its own historical origin. It was sought consciously and intentionally 40 years ago when the young people's state created schools that were universal, accessible and compulsory, schools that were an instrument as well as a servant of the creation of a socialist nation.

"...the development of education and upbringing is an indispensable element of social and economic progress. Without a modern socialist system of national education, the harmonious development of our society and rapid control over the socioeconomic and moral effects of the current crisis are impossible." This statement, taken from the resolution of the Ninth Extraordinary Congress of the PZPR, clearly defines the position and delineates the place of education in the political hierarchy of values marking the directions of the socioeconomic development of our country.

Contained in the substance of the resolution was a profound sense, arising from 40 years' experience, of seeing in education not only a functional element tied to the simple production of personnel for the needs of the national economy and culture, and for social and political life. The congress reminded us that schools also, and perhaps above all, fulfill a noble, creative function; they co-author values of a higher rank, co-author human attitudes and beliefs, ideals and customs, without which the attainment of social balance is simply impossible. The school works for today and for tomorrow and these are its specific, measurable tasks, but by its essence it must be turned toward the future, toward goals in the form of the ethical, social ideals of socialism, toward that which our system inevitably brings in the historical process.

For many years the development of education has taken place under difficult circumstances, but I do not intend to write about that today. Despite all the obstacles, the results have been significant, although inadequate in relation to the demands contemporary Polish society places before it. The quantitative achievements of education are indisputable. Significant improvement has occurred in the level of education in society. The percentage of elementary school graduates who are going on to higher schools has grown. The difference between villages and cities in the level and conditions of educating pupils is decreasing, although too slowly. Six-year-old children have been included in preschool education. Remedial teams have been introduced for pupils who are behind in their studies. Special classes and courses are being organized in comprehensive schools for pupils who are lagging developmentally. Elements of school orientation and vocational counseling have been introduced. A network of educational-vocational offices has been developed as a diagnostic institution. The educational function of schools has been fortified through the introduction of a student's code, school practices, the creation of conditions for the work of ideological-educational youth organizations, the introduction of expanded performance evaluations, new regulations for parents' committees, and especially the definition of the school's educational goals and tasks.

The didactic-educational system has been fortified by changes in student promotions and new rules for the secondary school final examinations. This serves to prepare students better for higher education. The development of school olympics affects the community through better concern for talented youth. We are dealing with cogent attempts to differentiate general education in college preparatory high schools.

Deserving of emphasis are the many achievements in vocational education, which has well satisfied the personnel needs of developing industry.

In the area of the education and improvement of teachers, the organization of training for leading educational personnel and the creation of a system of teacher improvement are good achievements.

Behind all educational decisions is the continual resolution of these dilemmas: the magnitude of needs and specific capabilities. Yet government decisions made and realized prove clearly that despite the necessity of continually choosing priorities in various aspects of life, matters of the education of

the young generation and the position of the teaching profession are given their proper rank, are not begrudged material resources, organizational efforts, measures for freeing initiative and concern for the future of the educational system in society and its organizations.

The school year that we recently began is the first year of the work of the National Movement for Assistance to Schools, initiated by the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth [PRON]. We have much hope for this venture. For the experience of 40 years teaches that Polish schools have developed best when accompanied by an atmosphere of social interest and social assistance.

The institutionalized forms of these activities in education, which will have their material dimension, have not yet been fully formed. The last resolution of the State Council and Government Presidium makes possible completion of the work on defining the scope and nature of bodies collecting social funds for the development of a material base for education. But the society did not wait for an official solution and has already reacted vibrantly to PRON's call. Individual groups know the needs of their regions and have undertaken appropriate measures.

But it would be too bad if the National Movement for Assistance to Schools were limited only to material support of education. Opening before us is a great opportunity to elicit active interest and social assistance around the schools, around all those concerned with their processes and phenomena, to win allies who will help teachers in their work and contribute to the creation of conditions that facilitate the school's fulfillment of its didactic, educational and protective functions.

National Education Day, derived from Teacher's Day, traditionally directs society's attention to that profession. It sets out tough and demanding tasks for anyone who takes on the toil of working with youth. It is a weighty and responsible toil in light of the wealth of responsibility and special circumstances created by work in the schools. For one should not anticipate that all ordinary problems and concerns, great and small, will stay outside the school's walls. On the contrary, one should presume that they can penetrate the school's micro-society with redoubled energy, that energy being a function of youth, spontaneity, enthusiasm and a lack of cool, rational distance from events taking place. Youth looks at everything not only with its own eyes. It is necessary that they be helped in this by the eyes of a wise, intelligent teacher who is fully responsible and prepared for work with our primary national resource--the young generation.

The past years have shown this need more than clearly. We are probably all conscious of it. That is why, I emphasize strongly, such a great responsibility and such a difficult task rests with the teacher.

Coping with that task requires of teachers whole-hearted commitment and sincere toil in their daily work; it requires continual professional improvement that staves off conformity and routine, looking for new forms and methods of work and openness to innovation and educational progress by teaching circles.

To educate, after all, is to give something of oneself, to transmit a part of one's own personality. Only one who makes the child, not himself, the central character of the school can achieve this. And in this lies the social measure of that profession. Anticipated on the part of educators is activity that is adequately consistent, constant and insightful, and that shapes the community as well as the experiences of the students. Only such work can open up the possibilities for action, affect attitudes and motives, systematically, carefully and tactfully open up viewpoints, awaken intellectual curiosity, provide introduction to the rich world of notions of worth and concern, instigate experiences of contact with the common human community, awaken the joy of creation and develop interest and imagination.

Conformance with social expectations in our work will not be achieved without systematic concern for and improvement in the substance and methods of educating children and youth. Where the substance is dull and routine, straying from progress in human knowledge and changes occurring in the country's social and political life, where methods of educational influence are inappropriate and ill-considered, aspirations are extinguished, needs die out and interests and perceived intentions weaken.

There occurred recently a plenary session of the Main Board of the Union of Polish Teachers [ZNP] devoted to prospects of the national educational system. It referred to the Sejm resolution of 1982 which recommended "working out a long-term program of national educational development and its structural forms based on the views of the educational world and teaching circles." This is proof that there exists in teaching communities a deep feeling of responsibility for the shape and destiny of Polish education and that the representatives of that community--ZNP--are taking the burden of that responsibility upon themselves.

Last year we and the ZNP signed a very important document--an agreement on cooperation--thereby fulfilling the mandate contained in the Teacher's Charter regulations. I have had the opportunity to speak many times on the subject of that agreement and, more broadly, how we conceive of cooperation with the ZNP. It seems to me, however, that there are never too many words about that which should serve education, and thereby children and youth, well. The agreement defines the conditions and principles of cooperation and has a binding effect at all levels of administration. We are partners in service of the same goal, and this unites us. Yet we look at common concerns from somewhat different positions and this in turn determines our postures. Not always and not in everything are we or indeed will we be of one opinion in the future. But, after all, the best solutions arise in creative and frank discussion. This, too, is worth being aware of on National Education Day.

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ARGUMENTS FOR CREATION OF INSPECTION TEAMS PRESENTED

Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 9, 10, 15 Oct 84

[Article by Barbara Zawadzka: "Worker-Peasant Inspection" under the rubric "Decrees and Ordinances"]

[9 Oct 84 p 6]

[Text] Several months ago the slogan of forming worker-peasant inspection teams in our country was formulated. It has met with lively and varying responses, ranging from approbation to rejection. At present such inspection teams have been established in about 15 or so provinces. For the time being they are of a purely experimental and tentative nature, and this provides the occasion for reflections on the legal-systemic aspects of the inspection system in Poland. These reflections were submitted to this newspaper by Docent Barbara Zawadzka of the Institute of the State and Law, Polish Academy of Sciences.

Before conclusions can be drawn about the need for and nature and tasks of this new control institution, the question of the state of the inspection system in our country first has to be considered.

A competent answer to this question was recently provided by Tadeusz Hupatowski, chairman of the Supreme Chamber of Control (TRYBUNA LUDU, 20 and 21 August 1984). He pointed to the: a) existence of a large number of variegated organs for control, inspection, monitoring, etc., in Poland and b) the low effectiveness of the control activities as a whole, due chiefly to the weakness of internal control at enterprises and institutions, exercised by superiors and internal control departments, this being in his opinion the decisive link in the control system. The author pointed to the inadequacy of the establishment of successive external control institutions in the years past, combined with the failure to strengthen this decisive link. He also pointed to the low professional qualifications of administrators and, in the case of enterprises, submission to the pressure of particular workforce demands, as a cause of the weakness of internal control.

Broadening the Diagnosis

While I am in full agreement with this diagnosis, I wish to broaden it to some extent. Above all, it should be considered that, aside from the general division of forms of control into internal control and external control (a division based on the relationship between the controller and the controllee), there exists /a second general division--into professional control and social control/ [emphasized] (a division based on the nature of the controlling organ, which may be either a body of professional control experts or a body of social figures and activists), within the same enterprise, government office or institution. The purposes of these principal kinds of control differ.

The purpose of internal control is to verify whether the activities of an enterprise or institution are in consonance with the accepted principles; this may involve, e.g., technical standards, service rules and regulations or legal provisions. The purpose of external control is to verify whether the activities of the inspected organization are consonant with the principles of purposiveness and efficient management, legal provisions and public interest--depending on the nature of the control organization.

The differing scopes of the various forms of control within each of these two general divisions are intermeshed. Internal control means primarily professional activities that often are linked to the functions of managing an enterprise or directing an institution or other organization, or it may be performed by specialized departments (e.g., production quality departments). But there also exist forms of internal control that are of a social nature; they ensue from the powers of worker self-government, cooperative self-government in cooperative production and service enterprises, and trade unions.

Differentiated Forms

External control has many different forms. Among these, a special place is occupied by the control exercised by representative bodies, such as the Parliament and the people's councils, over the activities of organs of central and local state administration. In view of the social composition of these organs, this kind of control could be termed social control, but it is control of a special kind, because it is performed by the state bodies that are superior to the administrative organs. Some other forms of this control display, however, explicit features of social control per se, e.g., the monitoring activities of the commissions of people's councils and the interpellations of Parliamentary deputies and people's councilmen (forms that are not directly linked to the control powers of superior authorities).

The professional body of external control is the Supreme Chamber of Control (NIK), subordinated to the Parliament which defines its duties; the local offices of the NIK cooperate with the people's councils. This is a professional body, but it relies broadly on cooperation with social inspectors, particularly with the eminent experts in one field or another. The institution of external control also includes the activities of the judicial system (with respect to the decisions of the state administration that concern

individual citizens, this control is performed by the Supreme Administrative Court) and the procuratures.

In addition to the abovementioned activities of deputies, councilmen and people's council commissions, external social control is also performed by: a) self-governments, and particularly rural and residential self-governments; b) social organizations, and particularly trade unions; c) the political parties and the PRON (Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth).

Similarities Prevail

Similar forms and kinds of control exist in the other socialist countries of Europe, subject to certain differences, however. For example, a system termed people's control (with the People's Control Committee at the central level and its counterpart committees at local levels) exists in the USSR, Bulgaria and Czechoslovakia at various levels of administration--from the center downward to the county and the enterprise; this is a system of state-and-social control which at the higher levels consists of professional inspectors and at the lower levels, of social inspectors. A party-and-state control system called Worker-Peasant Inspection operates on similar principles in the GDR (and had operated from the initial years of Soviet Russia until 1965 in the USSR), but despite its identical appellation this kind of control institution is completely different from that being currently discussed in Poland. Closer to the Polish system is the inspection system existing in Romania and Hungary. In no other socialist country do we find an equivalent of the professional body of parliamentary control represented by our Supreme Chamber of Control, or of a separate organ for judicial control over the administration, represented by our Supreme Administrative Court. Thus, the inspection system in Poland is not completely analogous to its counterparts in the other socialist countries, although the similarities outweigh the differences.

Having now portrayed the extent and differentiated nature of the inspection system in Poland, let us leave in abeyance professional control for the present and consider in greater detail solely the significance and powers of social control regardless of whether its particular forms belong in internal or external control. This is because, by its very nature, worker-peasant inspection can only be a form of social control.

[10 Oct 84 p 6]

[Text] Social control, that is, inspections performed by numerous teams of working people from all social classes and strata who are not professional control experts, and who operate on an unpaid basis, is indispensable in the socialist state. It is a necessary form of people's rule, because the rule of the working people would be incomplete unless they have the right to control the performance of the machinery of state, the economic administration and the institutions serving the working people. Social control is also indispensable to preserving consonance between the activities of the organs of state administration, enterprises and institutions, and the

public interest. Precisely because of its nonprofessional nature, this kind of control is intended to evaluate the performance of one monitored institution or another from the standpoint of its consonance with the public interest rather than with, e.g., the law, financial regulations or technical specifications.

For the same reason, social control lacks the right to apply sanctions or enforce changes in the faulty situations it uncovers, unless this control is exercised by the representative bodies of state power or self-government that are empowered to make certain decisions regarding the (state, economic) administration. However, social inspectors can always transmit their findings to a professional control body or a representative body of state power. The findings of social control should provide valuable material for these bodies. When this happens, social control is effective and its purpose fulfilled. But does this always happen in our country?

It is worth noting that the legal--and inherent in our system of society at that--foundations for the operation of many forms of social control are adequate for making this control effective and causing it to contribute to the pursuit by working people of their own interests. Let us now consider the principal and most widely participatory forms of this control.

Worker Self-Government

Worker self-government at enterprises is a particularly important form, because it participates in managing the enterprise and determining its production tasks, investment policies, employment, and social services; it appoints (or participates in the appointment of) the enterprise director in its capacity as an executive body of the enterprise. Moreover, there is the representative body of the workforce, namely, the worker council, which has the power of taking operative measures, but the entire workforce (at its general meetings) controls its activities and directly makes the most important decisions concerning, e.g., the long-range plans of the enterprise, the division of profits, etc.

The powers of the workforce and its representative body, the worker council, include much more than the power of control. They also include the power of co-management, that is, of issuing opinions that are binding on the enterprise director as regards the affairs of the enterprise and its workforce. Is it conceivable for workers to have broader powers for combatting waste and mismanagement at enterprises? But the worker self-government also is endowed with direct control powers vis a vis the enterprise director; the worker council accepts the annual report and confirms the financial statement of the enterprise, approves the sale or donation of unneeded machinery and facilities and can query the director about the situation of the enterprise and the activities of its departments, with the director being duty-bound to answer the query within 2 weeks; lastly, the general meeting of the workforce considers once each year the director's report on the performance and condition of the enterprise. These are extremely broad powers of the workforce, concerning basic problems of the enterprise rather than its

particular affairs. And, let us reiterate, the control powers of the worker self-government are supplemented by its power to make decisions binding on the enterprise director.

A properly operating self-government cannot be replaced by any inspection team when it comes to combatting such pathological trends as the poor utilization of work time, wastage of means of production, soulless disregard of inventions and labor-saving suggestions, and the direct barter of products between their producers, bypassing the marketplace, which may be consonant with the parochial interests of particular workforces but conflicts with the public interest. Yet, these are among the decisive trends in the country's present economic situation.

...and Rural Self-Government

Rural self-government also has co-deciding powers as regards the scope of its interests. It participates in implementing agricultural policies and the social policies concerning the farmers as well as in determining the prices of means of production and farm products, and at every level of administration, including central administration, at that. In addition, it has direct control powers vis a vis the organizations that serve agriculture and the rural population, as well as vis a vis the organs of state administration. The latter are duty-bound to take a position within at most a month on all kinds of proposals, opinions and postulates received from farm organizations. Are these decisionmaking and control powers adequate for promoting the interests of farmers?

People's Councils

Being the representative bodies of the local population and the organs of territorial self-government, people's councils make decisions on all matters of importance to the development of their areas and the living conditions of the inhabitants of these areas. They also control the activities of the province governor and the city chiefs and even can effectively demand their recall (although they the decision to recall is not directly within their power). The commissions of people's councils monitor the performance of the local state administration and the enterprises and institutions within their territories. They also monitor the implementation of resolutions of the people's council, submit opinions and recommendations which the administration is duty-bound to take seriously under the control of the presidium of the people's council, and exercise influence on the implementation of the suggestions and proposals of voters. The councilmen offer interpellations concerning various kinds of shortcomings, with the province governor or the concerned city chief being duty-bound to respond to them within a short period of time, and with his response becoming, as the need arises, subject to debate at a session of the people's council. The presidium of the people's council also has control powers vis a vis the organs of the administration and the institutions. It also can turn to the local NIK office with a request for monitoring the implementation of the tasks contained in local plans and budgets. The people's councils can avail themselves of the findings of inspections performed by the NIK or other professional control bodies. Are

these decisionmaking and control powers too limited? Are the legal possibilities for enforcing decisions and the findings of inspections too limited? Let us bear in mind that people's councils consist of elected representatives of the society, including workers and peasants, and are duty-bound to act in accordance with the desires and under the control of the voters.

Residential Self-Government

Residential self-government controls the activities of the institutions providing municipal services to cities and villages (e.g., the housing bureau, stores, health centers, lounges) and exercises influence on the drafting of plans for the maintenance of public facilities and housing stock as well as on the siting of investment projects that may be harmful to the local inhabitants. The effectiveness of the inspection findings and the co-decisions made by this self-government is safeguarded by the people's council and its presidium. Thus this kind of self-government also is endowed with quite substantial and, what is more, universal co-decisionmaking and control powers.

The local trade unions at enterprises and institutions exercise influence on the utilization of the social services and housing funds and have the right to monitor working conditions. In addition, on the national scale, they have the right to examine the principal reasons for the decisions made on prices, wages and other factors determining the living conditions of workers and their families. They also exercise influence on the nature of the pertinent decisions made by the organs of the state. This thus represents yet another important form of co-decisionmaking and control, serving primarily the worker community.

This incomplete enumeration of forms of social control and participation in decisionmaking concerning the affairs of cities and villages and their inhabitants, as well as of enterprises and their workers, indicates that the legally defined possibilities for the direct influence of citizens on the satisfaction of their needs are not at all limited. On the contrary, they are so extensive that, were all these legal institutions to operate in accordance with the pertinent decrees, there could be no question of any divergence whatsoever between the activities of the state and its organs and those of the enterprises and institutions via the organs of the state, since they are after all controlled, on the one hand, and the interests of the citizens on the other. But since the society feels that this divergence does exist, this means that the entire democratic machinery of the state, based on representative and self-government bodies, has not been operating in consonance with the political principles and decrees, and likewise this means that the elaborate system of social control is not operating effectively.

What It Used To Be Like

Longtime studies of the performance of representative and self-government structures conducted in the 1960s and 1970s demonstrate that this was indeed the case in those years; that, despite the basing of the system of the state

on the political principles of democracy, and despite the fact that these principles are precisely stated in the Constitution and decrees, in practice we had been dealing with a top-to-bottom (partially, mostly, or exclusively, depending on different intervals of the 25-year period between 1956 and 1980) system of governing the state and various domains of social life. And that this precisely was the cause of the general ineffectiveness of social control. It was precisely these systemic causes that were instrumental in the collapse of the social control committees formed in 1978, which simply, like all the other institutions of social control, could not have been effective under the coeval conditions of a virtually unlimited power of the apparatus of governing, their extensive corruption and the total absence of the voice of the public in the decisions of governing organs at every level and of every kind.

The fundamental prerequisite for the effectiveness of any control is the independence of the controllee from the controller. But also desirable is a converse situation in which the controllee is dependent on the controller. Yet, these premises were undercut in a particularly drastic manner in the 1970s. Can a farmer-councilman effectively control the gmina [parish] administration when he is aware that soon he will need its favorable response to his application for allocating a tractor or at least building materials? Can a tenant--an activist of residential self-government--effectively control the housing administration when he is soon going to request patching the roof over his head? Can the school administration be effectively controlled by a teacher-councilman subordinate to it? And so on, these instances could be multiplied ad infinitum. Consider it from the other side: can an administrator at any level take to heart the findings of social control (which by its very nature is grassroots control) when he is aware that his entire further career hinges exclusively on his superiors? No social control can be effective in the presence of rule from the top, because then democratic mechanisms of governing do not operate and there is no genuine dependence of administrators on representative and self-government bodies, and neither does there exist any genuine responsibility of these administrators toward these bodies.

What It Is Like

This used to be the case in the past decades. What is the situation at present, now that we are investing so much effort in bringing about the rebirth of an authentic functioning of democratic mechanisms of rule?

Unfortunately, I cannot provide a fully documented answer to this question, because in recent years the aforementioned studies have been almost completely discontinued owing to lack of funds. But so-called public knowledge and analysis of all the signals provided by life itself indicate that far from all the phenomena of top-to-bottom rule are a thing of the past. They indicate that we still are dealing with weakness of representative and self-government bodies, which too often do not know how to avail themselves of their legal powers, or even are unfamiliar with them; that hence we still encounter autocratic attitudes among the officialdom, enterprise directors, and even service providers and store sales personnel, because the consumer movement is limited to a handful of enthusiasts, while the lower elements of cooperative self-government in trade, services and the procurements and processing of farm

products still are plunged into a deep slumber. It would be besides unfeasible for these negative trends, which had become deeply rooted in the course of decades, to disappear at once, considering moreover the unfavorable economic situation and the still not too good political situation. What is more, certain additional negative trends have recently arisen, such as the parochialism of workforces, stimulated by the economic reform. We are standing only at the beginning of the road toward an authentic functioning of the democratic mechanisms of rule and governing: we have laid their legal foundations. That is a lot, but still far from enough. There is a need for considerable political work, variegated propaganda, educational and organizational efforts and an arduous stimulation of social activism and prosocial attitudes. So long as these democratic mechanisms are not fully functioning, no social control can be fully effective. Authentically operating representative and self-government institutions represent the basis and strength of that control.

This is a so-called difficult truth. Difficult, because it means that there is no easy way of overcoming pathological phenomena in the life of our society. There is a need for overall measures. A new form of social control (in addition to the many already in existence) would not act like a magic wand. At best, it could be a plaster on a wound.

[15 Oct 84 p 6]

[Text] What is the potential of worker-peasant inspection? We can begin to answer this question by considering a basic issue. The name of the proposed institution may cause the suspicion that it is to be an institution of social control in which only workers and peasants would participate, while the other social strata, such as the masses of physicians, nurses, teachers, engineers and foremen--to mention only the professions employing the largest numbers of the intelligentsia--are to be excluded from participation. Is that correct?

As I noted previously, the institution termed worker-peasant inspection had originated in Soviet Russia in the early postrevolutionary years. The class struggle at the time had been very acute as demonstrated by, e.g., the deprivation of voting rights applied to certain strata of the population (e.g., persons living off unearned incomes). A major task at the time had been building a class-oriented machinery of state. In view of this, terming the control institution "worker-peasant" had been fully justified.

To Obviate Misunderstandings

A different situation exists at present in Poland, 40 years after the people's revolution here. In our country restructuring the machinery of state had already taken place long ago (during the first 10 years of People's Poland). The spread of universal education and development of modern production make distinctions between blue- and white-collar workers increasingly senseless and unrealistic (the labor law code has long since dropped this distinction). The Constitution has been proclaiming for more than 30 years the equality of the

rights of citizens "regardless of sex, birth, education, occupation or profession, ... or social origin or status." It would thus be difficult to justify an exclusively worker-peasant composition--if that matters--of the new control organ by referring to particular needs of the class struggle. It also is difficult to account for the proposed appellation on the grounds that this organ is supposed to protect the interests of workers and peasants: the fundamental public interests--and these include combatting speculation, waste and bureaucratism--are, at the present stage of the development of socialism in Poland, common to all working people.

Blue-collar workers always were and are the main pillar of social control in view of their numerical preponderance and independence from the administration, which is one of the subjects of the control. But the proper determination of the composition of inspection teams, such that, e.g., a teacher would not inspect the school administration to which he is officially subordinated, is a matter of practice. On the other hand, any legally established exclusivity of participation of some or other social class or stratum in any activity relating to co-governing would not only be politically unjust on this 40th anniversary of People's Poland but also conflict with the constitutional principle of equality of the rights of citizens. Then perhaps the term "worker-peasant inspection," which arouses surely unjustified suspicions of unequal treatment of citizens (depending on the social class to which they belong and their profession or occupation) should not be employed in the future legislation establishing such inspection: perhaps some other appellation obviating misunderstandings of this kind should be adopted?

Now that we have considered the ambiguity of the above basic issue, let us consider the tasks, powers and proper organizational jurisdiction of the proposed body (on perforce continuing to use the appellation linked to the new institution).

According to the projects presented to public opinion (including legal experts), though so far only in a sketchy form, two possibilities for the organizational jurisdiction of worker-peasant inspection have been considered: linkage to people's councils or linkage to the Supreme Chamber of Control (NIK).

The Project Is Not New

Some information on the original project was provided by ZYCIE WARSZAWY (of 16 July 1984, article by A. Checko), from which it ensues that the inspection teams are eventually to be incorporated in the structure of people's councils as one of the permanent commissions normally appointed by the council. As in the case of other council commissions, at least one-half of the team's membership would consist of councilmen. "The activities of other elements of social control could be subordinated to" a thus conceived inspection team, i.e., in this case rather a control commission of the council.

It is worth noting first of all that this project is not a new one. Such an institution has already existed. The social control committees established under the people's councils in 1978 were intended precisely to "coordinate the

activities of other organs of social control on their territory." Given the conditions existing in the late 1970s, there is no need to discuss their effectiveness.

Since the situation is now different, the expediency of maintaining such or similar bodies within the system of people's councils deserved consideration. They could be established by voting a new decree on people's councils. This matter has been discussed and the expediency of the mandatory formation of control commissions by people's councils has been considered, as has been the expediency of maintaining social control committees whose powers would be strengthened by new decrees and, particularly, by the new political situation, and that would be manned with small regular staffs. I myself took a stand in favor of this solution while participating in the work on the draft decree. For I believed that the problem-oriented commissions of people's councils, and particularly the trade and legality commissions, would find it hard to cope with the current, particularly extensive control tasks, considering the large number of their other tasks. Moreover, the commissions issue opinions on draft resolutions and work on other matters entrusted to them by the council or its presidium, consider the wishes of voters and the proposals and suggestions of citizens or social organizations, take a position on their implementation, consider important local issues on their own initiative, and submit recommendations. What is more, the councilmen who are members of the commissions have to perform many other duties as well to the councils and voters. It also appears that the directions of activity of a control commission of the council should primarily ensue from needs linked to important problems considered by the council (e.g., drafts of local plans, drafts of development programs in one domain or another and their assessments, assessments of the fulfillment of the socioeconomic plan) and be intended to provide other council commissions with the information they need to take a position on these matters. This purpose may in practice be difficult to reconcile with the orientation of control toward matters ensuing from topical needs (such as speculation, graft, etc.).

A Complicated Situation

Experience will show whether these fears are justified. It is a fact, however, that the proposals for a mandatory establishment of control commissions or committees under people's councils have been dropped and the decree does not introduce this obligation. Actually, the decree merely obligates the people's councils to appoint a commission on self-government, leaving it up to the council itself whether to establish other commissions; the decree merely specifies the expected scope of activities of the commission, without including control among them. This is because the position of the legislators is that control and inspection are a normal and mandatory form of the activity of all the council commissions.

The fact that the decree has not imposed on people's councils the duty of establishing control commissions creates a certain legal situation. Namely, such a duty may be currently imposed on the councils only by a decree updating the decree on the system of people's councils and local self-government. Any other kind of legal provisions, whether issued in the form of a resolution of

the Council of State, the Council of Ministers or even the Parliament, is not competent to curtail the freedom of people's councils to establish commissions, acknowledged in the decree. Such a practice would be unacceptable in a law-abiding state. Considering the great authority enjoyed by the decree on the system of people's councils (a highly desirable phenomenon), however, would it be proper to amend it, particularly so as to curtail the freedom of the councils to organize their own activities, even now and precisely at a time, at that, when the councils are establishing commissions and thus availing themselves fully of the freedom delegated to them in this respect by the decree, barely a couple of months after it has been promulgated? I believe that it would be improper in view of the need to strengthen in our country respect for the law in general and respect for this decree in particular. Hence also the solution represented by the eventual incorporation of worker-peasant inspection in the control system via the structure of people's councils has to be dropped.

There exists another view, merit-based rather than formal-legal, according to which this would not be desirable anyway and would hardly satisfy the initiators of the idea of this inspection. For this initiative derives from the intention to encourage the broadest possible participation of worker and peasant groups in the form of social activity represented by control and inspection, whereas, pursuant to the decree on people's councils, at least one-half of the membership of any council commission must consist of the councilmen themselves. To be sure, the commissions may avail themselves of the aid of experts who are not councilmen, but not more than one-half of their regular membership may consist of persons other than councilmen. This reduces in half the number of the new social controllers who could participate in this activity. Establishing new principles for the operation of the commissions would require an even more far-reaching emendation of the decree. But if this were a matter of establishing an institution operating on principles other than those governing the activities of council commissions, "attached" to the system of people's councils on a structurally equivocal basis and unregulated by a decree, the functioning of such an institution also would be contrary to the principles of lawmaking in a law-abiding state.

An Acceptable Idea

For both formal and practical reasons, it would seem more proper to establish an eventual worker-peasant inspection under the Supreme Chamber of Control (NIK). (This solution is supported by M. Ryba in TRYBUNA LUDU of 17 September 1984.) The structure of the NIK comprises only the central and supra-province (regional) levels. Thus, worker-peasant inspection could represent an extension of this structure to lower levels. The system that would thus arise resembles people's control in a couple of other socialist countries (as well as the Worker-Peasant Inspection in the GDR), which has been producing positive results as an organ of professional control at higher levels and social control at lower ones. As in the other countries, the inspection could then be based on the organizational and professional knowhow and facilities of the NIK, and the NIK could then be used as the official channel for reporting control findings to the organs of state power (the Parliament, people's councils). This would of course require amending the decree of September 1980

on the NIK by at least incorporating the legal foundations for a close linkage between the NIK and the new institution (which could in its entirety be regulated by a separate legal act).

A change of this kind, signifying the expansion of public participation in the exercise of power and linked to a decree that has been in effect already for 4 years, would be fully consonant with the principles of our political system and lawmaking. It should thus meet with acceptance by both the society and the legal experts.

Purpose and Tasks

Such an organizational jurisdiction of the new organ of social control would at the same time determine its purpose and tasks. Its material scope of activities could be as broad as that of the NIK; it could extend to various institutions and problems, with special emphasis on combatting abuses (particularly in commerce and services), waste and bureaucracy--that is, on combatting those pathological phenomena which are at present felt with special keenness by the public. The inspection would of course function in a manner proper to social rather than professional organs, i.e., it would monitor the activities of institutions, administrative offices and enterprises from the standpoint of their consonance with public interest and expediency rather than from the standpoint of their consonance with the law, and it would lack the power to apply sanctions. On the other hand, legal means of assuring the effectiveness of the recommendations transmitted by the inspection teams to professional organs of control as well as organs of law enforcement should be provided. When thus organized, worker-peasant inspection could strengthen the control over the domains which are best by particularly numerous abuses at present.

I believe that yet another possibility should be considered: the expansion of the participation of workers (chiefly though not exclusively) in control through the restoration of the control of commerce, gastronomic establishments and services by the trade unions. This kind of control had operated since 1964 and it scored accomplishments measured in, e.g., 1977 by the number of 108,000 recommendations transmitted to the proper agencies and 25,000 recommendations transmitted to the militia, the procuratures, collegiums for transgressions, the Sanitary Inspectorate, and other bodies authorized to exercise law enforcement or impose penalties. Regardless of the systemic causes of the low effectiveness of this form of social control (like that of the other forms), it has to be stated that it had promoted participation in the control system by numerous social groups, especially worker groups, which demonstrated genuine activism, that it focused on the abuses which at present are perceived by the society with special keenness, and that the tradition of this kind of control thus already exists. This tradition had been buried in the fall of 1980 [i.e., by the rise of Solidarity], together with the entirety of the positive accomplishments of the previous trade unions, which have never yet been fairly assessed and appreciated. It would be worth it to return to this tradition at present, particularly when searching for a domain in which the rights of the trade unions could be expanded without causing competition to other social institutions (e.g., to worker self-government or commissions of people's councils).

One of the Components

It should be borne in mind, however, that the scope of activities and hence also the importance of this new control institution would be relatively modest regardless of its organizational jurisdiction. It can be but one of the components of the elaborate control system operating in Poland. Its functioning, even when optimal, cannot thus bring about a turning point in this entire system. Worker-peasant inspection (or the restored inspection of commerce and services by the trade unions) may be of some use but will not act like a magic wand. Nothing and no one will relieve us of the necessity of arduous and longterm economic and political measures intended to gradually bring about the correct--i.e., consonant with the political principles of our system and the legal norms--functioning of our entire sociopolitical and economic system. Unless the economic incentives operate properly, unless representative and self-government bodies display activism in availing themselves of all of their legal powers, the phenomena determining or promoting abuses, waste and bureaucratism will not be liquidated. The experience of the 40 years of People's Poland demonstrates this with sufficient explicitness. Any illusion that one simple measure can replace this arduous road would be harmful, for it could reduce the intensity of the efforts relating to the fundamental issues.

1386

CSO: 2600/162

BRIEFS

PZPR BRIEFING FOR PRESS--On the 12th of this month, a conference of the editors-in-chief of the central and regional press, press agencies, and radio and television took place in the PZPR Central Committee. The conference was devoted to the most important problems arising from the current sociopolitical situation in the country. Politburo member and Central Committee Secretary Kazimierz Barcikowski presented the state of relations between the church and the state. Prof Kazimierz Secomski, deputy chairman of the Council of State, discussed matters related to the upcoming elections to tenants' self-government. The main directions of PRON [Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth] activity were presented by the secretary general of the PRON National Council, Jerzy Jaskiernia. Gen Div Lucjan Czubinski, deputy minister of internal affairs and deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers Committee for Observance of the Law, Public Order and Social Discipline, provided information about the problems associated with the securing of public safety, law and order. Prof Jan Kaczmarek, NOT [Chief Technical Organization] chairman, acquainted those gathered with the role of engineering communities and NOT in the growth and popularization of technical progress. Press, and radio and television tasks within the context of the state of social awareness were the topic of a meeting with Jan Glowczyk, deputy Politburo member and Central Committee secretary. The conference was led by the director of the Press, Radio and Television Department of the PZPR Central Committee, Bogdan Jachacz. [Text] [Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 13-14 Oct 84 p 2] 9853

WARSAW DEFENSE COMMITTEE--The Warsaw Provincial Defense Committee deliberated on the 16th of this month. The topic of deliberations was the assessment of: the sociopolitical situation and the state of public safety and order in the capital and the province; operation "Posesja"; matters associated with the power industry, the technical state of heating equipment and the heat distribution network, and the technical state of the water-pipe network primarily within the context of winter readiness; the results of conducted audits and second audits of offices, institutions and enterprises; problems associated with improving employment and balancing the work force, including the degree of employment of graduates from all types of schools; issues concerning official employment agencies and issues associated with the employment of persons who are guilty of absenteeism. The Warsaw Provincial Defense Committee, headed by Gen Div Mieczyslaw Debicki, made appropriate decisions and defined the most pressing tasks concerning problems which were the subject of the meeting. [Text] [Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 17 Oct 84 p 4] 9853

PILA DEFENSE COMMITTEE--A meeting of the Provincial Defense Committee was held in Pila. Selected problems of provincial civil defense were discussed. In addition, the Provincial Defense Committee assessed the state of public safety and order in Pila Province. [Text] [Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 22 Oct 84 p 2] 9853

BARCIKOWSKI MEETS KRAKOW LEADERS--Politburo member and PZPR Central Committee Secretary Kazimierz Barcikowski met with the political leaders of Krakow on the 22nd of this month. During the meeting, the conditions of the social and economic growth of the urban Krakow area were discussed. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 23 Oct 84 p 5] 9853

PZPR ROLE IN PRON--On the 22nd of this month, party activists who function within the structures of the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth [PRON] met in the PZPR Central Committee building. The meeting was devoted to an exchange of experiences and planning the directions for improving the political work of party members in PRON. In the discussion, in which activists from plant and community elements of the movement and from PRON councils of all levels participated, examples of effective initiatives, forms and methods of activity which serve the building of a social movement of understanding and national rebirth were presented. The barriers which still exist on this road and the tasks of party members in overcoming them and in integrating and uniting the patriotic strength of the nation around a platform of understanding, struggle and reform were also discussed. The secretary general of the PRON National Council, Jerzy Jaskiernia, and the director of the Ideological Department of the PZPR Central Committee, Wladyslaw Loranc, participated in the meeting and presented their views on the problems raised in the discussion. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 23 Oct 84 p 5] 9853

WARSAW DEFENSE COMMITTEE--The Warsaw Defense Committee held a meeting on 27 October. The current security situation and questions of law and order in the capital and the capital metropolitan voivodship were discussed during the proceedings, which were chaired by Gen Div Mieczyslaw Debicki. Necessary decisions were made to obviate any possible future threats. [Text] [Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 29 Oct 84 p 2]

WARSAW DEFENSE COMMITTEE--The Warsaw Defense Committee met on 16 October. The meeting was called to review the social and political situation and the state of law and order in the capital and in Warsaw Voivodship at large, the "Posesja" campaign [an economic crime control drive], matters related to the performance of the power industry, the working condition of power industry equipment and installations and the steam heating and water line systems (mainly in the context of preparations for the winter season), the results of the initial and follow-up inspections of government offices, institutions, and business enterprises, and problems associated with efforts aimed at rationalizing employment patterns and the work force. The Warsaw Voivodship Defense Committee, the meeting of which was chaired by Gen Div Mieczyslaw Debicki, made appropriate decisions and spelled out the most urgent tasks that need to be carried out in response to the problems discussed at the meeting. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 17 Oct 84 p 5]

TORUN, LODZ DEFENSE COMMITTEES--The Torun Voivodship Defense Committee has met to review the security situation and issues of public safety with special reference to efforts aimed at protecting the public against criminal behavior. Residential self-management bodies, PRON, and social organizations were appealed to in an effort to urge that they take a more resolute stand against all manifestations of parasitism, drunkenness, and the corruption of minors. The meeting was attended by Gen Div Wlodzimierz Oliwa, minister of public administration and land-use management. The Lodz Voivodship Defense Committee has met to review incidents of antisocial behavior and the results of efforts to bring this problem under control. It was concluded that actions taken by the Voivodship Commission for Combating Speculation, the joint efforts of specialized inspection bodies, and also the consistent efforts of agencies engaged in the fight against economic crime have all helped to reduce the scale of this troublesome social problem. [Text]
[Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 27-28 Oct 84 p 2]

CSO: 2600/158

ATTITUDES TOWARD RELIGION IN SERBIA SURVEYED

Results in Belgrade

Belgrade NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian No 1758, 9 Sep
84 pp 16-19

[Article by Stevan Niksic: "The Search for God in Belgrade, 1984"]

[Text] The residents of Belgrade do not have much taste for religion, and do not attach much importance to traditional religious dogmas, but to a great number of Belgrade's inhabitants, about half of them, religion is not devoid of all meaning. Researchers point out that the process of spreading atheism has stopped, and they speak of indications of a revival of faith. For several months now individual events in organization and administration of the 3 largest churches, or denominational groupings (Orthodox, Catholic, and Moslem), in various regions of Yugoslavia have been attracting the attention of the Yugoslav public and have been the subject of a number of commentaries. They include political commentaries, since some of these events, such as the consecration of the Serbian Orthodox church in Jasenovac, commemorate the 1300th anniversary of Christianity in Croatia, and the erection of the magnificent mosque in Zagreb obviously goes beyond the limits of routine religious rituals, both because of the size of the mosque and in view of the broader social implications possible. Hence it would seem to be appropriate to investigate the attitude of Yugoslav citizens toward church and religion today. What do they actually know and what is their attitude toward individual religious myths; to what extent have various religious, but also other, atheistic, dogmas taken root today in the fabric of modern society? Lastly, how do they view the role of religious institutions, religion, and believers in modern society?

We present here the results of a study made in Belgrade this year by the Politics and Communications Research Center of the Institute of Social Science. It is a question of a study entitled "Elements of Religiosity in Belgrade" conducted under the direction of Prof Dr Sergej Flere. Actually it is only a part of a larger project just now being completed at this Institute.

Far From the Classic Faith

First of all, citizens of Belgrade were asked, "Do you believe in the existence of Jesus Christ?" In asking this question, the researchers

proceeded on the assumption that belief in Christ is an essential characteristic of Christianity as a whole, and that one of the greatest doctrinal "mysteries" is represented by the doctrine of the twofold nature, human and divine, of Christ. Despite the (many) differences in interpretation of Holy Scripture (the Bible) among modern theologians (Catholics, for example, hold that the Holy Spirit originates not only from God the Father, but also from Christ, the Son of God, while the Orthodox rather follow the original tradition of the Church fathers regarding God as the sole creator, and for centuries they have been criticizing the Catholics for "distortion of the original teaching"), to modern sociologists belief in Christ can represent "an essential indicator of (Christian) faith."

It turns out that among residents of Belgrade there is a predominant number (35.3 percent) of persons who believe that Christ "existed only as an historical personage." About 1 out of every 5 residents of Belgrade (21 percent) say categorically that "he did not exist; he was invented," while 1 out of 8 (12 percent) say that "he existed as is taught by the church" (as the "Son of God in human form"), and a third of those polled replied "don't know" (27.8 percent) or "don't want to answer" (3.9 percent).

It is interesting that the number of Belgrade's residents who later replied in the affirmative to the direct question "Do you believe in God?" was larger than the number of those who stated that they believe in the ecclesiastical doctrine of Christ. The researchers conclude that belief in God appears to be a somewhat vaguer attitude which may indicate various forms of religiosity and different degrees of devotion to religious institutions and their doctrines.

Origin of the World

Similar differences had been observed in other, earlier studies in different areas of Yugoslavia. For example, a similar study conducted in Vojvodina in 1975 (by S. Flere and D. Pantic) established that 28 percent of those polled believe in the twofold human and divine nature of Christ, in accordance with Christian doctrine, while 31 percent of those polled stated that they believe in God. A study in the Nis region 2 years ago (conducted by D. Djordjevic) showed that 15 percent of the people in this region believe in the divine nature of Christ, while the number of those who declare that they believe in God, similar to that in Belgrade (18 percent), was again somewhat larger. In a survey of Slovene intermediate school students made in 1968 (by Z. Rotar), 26 percent of those polled stated that they believe in God, while only 12 percent were convinced of the divine nature of Christ.

After detailed analysis of all these responses, the researchers conclude that the religious conscience among the believers of Belgrade has been largely eroded relative to the declared faith, that is, that this conscience has moved a great distance away from the traditional, classic faith. Residents of Belgrade were asked this question: "There are different explanations of the world and man. Do you personally accept the explanation of the world offered by the Church (for example, that God created man in

7 days, in his own likeness, in contrast to the doctrine of the evolution of species)?"

As may be imagined, the researchers encountered the lowest level of acceptance of religious dogma when they asked this question. It turned out that, even among those who declare themselves to be believers, actually a very small number (only 1 out of 4) accept the doctrinaire, theological interpretation of the origin of man and the world. After all, some of the "more adaptable" Christian denominations (individual Protestant churches) are known to hold that the significance of "allegorical truth" should be assigned to these religious dogmas.

An absolute majority of the Belgrade residents polled (56.3 percent) circled the reply "No, I accept the scientific explanation," while only 1 out of 18 (5.6 percent) said "Yes, I accept the religious explanation." Naturally, there were also those who vacillated, saying "It seems to me that both statements contain some truth, and both are acceptable to me to some extent," those who said "I'm not sure; I don't know," (19.7 percent), and those who refused to reply to this question (4.7 percent).

The computer-made "photo-robot" (rationalized, simplified profile) of the religious citizen of Belgrade, who actually believes in the classic religious dogmas, has the following characteristics: she is a woman living in the outlying areas, a farmer or housewife, not very affluent, of Serbian or Croatian nationality, about 65 years old (or older), politically passive, and not a reader of newspapers.

However, sight should not be lost of the fact that there are few such "true believers," even among persons who expressly declare themselves to be believers.

The following section of the questionnaire had the aim of determining the attitudes of Belgrade residents toward the relationship of faith to morals. The researchers were, of course, aware that a complex relationship is involved and that these two concepts have been very closely intertwined for the greater part of history. In his "Sociology of Morals" (Belgrade, 1974), Radomir Lukic states that "from the Ten Commandments of Moses, which represent the first precisely formulated moral code of a religious character, to Dostoyevskiy, who in the person of Ivan Karamazov asserts that without God there is no morality, since 'if God does not exist, then everything is allowed,' morality has at all times been linked to faith and seeks a firm foundation in it."

The question read "In your opinion, are believers more moral than other people?" The greatest number (47.8 percent) in reply declared themselves to favor a moderate, tolerant attitude, saying that "there is no difference between believers and nonbelievers." About 1 out of 8 of those polled (12.6 percent) asserted that "believers are more moral than nonbelievers." Only a very small number (3.3 percent) adopted a militant, atheistic attitude, asserting that believers are less moral than non-believers. About a third replied "don't know" or "don't want to reply."

The conclusion is that the moral component of religiosity among the residents of Belgrade is not irrelevant, but that these relationships for the most part fit into the relationships established on the occasion of the other similar studies referred to conducted in other parts of the country. For example, in a study conducted in Zagreb so long ago as 1968, in which 33.5 percent of those surveyed stated that they believe in God, there were 16.3 percent who felt that believers are more moral than nonbelievers; in Vojvodina in 1975 (in a survey in which 31 percent declared themselves to be believers) 12.8 percent of the persons surveyed, and in the Nis area (with 18 percent declaring themselves to be believers) 13 percent of those polled, shared the same view.

Communists and Believers

Most of those who in Belgrade today consider themselves to be believers are housewives and farmers. The second largest group is made up of skilled and highly skilled blue-collar workers, but there are also pupils, students, and office workers who feel that believers are more moral. In contrast to them, in the category of those who say that there is no difference, the most numerous are specialists, being followed by pupils and students. It appears that with increase in education there is a decrease in the number of persons who think that believers are better people. It is interesting to note that the group of persons who think that believers are more moral also includes a minute number, 1 out of 20, of members of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia. The paradox is even greater in that, even among professed believers, those who hold this opinion are decidedly in the minority (35.7 percent), while the greater number of believers (41.3 percent) also feel that there is no difference. (The remaining persons polled said that they could not or would not express an opinion.)

One of the questions read "If you consider yourself to be a member of a religion (church), in selecting a spouse is it important whether the spouse is of the same religion as you?" The researchers were interested in learning the extent to which individuals, or members of a particular group, are ready to enter marriage with others who differ from them. It was found that the great majority (62.3 percent) of the citizens of Belgrade surveyed favored a tolerant attitude, holding that it is not important for a spouse to be of the same religion; only 1 in 5 or 6 of those polled (18 percent) feel that it is important, while a significant number were unable to reply to such a delicate question.

It is also interesting to note the attitudes expressed in this matter by Belgrade believers from the viewpoint of membership in a religion (denominational identification). More than two thirds of the Moslems polled (66.7 percent) in Belgrade felt that it is important for the spouse to be of the same faith, and such is the opinion of almost one third (32 percent) of Catholics. A group of somewhat more tolerant persons is made up of the Orthodox, 26.7 percent of whom feel that it is important, and of members of other Christian denominations (20 percent).

Willingness to enter into marriage with someone is usually taken as an expression of the greatest closeness, that is, of the least social remoteness.

Unfortunately, little study has been devoted to this phenomenon in Yugoslavia. A. Fijamento is one of the students in Sarajevo who so early as 1957 asserted that 39 percent of the students feel it to be important for spouses to be of the same religion (religious homogamy). In the 1975 survey in Vojvodina referred to, D. Pantic stated that "the Orthodox almost unanimously accept members of their own denomination as marriage partners (93 percent), as do a very high percentage of nonreligious persons (78 percent), and many fewer, but still an absolute majority, of Catholics (59 percent), as well as a simple majority of Mohammedans (47 percent), while Adventists are divided. Among Catholics in Vojvodina the pattern is very similar to that among the Orthodox; those defining themselves as nonreligious accept persons similar to themselves (97 percent), but at the same time are open to the Orthodox (85 percent) and Catholics (82 percent), and even more so than the others, also toward Moslems (77 percent) and Adventists (62 percent) ..."

Hidden Believers

Consequently, everyone says that traditional religion obviously does not suit the vast majority of Belgrade's residents, that they do not have an exaggerated feeling for it. And yet, a certain number of Belgrade's citizens, and not a small number, could be classified as "latently religious," ones who cannot be classified as believers in the proper sense of the term but who feel the need for believing in something.

To the question "Does modern man need faith?" 1 out of 10 of those surveyed replied expressly "Yes, he needs it," while 1 in 6 (15.5 percent) circled the reply "He does not need belief in God, but needs to believe in a higher supernatural force". Only somewhat fewer than half of those polled (46.3 percent) stated categorically that modern man does not need faith.

Scientists usually explain the existence of persons who feel that man does not need belief in God, but does need belief in a higher supernatural force as an indication of the appearance of new forms of religion or quasi-religion. It is interesting to note that all who think this way are to be found in all the educational categories of Belgrade citizens surveyed, from the lowest to the highest level of education. It may seem strange to some that 2.2 percent of members of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia polled categorically assert that man needs to believe in God, and that 7.5 percent of the communists think that man should believe in some other supernatural force, while one fifth reply "don't know" or "can't say." Only a little more than two thirds of the communists surveyed are convinced that man does not need to believe in God or in any supernatural force.

After analysis of the answers to one of the following questions, which read "Does religion play any part in your life?", the researchers concluded that religion definitely plays a part in the life of every third Belgrade resident surveyed, and that it has a definite meaning and definite importance for him. Of course, this does not necessarily mean that these people are religious, and even less that they are "church religious," but in any event does mean that they have not abandoned all, at least

psychological if not also social, ties to religion. Their number (a third) corresponds to the total number of those who stated expressly that they believe in God and of those who replied "I'm not sure" to this question. On the other hand, two thirds of the citizens of Belgrade surveyed said that they do not know even one prayer by heart (the Lord's Prayer, the Credo, the Hail Mary, and so forth), while one third know at least one, if not more.

The residents of Belgrade generally do not go to church. The number of those who say that they attend church regularly or often is almost negligible ("regularly," 1.2 percent; "often," 2.2 percent). However, the number of those who go to church "sometimes" (once a month or less often, on major holy days) is greater than a third (37.3 percent). The frequency of church attendance in Belgrade is similar to that recorded in the Nis region, while the inhabitants of Belgrade definitely go to church less often than do the inhabitants of Vojvodina, Zagreb, or Slovenia, as was shown by the earlier studies.

Only a small number are also in the habit of praying ("regularly," "often," or "rarely") at home, far fewer than those who state categorically that they believe in God. This of itself definitely indicates in a way the faith of the inhabitants of Belgrade who consider themselves to be religious. The only form of religious behavior (if this custom originating in pre-Christian times really indicates religion) which the Belgrade residents exhibit on a large scale is the Orthodox Patron Saint's Day. Slightly more than half of those polled replied that, in one way or another (regularly, rarely, or occasionally, with or without ritual) they celebrate their patron saint's day.

Several of the questions in the questionnaire dealt with the position of the church, and accordingly believers, in modern society. One question read "There are different opinions about the role of the Serbian Orthodox Church in the history of the Serbian people. With which of the following opinions do you most closely agree?" (refer to the replies on the following table):

-
1. The Serbian Orthodox Church is the stablest institution of the Serbian people, the one that has made the greatest contribution to preservation of the people throughout history: 21.3 percent.
 2. It has played an important role, but cannot be elevated above other institutions: 34.5 percent.
 3. It has not played any significant role: 3.3 percent.
 4. Don't know: 34.0 percent.
 5. Don't want to answer: 7.0 percent.
-

In this case as well it was found that in reality many, more than one third, of those surveyed were entirely unfamiliar with this problem. It may also be said of those who assert that the Serbian Orthodox Church has not played an important role in this history of the Serbian people that they are

demonstrating their ignorance. But it rather appears to be here a question of what we call "militant atheism." The greatest number, more than one third, of those surveyed chose the reply expressing the historical truth (that this institution has played a significant role in the course of Serbian national history, but that it "cannot elevate itself above others.")

However, even the first position offered, close or possibly even identical to the position of the Serbian nationalists when this topic is discussed, had a small number of advocates, slightly more than one fifth of the residents of Belgrade surveyed. If we were to consider only the opinions of those who were able to express a clearcut position in answering this question (that is, if we deduct those who said "don't know" or "don't want to answer"), we would find that every third person believes the church to be the most important institution of the Serbian people. The researchers conclude that this is also "an indicator of attitudes toward national allegiance and of relationships in modern Yugoslavia." The frequency of such replies for the most part increase with increase in the level of education, but it is nevertheless obvious that there are persons holding such opinions among all the categories of Belgrade inhabitants surveyed, even among members of the party. The researchers arrived at the conclusion that among such communists (whose number is very small anyway) it is a question of a political attitude "which reflects the image of their own nation."

Lastly, it is to be added that these are only part of the results, that we have extracted at our own discretion only a few indicators which appeared to us to be interesting. A true and trustworthy picture can, of course, be obtained only by examining the entirety of the data and materials collected by the researchers of the Politics and Communication Research Center of the Institute of Social Science. But, then, it would again be proper to ask the eternal question: do such public opinion polls give an accurate and true picture of the social situation? It may be replied only that this center has a solid tradition and experience in studies of this kind, more than any other center in Yugoslavia concerned with public opinion polling, that the study was carried out with a standard sample (slightly more than 1000 persons surveyed in metropolitan Belgrade), and that unfortunately we currently have no more accurate and trustworthy indicator with which to clarify this phenomenon.

Researcher on Survey

Belgrade NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian No 1758, 9 Sep 84
pp 16-17

[Interview with Sergej Flere: "An End to Spread of Atheism"]

[Text] [Question] To what extent are Belgrade's residents really religious?

[Answer] The basic stamp of the denominational situation in Belgrade is imparted by the traditional dominance of the Orthodox Church. Of all the

denominations extant in Yugoslavia, Orthodoxy was for decades subjected to the strongest influence of the process of secularization and spread of atheism. The Belgrade religious ambience has received particular impetus in this direction from the fact that the city is also the political center in a situation in which religion has been outside the stream of official culture. Hence the level of explicit religiosity is low.

However, these processes in the social conscience are not stable, lasting, and aimed in one direction: they often react in a highly unexpected and paradoxical manner to what takes place in the structure of society, in the essence of society. This applies in particular to religion, which, as Marx says, "does not make its living off heaven but off earth." In a situation of economic crisis affecting broad social strata and coming to a head on a large social scale, although for the most part in concealed forms, the process of secularization and spread of atheism is definitely checked, at least temporarily. There are indications that a mild process of religious revival is taking place in Belgrade. Consequently, it is a question of agitation in the social conscience the outcome of which we cannot definitely predict. We do know, however, that the crisis phenomena will have a lasting influence on the world outlook of the younger generations.

[Question] What can you tell us about the specific religious characteristics of Belgrade?

[Answer] In large cities with a different denominational tradition (Catholic, Moslem) as the predominant one, the level of religiosity is higher and religious life is more intensive, while in Belgrade, as in other parts of the country in which the Orthodox tradition predominates, the level of religiosity is low and more or less ritualistic in nature. However, even in Belgrade Orthodoxy exerts a significant influence in the sense of allegiance to national feeling, this being a result we probably would not have encountered in such marked degree a few years ago. According to some comparisons--in a situation marked by absence of systematic study a religiosity--religiosity in Belgrade, and that in its urban center, is somewhat more intensive than in other traditionally Orthodox cities such as Nis and Novi Sad. This is probably due to the fact that Belgrade is such a large city that the force of conformism, or assumed social desirability, is weaker, while on the other hand social contradictions are known to be more pronounced in large cities and all the so-called major religions proclaimed throughout the world are known to have sprung up in large cities.

[Question] How are these processes affected by the politicization of the Church recently observed in various places?

[Answer] According to our information on the nature of the religiosity being manifested, it is a question primarily of "popular," national, religiosity, which is for the most part independent of the church and definitely remote from the clergy. The activities of the religious denominations unquestionably have a certain importance, but in my opinion this importance is often exaggerated. The ups and downs of religiosity, or of irreligiosity, are primarily the result of events in society. It is a

question of a crisis, which, in the opinion of our sociology, is already seizing all segments of social life. The degree of organization and the personnel and financial capabilities of religious organizations definitely affect religiosity. In this respect the denomination which traditionally predominates in Belgrade has a weaker foundation than the other denominations, and even relatively weaker than the so-called minor ones. In addition, emphasis must be placed on the importance of the cultural context; the development of authentically religious needs is not as pronounced in Orthodox circles as in Catholic, Moslem, and others, this contributing to the potential for action by the denominations.

Although outside the mainstream, while they are also outside the official culture, the religious denominations nevertheless have a certain degree of organization and ability to act. This organized action is long-lasting and stable. Conditions favor finding a more fertile soil for their actions than previously, something that the denominations are aware of and know how to turn to their advantage. It follows that, as history demonstrates, one should not conclude that a campaign must be instituted to "persecute" religion and pronounce it a lawbreaker because of certain occurrences.

Consequently, regardless of the ups and downs of religiosity, tolerance may be the only solution as regards religion and believers, provided, of course, that religious institutions do not intervene in political life. It is true that, even from the scientific viewpoint, the dividing lines between religious activities in the narrow sense which our society considers to be legitimate and what are termed illegitimate activities of religion are vague, in view of one totalitarian aspect of the major religions represented by their endeavor to regulate the entirety of human life, as a result of which they inevitably intervene in the life of society.

Results in Nis Region

Belgrade DUGA in Serbo-Croatian No 274, 25 Aug 84 pp 6-7

[Article by Slavoljub Kacarevic: "Orthodoxy as a Sociologist's Target: They Celebrate Patron Saint's Day, Go to Church"]

[Text] "Wherever the Orthodox denomination predominates, people have moved farther away from the church than in areas where the Catholic Church predominates or where different religions mingle together," asserts Nis sociologist Dr Dragoljub Djordjevic, on the basis of an extensive survey conducted in 14 communities in this part of Serbia. In this area the faithful are abandoning precisely those church rituals requiring the greatest zeal, such as church attendance, the liturgy, religious instruction, prayer, or confession, preserving chiefly the patron saint's day observance and similar 'national customs'."

"Ignorance of the gods is no excuse, but it can serve as one. If a believer never visits the altar of his god, he will never find out if the fire is still burning on the altar or if the priestesses, already fired up, are scratching around in cold ashes."

With this reference to the words of the American Elvin Guldner, Nis sociologist Dr Dragoljub Djordjevic points out just how necessary it is today to study religion even though it seems to be "innocuous," as many consider Orthodoxy to be. There is a prevalent conviction that wherever the Orthodox Church predominates, there is nothing to be studied, or that this a completely "unattractive area" for sociologists of religion. Be this as it may, today, insofar as Yugoslavia is concerned, virtually no study has been made of religiosity in Serbia less the provinces, Montenegro, Macedonia, and Kosovo, in contrast to the other regions of Yugoslavia, especially those in which the Catholic Church is active, where such studies have long been made on a routine basis.

Dr Djordjevic believes that this is due not only to "laziness" on the part of sociologists of Orthodoxy, and not only to the fact that "a state of unexamined religiosity suits the political establishment in these regions"; after all, the attitude of day-to-day politics toward the Orthodox Church, so it seems, "often reminds one of the belligerence of militant atheism," a dogmatic settling of scores which should long ago have been outgrown, above all through understanding of what is being attacked.

The aloofness of science from Orthodox religious reality naturally suits the church's purposes, preserving the status quo, the equilibrium which neither side (neither the state nor the Orthodox Church) wants to upset, as if the idea were ever more prevalent that objective scientific research would reveal the errors of both sides.

In Nis the "balance of blissful ignorance" has been upset by a study of transformation of the ecclesiastical to the secular in 14 communities in this region. For the first time in Yugoslavia, Dr Dragoljub Djordjevic has in this way obtained data in this part of Yugoslavia as well which permit better understanding of the contemporary religiosity of members of the Orthodox Church.

Few True Atheists

"Wherever the Orthodox religion predominates, people have moved farther away from the church than in areas in which the Catholic Church predominates or where different denominations are mingled together," says Dr Djordjevic. Comparison of a number of data from the Nis region, which has about 600,000 inhabitants (88 percent of whom may be regarded as Orthodox), with the same figures from cities where Catholicism predominates among believers (Zagreb, for example) or areas where the inhabitants profess a variety of religions (Vojvodina), Dr Djordjevic has shown that the Orthodox of Nis and environs believe to a far lesser extent in God and a life after death, the divine origin of the world, and religion as a condition for morality, that people pray less, and that they attend church even less often. In short, they are by all indications less religious.

"A resident of a suburban development, female, more than 55 years old, with no education, a farmer (farmer's wife), less affluent (with average household earnings of less than 4000 dinars per member), politically

passive, never reading or listening to the information media"--thus does the study by Dr Djordjevic characterize the typical Orthodox believer of this region. It has been found that there are few truly religious people in the Nis region, only a little more than one fifth (from 22 to 24 percent). The remainder are religiously undecided or nonreligiously oriented. However, only a little more than 8 percent of those surveyed (a representative sample of 630 persons polled over 15 years old) may definitely be classified as atheists. Dr Djordjevic believes it wrong to call atheists the persons who say, "I am not a believer" (45.5 percent). They are for the most part atheistic in their thinking and may be expected to incline toward an atheistic lifestyle, but for the time being "they are not practising atheists in their lives." The religiously undecided (about 22 percent) are midway along the path being followed by the majority of Orthodox Nis inhabitants, between religiosity and atheism.

There Are Also Believers in the Party

This study clearly shows that less than a tenth of the population is absolutely independent of the church and is truly atheistic. The others, more than nine tenths of the people in the Nis region, more or less waver between church and unbelief, transform rules of religion into national customs, abandon the church, search for a new belief, or return to the old one. Thus, only one twentieth (5.4 percent) believe in a life after death, but more than half (59.3 percent) have their children baptized in Church. Also, 1 out of 40 (2.8 percent) fasts regularly, but every other person (57.9 percent) celebrates the patron saint's day.

On the other hand, the faithful themselves are not consistent. They are ever more rapidly becoming "unfaithful" to religious behavior as a whole, giving up precisely those church rituals which require the most zeal, such as attending church, the liturgy, religious instruction, prayer, fasting, and confession. They are slower to give up traditional actions that in time have been transformed into custom. "They hold a special place among Serbs, since they represent a link to tradition and nurture national sentiment, and some of them even date from pagan, pre-Christian times," says Dr Djordjevic. Thus they introduce into the patron saint's day the celebrated custom of honoring the family saint, a custom observed in the world today only by the Serbs and virtually meaningless as proof of a person's religiosity, since above all it represents a compromise between the church and national customs.

Thus, only timidly is mention made of the possibility of discussing the attitude of the League of Communists toward religious members of the party. In the Nis study, 7.5 percent of the persons belonging to a communist organization were found to be believers, 4.7 percent ones who say that they believe in God, and about one fourth are persons who celebrate the patron saint's day (22.4 percent) and baptize their children in church (27.1 percent).

According to Dr Djordjevic, who was asked during the defense of his doctoral dissertation whether he thought that religious persons might one

day be members of the League of Communists, only a broader scientific study on this topic could explain the origin of believers in an atheistic party. It seems that it is still not easy to gain legitimacy even by means of scientific explanations. Dr Djordjevic recently asked the government for assistance (70,000 dinars and permission) to investigate the Christian Adventist Church, which in Nis, is "nibbling away" at the dominance of Orthodoxy and is demonstrating an extraordinary ability to spread. Before a decision was made on the fate of this project, Radio Nis broadcast a commentary which condemned this proposal as "absolutely unnecessary at this time." Dr Djordjevic, observing different moods in the city, believes that it will be necessary to wait a long time for a study to find out how the Adventists are faring in Nis.

Silence About the Adventists

No issue of the GLASNIK PRAVOSLAVNE EPARHIJA NISKE [Herald of the Nis Orthodox Eparchy] has thus far been published without an item critical of the Adventists. Djordjevic says that currently there are few Adventists (they make up only a few tenths of a percent of the residents of Nis), but the scientific news is that with their appearance the Serbian Orthodox Church ceases to be identified with the Serbian nation as a whole. Hence discussions between Orthodox theologians and Adventists always begin with the question "Who is a Serb?", and end with the assertion that the Adventists are heretics.

"Thus," observes Dr Djordjevic, "the course is being followed of division in the Serbian ethnos and differentiation on the basis of membership in a particular religious denomination or none at all. Proceeding from its place and role in development of the Serbian nation, and wanting to preserve its 'dominance' in this nation, the Serbian Orthodox Church promotes the slogan that 'from the national viewpoint a member of the Orthodox Church, even if he is an atheist or on the way to becoming one, is at the same time a good Serb'" but the church will not countenance Serbs who are Adventists."

Dr Djordjevic has concerned himself especially with the attitude of young people toward religion. Because of their position in society, the young represent a social group which demands the elaboration of lasting value systems and needs a prospect for the future. Only in the event that there appear to be no prospects for some of the young people, might these young people become disenchanted as a result of a crisis in values and morals and try to find a "way out" in religion. However, says Dr Djordjevic, young people continue to be the strongest force moving toward demythologization of life, and not just the life of the church.

On the way to acquiring their values, young people today mythologize other spheres of life, such as sports or the theater, rather than church and politics. However, these myths do not last; they change with the generations. While for some Che Guevara was an idol, for others it was Dzajic, for a third group Lepa Brena, and who knows what person for a fourth set. In the opinion of Dr Djordjevic, it would be dangerous in middle age to replace these "childhood" myths with idolatry, and even more dangerous for the church to fill the void following the enthusiasms of youth.

BRIEFS

SERBIAN PRESIDENCY DISCUSSES SECURITY--Belgrade, 12 Nov (TANJUG)--At today's session, which was chaired by Dusan Ckrebic, the Serbian Presidency examined the activity in realizing and further strengthening the system of security and social self-protection, and the tasks of the organs of the socio-political communities and organizations, organizations of associated labor and working people and citizens. The presidency pointed in particular to the importance of these questions at a time of heightened tension in the world. The presidency also examined the principles for setting up flags for units of the territorial defense and certain other questions in its sphere of competence. [Text] [Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1457 GMT 12 Nov 84]

MAMULA VISITS BOSNIA-HERCEGOVINA--Sarajevo, 13 Nov (TANJUG)--Admiral of the Fleet Branko Mamula, federal secretary for national defense, and his associates today ended their 2-day working visit to certain special production work organizations in the Socialist Republic of Bosnia and Hercegovina. During the visit the federal secretary for national defense went round production workshops and was briefed on the problems and results of work in the Soko, Pretis, and Famos work organizations. In talks with representatives of these collectives the federal secretary for national defense assessed their work so far, pointed to mistakes, and gave guidelines to increase existing production and expand production for the needs of our armed forces and exports. On the second day of his visit Admiral of the Fleet Mamula, had talks in Sarajevo with Milanko Renovica, president of the Socialist Republic of Bosnia and Hercegovina Presidency, on topical issues concerning the production of armaments and military equipment, and measures for resolving them. [Text] [Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1531 GMT 13 Nov 84]

MAMULA RECEIVES DELEGATION--Belgrade, 14 Nov (TANJUG)--In the Federal Secretariat of National Defense today secretary of national defense, received a delegation of the Military Geographical Institute of the JNA [Yugoslav People's Army] which tomorrow, 15 November, celebrates the 40th anniversary of its work and development in socialist Yugoslavia. During the meeting with representatives of this distinguished scientific and technical institution of the JNA Adm Mamula stressed, among other things, that the institute has made a great contribution not only to the consolidation of our defense capability but to the general development and building of the country.

Congratulating his guests on the great anniversary, the federal secretary also pointed out the importance of and the need for further work in the development of all-round cooperation between the institute and similar institutions in our country, in which context very marked successes have been noticed during the past period. During the meeting Adm Mamula and his associates were informed by Major General Dr Miroslav Peterca, head of the Military Geographical Institute, about the results attained by the institute during the past 40 years. [Text] [Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1339 GMT 14 Nov 84]

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