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POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL, AND MILITARY AFFAIRS
No. 1563

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INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

'NEPSZABADSAG' INTERVIEWS POLISH PREMIER JAROSZEWICZ

Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 20 Jun 78 p 3 AU

[Interview with Polish Council of Ministers chairman, Piotr Jaroszewicz:
"Friendship Between Our Peoples Continues To Grow Deeper and Richer; Piotr
Jaroszewicz' Answers to Questions by NEPSZABADSAG"]

[Text] At the invitation of the PZPR and the Polish Government, a Hungarian party-government delegation led by Janos Kadar will pay an official friendly visit to the Polish People's Republic. On this occasion, on behalf of the NEPSZABADSAG Editorial Office, Pal Eotvos, head of the Economic-Political Section, and Eva Terenyi, our paper's Warsaw correspondent, requested an interview from Piotr Jaroszewicz, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Polish People's Republic.

[Question] The Hungarian and Polish people are linked by a friendship of several centuries. This friendship has acquired a qualitatively new substance under the conditions of socialism. The Hungarian-Polish Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance Treaty concluded 30 years ago and renewed in May 1968 is a firm foundation for our cooperation. How does the Comrade Minister appraise the results of Hungarian-Polish cooperation?

[Answer] The Poles and Hungarians have faced many difficult trials in the course of history. They have often fought shoulder to shoulder for freedom and progress. They have shared the joy of victories and the bitterness of defeats. When we speak of lengthy periods of our cooperation, we are proud to recall the glorious chapters of the joint struggle of Polish and Hungarian patriots and revolutionaries where, with the slogan of "for our freedom--for your freedom," they sacrificed their lives on the barricades of the peoples' awakening and in defense of the Hungarian Republic of councils. The pages of our recent history include meaningful manifestations of sympathy in the way of assistance and asylum accorded to so many of our compatriots by the friendly Hungarian people. We highly value the traditions of our friendship, the traditions of our joint struggle for national and social liberation and our rich cultural relations.

Socialism has enriched this friendship with a new content. In our age, proletarian internationalism, ideological unity, membership of the socialist countries' community and the struggle for world peace and progress are the basis of this friendship. The Polish-Hungarian Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance Treaty concluded 30 years ago has created an alliance between us based on the incontrovertible principles of Marxism-Leninism. The socialist character of relations has brought new values into our peoples' life. This socialist character is reflected in the many-sided results of the three decades following the war.

The close and fraternal bond between the PZPR and the MSZMP is a decisive factor in the strengthening of Polish-Hungarian friendship. Friendly visits and working meetings between our parties' first secretaries--Edward Gierek and Janos Kadar--determine the fundamental direction of the development of cooperation between our parties and peoples in all areas of political, economic, social and cultural life. This cooperation is lasting and fruitful, because we have every reason to appreciate its results highly. We mutually draw from our parties' rich experiences and results. Many-sided contacts have developed between our local organs of state power, youth and social organizations, cultural and social institutes, party press and enterprises. We can be pleased to note a constant increase of trade between the two countries and an increasing degree of cooperation and specialization. Contacts between the population are constantly expanding. Last year, 1 million Polish tourists visited Hungary, while 750,000 Hungarian tourists came to Poland. This many-sided cooperation serves our peoples and the socialist community well.

[Question] How do you appraise the implementation of the 1976-80 long-term Hungarian-Polish trade agreement and what prospects do you see for a further development of economic, scientific and technical cooperation between the two countries within the strengthening CEMA economic integration?

[Answer] The Hungarian People's Republic is an important economic partner of Poland, being in fourth place in trade transacted with the socialist countries. Poland occupies a similar position in the Hungarian People's Republic's trade. Mutual deliveries play a considerable role in both countries' economies. Regarding Polish exports, this applies primarily to raw materials, particularly to coal, coke and sulphur and--regarding imports--to petroleum products, bauxite and aluminum silicate as well as machinery, industrial equipment, agricultural products and consumer goods.

The 1976-80 trade agreement envisages a turnover of R2.7 billion, which is an almost twofold increase compared with the 1971-75 period. The fulfillment of the agreement thus far has been successful. It will presumably be over-filled by 15 percent.

We are paying great attention to the development of cooperative ventures and specialization. Mutual deliveries effected in this form are valued at almost R920 in the current five-year plan period. This amounts to 35 percent of the overall turnover and applies, among other things, to products of the motor

vehicle industry--including Fiat 126-P cars--motor vehicle production, machine tools, agricultural machines, synthetic fibres in the chemical industry, motor vehicle tires and pharmaceutical products.

The development of Polish building-industry exports and building-industry services accorded to the Hungarian People's Republic bears witness to our many-sided economic relations. We are building a complete sugar factory processing 6,000 tons of sugar beet daily in Kaba in Hungary. Polish building-industry experts are also working on the construction of other projects. Still, all this does not exhaust the possibility extended by the two countries' already attained and planned economic development. In elaborating the direction of cooperation following 1980, we are paying particular attention to the intensification of cooperative ventures and specialization linked to scientific-technical collaboration. By broadening our cooperation, we are contributing to the CEMA countries' economic integration. Jointly, we can more easily overcome the difficulties caused by certain capitalist countries' protectionist and discriminatory practice in international economic relations. The next Bucharest CEMA session will be devoted to the elaboration of guiding principles serving a further intensification of cooperation among the socialist countries, to which, as always, Poland and Hungary will make a significant contribution.

[Question] Hungarian society is very interested in fraternal Poland's achievements. We request you to characterize the implementation of the main objectives defined by the Seventh PZPR Congress.

[Answer] In the seventies, a period when the Polish people, under PZPR leadership, are consistently implementing the resolutions of the sixth and seventh congresses, our country has been undergoing and continues to undergo considerable change. We have set ourselves some large-scale plans. These tasks unify our social and economic objectives. Satisfying the requirements of the nation, family and individual increasingly well is the cardinal principle of our policy and strategy. This has released enormous social reserves and imparts human work a profound meaning and substance.

After 6 years, we can confidently say that, although with certain difficulties, the line of development that had been elaborated has been successfully transplanted into economic practice and that this is reflected in Polish social reality today. The gross national product has increased almost 80 percent and industrial production has more than doubled in this period. Poland occupies 10th place in the world and 6th place in Europe in this respect. With significant investments, we have developed and modernized our national assets, whose value has increased almost 50 percent. Half the industrial equipment is less than 5 years old. Poland's foreign trade commodity turnover has trebled, while, at the same time, retail trade turnover has increased 130 percent in the domestic market.

In conformity with party and government policy, we subordinate our economic activity in every respect to man and people's requirements. There is not a

family in Poland that does not live better today than 7 years ago. In the 1971-77 period, the wages of over 12 million working people have been raised, that is, everyone employed in the socialist sector. Average real wages have risen over 50 percent during this period. The income of people living from agriculture is constantly increasing. Pensions, allowances and scholarships have risen considerably. We take special care of working women and war and workers movement veterans. We insure work for all young people reaching employment age. This is a highly important issue in which also our hopes lie, for young people starting out in a vocation are well-prepared for work and for resolving complex questions raised by the scientific-technical revolution. And I would add to all this that we have made 1.7 million new dwellings available in the seventies.

Many facts prove our results. These results are due to rapid development. However, development is not devoid of tensions. This is understandable. For instance, we have difficulties in fully satisfying the demand for certain consumer goods. There are various reasons for this. The weather was unfavorable for agriculture in recent years. We had to considerably increase bread grain and fodder imports, while world market prices, too, have greatly increased. Despite the aforementioned increase of imports, we failed to avoid a temporary decrease of cattle and hog stocks. We feel, particularly in foreign trade, the affect of the western recession. We try to avert the consequences of this. Polish society understands these problems and trusts party policy and believes in the correctness and effectiveness of our efforts.

We are certain that the current five-year plan will produce further development. We envisaged a 40-42-percent increase of the gross national product, 48-50-percent increase of industrial production and a 16-19-percent increase of agricultural production for this period. We are planning a 16-18-percent increase of real wages, and also the income of people living from agriculture will increase to a similar extent. The main goal of our activity now is to enhance the availability of consumer goods, expand services, develop food-stuff management, broaden the housing construction program and considerably raise exports.

We are putting all this into effect in a social atmosphere where the working people pay increasing attention to increasing the effectiveness of production and improving quality, that is, to factors that, in the final analysis, determine our people's living conditions.

We are accomplishing the objectives of our development on the basis of a many-sided fraternal cooperation with the Soviet Union and the rest of the CEMA countries. This is the fundamental principle of our policy.

We look to the future with optimism, since the foundations of our people's economy are sound and, what is most important of all, we are supported by the workers class, by Polish society as a whole. Our people are proving their unity in the fulfillment of the objectives set by the party through their daily work.

[Question] Hungary and Poland are actively participating in the implementation of the coordinated foreign policy of the countries of the socialist community, the main purpose of which is to protect mankind from the dangers of a war, promote disarmament and make the process of detente a lasting one. In your opinion, what prospects are there for attaining this objective in Europe and throughout the world?

[Answer] The fundamental line of Polish policy, which is closely coordinated with the policy of the socialist community, is to defend peace and make the detente process and international cooperation lasting.

The results in this respect are significant, particularly in the case of Europe. I have here primarily the European security and cooperation conference and bilateral agreements between countries with different social and political systems in mind. This is a good foundation for maintaining peace. However, we must continue to work actively for detente and international security on every level: in bilateral and multilateral relations and the areas of politics, disarmament, the economy, the sciences and technology, culture and education. Implementing the resolutions of the European Security and Cooperation Conference as a whole is the central issue of the struggle against the enemies of the process for European detente.

The detente process has encountered many difficulties recently. Cold-war and anticommunist circles have become active in the West. Still, we never have thought that the profound transformation of international relations in the spirit of peaceful coexistence is an easy task. There is an urgent need for a unification of all forces to prevent a slowing down of the detente process.

Preserving peace demands that political detente be linked to a military detente. Prospects for the Vienna negotiations on reducing armaments and armed forces in Central Europe depend primarily on the extent to which the Western countries take into consideration the fundamental principles that guarantee the sides' mutual security. We are awaiting a positive reaction from the Western negotiating partners to the constructive proposal made by the four socialist countries on 8 June in Vienna.

The favorable development of the international situation has been and is being fundamentally influenced by the peace policy of the Soviet Union and the rest of the socialist countries. Leonid Brezhnev's personal initiative and commitment is playing a significant role in the consolidation of peace and international cooperation. The fraternal countries' increase of strength and the successes they have attained in socialist construction and the intensification of mutual cooperation are of decisive significance in making the detente process universal and irreversible. The increasingly general conviction that the world has no alternative to detente enables us to look to the future with hope despite the difficulties.

[Question] At the invitation of the Polish party and government, a Hungarian party-government delegation led by Comrade Janos Kadar, first secretary of

the MSZMP Central Committee, will visit Poland in the coming days. What significance does the Polish side attribute to the--by now--traditional meetings between the two countries' party and state leaders?

[Answer] We are pleased by the opportunity to have, as our guests from the Hungarian People's Republic, a delegation visiting Poland under the leadership of Janos Kadar, MSZMP Central Committee first secretary, and Premier Gyorgy Lazar. We welcome our Hungarian friends, our guests, with ardent affection arising from Polish traditions and sincere friendly sentiments. We are looking forward to this visit as to a far-reaching political event whose significance goes beyond the sphere of bilateral relations. All previous meetings between Edward Gierek and Janos Kadar have been extremely fruitful and have imparted a new impetus to the development of Polish-Hungarian relations.

I am convinced that the official visit by the Hungarian People's Republic's party-government delegation to Poland and the negotiations that will be conducted and the agreements that will be adopted during the visit will further deepen friendship between our parties, countries and peoples and strengthen the ties linking socialist Poland and socialist Hungary. The visit will raise our economic, technical, cultural and scientific cooperation onto a higher, a qualitatively new level, which is in conformity with our countries' endeavors and fosters the utilization of our increasing possibilities.

At the same time, the visit of the party-government delegation of the Hungarian People's Republic to Poland is of European significance as well. This is due to the international prestige of Poland and Hungary and the two countries' role in strengthening the socialist community and diplomatic activity to make peace and international cooperation lasting, in the spirit of the Final Act of the Helsinki Conference.

I take this opportunity to cordially greet the readers of NEPSZABADSAG and all working people of the Hungarian People's Republic, Piotr Jaroszewicz said in conclusion.

CSO: 2500

ROMANIAN REVIEW OF BULGARIAN BOOK ON FRENCH POLICY IN BALKANS

Bucharest REVISTA DE ISTORIE in Romanian Apr 78 pp 739-742

/Review by Constantin N. Velichi/

/Text/ Simeon Damianov, "Frenskata Politika na Balkanite, 1829-1853" (French Policy in the Balkans, 1829-1853), Publishing House of the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences, Sofia, 1977, 322 pp.

The study of the Bulgarian-French relations in the 19th century has long been the major pursuit of the well-known Bulgarian historian Simeon Damianov. The results of his investigations were contained in many articles and surveys which he published and in significant reports at international congresses of history, Balkanology and Slavic culture. For this book Damianov painstakingly for many years studied the chief archives which contain unpublished material on these relations. These are the archives of the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs which contain the reports of the ambassador in Constantinople and those of the French consuls in Belgrade, Bucharest, and Iasi, and the diplomatic correspondence with Russia, Greece, and other countries, the archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Russia (the reports of the ambassadors in Constantinople and Paris and those of the consuls in Bucharest, Iasi, Belgrade, and Athens), the manuscripts and documents kept in the section for manuscripts of the Library of the Academy of the Socialist Republic of Romania, many documents of the Czartoryskich Library in Cracow, and documents of the Cyril and Methodius National Library in Sofia. If we add the more than 400 publications (papers, memoirs, studies, articles, and surveys) printed in more than 10 languages and the ample press material, we become aware not only of the very broad information of the author but also of the sizable amount of work incorporated into this survey.

From the outset we must point out that the author's treatment slightly exceeds the limits specified by the book's title. As a matter of fact, he deals with France's policy not only in the

Balkans but also in all South-Eastern Europe. On the one hand, this enhances the book's value and on the other hand, it leads the author to some conclusions which are valid, in the given period, only for the first geographical area and not for the second as well. We shall return to this matter in the conclusion of this review.

In the seven chapters of the book the author dwells, on the basis of an impressive documentation and with outstanding expertise, on France's reaction to the Treaty of Adrianople, the Russian-French contradictions during the first Turkish-Egyptian conflict, the Balkan policy of the July monarchy, France's attitude during the second Turkish-Egyptian conflict (1839-1841), the French diplomacy's onslaught in South-Eastern Europe in the 40s of the last century, France's policy in the Balkans (actually in all South-Eastern Europe) in 1948-1949 and later on the eve of the Crimean War. The book winds up with conclusions, a very comprehensive bibliography, an index of persons and geographical names, and summaries in French and Russian.

Simeon Damianov's book fills a gap which was felt enough so far. As a matter of fact, this quarter of a century (1829-1853), as also assessed by the author, represents not only one of the most dynamic periods for the nations of South-Eastern Europe but also the period during which their development closely intertwined with the interests of the big powers on the Eastern issue. While we now have many surveys on the policies of some of these big powers such as Russia, England, and Austria, we so far lacked a monograph on the policy conducted by France to ensure its influence in South-Eastern Europe. True, in this respect, there were studies especially focusing on the Eastern crisis generated by the two Turkish-Egyptian conflicts or surveys which only focused on specific episodes. The book which adds to the fragmentary and sometimes unsystematic studies on the French policy in South-Eastern Europe is a survey which was expected and which provides an overall treatment of the matter.

One of the major conclusions of this book is that the French policy in South-Eastern Europe, regardless of the governments and systems which pursued it, always pursued a principle which was never violated: the establishment and maintenance of the dominant influence of France, the involvement of all peoples of this part of Europe into its sphere of political and economic interests, and the elimination of all the rival powers and especially of Russia. While the peoples involved benefitted by the French culture, their liberation fight, however, was hampered because France, together with England and Austria, always supported the Ottoman Empire.

While this opinion is clearly reflected in Damiánov's book, it is not the point which evidences its value. The book's value resides in the detailed analysis of each particular episode during the period surveyed, in a correct interpretation of the ample new material which it provides and in the synthetic capacity of the author. We would too much expand this review if we deal with all these factors. Therefore we shall limit ourselves to only a few examples. Among many other details, very useful are those on the political struggle between the big powers immediately after the signing of the Unkiar-Iskelessi Treaty and the Munchengraetz Congress, the intervention to the Porte by France which, fearing a revolt in Bulgaria and Bosnia, requested the Sultan to make administrative reforms to improve the condition of the Christian population in these areas. The author provides expert and necessary explanations on the problem of the so-called role of Danilevski, the Russian consul in Belgrade, in preparing the movements in the Nis Vidin region and other issues. Moreover, an outstanding analysis is made of the actions of the Polish emigres in France and the Ottoman Empire, the outlining of the role played by Alexander Exarh in his diplomatic moves in Constantinople, and many other matters on which Damianov gives his opinion, which always is well-documented and clear-cut.

While the book of the Bulgarian scholar provides extremely useful explanations on the French policy in the Ottoman Empire, in Serbia and Greece, it also largely concerns our history. Therefore we shall dwell on these problems linked to France's policy vis-a-vis Wallachia and Moldavia. Very interesting in this respect are the details which Simeon Damianov provides in relation to France's intervention to the Porte at the time of the 1841 and 1842 Braila movements and Shekib effendi's trip to Bucharest and Iasi, a fact which prompted Russia to send here general Duhamel. Hence, for the first time there are published excerpts from the latter's reports to Nesselrode and other unpublished documents from the Russian archives. On this point, however, we feel that for an understanding of the entire problem, Damianov should have added the fact that on the order of Tsar Nicholas, the Russian consuls in Iasi and Bucharest had received instructions to inform princes Mihail Sturza and Alexandru Ghica about the discovery of the second movement in Braila in 1842. However, this instruction was actually followed only by Kotzebue, the Russian consul in Iasi, who, because of his friendly relations with Mihail Sturza, gave him all the details and the prince was able to take the necessary steps in Galati. On the contrary, Dashkov, the Russian consul in Bucharest, who had unfriendly relations with Alexandru Ghica, fulfilled his duty merely formally, without providing the prince with the details which would have concerned him. Billecocq, the French consul in Bucharest, took advantage of this situation which gave him a real basis for openly charging Russia also in connection with this second movement. Moreover, the "suppression" of the two movements in Braila

(in 1841 and 1842) by Alexandru Ghica must be interpreted in a nuanced manner. In the first place, the prince could not have acted differently, in spite of his sympathy for the participants. This sympathy was seen clearly when Ghica asked the investigators to let the prisoners know that "by no means will they be delivered to the Turks." Moreover, it is precisely of this sympathy that Billecocq accused him. In his report to Guizot the French consul wrote inter alia:"It is clear to all that using apparent severity Prince Ghica and his government were only concerned with taking a step which, under the present circumstances would prevent them from delivering them (the prisoners in Braila) to the Turks who could have required that these Christian prisoners be handed to them." Hence, it cannot be stated that in 1841 Billecocq fully approved Alexandru Ghica's attitude (p 196). Moreover, also on the "suppression" of the second movement (1842) one cannot disregard the fact that the attitude of the same Romanian prince was instrumental in Rakovski's escaping death. Thus, from the information in Simeon Damianov's book (p 213) the reader may get the impression that Rakovski escaped "the sentence to death given by the courts of Wallachia" only as a result of the intervention of the Greek consul. Actually, Rakovski and his comrades were sentenced to death precisely in order to be expelled on the ground of being Greek subjects. Only this explains this unusual situation in which, while the trial was proceeding, the Romanian authorities blinked and allowed the defendants who were not Greek citizens to immediately obtain this citizenship, a fact without precedent in the judicial records. This explanation also applies to the fact that the same people sentenced to death gave up appealing for the commutation of the sentence, again an almost unique action. Rakovski, however, knew full well that if he appealed and his sentence was commuted for a prison term, he might have the fate of Captain Tatici, one of the leaders of the 1841 Braila movement, who, though he had a foreign passport, was sentenced to go to jail where he actually was sent and wherefrom the Turks could have taken him. The Greek consul was not able to obtain that the case be tried in Athens. Moreover, it was known that all prison terms were served in the country and only the cases which involved the capital punishment could lead to the extradition of the defendants, a fact which applied to Rakovski. If Alexandru Ghica, when reinforcing the sentence to death would have commuted their penalty, even without their request, the situation of the Braila prisoners might have been different.

Furthermore, the replacement of Alexandru Ghica by Gheorghe Bibescu, although it was desired by Duhamel and appeared as his victory, was, however, prompted by Shekib's report. Shekib came to Bucharest as the carrier of a firman in which Ghica was praised by the Porte. He was bought by those boyars who opposed the prince and gave Shekib 15,000 ducats for this purpose. (Ghica had only given him 5,000). Hence, Duhamel did not need to make use of his

great diplomatic abilities, which he really possessed and which he proved, in Wallachia, 6 years later in the suppression of the 1848 revolution.

The chapter "French Policy in the Balkans in 1848-1849" (actually also in South-Eastern Europe) is extremely interesting and valuable, even if it has slight omissions. For instance, in the very ample and well commented bibliography we do not find the survey entitled "K. Marx, Notes on Romanians (Unpublished Manuscripts)" published by A. Otetea and S. Schwann (Bucharest, 1964). In the second place, Damianov wrongly states (p 234) that the armies of Tsar Nicholas occupied Moldavia "at the request of the Moldavian Prince Mihail Sturza." Moreover, another statement by the author on our history might be understood erroneously if the necessary addition is not made. This involves the major aim of the French policy in South-Eastern Europe in 1848-1849 and which was "to expedite the union of the two principalities which were vassals of Turkey in order to use them as a barrier against Russian expansion south of the Danube" (pp 233-234). This statement is fully correct, but it must be added (as it is usually done when it is a matter of other big powers) that this interested aim of France coincided with the national interests of the Romanian people and was one of the cardinal planks of the 1848 revolutionaries' programs. But apart from the above, Damianov comprehensively explains France's intervention and points out the circumstances in which that country opposed the occupation of Moldavia and Wallachia not only by the tsarist troops but also by the joint forces of the two powers -- the suzerain power and the protecting power. In this connection the author provides comprehensive excerpts from the instructions and reports of the French ambassador in Constantinople and from the instructions received by the French consuls in the Principalities, very important details in the elucidation of the above matter which were not fully used in the surveys issued in this country.

As for our reservation with regard to one of the author's conclusions, the problem is a little more complex. Damianov -- and not only he but also many other foreign historians -- almost always equates these two geographical areas -- the Balkan area and the South-Eastern European area. We must specify that in some cases this is not wrong. But there are episodes or periods for which the required delineation must be made because, while some assessments made for the Balkan area are also valid for the South-Eastern European area, this does not apply to all cases. For instance, it is known that the Russo-Turkish Wars and in general the foreign policy of Russia in the second half the 18th century and in the first years of the 19th century always had for the Balkans, that is for the peoples south of the Danube, objectively and regardless of some subjective aims pursued by tsarism, a positive effect for the liberation movements of these peoples. The statement also is correct for the Romanian Principalities, that is for the entire

South-European area. However, after 1811, there also were periods for which we must make the required reservations. For instance, the policy of tsarist Russia in 1811-1812 or the protectorate of Tsar Nicholas in the 30s and subsequently also had adverse effects for Wallachia and Moldavia, even if they further remained positive for the Balkan area. Similarly, the reactionary intervention of Nicholas I, the gendarme of Europe, according to K. Marx's description which Damianov endorses, resulted in the suppression of the 1848 revolution in the Romanian Principalities. Hence, while Russia's moves always coincided with the interests of the peoples south of the Danube, the necessary reservation must be made for the Romanian Principalities.

Of course, the problems discussed above are not central to Damianov's book. They are peripheral and do not diminish the value of this survey. Actually, all the other conclusions of his significant and valuable book are correct and are based on a comprehensive documentation and full understanding of the historical process. We mentioned the conclusions because, unfortunately, his very useful book was issued in only 1,600 copies and this will rapidly result in its being sold out and the need for a new edition. On this occasion, the author might endorse some of our suggestions in order to make possible corrections. But even as it was issued, Simeon Damianov's book is a very serious study, ample information, an absolutely necessary work tool not only for the Bulgarian historians but also for historians in neighboring countries, because it is a basic survey on France's policy in South-Eastern Europe during the 1829-1853 period. It is normal to also expect from such an expert researcher the synthesis of the subsequent period, on which Damianov already published very significant articles.

11710
CSO: 2700

ALBANIA

WORK OF SCHOOL FOR TRADE UNION ACTIVISTS DISCUSSED

Tirana PUNA in Albanian 25 Apr 78 p 3

[Article by Ilo Themeli, director of the trade union school: "Education and Training Center for Trade Union Cadres and Activists"]

[Text] The 1-year Albanian trade union school is 10 years old. It was established by decision of the Secretariat of the AWP Central Committee and is yet another expression of the party's and Comrade Enver Hoxha's great care for the working class and the trade union organization. The party has regarded the education of the trade union aktiv as being closely related to the education of the working class, to the continued strengthening and invigoration of the trade union activity and to the training of cadres and social activists from the ranks of the working class in all sectors.

In 1948, under the auspices of the party, the Central Council of Trade Unions established the first periodic 3- to 5- month courses. With the intention of further improving this effort, on the basis of Comrade Enver's recommendations the aktiv of the organization in Shkoder district in 1968 decided to open our 1-year school.

During these past 10 years, over 10,000 cadres and activists have been trained in various ways at this school. Thousands of trade union activists from the ranks of those who work directly in production, from the sectors of mining, geology, petroleum, industry, construction, agriculture, commerce, the services sector, health and administration, have attended this school and have taken courses here. With ardent desire and great zeal, they have studied to assimilate Marxist-Leninist theory, the teachings of the party and Comrade Enver, closely relating them to revolutionary practice and to the experience and tasks of the trade union organizations.

In accordance with the guidelines of the Secretariat of the AWP Central Committee, the Presidium of the Albanian Trade Unions Central Council has placed in our school's curriculum the fundamental problems of the history of the AWP, dialectical and historical materialism, the political economics relative to the specific role and tasks of the activity of the working class.

We have endeavored to make the assimilation of the fundamental ideas of Marxism-Leninism more organically related to the teachings of our party and Comrade Enver Hoxha and in a struggle against anti-Marxist theories and especially against various trends of modern revisionism and opportunism of all shades.

The illuminations of great issues and problems which the party has set forth time and again has consistently been included in the school's program, blended organically with the programmed themes or worked into a separate cycle. The materials of the Seventh AWP Congress, recent plenums of the AWP Central Committee, Comrade Enver's speeches, significant articles published by our press, including, "The Theory and Practice of the Revolution," "Khrushchev Kneeling Before Tito," etc., as well as the materials of the Eighth Albanian Trade Unions Congress, which analyze and indentify the trade unions' tasks for implementing the directives of the Seventh Party Congress, have been at the foundation of all of our school's programs in recent years.

The Central Council of Trade Unions has also organized at the school special short courses with the organization's cadres and aktiv, according to the various sectors of the economy and culture, in which an intensive analysis was made of Comrade Enver's report to the Seventh AWP Congress and other materials, earmarking the tasks of our organization and aktiv. Over 1,700 individuals have taken these courses.

In all of their work, both the educational personnel and the students have been guided by the party's recommendations that we learn Marxism-Leninism and the teachings of Comrade Enver not for the sake of knowledge but as a guide to action.

In all forms of the school, we have measured the degree of the students' assimilation of knowledge by their ability to present theoretical and practical arguments and to arrive at correct conclusions and specific tasks.

We have endeavored to provide the highest possible level and quality of education and training. The well qualified lecturers from the party central committee apparatus, from the V. I. Lenin Party School, from Tirana University, the apparatus of the Central Council of Trade Unions from the party committees and the trade union councils in several districts have all been of great help in this respect.

The basic party organizations of the school, those of the trade unions and the teaching staff have given much attention to molding the desire for individual study. They have assisted closely in developing the participants' ability to identify the major problems, to confront them by themselves and with the organization, to form arguments, to reach conclusions and to set tasks. The regular consultations and the practices developed for each theme have aided in the assimilation and broadening of knowledge. A fine contribution in this respect has been made by the trade union organizations, the trade union cadres and aktiv of Durres District, and

especially those of the port and shipyard, the tire factory, the chemical enterprise, the railroad machinery base, the agricultural enterprise at Sukth, the agricultural machinery plant, the Kaveje region, etc., where our cadres and our aktiv have learned much by conducting training practice there.

The many activities conducted by the "Rinia" building in Durres have been of great educational and methodical value. Many of them have been organized at our request and have served well in training the aktiv.

Efforts are made at the school to inculcate the qualities of the social activist, alertness in grasping the main problems, high principles in the judgement and solution of problems, exactingness toward self and others, simplicity in communicating with people, readiness to lead by personal example, etc.

On its 10th anniversary the school's work is well balanced. Seventy percent of the activists who have attended this school have been assigned to management organs of the trade unions from base to center. A number of comrades who have graduated from our school have gone on to the management organs of the party at the grassroots and at district level, to the government organs and to the mass organizations, and they are outstanding in their work.

The successes achieved and the experience gained during these past 10 years have convinced us that the work and effort to further improve programs, to reinforce the content and to revolutionize the methodology must be improved even further by the school's teaching personnel. We must probe deeper into the great problems contained in the materials of the Seventh Party Congress, the plenums of the AWP Central Committee and Comrade Enver Hoxha's speeches, especially those presented recently in Gjirokaster and Sarande districts. More documentation, confrontations of theoretical problems with revolutionary practical activity--this demands a closer awareness of life and of our revolutionary reality. The trade union school, under the party's guidance, will always stand as a permanent hearth for the education of trade union cadres and activists in Marxism-Leninism, in the party's and Comrade Enver's teachings, as well as for their comprehensive training as social militants.

5658
CSO: 2100

BULGARIA

BRIEFS

'BTA' REPORTS EARTHQUAKE-- Sofia, Jun 27 (BTA)--Today at 14.18 hrs local time [1218 GMT] an earthquake was registered in the Velingrad seismic zone with a magnitude in the epicentre of 4.2 points on the Richter scale and intensity 5th or 6th grade on the Medvedev-Sponheuer-Karnik scale. The tremor was felt in Sofia as of the 3rd grade and in towns and villages in South Bulgaria from the 3rd to the 5th grade. [Text] [Sofia BTA in English 1840 GMT 27 Jun 78 AU]

CSO: 2020

NEW SCHOLARSHIPS APPROVED BY CSSR GOVERNMENT

Prague PRACE in Czech 26 Jun 78 p 3

[Interview with Dr R. Kuzela by N. Mihalovicova: "What Is New About Scholarships?"]

[Text] The CSSR Government approved at the end of May directives for granting of preferential and attainment scholarships for students in selected fields of study and for granting of welfare scholarships. Consequently, we posed several questions to the chief of the budget and financing section of the Ministry of Education, Dr R. Kuzela.

[Question] Are there any new features to be offered to students by the adjustment of the scholarship ordinance now in preparation by the CSR Ministry of Education according to principles accepted by the CSSR Government?

[Answer] Primarily preference of selected fields of study will be more efficiently stressed and will happen by adopting a new category of scholarships--preferential scholarships. Involved are those fields which are important from the point of view of the national economy. Students, however, are not sufficiently interested in them. Selected fields of study will be designated as preferred by the Minister of Education. We anticipate that the preference will include primarily some technical fields, such as engineering, metallurgy, electrical engineering, mining and teaching the first grade of basic school. A scholarship will be granted for successful completion of the pertinent class in the amount of Kcs1,000, and it will be granted under the condition that the student's average is no lower than 2.5 and that he fulfills all study requirements of the preceding year of study--in principle--not later than 30 September.

[Question] Up to what extent will the attainment of scholarships be changed?

[Answer] They worked well in their current form. Consequently, we suggest that they also be granted in the future. Newly adjusted will be their amount, and that will be by an amount of Kcs50 for students in the preferential fields of study as long as they will fulfill the requirements necessary for obtaining the grant.

[Question] Will conditions for granting of welfare scholarships be changed?

[Answer] We shall take some slight steps in order to simplify calculations necessary for these grants and administration at the higher institutions of learning. This will happen by using computer technology. The amount of welfare scholarships for students in preferential as well as non-preferential fields will be unified. They will represent monthly amounts of Kcs450, Kcs350 and Kcs150 in relation to the income limit of one member of the household, possibly in relation to other circumstances decisive for granting of welfare scholarships.

[Question] How will higher expenses connected to these new measures be covered?

[Answer] They will be insured from the state budget for students of higher institutions in the CSR, in an amount reaching over Kcs20 million.

[Question] Are the enterprise, kraj and departmental scholarships sufficiently used?

[Answer] No. The percentage of students who collect them is very low. Consequently, the CSSR Government decided by its resolution of 25 May 1978 that all centrally directed organs and organizations should insure their more intensive and purposeful use. No changes in conditions for granting of these scholarships were suggested, neither will their amount be changed.

[Question] When will these measures become valid?

[Answer] Beginning with the study year 1978-1979.

CSO: 2400

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

NATIONAL COMMITTEES MUST ACCEPT MORE RESPONSIBILITY

Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 24 May 78 p 3

/Article by Vaclav Blecha, head of the Department for National Committees, Chancellery of the CSR Government: "Present Tasks of National Committees. Work of Representative Bodies in Communities, Okreses and Krajs"/

/Text/ Only a close cooperation and jointly coordinated effort of all segments of our social life constitute the guarantee that we shall create prerequisites for a further continued increase in the living standard of our people.

As pointed out in the report submitted by comrade G. Husak to the 11th plenum of the CPCZ Central Committee, "the national committees will have a major role and responsibility in this struggle, particularly in improving their organizational and educational work among citizens, in improving management and administration in all areas in which they operate, in working for the society-wide tasks and improving conditions of the working people's life".

This expresses the irreplaceable role of national committees as organs of state power and administration in the krajs, okreses and communities. In many respects they have decisive influence and also the responsibility for the implementation of the party economic policy, that is for the fulfillment of the tasks of the Sixth Five-Year Plan in their territorial sectors. Undoubtedly, they contributed to the successes achieved in the past period. They are, however, also criticized for serious shortcomings which hinder further progress. This applies to all areas of their activities, including the management and administration of their own enterprises and budgetary organizations, the political-organizational and cultural-educational function, and the exercise of state administration under appropriate regulations.

One of the crucial areas of our national economy which is, however, still encumbered by problems is capital construction in which there still is much room for improvement both in the special-purpose housing and the comprehensive housing construction. A large number of projects under construction,

inferior construction work and large consumption of material in capital construction for which the national committees are responsible reduces efficiency of our entire national economy.

The national committees occupy a crucial position in the comprehensive housing construction and the completion of 170,000 apartments in the last 2 years can be regarded as a success. The situation, however, is not identical in all krajs of the CSR nor are the conditions of public utilities and technical facilities.

The shortcomings of capital construction must not be seen as stemming exclusively from the work of supplier construction organizations. The investors, national committees, have important jurisdictions and possibilities in how to speed up and improve capital construction. After all, they set the investment limits, control funds and manage the kraj design institutes which prepare the major part of design documentation. The national committees and their organs are largely responsible for the timely territorial preparedness and the issuance of the necessary administrative decisions. The national committees are the organs of the area plan and of the territorial planning, and in the solution of the problems pertaining to the building code they bear a great deal of responsibility for the implementation of capital construction on their entire territory. As organs regulating manpower, they should contribute to a turnover by a purposeful distribution of the available labor force.

The words of criticism addressed by the 11th plenum of the CPCZ Central Committee to our centrally managed industry and building industry apply with some modifications also to the economic enterprises managed by the national committees, such as enterprises of local economy, including the management of housing construction, local building projects, management of water resources, automobile transportation, administration of highways, organization of trade and so on. We do not have in mind only the size of these organizations and their importance in our entire national economy, but primarily the general line of their operations whose purpose is to render services to our citizens, beautify our towns and villages, administer apartments, manufacture supplementary consumer goods and so on. A special analysis of work in these areas will reveal where and how big the reserves are, what can be improved and what sources can be utilized for improving the work of these organizations.

It is right to point out also the shortcomings in the nonproduction sectors whose operations are almost completely financed from the budget funds. For example, it is necessary to make more economical use of medicines and medical instruments and of professional personnel, to pay more attention to the education of citizens in assuming higher responsibility for their own health and to strive for a more consistent action against the accident rate which shows a rapid increase, particularly during nonworking hours.

The implementation of resolutions of the 11th plenum of the CPCZ Central Committee also requires that the national committees carry out their

political-organizational and cultural-educational work to the full. In view of the large number of their deputies and an extensive body of activists--particularly the citizens' committees--they are competent to convince the broad strata of the population of the necessity of implementing the intentions of higher party and state organs as well as their own resolutions, and to rationalize the urgency of all measures adopted by the national committees themselves.

By their successful organization of the socially useful activity within the "Z" beautification campaign, the national committees have demonstrated that they can make citizens subordinate their personal interests to the interests of all society. During the last 2 years of the national committees' current term of office a great deal of useful work was done also for the fulfillment of other tasks incorporated in the election programs.

The fundamental prerequisite for overall progress and implementation of tasks is that the national committees achieve a higher standard of management, planning and organization. It is necessary that they review the methods and forms of work of their own organs and departments, and improve management also in the subordinate organizations. It is therefore the foremost task of national committees at all levels to carry out a thorough analysis and check of all measures which were adopted in connection with the resolutions of the 15th CPCZ Congress and sessions of the CPCZ Central Committee, and on the basis of specific comments to enact additional measures for the implementation of resolutions approved by the 11th plenum of the CPCZ Central Committee.

A similar task was stipulated also by the CSR government resolution No 95 of 5 April 1978 according to which all central organs and national committees should concentrate on carrying out active measures for the mobilization of internal resources, on consistent implementation of tasks of the 1978 plan of operations and on the preparation of the 1979 plan. It is desirable that the national committees focus their attention on the construction of apartments and on acquiring additional workers for the decisive sectors of the national economy such as the fuel and power sector, the engineering and the railroad transportation. Another urgent task is the implementation of the system of training and education which is under the jurisdiction of the organs of school administration. By no means less important task is to render work in political organization and education more efficient, particularly in big cities and in new housing projects, and to pay increased attention to completing the organization of the basic level of national committees and providing it with all necessary facilities. In the interest of the entire country, priority is to be assigned to the development of Prague, and okreses in the Ore Mountains basin and in the Ostrava-Karvina mining areas.

10501

CSO: 2400

POLAND

AIR-GROUND ASSAULT UNIT CONCEPT DISCUSSED

Unit Role, Organization

Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 4 Jan, 1978

[Article by Col Dr Teofil Wojcik, General Staff Academy, in two parts:
"Combat Vehicles and Helicopters on the Modern Battlefield; Problems in
Military Thought; In Two Dimensions: Air-Ground Cooperation"]

[4 Jan 78 p 3]

[Text] The synchronization of combat actions and the coordination of the capabilities of combat tanks, BMP with the tactical-combat virtues of attack helicopters, represent an essential condition, an "attribute," as it were, of breaking down modern defenses and carrying on operations in the air-ground dimension.

The Soviet theory of the military art¹ specifies that future combat operations will be dynamic and highly maneuverable in nature. They will be characterized by speed and suddenness of change in the situation, the desire to surprise and a high rate of offensive actions, speed in shifting from one sort of action to another, the attempt to acquire and retain the initiative, the lack of a continuous front, the creation of separate combat points, contamination areas, zones of destruction and fires, and an increase in the range of operations in width and depth in the air-ground dimension.

Under these conditions the execution of combat tasks will require the joint efforts of all sorts of military units, and the full operating initiative of [brigade, division or corps-level] tactical units using various forms and means of carrying on combat operations in both the ground and air dimension. This follows among other things from the clear imbalance created between the possibilities of the glaring effect of mass weapons on a great depth and the possibilities of the attacking army's taking advantage of the results.

The use of combat attack helicopters for direct fire support of ground forces has contributed in large measure to the increase in the fighting abilities of brigade, division, and corps-level tactical units, new content for strengthening combat, and the conduct of combat operations in the air as well, giving them the nature of air-ground operations².

This is why particular attention is now being given to maximum use of tactical-technical parameters and the combat capabilities of equipment and weapons, including attack helicopters which the armies have, and to the creation of suitable combat grouping of various levels of tactical units, in order to even out the imbalances and reach a high level of combat operations.

The armies' current organizational structure, which is not always noticed, makes it possible to use, under concrete conditions, many different combinations in creating optimal combat grouping, mainly at the level of the tactical unit. This is confirmed, among other things, by experience gained from many maneuvers which show that a new feature of modern combat (offensive) operations is the desire to expand the armies' contact not only to a great depth and on a broad front, that is, on the horizontal (in the ground dimension), but also in the vertical plane (the air dimension), thereby endowing the operation with a multidimensional nature. It is therefore essential to treat combat operations at the same time in the air-ground dimension as operations which are completely natural and require organizational undertakings and high maneuvers and firing skills on the part of the armies, especially at the tactical levels.

It is therefore necessary to combine the combat capabilities of tanks, BMP, with the combat virtues of attack helicopters and to make certain groups (air-land fire-strike groups)³ mainly at tactical levels. In ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI and other publications there have been theoretical deliberations published which pointed out the need to seek new ways of breaking down defenses (conducting combat operations) and creating in combat new elements of combat grouping, such as "rally units" [oddziały rajdowe], for example⁴.

Military theoreticians claim that there is presently an objective need for a more direct synchronization of the operations of the various components of combat grouping at the level of the tactical forces and means of land armies with offensive helicopters, as well as fighter-strike aircraft.

For this reason too in combat grouping there appear as it were two clear combat elements, the ground and the air, with their specific characteristics and qualities, subordinate however to a single goal resulting from the commander's intention.

The idea of joining together tanks, transport vehicles, and armed helicopters (the organization of air-land assault groups) has become the logical result of qualitative changes in the system of defense, its growing resistance to classical fire-power through the constantly increasing extent to which tanks, transport vehicles, and artillery are being armored, on the one hand, and

the rise in the role of ground and air antitank devices (antitank defense and antiaircraft defense)⁵, on the other hand.

As the consequence of these important changes (in the system of defense), it has become exceptionally difficult and complicated to destroy weapons from the air, especially those which are well camouflaged and hidden. Under these conditions the usual groupings and principles for breaking through defenses (conducting combat operations) cannot be applied everywhere. What are needed are new, creative, original solutions to create those components (units) of combat grouping and methods of conducting operations which insure that complex combat tasks will be carried out, especially during thrusts and combat during chance encounters, and also in defense.

The tactical-operations situation, the operating conditions, and the number of assault helicopters assigned undoubtedly exert a decisive influence on the combat capability and make-up of the air-ground assault group. These factors at the same time define its composition, combat tasks, and ways of carrying them out. For this reason too these groups cannot comprise a fixed structure. Their composition and therefore their grouping too will be different each time. The changing structure and composition of the air-ground strike group therefore have a real influence on its organization and combat preparation.

The basic main element of the air-ground assault group consists of the forces and equipment of the ground echelon, tank and mechanized subunits, and assault helicopters performing for the most part the major tasks during combat. They determine the fire and strike force of this group. The rest of the subunits of the ground forces, that is, engineers, sappers, chemical specialists, and the others, usually represent a safeguarding component (group).

In turn, the air echelon, as a component part of this group, basically represents a new quality, not only because of its structure and combat capabilities, but also because of its content and way of carrying out the combat tasks to which it is assigned. The air echelon may consist of assault helicopters and also fighters and strike aircraft, as well as a tactical group of helicopters for landing troops and then available to aid the ground echelon as one of the elements of that group.

The deliberations presented imply that the air-ground firing and assault group should be organized according to the needs and assignment to carry out particularly difficult tasks under the specific conditions of modern warfare. Therefore these units cannot be treated as a universal component of the combat (operations) grouping to carry out all combat tasks. The air-ground assault group may therefore be created to accomplish the following tasks:

In the attack:

Penetrate the enemy's defenses,
Scatter the enemy's tactical reserves when launched in counterattack or during the defense of opportune lines,

Conquest of an area of cover and system of nuclear barrage,
In contact with the enemy, dispersal of major forces of the enemy's tactical unit or conquest of an important line insuring convenient conditions for carrying on this sort of combat,
In pursuit, in order to forestall the retreat of the enemy's units in assuming convenient lines deep in the defense.

In defense:

To make an assault (counterattack) on the enemy's forces and equipment, breaking through his defenses,
During the armies' shift from attack to defense, in order to create for the main forces conditions which are favorable for organizing defense.

FOOTNOTES

1. "Problems of the General Theory and Structure of Military Science," VOYENNAYA MYSL, No 9, 1974.
2. Viz Gen Leitn I. I. Yurpolskiy: "Evolution of Views on the Conduct of Ground Armies' Offensive Operations," VOYENNAYA MYSL, No 6, 1976.
3. Name generally accepted in certain standard documents.
4. Viz ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI, No 237 (1976), article by Col Dypl Cz. Moil, entitled "Word on the Renaissance of Advanced Detachments" and No 117 (1977) entitled "The Synchronization of Operations Is a Necessity," and also Lt Dypl A. Prokop's article entitled "Breaking Through the Enemy's Defense Under the Conditions of Modern Combat," ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI, No 8.

The second section of this series will appear in an issue in the near future.

[5 Jan 78 p 3]

[Text] Success in breaking down the enemy's defenses is achieved through the effort of all types of armies and services, by using mobility, through rapid, hidden concentration of forces and equipment in the area of the breakthrough, and also by decisive strikes both from the ground and from the air. The use of a ground-air fire-and-strike group to break through defenses insures that the defenses will be broken up in the depth and breadth of the front. This is achieved by joining divisive frontal attacks with the landing of tactical troops by helicopter and the delivery of nuclear, fire, and air strikes.

Decisive attack and departure on wings performed by highly mobile air-ground assault groups increase the spatial sphere of attack operations in the area penetrated, expand these operations decisively, and also extends the dynamics beyond the sector invaded, because the unslackening intensity of fire power in the air-ground dimension makes it impossible for the enemy to restore his

upset system of defense, especially his system of fire, paralyzes his maneuvering, and opens the way for ground armies into the depths of his defenses and the heart of his rear area.

Nonetheless, despite the tremendous role of fire, the success in breaking through does not depend on it alone. At the heart of the enemy's defenses are reserves and the basic bulk of tactical operations nuclear resources capable of affecting the attacking armies in the break-through sections. Hence, air-ground fire and attack groups are indispensable to their destruction (dispersal).

These deliberations show that these attack groups can be used both at the beginning and in the course of breaking down defenses, in order to enhance success and break up the advancing reserves.

A bold, decisive move on the part of the air-ground fire and attack group insures rapid pressure on sensitive places in the enemy's defenses and enhanced success in breaking through to the interior and on the periphery, the flanks. The maneuver of this sort of group should be expressed in a decisive attack through the areas where the enemy has been overpowered or through gaps in the group and breaches in the defenses, and in the rapid, unexpected shift of the attack and operations into the heart of the enemy's defenses.

The proper composition and weaponry of the air-ground fire and attack group and the allocation of attack and transport helicopters make it possible for the group to also use the maneuver to conquer areas of destruction, contamination, and fires and to make changes in combat groupings.

In Meeting Engagement

As a form of attack the meeting engagement may be conducted under various conditions and in various situations, both offensive and defensive. Viewing the action of the air-ground fire and strike group in the meeting engagement, we should notice the possibility of conducting this combat solely with the forces of this strike group, or in conjunction with the rest of the forces of the ground armies of a given organizational level.

In comparing the enemy's combat capabilities with our own, particularly in terms of quality and quantity of the various weapons, we can say that each side has certain strong and weak points (sides). Therefore, knowing our own deficiencies of combat capacity and the enemy's weak sides, we can direct the meeting engagement in such a way that the former is balanced out and the latter is emphasized, in order to destroy the enemy. This problem can be solved by creating a very mobile air-ground fire and strike group which is strong in terms of fire power.

Operations of the Air-Ground Fire and Strike Group on the Defense

In theoretical deliberations most attention is devoted to the problems of armies' transition to defense in the course of offensive operations in direct contact with the enemy, because this is the most difficult way of transitioning to defense.

Among the properties of organization of defense are maximum reduction of preparation time for it, lack of forces and resources which are often already committed in direct combat with the enemy, difficult air situation, nonsimultaneous shift of armies from the "offensive" group to the defense vis-a-vis the needs of defense, and transition to defense in an area which has not been prepared in the engineering sense, often in areas of destruction and contamination.

The above-mentioned characteristics show the need for direct coordination of operations of the ground and air echelons, the use of surprise attacks and interference in the mechanism of development of the enemy's main forces, and the avoidance of protracted combat with them as the major attribute of operations of the air-ground fire and attack group in this realm of combat.

The air-ground strike group should basically operate in one direction, one which will determine the durability of defense, that in which the most difficult situation to organize it has occurred. This group's operations should paralyze and obstruct the planned development of the enemy's main forces for attack and make it possible for one's own armies to set up defenses quickly.

After the transition to defense and the bolstering of lead (first echelon) subunits of the ground armies, convenient conditions are created for the shifting of the air-ground fire and attack group to the reserves (second echelon), the rebuilding of its combat capability, and its use again to execute a counterattack right in the course of defensive combat.

Commanding and Cooperation

In viewing the problems of creating and using air-ground fire and attack groups we must not overlook the extremely important questions of leadership and cooperation.

On the surface it might seem that commanding is greatly complicated by the organization of an air-ground fire and attack group. Actually, things are quite different, because by creating this sort of group the commander can closely coordinate the operations of all the forces and resources working on the ground and in the air, as he so decides. The focusing and coordination of the effort of all forces and resources in time and space have become a condition, a "law" so to speak, which is decisive in achieving success, particularly now, when there has been a clear increase in the role

time as a factor. The significance of this factor was pointed out for example during the discussion of the problems of breaking through the defense, when exceptionally precise action is required on the part of tanks, the infantry, and the attack helicopters, in precisely defined time.

In order to make effective use of attack helicopters in an air-ground fire and attack group and to simplify the command of them, it is necessary to have ad hoc preparation of landing sites (waiting regions) for helicopters. In this way the commander of the ground (general army) echelon is assured the possibility of calling on the attack helicopters at a strictly determined time, sometimes with accuracy within a few seconds.

The next problem which needs to have attention called to it concerns the coordinated operation of the forces and resources going together to make up the air-ground fire and attack group. The increasingly more exact parameters of weapons and the differentiated specialization of subunits in carrying out combat tasks create higher requirements than ever before in the realm of the organization of the coordinated effort.

The participation of many different units and subunits of types of armies and services in the composition of the air-ground fire and attack group and during the execution of combat tasks requires special detailed organization of cooperation and the provision for the security of operation of each one of them. The organization of cooperation is necessary not only among detachments (subunits) of tanks, the infantry, and attack helicopters, but also among various types of armies and within them. The guiding thought of the joint effort and cooperation should be maximum exploitation of the combat capabilities of the various fire resources individually and the components of the grouping as a whole, and mutual support during their execution of combat tasks.

Concept Critique

Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 15 Jun 78 p 3

[Article by Lt Col Zbyslaw Szymczak: "Air-Ground Synchronization of Operations"]

[Text] The discussion in the columns of ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI on the subject of the "air-ground fire and attack groups" makes it possible to compare personal views on this subject and helps check certain principles and methods of using armies in combat. For this reason, my voice in the discussion will be devoted to these problems.

The qualitative rise in combat equipment, especially the introduction of new weapons, helicopters, has caused combat operations to shift from the ground to the "air-ground" dimension. Such a move obliges commanders and staffs to coordinate these operations, in order to make maximum, full use of fire power, mobility, maneuvering, and the factor of surprise.

In view of the fact that in action two basic elements take part: ground armies (tanks, infantry, artillery, and so on) and the aviation of the ground armies, their joining and subordination under a single commander should have a clearly defined name for organizational reasons. It seems to me that in order to shorten the name without basically changing its essence, we should call them "ground-air groups." I have put the ground component first, because it executes the basic tasks, while the air component insures its operations, but it is not the question of the name which is the most important.

The essence of the problem consists of the tasks assigned to the units and to the aircraft of the land armies to be carried out under certain conditions in a certain area. Up until now many commanders have carried out the tasks on the basis of joint effort, a method which has not always made it possible to take full advantage of the combat capabilities of these armies. This is another reason why in order to make rational use of them it would be desirable to create air-ground fire and attack groups directed by a single commander for all the armies, in cooperation with the representatives of fighter-attack aircraft. This is made a condition mainly by the need for the precise coordination of efforts, the establishment of a uniform system of fire for all elements in combat in keeping with their tactical firing capabilities, and the command of all the forces and resources (tanks, infantry, artillery, paratroopers, helicopters, and so on) involved in carrying out the basic tasks at a given stage of combat.

The composition of the groups will depend on the combat situation, the conditions of operation, and the nature of the tasks being carried out, along with the available forces and resources. It will basically be set up under specific conditions as a component of the combat grouping, to execute specific tasks in a given time and place under various sorts of combat conditions. And therefore this should not be a fixed component of the combat grouping (always set up everywhere), and in addition it must not exclude or replace existing components of the combat grouping.

Success in combat or operations is achieved by the joint effort of all types of armies, and the following elements are among those which determine the ultimate outcome: good organization and firm but flexible command of the armies.

Basically, the combat situation and time determine the work of the commanders and staff in the sphere of drawing up decisions. In tactical maneuvers currently being conducted with the armies this problem is in many cases simplified. The thing is that the commander and staff have a large amount of time available to work out decisions. The commanders of the types of armies and services are in the region. The forces and resources allocated to a given detachment or tactical unit are in a specific region together with the commanders (staff).

Despite such favorable conditions in certain instances the problem of coordinating operations is not fully worked out in time and space. Then the organizing of the operations of air-ground fire and attack units is greatly complicated, especially when such a need does not occur until the armies are in the middle of carrying out the combat operations or at the order of a superior. This is another reason why it seems that this problem should be taken into account earlier in each action, back during the planning. Then the process of organization is made more effective, because all that takes place is an updating of the tasks, with consideration given to the concrete situation.

Basically the issue of setting up air-ground fire and attack groups requires that the commander and staff precisely coordinate the efforts of all the forces and weapons and equipment on the ground and in the air, in terms of the purpose, time, and place, so that they can carry out their tasks in the best possible way. All the functions related thereto must be carefully reviewed, planned, and coordinated.

Above all the coordination of efforts should be precise in calculations concerning the firing preparations for landing operations and the possibilities for aircraft support once the men are on the ground.

Despite the fact that the very process of organizing the joint effort itself does not differ from generally adopted principles, it seems to me that certain specific features should be pointed out. The main thing is that cooperation should be discussed in terms of the individual components and groups, and between groups and other components of the combat grouping, neighboring elements, and representatives of fighter-combat aviation. But the main guiding idea behind the organization of cooperation, as Col Dr Teofil Wojcik put it (ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI, No 4, 5 January 1978), should be: "...maximum utilization of the combat capabilities of the various fire resources individually and the components of the grouping as a whole, and mutual support during their execution of combat tasks."

The techniques of the operation of the different armies will basically not differ from the methods generally used, but in order to have so many forces and resources subordinated to a single commander it is necessary to make operations more precise in terms of time, place, and directions, above all. The guiding thought behind good organization of the operations of all the components of the grouping should be to make full use of the fire possibilities for the armies' mobility and maneuvering, and therefore good coordination insures the successful execution of the combat task and is a condition to the safe operations of the armies.

This is also why calculations in time and space must be carefully drawn up with attention to the enemy's reaction. In addition attention should be given, for example, to the way one's own armies will be designated, to communications, and signals for joint efforts with attack helicopters, the determination of the identity of the helicopters and supporting armies,

route and flight profile of the helicopters, and so on, as well as safeguarding the flight of the attack helicopters and aircraft through the firing zone of our own antiaircraft, determination of the time and place of fire strikes and the method of operation in this aspect of all the components of the air-ground fire and attack group.

In order to insure the flexibility and continuity of leadership it is necessary for all the elements carrying out the tasks to be familiar with both the ground echelon and the air (landing) echelon. The commander and staff, wishing to have firm but flexible command, should incessantly monitor the development of events in the directions of the operation of all the components of the combat grouping and, if need be, make certain changes in the content of the tasks, and also the method of operation, and determine the new installations for strikes by rotorcraft and attacks by artillery while maintaining the security of the ground echelon's operations.

In conclusion it should be stated that the effects of the operations of the air-ground fire and attack group will depend among other things upon the proper, precise synchronization and coordination of operations within its various components and especially in the realm of exploiting combat capabilities to destroy and paralyze the enemy.

The firing operations of the air component should force the enemy to undertake combat under conditions unfavorable to him, which should provide good conditions for the ground component to expand the major offensive grouping and bring it into combat. This can be achieved through well organized joint action which I feel to be one of the most difficult undertakings in the organization and operation of air-ground fire and attack groups.

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POLAND

GIEREK GRANTS INTERVIEW TO YUGOSLAV WEEKLY

Belgrade NIN in Serbo-Croatian No 1430, 4 Jun 78 pp 44-48 AU

[Interview with Edward Gierek, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, by Miodrag Bulatovic. Granted to NIN in Gierek's "work study"--No precise place or date given]

[Excerpts] [1,100-word passage omitted dealing with Gierek's childhood in France and his early party work as a miner in France]

[Question] Comrade Gierek, since 1948 you have been in Poland, a country which you had to leave in 1923 to make a living. How would you sum up this 30-year experience. How do you view successes, mistakes... If there were any?

[Answer] I would say so. These 30, nearly 34, years of people's authority could be described as a great historic event of our nation and our state. I would mention the fact that we have finally settled our place in Europe, that we have returned within our historic borders. Second, we have insured a demographic, ethnical unity of the nation. There are 35 million of us, of whom 99.5 percent are Poles. Never in the history of our nation had we such a situation! Third, we have settled our domestic affairs in the economic field: Not only have we reconstructed the country but we have, in fact, built a new Poland. We are solving the basic social problems. According to industrial production in the world, we rank among the first 10 countries. We have become a country of enlightened people. I will only mention one figure: In 1938, we did not have even 50,000 students, while this year a half a million young people study in Poland.

[Question] Were there any mistakes in the period of consolidation and reconstruction?

[Answer] When such important transformations and positive changes are involved, mistakes also occur. What is vital is whether or not we are making progress. I am quite certain that everyone in Poland will tell you that during these 30 years we have progressed without any interruption. Naturally, a multitude of problems exist which we have not completely

resolved. Such as the problem of housing construction. I do not know whether they told you how much we are building. If they did not--then it is necessary to say this, and to write this down. By 1971, we built 1,700 apartments: The queue for apartments is still long because the nation's living conditions are changing. They are changing qualitatively. The needs are growing considerably faster than the possibilities. People want to live as well as possible. Someone had a 1-room apartment, now he wants a 3-room one...

Everyone Has The Right To His Road

[Question] Let us return for a moment to the development of the workers movement. Will you please tell me how you viewed and how do you now view the polarizations in the world workers movement? Why, in your opinion, have different views appeared on the road to the future?

[Answer] I have always been and I will remain in favor of what is progressive, in favor of what is--better! If there were no process of polarization, which separates what is very good from what is good, no progress would be possible. The main thing is that in this process of forming a correct line we do not lose sight of our goal. The one who has acquired Marxist-Leninist knowledge, who has mastered dialectics, will never be led astray.

[Question] You believe, Comrade Gierek, that every people or every entity has the right to choose its road?

[Answer] I believe that everyone has the right to his road! Every party, which is guided by the ideology of Marxism-Leninism, concerns itself with solving its problems in its own way... While the basic goal is--the building of socialism, communism. We Poles bear in mind our people's specific conditions, its history. We choose what appears the most attractive way to realize our goal. Other peoples, respecting their specific conditions, their history, choose what will be closest and most useful on their road to socialism. I believe this view of things not only is not an obstacle to development but also is a source of constant encouragement, of a constant progress in realizing the basic goals of building socialism.

Polish Maneuver

[Question] Comrade Gierek, you have been the leader of the PZPR since December 1970, more precisely since the Sixth Congress. If I am not mistaken, at that time you called on all Poles to help the new leadership, as well as you personally, in an accelerated development of the country. What was given priority and what has been achieved?

[Answer] In 1970 and 1971 as well as a little earlier, the so-called demographic surplus in our society began to enter the active professional and social life. Several million young Poles had begun to look for jobs, a larger piece of meat, an apartment and so forth. These were the basic

problems which had to be resolved. We began with large investments. Our industry was not developed. It was not modernized. On the other hand, employment had to be found for people. Within 7 years, we created 2 million new jobs, which means that in that period we employed nearly 3.5 million young people.

This was a great effort. Show me a country in the world which has made such a great effort within such a short period... Comrade Bulatovic, I am able to tell you that we have resolved this problem. At this moment the supply of jobs is greater than the supply of labor! In Poland, 12,000 to 15,000 people are looking for jobs, while there are 200,000 available jobs.

We continue to develop our Poland. Increasingly more is being invested every year. Until 1985 we will create several hundred thousands more jobs. Let us take the problem of food, the problem of market. The PZPR Central Committee has worked out a detailed plan of such operations which will be able to feed 35 million of our people, or rather in the future all 40 or 50 million future citizens of Poland... A detailed program of housing construction was also worked out and appropriate funds have been set aside. Our aim is to remove this problem from the agenda by 1985-1986.

In order to be able to realize these two goals, we had to realize that first goal, linked with jobs, by developing our industry and economy. We gave priority to that part of our development and to those industrial branches which were decisive for the realization of the following two goals. Housing construction, that is the production of cement, steel, steel frameworks, complete housing equipment... In 1971, Poland produced 11 to 12 million tons of cement. In 1977, it produced 21.5 million tons! However, this year we will produce 24 million tons! In 1971, steel production totalled 12 million tons while this year we will reach the figure of 20 million tons! Poland did not have sufficient number of tractors, combines but we have begun with mass production of these machinery! Again we had to invest large funds. And now I can say that we are well-prepared for the development of agriculture! Therefore, for the first time in our development a full interdependence of the social and economic development has been established!

[Question] What you have said, Comrade Gierek, is a partial answer to the question that follows. In discussing the current economic questions one meets the term--economic maneuver. Would you be so kind to say something about this--economic maneuver?

[Answer] The economic maneuver simply describes an adaptation to conditions, both domestic and foreign, and the adoption of such decisions which would insure the realization of the basic social goals. Additional investments are intended for the already mentioned housing construction, agriculture, food and the standard of living. The economic maneuver is, in fact, this.

[Question] Is a leap possible? If you think it is, on which forces do you count? I was told that you had once said that you count on the common sense, on the building enthusiasm of the Polish nation, on the cultural and technical level of every individual; on a scientific, that is professional study on every step. On what else?

[Answer] As far as the development of the state, of the society is involved we cannot speak about leaps. Leaps are not possible. I must say, had there not been those 30 years of hard work and tightening of belts, we would have never been in the position to adopt such a decision on the aforementioned priorities--work, apartment and food for the people.

Poland's Abundant Harvest

[Question] Comrade Gierek, at the 16th PZPR Conference in Warsaw a few days ago you said: "The 33 years of our hard common work have resulted in an abundant harvest for Poland and the Poles, changes of historic proportions. I cannot promise anyone that cares will one day disappear from our life. This is, to say it simply, impossible. The country's development serves to meet social needs, but it also brings to light further, qualitatively new needs. This is a natural phenomenon. Without this there would be no progress..." Although the quotation is correct, I ask you to corroborate it, to illustrate...

[Answer] The more we will work, more new problems we will have in implementing tasks. I have already said that by 1985-1986 we will be able to allocate an apartment to every Polish family... However, a complete solution is impossible because the one having a 2-room apartment, will next day look for a 3-room or 4-room apartment. Someone who is now driving a small automobile will want to drive a larger automobile. Now those employed have 12 free Saturdays. It is necessary to aim at increasing this figure! However, I do not know whether the problem will disappear if the number of free Saturdays is increased by another 5 or 10. This means that I could not promise anyone the final solution of problems linked with our progress. Let us look at the problem of traffic and roads. In Poland, we have quite good roads but we are already now suffocating. On the one hand, the people are satisfied because they can buy an automobile, while, on the other hand, they curse us because the roads are too narrow and because they are not better.

[Question] Comrade Gierek, what is good in Poland and what is not so good? What will have to be changed and what will not be changed?

[Answer] I believe that every nation must primarily nurture its tradition, what is the nicest in it, culture, customs. What is the best in our tradition? The people's character, its patriotism, devotion, diligence, initiative, intellectual potential. What I am going to say now should not sound boastful. The Poles are magnificent!

[Question] How do you see Poland in the socialist world, and how in the world in general?

[Answer] You know this is the most difficult question so far. I will answer it quite simply. Poland would not be what it is had it not been a socialist country. All other roads are known to us. Everything that existed earlier, perhaps not quite everything, choked and oppressed our people. Accordingly, on all fronts our wish would be an acceleration of socialist building, along with a respect for the entire historic conditions, tradition. I believe that we are doing this well and successfully. We can say to Europe and to the rest of the world clearly and loudly. A socialist system is superior to other structures. However, we are not imposing our road to anyone. Let everyone do as he wishes and knows!

[Question] How do the Poles see themselves in the European, not to say the world mirror?

[Answer] We see ourselves in the dimensions which suit the range of our country and people. We are neither exceedingly modest nor are we immodest. As a country of a quite definite cultural tradition, Poland is making a great contribution to European culture. We have done this for centuries and we will continue to do so. We Poles, we who have quite a definite place on the map of Europe, will continue to link civilizations, everything that is positive, everything that draws people closer together. We are doing this efficiently. The Polish diplomacy, for instance.

[Question] Are you, Comrade Gierek, satisfied with the picture which the world has now about the country which you lead?

[Answer] Am I satisfied? You know, Poland is presented differently. Some people are not objective towards us and do not admit that anything has changed in this country, in this part of Europe. We are not satisfied with such a picture. Other people are partially objective. However, they, too, do not portray things as they are. Hence, we express our thanks to those who talk about us honestly. We wish that they continue to perceive the correct things... As for criticism, we are the most dissatisfied with the existing picture.

1,000 Years Of Polish Tolerance

[Question] The trips of statesmen frequently lead to Warsaw, via Warsaw, and I nearly said under Warsaw. One is glad about this, very glad indeed. How did, in your opinion, Poland acquire such an authority on one, second and third side? Or, to put it better, on all sides?

[Answer] I believe that this political capital, confidence in our country, consists of several elements. This is not only the result of our work during the past 30 years. Poland's authority has been built for 1,000 years. It consists of our culture, our tradition. Do you know the saying

of Polish Catholics: "A guest in the house--God in the house." The Polish political capital, therefore, is also based on Polish tolerance.

When we are already discussing tolerance. Some European countries have passed through reformation and counterreformation, let us recall Saint Bartholomew's night in France. We did not have such conflicts. For nearly 500 years the following lived together in our country: Catholics, Orthodox, Jews, Moslems, even Tatars--all of them lived under the same conditions, one next to another, enjoying the same rights...

[Question] Comrade Gierek, in my next question, just as in your preceding answer, the word tolerance is mentioned. This time it is linked with Yugoslavia. This is like telepathy, is not it? Therefore, how do you see Yugoslavia in general and how do you see its role in the Third World, in the world of nonaligned countries, Yugoslavia as a factor of peace and tolerance?

[Answer] I believe that Yugoslavia, as a socialist country, applies all elements resulting from the Marxist ideology. In this ideology one also see tolerance, which we have begun to discuss, one sees the Yugoslav concern for those who are exposed to a pressure of injustice. As far as this is concerned, Yugoslavia, respecting its specific conditions, is making efforts to resolve its problems in the best possible manner. My impression is that you are working well...

[Question] Did the European Security Conference, SCE, which after Helsinki was held in Belgrade, yield any results? What was the contribution of Polish diplomacy?

[Answer] The very fact that peace and security were discussed represents a positive element. Poland has made efforts and will continue to make efforts for a complete implementation of the Helsinki Conference's decisions, moreover, because attempts are noticeable to change these decisions...

[Question] Such as, for instance, different interpretations of the human rights?

[Answer] Human rights must be discussed more widely and comprehensively. Let us say, the right of man to education, work, to health care, to life in peace. However, this is the least discussed. However, there is talk about things that do not directly concern human rights. About propaganda, about its spread... We communists, we are advocates of human rights. This results from our ideology. We are fighting for this and we will continue to fight for this...

[Question] Do the politicians of the world today keep to their proclamations, declarations? Or, more briefly, are political morals now, as at one time, only verbal? And who suffers most frequently--the one who believes, or the one who doubts?

[Answer] I think that both of them suffer. However, this is no threat to us communists because we have always known that words must be in accordance with the facts. Despite the difficulties which we are encountering, we try to keep the word given. Promises given to the society are a law for us.

[Question] Comrade Gierek, we are witnessing unusual developments now. Where is the world moving--to progress or self-destruction? Some people say that the globe is rotating too fast. Perhaps the globe is rotating too slowly?

[Answer] I would not interfere with the rotation of the globe. As long as they are optimists, people will seek solutions for a existence of peoples, for the possibility of creating new values for mankind. As far as we communists are concerned, we will always be optimists... In seeking possibilities for understanding, in seeking cooperation between peoples, in seeking peace...

[Question] Is world disarmament possible? What will a disarmed Europe look like? Would the production of alcohol, tobacco and drugs then be increased? Recently you discussed alcoholism as a social evil...

[Answer] Let us try first to disarm Europe. We will deal with drunkenness, drug addiction and other problems of this kind later.

In Order That Evil Will Not Recur

[Question] Can you, Comrade Gierek, define the Polish dream? Every nation has its dream. How would you define this, let us call it, the Polish dream? Or more closely and clearly: Polish vision?

[Answer] The Polish nation was condemned to biological annihilation. During World War II, over 6 million Poles were killed. In Poland there is no man who would not think, how to ensure a peaceful life, a peaceful sleep for a country which was the victim of negative ideas and phenomena. So that the evil will not reoccur, this is the Polish dream. Therefore, peace and peaceful cooperation among nations...

[Question] What else does the Polish dream consists of?

[Answer] The Polish dream also consists of an automobile, a nicely furnished apartment, joy of life!

[Question] Comrade Gierek, you live and work among 35 million Poles. At least a third of them are humorists, satirists. Is it pleasant, or only difficult, to lie with such cultural and so politically aware people?

[Answer] Since I am also a Pole, all pleasant things and difficulties also "affect" me, just as any other Pole. What is important is the

attitude, as you have said, toward humor and satire. Satire, humor, jokes, all this is that is linked with our national character and it should not be placed within the narrow frameworks of regulations, bans, order and the like. To laugh together with the people, this is in order. To laugh much and well. But one must not forget that there are still many things in life which must be realized with inspiration and well, without any joke...

[Question] This means that the PZPR first secretary is not against a joke and humor, even when they are directed at leadership?

[Answer] You know, I would not be a Pole if I did not like a joke.

[Question] As one of the first victims of fascism in the world, how does Poland view the increasingly more noticeable appearance of a political, fascist infection? This political infection concerns the world...

[Answer] Yes, it is of concern! We Poles were condemned to annihilation by this fascist plague. They killed, as I have said, over 6 million Poles. We who have survived, allow me to put it in this way, have been vaccinated against everything that is linked with killing, discrimination and, therefore, also linked with fascism. Everything that is inhumane is repulsive to the Poles. Fascism is, to repeat, alien to the Poles. To illustrate this. During the war there were no Quislings in Poland. There were various political currents, tendencies, now leftwing, now rightwing, but history did not note any cooperation with the occupiers, fascists. Even those Poles who live outside Poland, in the West, even those Poles who do not like socialism and present Poland organically cannot stand fascism, let alone those Poles who do not view their old country through dark glasses.

[Question] Is the danger from fascism latent and serious?

[Answer] Political extremism of the present, leftwing or rightwing, are indirectly clearing the path to fascism. One is afraid that certain people, in certain Western countries, while formally "bridling" extremism, or extremisms, are bringing fascism precisely in the political arena.

[Question] I have noticed that there is much talk about political terror in Poland. The Poles, as well as other people, have difficulties in finding their bearings in the terminological confusion. Terrorism, anarcho-terrorism, left or right, black or "Red" radicalism, are the terms creating confusion. However, terrorism exists and there are few countries which are immune of it. Which contradictions of the contemporary world do these manifestations provoke?

[Answer] It is difficult to classify this phenomenon. It is expressed both in political tendencies and in the field of customs and morals. It is well-known that a considerable number of West European terrorists come from bourgeois families. Accordingly, it can be said that this terrorism is both a class and a political one...

[Question] How do you view the freedom of creativeness, how do you view those who demand it? Or, do you prefer those who seek freedom, by working and writing, but not be screaming?

[Answer] I am an advocate of nonintervention, noninterference, of not entering literary workshops. I do not interfere with the freedom of artistic expression and feeling. However, I must say that I find it difficult to reconcile myself with people who act as enemies of the system. In my opinion, a poet need not create odes and panegyrics, to extol achievements, to fawn in this way. Let them speak nicely about people, about their native land, let them (if they can) praise the general human values, those values which enrich their people. Personally, it is difficult for me to accept lies which deform the picture about people. I am in favor of realism, in favor of honest realism, if one can say so. Not to extol, not to be in favor of what is written without conviction...

Fifth Meeting With Tito

[Question] Comrade Gierek, how do you assess the Polish-Yugoslav relations? What are these relations on the political, bilateral and, finally, on the human plane?

[Answer] I must say, I must stress, that the relations with Yugoslavia, the relations between the governments, parties, the relations between the states are developing well. I believe that there is no need to correct anything in this respect. Everything is in order. With common forces we are making efforts that these relations would be even better. Our parties consult each other on all important questions. Naturally, we view certain problems differently. However, these questions are not of vital importance. We agree on basic things... Our economic relations are particularly good. While our human relations are the best. The Yugoslavs enjoy great sympathies in Poland. There is much cordiality, I would also say love, in this. All this results from the common destiny of our peoples and of culture and language. The atmosphere of closeness and cordiality, as is being developed in Poland, suits the development of our relations. This must continue to be developed in the future.

In conclusion, I would also like to say the following. I believe that on this occasion it is also necessary to stress the importance of our personal relations, contacts with Comrade Tito. I do not need to convince you of the sympathies which we feel for Josip Broz. We respect him as a great leader of your peoples. We respect him as a great aktivisit of the international workers movement, as a communist. We respect him as a friend of our people, our country. All of us in Poland wish him much health, success in his strenuous work. When I come to Yugoslavia again, I will repeat this.

[Question] What will you, Comrade first secretary, like most to discuss with your hosts in Yugoslavia?

[Answer] This will be my fifth meeting with Josip Broz Tito. Therefore, I can say that we will resume the talk which started long ago. The topic of this talk will certainly be questions of the further development of our relations and in all directions. Naturally, we will also exchange views on the most important international problems, primarily how our two countries, Yugoslavia and Poland, could contribute to a deepening and strengthening of the process of relaxation of tension.

At this moment it is particularly important to halt the arms race, particularly to prevent that this race enters a new, extremely dangerous phase--the production of the neutron bomb. Knowing the views and thoughts of Josip Broz Tito, I know, I am convinced that we will agree on the problems of disarmament, to put it more clearly, on undertaking concrete steps toward disarmament. I am also convinced that the peoples of Poland and Yugoslavia, who had such hard experience in the last war, will do everything possible to preserve peace for themselves and for the world.

CSO: 2800

POLAND

FUNCTIONING OF SOCIAL CONTROL IN MILITARY DISCUSSED

Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 2 Jun 78 p 4

[Article by Col Mieczyslaw Wasylko, member of the Institute of Economic Sciences, Military Political Academy]

[Text] The modern military unit carries out activity that is comprehensive and mutually conditioned. It is likewise with social control, whose activity cannot be restricted solely to, for example, control of the economy, organizational problems, etc. Conversely, social control should facilitate the attainment of a higher degree of military competence and readiness of the individual military unit and of the army as a whole, in keeping with the principle of rational management.

What Are Social Control Teams?

Social Control Teams [ZKS] were formed in the army in 1974 as a result of an experiment with pilot (initiating) units, a broad exchange of views and experiences, the conduct of scientifically researched projects, as well as a far-ranging discussion on the pages of ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI. In 1977, after the first term of their functioning, the ZKS were permanently attached to the Armed Forces of the Polish People's Republic as an integral element whose activity will have an impact on increasing the achievements of the army.

The establishment of the ZKS proves that the Armed Forces of the Polish People's Republic are participating in the further development of socialist democracy. We must be aware that the ZKS as representatives of the military community have attained very high control authority. They can exercise planned controls over all those socioeconomic or organizational problems having an important bearing on the attainment of objectives by a unit. In justifiable instances the team, on its own initiative, can direct control activities resulting from the opinion of the community, as well as on the recommendation of the commander or his deputy charged with political matters, or as a consequence of requests by party, youth, trade-union organizations, or by the Organization of Military Families.

From the above it follows, that the ZKS can control everything that lies in the community interest of the unit, thereby contributing to an upgrading of the military capability and readiness of the army, as well as improving working and living conditions in the unit. The establishment of the ZKS is an example of the consistent realization in the Armed Forces of the Polish People's Republic of the resolutions adopted at the Sixth and Seventh congresses of the PZPR.

The problems of social control were twice raised in the speech of First Secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, Edward Gierek, at the Second National Conference of the PZPR. Among other things, Comrade E. Gierek stated: "...in the realm of socialist democracy there are at present three leading tasks: the further revitalization of local government, improving the performance of the national councils, and shaping a compact, effective system of social control."

We can proudly state that in the national defense sector the problem of social control has been accorded the proper weight, thanks to which a serious shortcoming was removed from the model of military control, as expressed in the fact that until 1974 there was no suitable element of social control. If the necessary element has now been created, then we should take as full advantage as possible of the benefits provided by the activated social control system (ZKS).

Broad Control Capacities

In order rationally to take advantage of the benefits of social control, at least two conditions must be met:

- 1) there should be created the possibility of exerting control in a given time, place, quantity, and quality;
- 2) there must exist guarantees that the proper control recommendations will be implemented.

With regard to the first need, it is necessary to state that very many possibilities exist for the ZKS to exercise both planned and extemporaneous control. Controls directed through the ZKS are based on the following sources of authority:

a) the personnel makeup of the ZKS. It is essential to remember that ZKS have been formed in each unit, officers' school, military academy, garrison, and brigade; moreover, competent commanding officers (chiefs) have been authorized to establish them in other units and institutes. The ZKS consists of a few to several dozen persons, who may work in special subteams.

b) the members of the unit, who can be assigned to the control of specified issues by the commanding officer (chief) of the unit (institute) at the request of the ZKS leader.

c) the concerned cadre, whose activity has become the object of control. This staff will participate in the control process by carrying out such functions as counting, measuring, weighing, etc.

d) independently of that, experts and specialists may be called in as the need arises.

From the above it follows that the powers of the ZKS are, in principle, unlimited. In fact, if it can be justified by a review of the defense readiness and needs of the military community, the commanding officer (chief) could assign each unit member under him to assist the ZKS. It is necessary to add that, in addition, the proper legal basis essential to the exercise of control has been provided.

Effective Guarantees for Implementing Proposals

Regarding the guarantee of realizing control recommendations, they are as strong as the possibilities for exercising control.

The guarantee that the control recommendations of the ZKS will be implemented derives from the very idea of social control. In the first place, the military community, in whose name the ZKS functions, will make certain of it, and the party organizations are fashioning the means to make this assurance effective.

All along the chain of command, the commanding officers (chiefs) of units (institutes) have been bound, by the force of the law, to implement the directives and recommendations of the ZKS. For example, within two weeks from receipt of reports on any confirmed shortcomings, the commanding officer (chief) will arrive at a decision concerning their correction, and within a month will inform the team of the steps he ordered taken and the results attained.

Both the possibilities of exercising control by the ZKS and the guarantee that their recommendations will be implemented follow from other additional factors, among which we must mention:

a) the high level of consciousness and proper posture of the military community in the question of realizing the resolutions of the PZPR Sixth and Seventh congresses, as well as the second national conference of the PZPR, at which social control conducted by the community was presented as one of the very serious problems,

b) the scientific approach utilized in solving the problem of the ZKS, which excluded the whimsical treatment of certain issues touching upon the functioning of the ZKS in the army,

c) the awareness that the ZKS are fulfilling many positive functions for the good of the service as well as the entire military community in whose name they act. This offers an example of linking the interests of the units as a whole, with those of the individuals (soldiers) who make up the whole. Upon this rests the chief idea of the theoretical solution, practical application, and achievements of the ZKS,

d) the favorable sociopolitical climate created around this issue, which exists to the present day. In this context the principal role is played by the Chief Political Bureau of the Polish Army, which from the outset has borne the responsibility for dealing with the entire range of problems connected with the formation of the ZKS and the direction of their activity in the army,

e) the active work of the ZKS, schooling, but primarily help from the party-political apparatus as well as the leadership of the units (institutes).

In analyzing the important features of ZKS activity, the fact must be stressed that the ZKS are specialists of the military community in such areas as its state of morale, political posture, discipline, management, and other similar problems. In principle, the scope of ZKS control activity is unlimited. Each problem bothering a unit can be the object of ZKS investigation.

Social control exercised by the ZKS is of a specified form. It neither replaces nor precludes control by either the state or the higher consideration of the public good, and it even less replaces the directive functions reserved for service organs. It acts in the name of the military community with the authorization of its commanders. It also neither replaces nor precludes in social control the social commissions and collegial organs, but rather inspires them to efficient functioning by providing an example of high-principled activity and objectivity in both service and social activities.

What Can Be Improved?

The basic shortcoming derives from the fact that the activity of portions of the ZKS, and hence also the effectiveness of their actions, have not attained the level demanded or expected.

A recently completed analysis revealed that many factors contributed to the weak results of some ZKS activities. At the outset it is necessary to stress that, in a certain sense, the existing state of affairs is due to the general situation itself. We must realize that the problem of the ZKS is new and difficult to resolve. Social control in its above-mentioned

form has been applied on a broad scale for only four years. This is too brief a period to master the problem, especially since it has been tackled for the first time in history in the Polish People's Army.

A related reason (certainly very essential) is that the military community still exerts too little influence at the present time over the more weakly functioning ZKS. It should exert primary influence over their actions through: (a) determining issues for control that are crucial from the perspective of the units' life and work, (b) overseeing the implementation of those matters selected for control, not only their actual execution but also the extent to which control recommendations are permanently carried out. Meanwhile, the commanders themselves are displaying greater initiative than the rank and file in realizing the stated goals.

It is possible to find further reasons for the weak activity of parts of the ZKS in: (a) too little interest in ZKS activities on the part of some echelons especially designated for contact and cooperation with the ZKS, (b) a lack of initiative among some ZKS leaders and their assistants, (c) a lack of sufficient professional preparation and experience in control work, which comes only through practice and after a lengthy period, (d) various other factors, among which as an example we can cite the lack of sufficient incentives to realize the different control functions in one's own setting.

Several recommendations

Taking into account the ideological premises and the deficiencies of the ZKS, as well as their origins, it is vital to do everything to ensure that the activity of social control functions significantly better than its previous performance level. To this end, it is of prime importance to:

- 1) Produce, as quickly as possible, methodological guidelines for the ZKS, which should place the primary accent on the methods and techniques used by the ZKS, taking into account the fact that this is social control which functions in its own specific setting. The chief problem is to answer the question "How to control?", and not "What to control?" This despite the fact that the second question is integral, for it defines the direction of control and its strategies.

- 2) Conduct research whose ultimate goal should be the working out of all problems connected with the social control of a specific environment and its closest surroundings, as well as with the effects of decisions made by co-workers and even superiors.

- 3) Increase the activity of the leaders and members of those ZKS which hitherto have achieved results lower than targeted.

- 4) Extend greater assistance to the ZKS in realizing its plan of control by all interested elements of a unit, particularly by the military community.

POLAND

JOURNAL SATIRIZES OVER-POLITICIZATION OF EVERYTHING

Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish No 25, 24 Jun 78 p 3

[Article by Urban: "Political Floral Assemblies"]

[Text] Floristry is what we call the ability to create arrangements, wreaths, and all other kinds of floral compositions, explains the State Agricultural and Forestry Publishing House, which has published a book titled FLORISTRY, 368 pages, 150 zlotys, Warsaw, double edition. We open this work to the first page and begin to read: "The aspiration of the Party is to create the conditions for a more pleasant and more beautiful life for the working people. Tasks for floristry result also from this. Their realization, which requires equally individual initiative and collective effort, should create the prerequisites for further improvement of the material and cultural level of the life of the nation."

By competing in the achievement of the essential slogan, the florist can contribute to many important things--we skim over the further injunctions, after which we read that social development requires constant self-improvement and that this is no different in the case of floristry. What Karl Marx had to say about this is printed further on.

It is difficult to deny the existence of ties between the art of arranging flowers and politics. Bouquets serve the purpose of being given by children to their politicians, and ceremonial likewise foresees the placement of bouquets by politicians in various appropriate places. (In all these situations, however, bouquets lose their name and are called floral arrangements by the reporters. It would be correct, therefore, to call a florist in political service an arranger and to call floristry arrangery.) Ties between the art of making bouquets and the sphere of political affairs are flimsy despite this since every kind of human activity can be involved with politicians and the art they practice. Shirt-making is an example, if it is a matter of sewing on a button torn from a statesman by an importunate button-holing petitioner. All kinds of work and skill and all kinds of rules of handicraft come into contact, if only indirectly, with political life, because somehow they flow from it or influence it indirectly, but so what?

When connections between phenomena are flimsy, rare, indirect, or far-fetched, people forget about them easily and, to take an example, when they put flowers in a vase, they succumb to the illusion that this is a completely apolitical activity. Hence the so much greater importance of the political prologues and the citations from the classics of Marxism in all textbooks, manuals, and similar books, whether they are devoted to embroidery, or to playing the ocarina, or to the art of breeding rabbits or waxing floors or painting fences or using geometry to lay out side streets. This is because, thanks to such prologues, quotations, and trumpet blasts, a man becomes a political being and political consciousness irradiates everything which he does, thinks, or neglects. This is because politics must be an omnipresent demigod, thus a demigod who looks out from every vase. Otherwise, no one will believe that this field is so wise and so important that no one and nothing will really succeed in making it disgusting.

The State Agricultural and Forestry Publishing House has carried out a piece of useful and, as they say, politically important work.

CSO: 2600

ROMANIA

PARTY PURGES, EXCESSIVE FORMALISM IN PARTY WORK DISCUSSED

Bucharest MUNCA DE PARTID in Romanian May 78. pp 3-9

/Unsigned article: "Organizational Work - A Viable Content, Foreign to Formalism"7

/Text/ The requirement formulated by the secretary general of the party to transform quantitative accumulations into a new quality involves all the fields of economic, political and social life, including organizational work, the style and methods of work of the party organs and organizations, and overall internal party life, which must necessarily undergo a broad and profound improvement process.

It is inconceivable to consider increasing economic and production activities to the level of the great exigencies stemming from the Romanian Communist Party Central Committee's Plenary Session of 22-23 March 1978, without the party organs and organizations substantially improving their entire methodology of action so that they can exercise their leading role in superior conditions and with increased efficiency.

It is an incontestable reality that, in recent years, the party organizations have made considerable progress in their political and organizational consolidation and in strengthening their ranks with active communists who are filled with a sense of high party responsibility and are decisive and farsighted militants in bringing about the party's Program and its general political line.

In emphasizing that these successes are due to the just policies of our party, which is creatively applying the general laws to the conditions in Romania, comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, the secretary general of the party, mentioned in his speech at the 22-23 March 1978 Plenary Session of the RCP Central Committee that "They are directly tied to the fact that the party organs and organizations and our party is powerful and united and enjoys the esteem and

trust of the broad popular masses and all the people, who are steadfastly carrying out the domestic and foreign policies of the party and state."

But, in the stage through which we are currently passing, the desire to inaugurate a new quality in the leadership of political life calls for taking energetic measures in all directions so that party work can cope successfully with the new economic and social-political demands. "Without a doubt the party organs and organizations, county party committees and our Central Committee," noted comrade Nicolae Ceausescu at the RCP CC Plenary Session, "will have to work with all firmness for the continued improvement of their activities so that they can fulfill their historical mission in our socialist society under the best possible conditions."

The thesis enunciated by our secretary general has a great principled and practical significance and opens a broad perspective for all party work. Its special value is, first of all, in showing the need to improve the work of all party organs, from top to bottom. Secondly, it calls for the adoption of certain measures of a long term nature that will ensure the continuation of the overall improvement process. Thirdly, the aforementioned thesis directs the concerns of the party organs and organizations towards those measures that will directly contribute to the creation of the premises necessary for the carrying out of their leadership mission under qualitatively superior conditions.

The essential problem is in increasing the role of party organizational work in unifying the efforts of the communists and all workers for the fulfillment, under optimum conditions, of the party's Program, all its decisions and its tasks stemming from the country's plan for economic and social development. But, this can be achieved not in a general manner, but by involving each party activist, each party committee and organization's bureau, and all party members, who must at their place of work correlated their tasks and their entire activity with the specific demands of production and social-political life.

Now, when intense preparations are being made to move to the organization of all economic activities on the basis of the decisions adopted by the 22-23 March CC Plenary Session, the party organs and organizations are in the forefront of all actions preceding the introduction of the new economic-financial mechanism and the creation of the most favorable premises for improving the leadership of economic and financial activities. To effectively lead this process means, first of all, that the party organizations take firmly into their hands the fate of the struggle for the more substantial reduction of the consumption of raw materials and

other materials, energy and fuels, the provision everywhere of a strict system of conserving, the more accentuated increase of work productivity, the intensification of the rate for renewing and modernizing products, the prompt application of technological progress to production and the upgrading of the level of use of all material resources and the entire technical and human potential.

In recognition of these truths, numerous party organizations, while developing their competence in the leadership of economic activities, are making meritorious efforts to come closer to the problems of industrial and agricultural production and are concentrating the entire arsenal of political and organizational work methods towards achieving their plan at the highest level.

Unfortunately, it must be said that party organizations can still be found which are incorrectly leading activities to meet the plan, have only a vague notion of the production processes, react to problems with delays and, in some cases, deal indifferently with the various negative phenomena in their units. Life shows that production tasks cannot be fulfilled just by discussions, notices, directives and plans of measures, no matter how well designed they may be. That is why party organizations must become more fully integrated in the development of economic phenomena and more actively influence the production processes. This, however, does not mean taking over the direct control of technical-administrative leadership or the transformation of the bureaus of the base organizations or party committees into dispatchers. The requirement is for the party organs and organizations to elaborate efficient, specific measures to be assigned to each communist so that all party members know precisely what they have to do at each moment, can militate with party responsibility to carry out their assigned missions and can call upon measures specific to party work, thus putting into motion the mass of communists on the basis of a broad and persistent political, educational and organizational activity.

Let Us Energetically Stop Any Type of Formalism!

To struggle for a new, superior quality in party organizational work means to declare a ruthless war on formal practices, bureaucratism and tendencies to remove the lively and stirring content from party work, replacing it with meetings and the editing of paper. There still are today party organs and organizations that transform analyses, meetings, discussions, work plans and decisions into purposes and ends themselves, in a type of universal means that could, by themselves, resolve problems.

The example of certain party organizations in Braila County, such as those in the towns of Gropeni, Tichilesti and Tufesti, gives us proof that things like this are close at hand. Can we criticize the Gropeni Town Party Committee that its plenary sessions are not distinguished by a large number of decisions, that its critical spirit leaves something to be desired or that it does not hold sessions regularly? By no means. But, what can be criticized, what must be criticized about this party committee are the low year-to-year levels of cereal and animal production achieved by the agricultural cooperative, the high costs of production and the low profits. Then, the question can be correctly asked: What practical, useful value are the discussions in the plenary sessions, regardless of how they deal with the subject, of the sharp criticisms and self-criticisms made or of the arguments presented, if production is standing still?

The quality of all political-educational and organizational activities of the party committees and bureau of the base organizations is not evaluated according to quantitative aspects. The essential measurement criterion for the quality and effectiveness of work is the result obtained in the economic and social field.

A meeting, analysis or discussion must have direct practical consequences in its respective sector of field. And, for this, organizational work is called upon to put to good use all its potential. Certainly, shortcomings must be criticized in order to form as broad and as powerful opinion as is possible in favor of eliminating these shortcomings. But, organizational work is not limited to the condemnation of certain errors and the elimination of certain shortcomings and abuses, since this constitutes merely a beginning and the premise for moving to the improvement of work.

An organizational activity of good content presupposes that those who made errors will be helped to correct their errors, and made to answer if the case calls for it, and that the deficient work place will be strengthened with capable people and a strict review will be instituted over the fulfillment of established measures so that similar shortcomings will not be repeated. This is the case without us further speaking of the fact that, in such situations, the necessity appears to reexamine the manner in which certain tasks were divided and that, in general, the need is felt to reevaluate the manner in which the forces of the party organization are used and assigned. These are just several of the key factors of organizational work that demand to be put into motion if we want things to get moving, if we want to avoid meeting this and that shortcoming in the end and, in a word, if we want to put an end to formalism completely.

Other times, formalism manifests itself in the form of certain noisy, showy actions that do not work to find certain radical, efficient solutions for the elimination of the real causes of shortcomings and the sensible improvement of the activities in one domain or another. Let us take, for example, the practice of organizing in the counties certain expositions for new products, made with our own resources and containing new pieces and components, designed to reduce hard currency expenditures, or of initiating exchanges of experience with hundreds of participants. Clearly, these methods are valuable and no one is of the mind to minimize them. However, to consider them valuable in and of themselves, without being preceded by and, especially, followed by ample measures of a technical and organizational nature, means at least a lack of understanding of the entire activity.

Can it perhaps be said that there is value in those actions where, although interesting reports can be presented, lively propaganda is made, programs of specific measures are adopted and, afterwards, a total silence descends, as if the final target was the session or meeting as such and not the spread of an initiative or a valuable method? Several years ago, the party organization at the Constanta Shipyard had the laudable initiative to make each party member there a leader in production and public activity, as well as an example in private life. It is true that much has been written about this initiative, including in our magazine. In Constanta Municipality and County, broad actions took place to spread this idea. It is, however, difficult to appreciate that the initiative took root since in Constanta in the last two years over 1,000 party members had to be expelled from the party for reprobable acts and nearly 1,000 members were sanctioned for different violations of our statutory norms.

Or, let us refer to another initiative, from the machine builders in Brasov: "The Micron, The Gram, The Second." If we were to calculate how much paper was used in recent years writing about this initiative's value, content and significance, we would arrive at an impressive figure. And, just as impressive are the quantities of metal and energy wasted in recent years by those who do not carefully manage the raw materials entrusted to them. Bold ideas and precious initiatives are wasted if they do not have timely assistance. There is nothing more wrong than to believe that it is possible for an action to be crowned with success by virtue of its own qualities, without a thorough and rigorous organization and without perseverance to ensure a good finish for every action begun.

Good experiences and valuable initiatives must be thoroughly understood, made popular and supported in order to be affirmed and extended as far as possible! So that advanced experiences

can become a good factor for a broader collective of people, it is necessary for all means of political and organization work be placed in the service of sustaining and disseminating new things.

One persistent concern of the party is the elimination of formalism in the organization and development of instruction and the improvement of its content and efficiency.

But, this presupposes making efforts so that each time the instruction brings before the people new problems, tasks that have appeared in the meantime, experiences and positive methods that have accumulated.

Certainly, the substantial improvement of instruction, both in its content and its forms of organization, obligatorily requires the bureaus of the county party committees to directly get involved in its preparation, the creation of programs and their proper development. The practice used in some places of leaving instruction to the people working in that apparatus or the office for ideological and political-educational activities not only decreases the effectiveness of these people, but does not allow the party active to become aware of the problems truly situated in first place in the concerns of that party organ.

Instruction is one of the basic methods in the exercise of leadership. Any tendency towards formalism and bureaucratism in the organization of instruction affects, in one way or another, the quality of leadership and, for that reason, such a tendency must be completely eliminated.

The Review - The Core of Organization

Organization presupposes a thorough review that begins with the opening of an activity and ends when the activity is finalized. The review is the support of organization, its soul and he who does not understand this fact is not a good organizer.

By applying the directives of the party leadership, the party organs and organizations have obtained positive results in the field of organizing reviews of the fulfillment of decisions. But, the improvements recorded do not have to lead ideal conclusions that do not allow for giving certain lucid evaluations. This is so because of a reality: in carrying out these reviews there was still a feeling of a certain series of shortcomings.

It sometimes happens that a well thought out action, which started out well, does not lead to the initially expected results. A more careful analysis of the causes shows, many times, that the failures had their origins in a poorly exercised review and in

not reporting on a timely basis certain damaging tendencies, so they could be eliminated in the early stages when the damages were not too great and when it would have been easy to intervene to eliminate them, not when they had taken on large proportions and begun to create damages.

Or, it is understood that, if the process of elaborating and adopting decisions is an attribute of the party committees and the bureaus and secretariats of these committees, then the organization of the reviews of the fulfillment of these decisions is also an integral part of the fundamental attributes of party leadership organs.

In order to be viable and finalized, a decision cannot be disassociated from organization and review. On the contrary, the success of any decision is directly conditioned by the manner in which the review was conceived and organized, a review which must be prepared at the time of the decision and concluded when the findings lead to a certain conclusion that all aspects, absolutely all, were materialized.

As can be seen, in the view of our party, the decision process also includes, as a component, the entire act of execution, without which there is the danger that the decision will remain a simple intention.

Certainly, reviews, like any other facet of organizational work, must be evaluated in accordance with its finality. Reviews for the sake of reviews must not exist. Each investigation or field trip must have a precise purpose and pursue a specific objective.

The secretary general of the party pointed out numerous times to the party active and party organs and organizations that no review should turn into a bureaucratic inspection and a type of a tour through organizations. Clearly, those party organizations that are preoccupied to have as broad a field of vision as is possible are not doing poorly, but, on the contrary, are doing very well. But, this does not justify the practice of those party activists who go running through organizations. Such a manner of work maintains the illusions of review when, in fact, we are dealing with superficial visits. The system practiced by some activists of going out in the towns in the morning and returning to the headquarters in the evening, allegedly for meetings and resolving current matters, has proven totally inefficient. At least once per week, it is necessary for the responsible cadre, first of all the secretaries of the county party committees, to spend a night in the towns in order to participate in the activities that are organized in the villages in the evenings and to conduct an early morning review to see how production activities begin in the fields, in the zootechnical sector and so forth.

Review means help, that is, a practical contribution to correcting an inappropriate state of affairs. Without help, without tangible, measurable results, a review is not justified and it becomes a formality.

A rigorously organized review is not satisfied merely leaving for a trip into the field. Without precise goals, a review is like a reflector that did not succeed in finding its objective. Or, it is understood that such a type of review can, at most, cloud the view and in no way help to clear things up.

A review fully reveals its virtues when it has a specific nature. For that reason, the methods practiced by some bureaus and secretariats of county party committees have proven welcome where they require on a regular, weekly basis that secretaries and other members of the bureau report to the party organ regarding the work carried out in the sectors they coordinate, regarding new problems and, especially, regarding planned solutions.

This same system of work demands to be practiced also within the framework of the sections, whose activists must report to the county party committee secretaries and the section or sector chiefs how they are carrying out their work to ensure the exact fulfillment of party and state decisions and their tasks.

The growth of the responsibilities of the party activists is closely tied to the manner in which the secretariats handle the proper operation of the work in the sections. The thorough, rigorous planning and organization of these sections, the specification of the responsibilities of each activist and the exercise of permanent review on behalf of the bureaus and secretariats are several of the paths designed to ensure the proper operation of the sections and the fulfillment of the attributes given them by the party.

An important role in raising the level of exercising reviews and the quality of these reviews is played by the instructors of the local party organs. As is known, on the basis of decisions of the party leadership, the instructors of the county party committees were assigned to the intercooperatist councils. Many are succeeding in obtaining good results. Unfortunately, there are still instructors whose work has not seen essential changes. These instructors have not found their rhythm with regards to the competent guidance of the intercooperatist councils and have not created a style of work appropriate to the newly created conditions. It is very true that, in the agricultural and economic fields, not all the intercooperatist councils have assumed the

attributes established by the decision of the Political Executive Committee. For that reason, it is necessary that each county party committee closely help them in the integral fulfillment of the role reserved for them in the management of agriculture.

Above all, the instructors of the county party committees are asked to make a growing contribution in assisting the intercooperatist councils in order to crystalize their style of work and to integrally fulfill the attributes that they have, ensuring the irreproachable operation of these councils.

The exchange of experience organized at Scornicesti involving the 40 model intercooperatist councils attests to their great opportunities for appreciably raising the level of agricultural cooperative activities and in putting to more intense use the existing reserves in cooperatist agriculture.

The county party committees have made programs to organize, at the county level, exchanges of experience with the cadre in the intercooperatist councils and the instructors that guide them. Well organized and closely lead by the bureaus of the county party committees, these exchanges of experiences will, without a doubt, contribute to the popularization and spread of the best work methods so that, in a short time, all intercooperatist councils will be strongly activated to mold their style of work to high efficiency, proving to be the basic nuclei in our agriculture.

The transition to a new quality in organizational work requires immediately the inclusion of all methodologies of review. Increasing the level of carrying out reviews, increasing their political and social efficiency, accentuating their preventative and educational character and making them permanent are some of the factors without whose fulfillment one cannot speak of the new quality of reviews that must satisfy fully the current exigencies.

The National Conference of the Party and the 22-23 March 1978 Plenary Session placed before the entire party and all the people a rich and diverse palette of new tasks, many of an unprecedented complexity. Their fulfillment presupposes raising the quality of organizational work and substantially increasing its efficiency. This can also be obtained if the party organizations are firmly engaged in a sustained and concrete struggle to eliminate all existing shortcomings. In appreciating the achievements obtained and the minuses still persisting, all party organs and organizations are called upon to raise organizational work to new levels of efficiency and to improve their styles and methods of work in accordance with the changes in economic and social life in Romania and demands of its accelerated advancement on the path of creating a multilaterally developed socialist society.

ROMANIA

STUDY ON RAILROAD WORKERS MOVEMENT ATTACKED FOR INACCURACIES

Bucharest ERA SOCIALISTA in Romanian No 10, May 78 pp 59, 60

[Article by Mircea Craciun, Professor of History, Stefanesti Commune, Viisoara Village, Arges County: "On the Book "Epopaea Feroviara Romaneasca" [The Epic of the Romanian Railroads]]"]

[Text] In its January 1978 issue, the journal MAGAZIN ISTORIC [Historical Magazine] announced the publication of the book "Epopaea Feroviara Romaneasca" [The Epic of the Romanian Railroads] by C. Botez, D. Urma and I. Saizu by the Sport-Tourism Publishing House. This announcement stirred me to read this book. Based on archives materials and extracts from some publications, with many tables and specific data, the authors present the development of railroads in Romania, particularly from a technical point of view and statistically. Although I do not propose to write a review of the book, I would like to point out some inaccuracies, omissions, and also some erroneous presentations regarding some of the important aspects of a social-political nature connected with the administration of the railroads before 23 August 1944. Pointing out that the book does not respect historical truth is especially necessary since the authors themselves entitle the book "The Epic of the Romanian Railroads" and claim that it contributes "to the patriotic education of the young" (p 439).

Unjustified eulogies are given in the book to one of the laws which was anti-worker in nature -- the "Law for Exploitation of State Railroads" in 1883, which is praised as a "historic railroad document" (p 142) -- and also to the authors of this law. This law was the basis for repressions against railroad workers in Romania for the entire period during which it was in effect; it was criticized not only by the socialist-oriented press, but even by numerous such bourgeois-liberal personalities as Nicolae Fleava, G. Esarcu-Bacau, Paul Scortescu, Vintila Rosetti, St. Peritzeanu-Buzeu, Alexandru Beldiman, and others on the occasion of the parliamentary debates in 1897 on the situation in the CFR administration.

Ioan Posescu, the author of the interesting brochure "The Question of the Operation of the State Railroads" (Bucharest, 1898), initiator of the movement of lower level officials in the administration of the CFR, and founder

of the progressive publication CALEA FERATE [Railroad], which appeared in Bucharest in the period 1897-1899, and therefore a person who understood the situation which prevailed in the administration of the CFR, characterized the Law for Exploitation of the Railroads quite properly as " a law filled with omissions; this law benefitted the higher-ups and constantly hurt the lower level workers. In 1888, a law was passed setting up a pension office for railroad service officials; however, the inhumane and anti-constitutional spirit which prevailed in the drafting of this legislation proved the moral inferiority of its authors. Article 17 of this statute called for the loss of pension rights for officials who resigned or who were dismissed. This provision gave a free hand to upper level officials in all crimes and created a state of slavery for the lower level people (that is, the workers - author's note)" (p 4).

Even more erroneous are the statements of the authors of the book in respect to the wage system and the state of affairs prevailing in the administration of the CFR in the period 1883-1916, which is presented on p 144, from which I quote: "From all of the railroad activity during this time, we can see a great enthusiasm and a great spirit of devotion on the part of the personnel. Other factors also contributed to this: pay in the railroads was in part better than in other state institutions, the personnel received free housing and medical care, they had schools, and so forth."

These unsubstantiated claims and the rosy presentation of the situation of railroad workers in the period 1883-1916 are most categorically refuted by hundreds and hundreds of articles appearing in the press of the time and by brochures, official documents and collective petitions, among which the most significant is MEMORIUL [The Memorial], which was addressed to the Ministry of Public Works on 13 November 1896 and signed by 3,557 railroad workers throughout the country. Here is a short fragment from MEMORIUL: "It is hard to understand how a brakeman, conductor or watchman is reduced to living on 55-57 lei per month, a telegraph operator on 65-70 lei, a team chief or shunting team chief on 70 or 90 lei..." In referring to the housing which was given to the railroad workers, MEMORIUL states: "The houses for the workers are small, uncomfortable and inadequate, and in some places almost non-existent. In many stations the switchmen sleep on empty benches in the waiting rooms, and in other places earthen huts have been made for them to sleep in so that they suffer from the cold and rheumatism." Only the upper officials at the top of the CFR administration, who cannot be confused with all of the personnel of this administration, truly benefitted from substantial material advantages, which is something else entirely.

Hundreds of articles in the press of the time reported on the difficult working conditions and poor pay of the railroad workers and their poor living and health conditions. The lack of a proper and well-balanced regulation caused these "slaves of work," as they were called by LUMEA NOUA [The New World] on 15 December 1896, when referring to low level officials in the administration of the CFR, to be subjected to shocking persecutions on the part of higher officials. The application of penalties and other disciplinary punishments

(transfers, firings, lay-offs, etc.) was handled in an arbitrary manner. LUMEA NOUA, the press organ of the PSDMR [Social-Democratic Party of the Workers of Romania], briefly synthesized in its issue of 28 August 1896 the situation of lower level officials in the administration of the CFR at that time: "Excessive work, brutalization, miserable pay, great responsibility, penalties in great numbers, abuses of all kinds." Even the CFR Directorate, in a voluminous report in 1893, recognized the existence of a precarious state of affairs for lower level officials, but made no attempt to do anything to improve this situation.

The pay of lower level workers in the administration of the CFR was worse than in other state institutions, otherwise it would be impossible to explain why the "Memorial of the 3,557 Railroad Workers" in 1896 requested among other things that the railroad workers be given the same pay as postal-telegraph workers (see CALEA FERATE of 14 (26) December 1897, p 322).

Railroad workers were not limited solely to verbal protests and memorials, but had recourse to advanced forms of action such as strikes. Among the first strikes of the proletariat in Romania was that of the Bucharest workers at the CFR Repair Shops in August, 1888, during the administration of G.I.Duca. The strong strike movement of the Bucharest railroad workers also influenced railroad workers in Galati and Pascani, who stopped work. Great agitation was also noted among the railroad workers in Turnu-Severin. Although broken, the railroad workers strike left deep traces and provided lessons for the entire workers movement. A strike committee headed by Constantin Olcescu played an important role in preparing for the strike.

The lack of money forced the strikers to go back to work after three weeks. By order of the CFR Directorate, more than 40 workers, headed by members of the strike committee, were discharged. Through the intermediary of the police, the General Directorate of the CFR, at the initiative of G.I.Duca, sent a list of the discharged workers to all of the factories and shops in Bucharest and in the provinces with instructions that they not be hired.

I sought in vain for any reference to these events in "Epopoea Feroviara Roman-easca". Instead, the book unjustifiably praises G.I.Duca, as well as Emil Miclescu and Al. Cottescu, who are referred to by the authors as "illustrious railroad managers" (p 154). These "illustrious managers" were the heads of the "secret group" at the top of the General Directorate of the CFR which brutally repressed any form of protest by the masses of railroad workers.

Under these conditions, organization of the railroad workers into professional associations designed to protest their interests became a necessity. In 1890, in Bucharest, several lower level workers in the CFR, headed by Volcu and Economu, laid the foundations for the aid society SPRIJINUL [Support]. The statutes of the society provided, among other things, that when a member of the society was fired from his job he would receive aid valued at 150 lei. Under pressure from the General Directorate of the CFR, this provision had to be cancelled.

New attempts at associating in professional societies were made during the years 1895-1896. At the beginning of 1896, several representatives of the lower level workers in the central office established the "Circle of CFR Workers," with headquarters in Bucharest. On 22 March 1896, a chief was elected and a draft statute voted. Finding that the workers were starting to establish a powerful association, the General Directorate of the CFR began to make reprisals. Emil Miclescu, who was then deputy general director of the CFR administration, called the chairman of the Circle and succeeded by threats in forcing him to agree to disestablishment of the association. Most of the members of the Circle kept their membership, showing indignation at the cowardice demonstrated by those representing them, and protested vehemently against the high-handedness of E. Miclescu.

The idea of establishing a cultural society had much more success, since it constituted a possibility of having an association without the risk of immediate reprisals by the directorate of the CFR. Under these circumstances, on 5 April 1896 the "Cultura" [Culture] Society of CFR Workers was established in Pitesti. This society was the first nucleus of railroad workers trade union in Romania. Frightened by the activity of the "Cultura" Society, the reactionary press wrote: "A multitude of lower level workers have set themselves up in a sort of league... and are trying to dictate conditions to the General Directorate, the Ministry of Public Works and the government. For weeks they have been stirring up agitation, which each day is taking on greater proportions; some of the workers, headed by chiefs who conduct the fighting and organized as an armed insurrection, are fighting against the General Directorate" (TIMPUL [Time], 12 January 1897). The establishment of the "Cultura" Society of CFR workers would have been meaningless if the situation had been as good as described by the authors of "Epopeea Feroviara Romaneasca" (p 144). Probably based on such suppositions, the authors do not even mention this society.

During 1904, Panait Musoiu published in REVISTA IDEEI [Journal of Ideas] a series of articles in which an official in the administration of the CFR revealed, on the basis of concrete data, the abuses and crimes of some of the higher and lower level managers in this state enterprise "where minor officials and workers labor for miserable wages" (A.Galateanu and N.Gogoneata, "Recollection, Panait Musoiu," Bucharest, 1970, p 61).

Instead of taking steps to improve the lot of the railroad workers, on 17 December 1909 the parliament of the nation passed the "Orleanu Law," known in our workers movement as the "Vile Law." It was especially harmful to railroad workers. According to the provision in Article 1 of the "Vile Law," within 15 days of the date of effectiveness of the law workers, artisans and officials in the state enterprises had to resign from the trade unions or submit their resignations to the enterprises. By virtue of this provision, Alexandru Cotescu, who was director general of the administration of the CFR, issued a circular that was more reactionary than even the law in question. This circular said: "Those officials, workers, or artisans found guilty of making propaganda among the CFR personnel or among personnel outside the administration of the CFR for strating strikes, for attempting to

impede service, for participating in meetings or societies which disturb public order...if they do not make a declaration by which they state that they give up trade union membership, they will be considered discharged." The first victims of this circular were G. Oprescu and Al. Botez, who were discharged on 4 January 1910 on the grounds that both had spoken at a workers meeting.

The establishment of the Romanian Communist Party on 8 May 1921 was saluted with enthusiasm by the great majority of railroad workers, who saw in this party the only force capable of shattering the chains of capitalist exploitation. Under the leadership of the heroic communist party, the railroad workers fought the battles of January-February 1933. Today, the ideals which enthused the railroad fighters -- a life of dignity for everyone who works and freedom and independence for the nation -- are live realities in our socialist fatherland.

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