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ROMANIAN JOURNAL LAUDS BOOK BY POLISH PHILOSOPHER SCHAFF

Bucharest REVISTA DE FILOSOFIE in Romanian Sep-Oct 83 pp 478-479

[Book review by Gh. Socol]


Literature devoted to the philosophy of history, a field which was neglected in Romania for a time, has been undergoing a revival in the past few years, and this is most welcome. Since 1980, the bibliography of this field of study has been enriched with a number of titles, both books written by Romanian authors and translations from other languages. The latter category includes the volume, "History and Truth", by the well-known Polish philosopher Adam Schaff. We are indebted to Alexandru Boboc and Ion Mihăilescu for the Romanian version of the German original. The book is part of the prestigious collection "Idei contemporane" [Contemporary Ideas], published by the Political Publishing House. The author of the book, Adam Schaff, has been an active presence in the post-war discussion of ideas. His attention has been devoted, consistently, to an understanding of history, to the problems of humanity and to the theory of knowledge.

Published more than a decade ago, the work aims to be an incursion, from an epistemological perspective, into the domain of historiography. The need for such investigations has been presented by the proliferation of historical literature, especially of writings devoted to the turbulent events of our century, whose reconstitution often differs from one author to another. This objective situation has been and is being exploited by certain ideological currents influenced by relativism, skepticism or philosophic agnosticism. By subjecting his historical knowledge and learning processes to a critical analysis, Adam Schaff clearly stresses that the past does not elude a truthful reconstitution and that historiography and historical research are, when certain methodological conditions are observed, just as valid methods for acquiring knowledge.
We will not go into the details of his demonstration in this regard, especially since, in one way or another, all the works on the philosophy of history published in Romania in recent years also stress the epistemological status of historical research, presenting, most of the time, solutions which coincide with those set forth in the book of the Polish philosopher. However, we would like to mention the author's ideas in regard to the delicate matter of historical explanation. According to Adam Schaff, history (as the restoration of the past) can and must construct explanations. Typologically, these are of two types: 1. The causal type, in which the event considered is subordinate to a general law. But since in real history, the circumstances in which an event is produced are complex, the historical explanation can only be a probable, incomplete one, of a variable level of generality and, therefore, sometimes different from one author to another; 2. The teleological type, by which the production of an historic fact is explained by showing the human motivation which lies behind it and which generated it (see pages 307-308, in particular.)

Clear, and full of ideas, the book of the Polish scholar can be a stimulus for the continuation and deepening of reflection on the ever-timely theme of the philosophy of history.

CSO: 2700/47
HUNGARIAN PLAY NOT SHOWN TO BUCHAREST HUNGARIANS

Budapest UJ TUKOR in Hungarian 25 Sep 83 p 29

[Article by Sandor Enyedi: "An Old Presentation in Bucharest: Attempt by Amateurs"]

[Excerpts] The number of Hungarians finding themselves in Bucharest increased sharply with the conclusion of World War I, following the Trianon peace treaty. Contemporary estimates determined it to be around 110,000 in 1930. The Kolozsvár Hungarian Theater operating under the direction of Jeno Jankovics had two consecutive very successful visiting theatrical seasons in Bucharest in 1924-25 and 1925-26. Probably this great success provided the idea for establishing a permanent Hungarian language theater.

In 1934 the entire Transylvania noted that "The Tragedy of Man" was put on the scene in Kolozsvár not much, only a half a year after its Budapest debut, which play in the critical years also advocated to its viewers in Transylvania the need to keep up the struggle. On this occasion the Kolozsvár Hungarian theater--faithful to the traditions it had created--renewed Madach's masterpiece with an elite cast.

Perhaps it was the great success of the Kolozsvár recreation which enticed Bucharest's Hungarian art lovers to attempt the impossible and take the "Tragedy" to Bucharest's Hungarian audiences. Fortunately, the three-language announcement about their play has been preserved, as has the newspaper report describing the play with somewhat of a skeptical attitude, in issue No 78 of the BRASSÓI LAPOK [Brescia Pages] on 6 April 1934. The paper--which at that time was a progressive leftist press organ distributed throughout Transylvania--showed Transylvania's Hungarian populated regions to its readers in a serial, and on this occasion reported on a separate page about the lives of Hungarians living in Romania's capital with the title "Let's See Bucharest's Hungarians." But let's quote the nameless chronicler, who preserved the deed of showing "The Tragedy."

"There was one single Hungarian show in Bucharest at Easter. But the organizers of this one soared high. They were satisfied with nothing less than Imre Madach's 'The Tragedy of Man.' The drama which has had worldwide success, the pearl of Hungarian literature, (...) was played by members of Bucharest's Hungarian Amateur Theater on the Barascheum's tight stage."
Now, on the occasion of the 100th anniversary of "The Tragedy's" stage play we are more understanding toward the attempt made by Geza Karpati's group, especially if we consider that ever since that time none has yet succeeded in producing the first completely Romanian language "Tragedy" on stage, even though Goga Octavian's translation is really of excellent quality. It was first published in printed form also in 1934, but since then it has been published at least three more times. But it has not yet made it to the grand stage even though in 1934 Miklos Banffy in a letter offered his help to Goga Octavian. It seemed in 1939 that the obstacles were being overcome finally, and even the date of the premiere was decided upon in the Kolozsvár Romanian National Theater: the play should have been shown on 25 November. Erno Janovics had been asked to direct it. But the production again did not materialize.

In 1968, Attila Kiss, a graduating director candidate of the Bucharest theatrical college chose the first four scenes of the "Tragedy" as his final examination theme--before a small professional jury. In the meanwhile the news appeared in the press: "The Tragedy," directed by Otto Rappaport, will be on stage in Nagybanya in the Romanian language. Rehearsals began, and a portion of the stage backdrops was also built. However, the premier did not take place. Most recently the play was staged in the Hungarian language in Kolozsvár in 1965, in Nagyvarad in 1974, and in Morosvasarhely in 1975. But not in Bucharest yet, even though an excellently equipped new national theater has been built there, one which even we could envy.

8584
CSO: 2500/33
HIGH-LEVEL CONFERENCE ON HEALTH STATE OF MILITARY PERSONNEL

Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 14 Oct 83 pp 1, 3

[Article by Col Stoyan Mikov and Col Stefan Rikov: "The Healthy State of the Military--The Guarantee for the High Combat Capability of the Bulgarian Army"]

[Text] Concern for man has been and remains the guiding principle and basic content in BCP policy. The economic and social ascent of the motherland has been completely subordinate to the motto: "All in the Name of Man, All for the Good of Man." Health is a prerequisite for personal happiness, for harmonious physical development, for high work efficiency and social activeness.

Yesterday an army-wide conference was held at the VVMI [Higher Military Medical Institute] devoted to the problem of the health state of the BNA [People's Army] personnel and the role of the commanders, the political workers, the rear and medical bodies in its improvement. Present at it were the member of the Politburo of the BCP Central Committee and Minister of National Defense, Army Gen Dobri Dzhurov, the head of the Military Administrative Section of the BCP Central Committee, Col Gen Velko Palin, Commander of Air Defense and the Air Forces Col Gen Lyubcho Blagoev, the chief of the BNA Rear Services, Lt Gen Stoyan Subev, the first deputy chief of the G1PUNA [Main Political Directorate of the People's Army], Lt Gen Mitko Mikov, as well as generals and officers. Also present was a representative of the commander-in-chief of the Joint Armed Forces of the Warsaw Pact Members to the BNA, Col Gen Vladimir Yakushin.

In opening the conference, Army Gen Dobri Dzhurov emphasized that the 12th Party Congress set the strategic directions for the development of public health. At the October meeting in 1981, Comrade Todor Zhivkov put forward an effective and promising mechanism for bringing the public health of a mature socialist society into accord with the health needs of the present and next stage of our development. The army-wide conference is in full accord with these party plans.

The basic report given by Lt Gen Marko Markov contained a thorough analysis of the health state of the military which, along with a high moral-political state, modern technical supply and the complete mastery of the assigned equipment, to a significant degree determines the might of the BNA and its combat capability. The speaker pointed out that public health in the military widely uses the wealth of Soviet experience and as a result of this the health state of our military is good and shows a tendency to stabilize. He drew attention of those
present to the necessity of further developing health preventive measures, for forming and improving a healthy way of life, for promptly detecting illnesses and treating them and for the even broader participation of the commanders and political workers in safeguarding the health of the men.

Lt Gen Lyubcho Toshkov spoke on the organization and conduct of the training process, physical training and conditioning and their effect on the appearance and spread of injuries, colds and certain other illnesses among the servicemen. The activities carried out and the pending tasks of the political bodies, the party and Komsomol organizations in the area of strengthening the health of the servicemen and limiting the sickness rate in light of the decisions of the 12th BCP Congress and the subsequent plenums and conferences were the subject of a report given by Officer Ivan Bosev. Lt Gen Mitko Mitkov spoke on the need to improve the effectiveness of health education and the active involvement of the soldiers and commanders in the movement for sobriety and for creating a healthy way of life as an essential prerequisite for increasing the combat readiness of the men. Officer Stoyan Velkov acquainted those present with certain risk factors in the morbidity rate among flight personnel and measures which are being taken by the commanders and medical bodies to restrict them.

Informative statements on the discussed problem were made by Prof, Maj Gen N. Kupenov, Prof, Maj Gen D. Shishmanov and Officers E. Stanchev, Ts. Peshev, Kh. Nikolov, Ya. Yanchev, Ts. Georgiev, Iv. Stefanov, D. Karadzhikov and others.

The member of the Politburo of the BCP Central Committee and Minister of National Defense, Army Gen Dobri Dzhurov, gave the concluding speech.

The reports and statements, he emphasized, very clearly and soundly emphasized the importance of the health state of the personnel in maintaining a constant and high combat readiness. Important questions were discussed for maintaining the health of the men, and physical development and illnesses were examined in the context of the training process carried out in the subunits, the working and leisure conditions, food and physical training. The role of the commanders, the political bodies, the rear and medical workers was emphasized. The particular features of military service in certain serviceman categories, which must be kept in mind in improving their health state, were examined.

Army Gen Dobri Dzhurov went on to pose specific tasks for the work of the commanders, the political bodies, the rear and medical workers to further improve the health state of the personnel and for their physical, mental and spiritual development.

There can be no doubt that the questions discussed at the army-wide conference will be a good area where all the generals and officers can apply their initiative and creativity and develop informative and effective activities so as to safeguard the most precious capital of man, his health.
MORE COMMENT ON 'TOMASEK'S' LETTER

Typical Imperialist Provocation

Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 7 Oct 83 p 4

[Article by Jaroslav Mazal]

[Excerpt] We could cite many examples of forgeries, both past and present. They have never appeared nor do they now appear by chance, but rather they are prompted by class hatred of the forces of progress and social justice. Assault against them from within and without is focused on undermining the social conviction of the correctness of our party's policy, socialist ideology and the future of socialism. Where arguments are lacking, the instigators of anticomunist campaigns resort to forgeries.

The most recent of these is the "hullabaloo" around the alleged letter by Cardinal Tomasek in which he reportedly personally protested suppression of the Catholic Church in the CSSR. Western agencies spread its text around the world, inciting radio stations joined in with agility, and large bourgeois dailies published articles on the persecution of Christians in Czechoslovakia. A certain Mr Meier, who specializes in slandering our country, was not at all bothered by the fact that the primate of Prague had denied authorship of the letter, and "shocked" the public on the pages of the FRANKFURTER ALGEMEINE ZEITUNG by claiming that His Eminence, during an alleged "investigation" of the case, had suffered a breakdown. We do not need to return to the background of this provocation, since RUDE PRAVO had covered it in detail in its 1 October issue.

Catholic Weekly on Kathpress

Prague KATOLICKE NOVINY in Czech No 37, 11 Sep 83 p 1

[Text] Indignation Over a Slander Campaign

Perhaps you have all heard or read about the dementi of Cardinal Frantisek Tomasek, Archbishop of Prague, in which he rebutted the reports by certain agencies to the effect that he had sent a letter of protest to our government authorities. I have known the cardinal for a very long time, since at one time we were colleagues, while he was teaching pedagogy in Olomouc and I the
same subject in Litomerice. My esteem for him as a professor only grew when he had attained high rank. For this reason, I doubted from the beginning that he would have written and sent anything like that reported by the foreign slanderers. His words on this subject are clear: "I have neither written, nor signed and sent such a letter."

I have recently talked with him. Our conversation quite naturally turned to the question of the alleged letter. He asked me how I would feel if someone wrote something and signed it with my name. How could I possibly reply to this, except to say that I would be indignant, as he rightly is.

I am not a professional journalist, but have been cooperating with newspapers in various forms for over 30 years. I have never written anything which I knew was untrue. For to write only that of which one is convinced to be truthful is one of the fundamental principles of journalistic ethic. Moreover, it is a question of morality, especially in the case of Catholic press agencies. It is sad and shocking when Kathpress, for the second time in recent months, has the effrontery to write such lies. The first time it concerned Bishop Gabris, while this latest incident is even more shocking by dragging the person of the cardinal into it.

Like many of us, the cardinal believes that certain problems in mutual relations must be resolved. However, this is possible only through thoughtful and friendly discussion at the appropriate levels. Only in this manner can mutually beneficial results be achieved. Erroneous and mendacious information and campaigns, whether they come from Vienna or elsewhere, certainly cannot contribute to such an outcome.

[signed:] Prof ThDr Ladislav Pokorny

The editorial offices of KATOLICKE NOVINY fully join in the justifiable indignation of Prof L. Pokorny. It really requires the loss of the last remnant of decency and conscience to organize such a shameful act of forgery, as perpetrated by the Western mass communications media, led by the Catholic Kathpress!

9496
CSO: 2400/38
REPORT ON VISITS WITH DISSIDENT YOUTH, PEACE ACTIVISTS

West Berlin DIE TAGESZEITUNG in German 1 Nov 83 p 9

[Article by Emil Nichtsnutz: "A Hot Autumn—From Above"]

[Text] While human chains, popular rallies and blockades marked an at least quantitative high point of the peace movement in the West, the SSD remained victorious in the GDR—at least for the time being. Massive countermeasures suppressed the only major activities—a women's march and a "die-in" on Alexanderplatz. Emil Nichtsnutz traveled through the unknown land behind the barbed wire fence during that hot week. Our thanks to PFLASTERSTRAND whose most recent issue contained this report—which we have cut to a little more than half the original length.

"May I have a menu?"—"I am asking whether you would like anything to drink."—"Yes, I would like some coffee."—He looks at us arrogantly. "What was that?" he asks.—"Some coffee."—"I don't understand what you are saying. Could you speak a little more distinctly!" he says imperiously.—"Some coffee, please."—"Oh, it's coffee you want, is it," he says, having finally assigned us our place in the restaurant order of things. Now that the "basic issue of German politics," as Walter Ulbricht used to say, has been cleared up—which is to say now that the issue of "who does what to whom" is settled—he brings us a warm, dark and bitter brew whose resemblance to real coffee is slight to say the least. (Nonetheless, one-quarter pound of this particular brand of coffee sells for 8.75 marks in the shops.)

In contrast to the evening and night hours, there are unbelievably large crowds in the streets during the day. If they do not all happen to be on vacation at the same time, then one may assume that it is relatively easy in the GDR to leave your place of work for a bit and go shopping. The Centrum and Konsument department stores in Leipzig are packed with merchandise as well as buyers. To Romanians or Russians, the GDR must seem like a Western shoppers' paradise at this juncture. For that matter, the passersby all look as though they just bought their clothes right off the rack this minute. Most of the men are wearing artificial leather jackets; synthetic anoraks and synthetic leisure jackets. These clothes look stiff
and as though they had never been worn—as chic as the kind of thing we would get at "Kaufhalle" or "Woolworth's." The women have print dresses on and polyester coats, mostly in pastel shades; but there is a small minority that can afford to buy more fashionable clothes at the "Exquisite" shops. There one can get Western quality at outrageous prices—skirts for 900 marks and more. The women who wear outfits of this kind cannot be told apart from our Westend ladies.

Punks and SSD

"I am opposed to marriage on principle; I agree on that with Rudolf Rocker." Where else could one talk to a punker about an anarchist stalwart like Rocker? Only in the GDR. My 18 year-old friend, who calls himself "Typhus," courteously shakes hands with me when we meet and again when we say goodbye. He and his combo—the others call themselves Snot, Zappa and Toad—rehearse in the basement of the house of an established painter who has no problems with the other tenants. Because of the way they look—either with all their hair shaved off or with their hair cropped short and colored; with their earrings; their Easter march runes sewed on their well-worn imitation leather jackets and their buttons with the names of Hungarian punk groups on them—and the monotonous and infernal noise they make with their drums, people do tell them from time to time: "they ought to line you up against the wall" or "they ought to put you in a camp." Some of the names the few groups that do exist have given themselves are: the "Drumofutzies," "The Downward," "The Rage" or "The Collapsing New Flats." Their songs tell of the stinking metropolis, the consumer—mad petit bourgeois, the everlasting orders and the littlel escape routes. "Booze, boozel Only schnapps can make me loose."

On the road with a friend in the southern part of the GDR. If you have a tourist visa, you stay in hotels and here we are cruising down the Lausitz valley in our car to Leipzig, Dresden, Gera and Jena, of course, the secret capital of the GDR peace movement. We wonder whether the few addresses our Western peace activist friends have given us will help. At the end of the first evening, we are no longer skeptical. The man we are looking for is not at home himself but instead we wind up at an apartment where some 20 young people are trying to get the West German TV signal so they can watch the "Rock Palace" show. At first they are suspicious but then they quickly make us feel at home and draw us into a hot and open discussion which rids us of our own paranoia soon enough.

This get-together results in a number of invitations to other apartments, other circles and other cities. In the space of 8 days, we meet almost 100 people belonging to the peace, youth and artist scene. Occasionally, the people we talk to suddenly seem afraid. In Jena most of all, the SSD has done a pretty thorough job. Many activists were deported to the West and some went to jail. On the evening of our second day in Jena—after we had spoken with 30 people—the leaders asked us to go easy. Information from Western journalists can make life almost as difficult as espionage. In Jena, they say, "one drop is all it takes to make the whole thing boil over."
Most of our hosts, however, took the position: "We will not let them browbeat our minds. Every year, the countries we can go to get fewer. No more Poland, Romania and Hungary are practically out. To the Soviet Union they only let us go with travel groups. The only place left is the CSSR. We are living like in a prison here. And if we voluntarily give up on visits from the outside, we might just as well voluntarily enter a padded cell. I want to be able to talk to you the way I really think. Even if they are listening in, I don't care. I will talk to the SSD exactly the same way."

Citations and admonitions by the authorities are as much the order of the day for those belonging to the scene as a trip to the employment office is in our society. This is what 23 year-old skilled worker Mike has to say about his encounters with the SSD. Long-haired Mike wears glasses with metal frames and is well educated like almost all the people we talk to. His favorite authors are Oskar Panizza, Kafka, Kubin and Valery. "You can at least have a discussion with those guys," he says. "The thing of it is they are simply smarter than the one-track-minded, crude VoFos. Also, when you listen to their questions carefully, you can find out a lot about what is going on in other cities." He is a "guest" of theirs almost every week. The interrogations last anywhere from 3 to 16 hours. "But in between they give you good food to eat. I never had better wiener than I did at the SSD."

The amazing thing is that they will not be cowed. The new scene does not consist of small, clandestine little groups that meet once in a while for an evening of readings or songs. Of course there are such, too. Our host in Leipzig, for example, told us of a poetry reading in his 3-room apartment which almost 100 people attended. Rather, the new groups are made up of open, steadily growing circles of friends whose common meeting ground is giving parties; getting together outside the state-controlled arena and staging occasional small actions—all of which seems to reflect a widespread attitude among some young people in the GDR. The law and order forces over there may be facing some of the same problems our own authorities faced when the well-defined organizations of the left started to dissolve in the mid-seventies.

The official peace propaganda being blasted at the public and the simultaneous militarization of everyday life—this "dialectic" which could also be called a bald-faced "lie" continues to drive people into both the unofficial and the church-sponsored peace movement. Although collecting signatures can be subject to heavy punishment—being classified as the establishment of illegal groupings—more than 200 women, most of them from Berlin, have come out against the military draft. There have been a great number of petitions addressed to Honecker—which is one of the few avenues open to the opposition—which speak out against the treatment accorded conscientious objectors, against military affairs instruction in the schools and against the deployment of both Soviet and American missiles on German soil. The letters are identical but are signed individually—despite the fact that it takes no time at all to be labeled an "enemy of the state."
The "Good People" of the Subculture

Nina, a 30-year-old, thrice-divorced photographer, tells us of her 11-year-old son Boris who is a great fan of Udo Lindenberg's and of punk. When he refused to join in the customary GST exercises, he was beaten up by his classmates to the point of where he even refused to take any oral or written tests whatever. He was forcibly transferred to another school and when he kept it up there, he was given a choice of going into a home or to the psychiatrist. His mother opted for psychiatric treatment. He underwent behavioral therapy and when we visited him he had just been released. He turned out to be a smart, sly little fellow by no means "disturbed." He has no intention of participating in military affairs courses or GST games in the future, either. Nina now fears they will take him away from her and yet she would rather not force him to do things he does not want to do.

This type of education creates personalities who rely far more on communal relationships than we do in the West. The young ladies and gentlemen therefore make up for the restrictive public atmosphere by engaging in private, joint activities.

A very active role is played in this regard by a surprising number of young and self-assured women. Do the sexes really enjoy equal rights in their relations with each other? As far as GDR society as a whole is concerned I have my doubts. Was I only imagining that the expression on the faces of men and women going home from work was distinctly different? Most of the women, I thought, had a distinctly dour look about them while the men seemed to be in a rather good mood. I asked Nina what she thought. "There are official studies on the double burden women have to carry," she said. "According to these studies, our women spend 37 hours on housework, shopping for groceries and taking care of children in addition to their regular working hours. Men only spend 5 hours." Modest attempts by women to discuss this state of affairs publicly are usually suppressed. A loose grouping which meant to discuss problems of this sort in Dresden—particularly the effects these problems had on the women concerned—was prevented from doing so by the police and the room they had originally been promised at an FDJ center was taken away from them. They were told that their meeting was competing, as it were, with the DFV (Democratic Women's Front) and was subject to the legal provision "forbidding the establishment of groupings." Nina irreverently calls DFV the "varicose vein brigade," an assortment of elderly women who occasionally meet for coffee and knitting. When the SSD questioned some of the women, it turned out that three of them were born in Jena—which led the SSD to the inevitable conclusion that the whole thing was an offshoot of the Jena peace movement despite the fact that the three have not lived in Jena for years.
Anyone owning a fairly large apartment tends not to use it as much as a personal refuge but as a place where people can get together for social, political and artistic meetings. The visitors come and go constantly. Every opportunity to give a party or to put on a private musicale is seized at the drop of a hat. When as many as 90 people get together in a two-room apartment, no one seems to think twice about it. Fridays after working hours is the time when people start to go visiting near and far. They hitch-hike, take the train or go in a crowded car—just to see a friend 100 kilometers away who has a farmhouse in the country and is throwing a party.

Leaving the Country in a Mink Collar

The chances for staging actions to coincide with blockade week in the FRG were not deemed good by people inside the peace camp. During the preceding weeks, the SSD had stepped up its repressive measures systematically. In Kottbus, a young woman had been sentenced to more than a year in jail in connection with a meeting of young people—practically "for nothing." In other words, the authorities merely used one of the many flexible statutes (establishment of illegal groupings; anti-government propaganda; rowdyism) to set an example. In particularly hard-hit Jena, the repressive measures caused such desperation among the young people that about 100 of them, wearing white shirts, met on the square in front of the university tower to attest to their willingness to leave the country—all without banners, speeches, chanting or leaflets. When enough of them had arrived, they linked hands and formed a silent circle. Peace activists who wanted to see what was happening were picked up by the SSD before they got to the square and sent home. Those who did not obey were herded into automobiles and driven around the countryside for hours. At length, the VoPos took charge and arrested most of the participants. One young man, who had not engaged in any political activity whatever until then, has since been sentenced to 14 months without probation.

In the aftermath of this incident, there were additional manifestations of the willingness to leave the country in other cities. This, however, has raised a new problem for the peace scene. Suddenly, there are masses of people willing to take part in activities, hoping thereby to get out of the country more quickly. "Recently, a well-dressed woman wearing a mink collar came to us," Martina from Jena told us. "She was the wife of an artisan and wanted to do all sorts of wild things for peace. Then we found out that she and her husband are among the richest people in Jena. They just wanted to get theirs out of the country."

In deporting people, the authorities have launched an avalanche of petitions for exit permits. We met three people who submitted theirs. Ever since they became "visible," they have been unable to stand the pressure at their place of work as well as the constant police checks and house searches. Many others would rather stay. The feeling that "this is our country and we must change things here" is quite widespread. The result is that people are more cautious about wildcat "spontaneous actions."
There is precious little criticism, however, of those activists who were indeed deported or left the country. "If I were faced with the alternative of 4 years in prison or leaving the country, I guess I would leave," Mike said.

The Protestant church is an additional uncertainty factor. Being the only non-government arena inside GDR society, it has thus far played an important role in the growth of the unofficial youth and peace movement. Music groups—even including punkers—which were not allowed to appear in public had a chance to play in the churches.

The workshop and seminar weekends on ecology and peace issues being arranged by young priests are of incalculable value for the discussion of theoretical questions. Between 6 and 9 September, fasts were held in numerous churches which were tied to instructional evenings, films and discussions. For many, this was their first opportunity to enjoy a practical experience of anything like freedom of expression. But there are increasing signs that the church administration no longer wishes these grass roots activities to go on uncontrolled. A pastor in the Lausitz valley is being taken to task for showing an exhibit that does not reflect "church concerns." But it was with respect to Halle youth pastor Lothar Rochau that the church played a particularly ambiguous game. For a long time, his work with young people was considered exemplary. But when young people close to him began to engage in peace activities, the party stepped in. The church administration gave ground and suspended Rochau. And when he applied for a number of open church posts throughout the republic, he was turned down on flimsy pretexts every time. In early October, Rochau was sentenced to 3 years without probation for the "establishment of illegal groupings." The church "helped" by providing him with a lawyer. "They dropped him like a hot potato," a man who calls himself "Kugel" said of the affair. The agitated debate on this case led to a number of people quitting the "Young Community" and a widening gulf between the unofficial peace movement and the church.

Mike thinks that the top church administration and the party have made a regular deal—a reconciliation between explicitly German nationalist old boys and a party leadership that is increasingly picking up on the national issue, particularly during the current Luther anniversary year. "They are in full agreement on authority and order as well as the national issue and they hate uncontrolled movements like the devil hates holy water," says 30 year-old Antje who is into church social work.

Good behavior on the part of the church is rewarded by the SED leadership. Thus, NEUES DEUTSCHLAND of 22 October published the text of a letter addressed to Erich Honecker by the evangelical-Lutheran congregation of Dresden-Loschwitz. "We are distraught about the idea that the deployment of American nuclear missiles in Western Europe—which we all condemn—
will lead to the introduction of the respective countermeasures on our soil and that we and our children will have to live with nuclear missiles immediately around us."

Uncontrolled activities are treated somewhat differently. When 40 women in mourning clothes tried to mail a letter to Honecker at an East Berlin post office, the SSD was right there and took everyone they could get their hands on into custody. On the very same Saturday when NEUES DEUTSCHLAND published the letter by the Dresden congregation, an unlicensed demonstration was about to be held on Alexanderplatz in support of the same goals. Hundreds of SSD men were there and arrested all those who remotely resembled "spontaneous" demonstrators. Quintessentially, GDR government ideology can be reduced to one word and that is control. Perhaps that is why CSU politicians and SED functionaries have been able to understand each other so well of late.
TISCH RECEIVES FRG TRADE UNION DELEGATION

LD212253 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1712 GMT 21 Oct 83

[Text] Berlin, 21 Oct (ADN)---Harry Tisch, chairman of the FDGB Executive, in Berlin on Friday (21 October) received a delegation of the National Executive of the Wood and Plastics Workers Union in the FRG Trade Union Federation [DGB] under union chairman Horst Morich. They exchanged views on questions of common interest pertaining to trade union work in different social systems. They described the struggle to preserve and secure peace in order to avert the threat of a nuclear war as the paramount concern of trade unions in representing their members' interests. Dealing with the appeal addressed by the trade unions in socialist countries to all trade unions and working people in Europe, Harry Tisch stressed the compelling need to mobilize all peace forces in order to end the arms race, intensified by the most reactionary imperialist forces, and to prevent the deployment of new U.S. nuclear weapons in West Europe.

A meeting of European trade union representatives, as proposed in the appeal, is imperative for the sake of peace and survival, detente and disarmament, security and cooperation.

Both sides agreed that the trade unions in both German states bear a special responsibility in the struggle to prevent the planned missile deployment and to enforce disarmament steps with due regard for equality and equal security. They affirmed that war must never again start from German soil.

In this connection Horst Morich gave an account of the fall actions undertaken by DGB unions in the FRG against the siting of new medium-range missiles in Europe.

The FRG trade unionists showed great interest in information about the comprehensive rights and varied tasks of the FDGB in shaping the advanced socialist society. Harry Tisch briefed them on the contribution made by the trade unions to the stable and dynamic development of the GDR, where the working people live in social security. Both sides emphasized the necessity and usefulness of bilateral trade union relations and their continuation.

The FRG trade union delegation will leave for home on Saturday.

CSO: 2300/105
FRG, WEST BERLIN YOUTH DELEGATIONS VISIT

AU251415 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 21 Oct 83 p 5

[ADN Report]

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—A delegation of the working group of Evangelical Youth (AEJ) in the FRG and in (West) Berlin visited the GDR from 17-20 October at the invitation of the FDJ Central Committee. Central to the visit were talks on the tasks of the FDJ and AEJ in defending the youth's interests in their respective states, particularly the prime basic right of mankind to live in peace.

The representatives of the AEJ and FDJ agreed that ending the nuclear arms race is the most pressing requirement of our time because more armament does not in any way guarantee more security, a press statement reads. Therefore, the efforts of all peace-loving people are necessary to banish the danger of a nuclear inferno. The fact was underscored that never again must a war emanate from German soil.

The stationing of new U.S. intermediate-range missiles in Western Europe must be prevented so that an agreement is achieved in Geneva on the basis of equality and equal security at the lowest possible level. Disarmament in East and West and cooperation rather than confrontation are the requirement of the hour, the press statement goes on. It is in this spirit that the dialogue between youth associations from states with different social systems should be carried on. A nuclear-weapons-free Europe would create the best preconditions for the cooperation and peaceful living together of the peoples of Europe and particularly of the citizens of the two German states.

The guests had an opportunity in Rostock to acquaint themselves with youth policy, particularly with vocational training and environmental protection in the GDR. The AEJ delegation met for an exchange of view with Prof Dr Gert Wendelborn, vice president of the GDR Peace Council.

CSO: 2300/106
USSR-GDR YOUTH FESTIVAL LETTER TO CPSU, SED

East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 17 Oct 83 p 1

[Letter from the participants of the Sixth USSR-GDR Youth Festival in Kiev to the CPSU and SED Central Committees]

[Text] To the CPSU Central Committee general secretary, Comrade Yurii Andropov; to the SED Central Committee general secretary, Comrade Erich Honecker;

Dear Comrade Yurii Andropov! Dear Comrade Erich Honecker!

We, the participants in the Sixth USSR and GDR Youth Festival express thanks on behalf of the Leninist Komsomol and the FDJ, on behalf of the youth of our fraternal countries to the CPSU Central Committee and the SED Central Committee for their constant concern for the youth.

We live in a society which is characterized by the creative work of the working people in which the people are the center of attention. The young generation of the Soviet Union and the GDR is proud of the glorious traditions of the workers class of our countries and carries the baton of the echelon of revolutionary construction into the future. The fraternal friendship and close cooperation of our states and peoples under the leadership of the Marxist-Leninist parties—that is a concrete implementation of the ideas of Lenin in our time. That is an example of our unity and cohesion in the struggle for building socialism and communism.

The festival turned into an impressive demonstration of the solidarity of the youth of our countries, their loyalty to the revolutionary ideals as well as to the aims and tasks set by the CPSU and the SED. The festival was a manifestation of the readiness of the youth of our countries to defend the achievements of socialism under all conditions. The festival has made a great contribution to increasing the experiences of the Leninist Komsomol and the FDJ. It convincingly demonstrated the firmness and efficiency of the relations of our fraternally allied youth organizations.

Our festival encourages us to participate even more actively in improving developed socialism and in strengthening the economic strength of the community of socialist states and to activate the actions in the struggle against international reaction raging in various parts of our planet, in the struggle for peace and security of the peoples of all countries.
We regard it as our duty to untiringly learn from the communists, to assume characteristics of revolutionary fighters, to constantly increase our knowledge, set an example ourselves, assume an active attitude to life, and to be in the forefront of the builders of communism!

We unreservedly approve and support the foreign political course of our parties that is aimed at preserving peace. We welcome the peace initiatives of the USSR, the GDR, and other socialist states which open up practical possibilities for stopping the dangerous international development, guaranteeing the security of the peoples of our planet. The USSR and GDR youth will untiringly strengthen the friendship between the peoples of our countries and work and struggle for the triumph of the ideas of communism.

Long live the fraternal friendship and unshakable unity of the youth of the USSR and the GDR in the struggle to build socialism and communism!

Long live proletarian internationalism! Long live communism! Long live peace!

The participants of the Sixth USSR-GDR Youth Festival

Victor Mishin, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Leninist Komsomol
Egon Krenz, first secretary of the FDJ Central Council.

CSO: 2300/106
REPERCUSSIONS OF ABOLITION OF JARASES DISCUSSED

Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 25 Oct 83 p 4

[Interview with Dr Lajos Papp, state secretary, chairman of the Council Affairs Bureau of the Council of Ministers, PPF Presidium member, by Valeria Reval: "In the Interest of Local Council Autonomy"; date and place of interview not given]

[Text] As we have already reported, at its latest session the Central Committee approved a proposal to abolish the jarases and to perfect local administration of the party, state and society. This very important decision is causing exceptionally many changes in the tasks, authority, organization and liaison system of the councils at the various levels, and it is affecting directly or indirectly the citizens as well. Especially the abolition of the jarases and of the megye councils' jaras bureaus is a topic that interests and affects many people. What warrants the Central Committee's decision, and how much more streamlined will public administration be with the abolition of the jaras bureaus? These are the questions that Valeria Reval, a member of our staff, discussed in an interview with Dr Lajos Papp, state secretary and chairman of the Council Affairs Bureau of the Council of Ministers.

[Question] What is the role of the jarases in our system of public administration?

[Answer] As administrative subdivisions of the megyes or counties, the jarases or districts have an exceptionally long, about 600-year, history in our country. In the beginning there were changes in the areas and seats of the jarases, and initially their tasks were primarily the administration of justice, tax collection, and the maintenance of public order. Subsequently the areas and seats of the jarases became permanent, and their tasks and competence were broadened. The democratic transformation after the country's liberation produced significant changes in status of the jarases as well, just as it did in the state's entire organization. In 1950, when the system of councils was introduced, councils were formed also at the jaras level. In the first years of their existence the jaras councils were concerned mainly with taxes, compulsory deliveries and other, not exactly popular, tasks. Consequently, their representative nature and self-governing role were unable to develop suitably. With
the enactment of the second Councils Law, mostly since 1957, the jaras councils were assigned increased economic and supply tasks, and they played a key role in agriculture's socialist transformation and subsequent consolidation. The third Councils Law, in 1971, abolished the jaras councils and established jaras bureaus, with different functions and tasks. Their activity and role were limited mostly to aiding the development of the village councils' independence, to ensuring the personnel and material prerequisites for this, and to organizing joint village councils. For very many years the jaras bureaus aided the development and independence of the villages and the work of the village administrations. The personnel of the jaras bureaus achieved noteworthy results in implementing central decisions and in enhancing the development of our entire society. For this both the chiefs and the staffs of the jaras bureaus deserve our gratitude and recognition.

Role Ceased

[Question] The Central Committee's decision has probably been preceded by substantiated studies and is based on carefully weighed reasons. Would you care to discuss them?

[Answer] Abolition of the jaras--in other words, elimination of the intermediate level of local public administration--did not occur overnight and was not a precipitate decision. In response to the development of the economy and of the state's life, significant changes occurred also in local public administration. They not only warranted, but directly necessitated abolition of the jaras. The broadening of the economic units' independence was not limited to the economic sphere; even though at a slower rate, it necessarily affected also public administration and state management. Our efforts to broaden the local councils' independence, competence, tasks and responsibility gradually reduced the role of the managing organs, and among them the role of the jaras bureaus. It might be worth while to cite a few examples to illustrate this. After a time, the independence of the agricultural producer cooperatives made the operational participation of the jaras in the management and supervision of farm production unnecessary. More and more large-village councils were formed in Hungary, with authority similar to that of the town councils. These large villages took over more and more authority from the jaras bureaus, and also the megye council delegated them authority in many areas. All this resulted in the gradually diminishing role and functions of the jaras. A contributing factor was that the effective Councils Law abolished the jaras organs, thereby making more direct the relations between the megye councils and the village councils. Simultaneously the megye councils were granted authority to regulate the investment resources and budgetary revenue of the villages and to determine the amount of their state grants; and the operation and management of jaras institutions were taken over by councils at various levels. A few years ago also the territorial state supervision of agriculture was taken over by the megye councils, and--as a part of the process of modernization--several towns have been providing for some time health care, social and labor services, and sports administration for the entire jaras as well. An integral part of this process was the establishment of public administration in the outskirts of towns, and parallel with it also the development of a more balanced network of towns, an increase in the number of joint village councils, and a reduction of the number of village councils. From all this it is
evident that abolition of the jarases is a natural consequence of the development of our social, political, economic and state life. Hence it is necessary and even inevitable.

Not an Aim in Itself

[Question] What is the purpose of developing local public administration?

[Answer] Public administration is streamlined when it is able to aid effectively the realization of our social and economic policies, regional development, development of settlements, and improvement of the population's supply and living conditions; when it creates better conditions for the unfolding of socialist democracy. The mentioned changes serve specifically this purpose. And an indispensable condition for the realization of these objectives is to gradually broaden the authority and independence of the village councils, and to further dismantle the restrictions placed on them, so as to provide wider room for spontaneous creative work and the mobilization of local resources. We have been mentioning the possibilities inherent in local independence so often that to many people it might perhaps sound commonplace. And yet we must emphasize repeatedly that independence of the local councils is not an aim in itself! The standpoint of the Central Committee also addresses the question of the local councils' independence, primarily the need to achieve this independence increasingly also in the economic sphere, to strengthen their economic interest in, and responsibility for, the creation of material resources and their efficient use. Also for this reason it will be warranted to increase later on the proportion of own revenue within the local councils' total revenue, reducing thereby the present "distributive" role of the megye councils. Thus the growth rate of a settlement would depend to a greater extent on the development of its own economic units, on the activity of the council organs, the organizing ability of the council leaders, on the uncovering of local possibilities and, last but not least, on the sacrifices that the local residents assume.

District Centers

[Question] How will abolition of the jaras bureaus streamline and modernize public administration?

[Answer] Primarily by making more direct the relations between the megye and local council, since an intermediate link will be eliminated. As of 1 January, the village councils will be subordinated directly to the megye councils. In view of the fact that the conditions and possibilities for direct administration are still lacking, however, direct megye administration of the village councils, in relation to some of their tasks, can be achieved only with the cooperation of the designated towns and large villages. A resolution of the Council of Ministers designates these so-called districts centers—i.e., the towns and the large villages with town status that are cooperating in megye administration—as well as the villages and large villages that belong in the administrative areas of the individual district centers. It is still possible, however, for some large villages to be administered directly by a megye. The megyes presented proposals for the designation of the district centers. The proposals reflect the peculiarities of the network of settlements and adapt to the demographic, geographic and historical conditions of the given areas.
[Question] What advantages does the population derive from all this?

[Answer] In the final outcome, every modernization and simplification of public administration serves, directly or indirectly, the interests of the population, and this is the case also now. As I have already mentioned, the village councils are acquiring the major share of the competence and authority of the jaras bureaus. Village residents will thus be able to attend to more matters locally and more simply, without having to travel. And one "guaranty" that the work of the village councils will improve, and that they will handle matters faster and more professionally, is that the megye councils will have to use primarily for the reinforcement of the village apparatus the wage funds and personnel freed as a result of the jaras bureaus' abolition. The population's supply and living conditions will foreseeably improve also as a result of the fact that closer cooperation is expected to develop between the councils of towns and of large villages with town status on the one hand, and the village councils within their spheres of influence on the other. I have in mind particularly development of the infrastructure, joint maintenance of institutions, joint organization of services, coordination of environmental measures, and preparation of lots for housing construction. Such partnerships will accelerate and enhance within territorial development and the development of settlements within smaller areas.

Spheres of Authority, Division of Labor

[Question] What tasks and spheres of authority will the future district centers assume as a result of their participation in megye administration of the villages?

[Answer] I wish to state in advance that the relationship between the towns and the large villages with town status on the one hand, and the village councils on the other hand, will be characterized basically by equality and cooperation. The tasks and authority of the councils participating in megye administration will be substantially more limited than in the case of the jaras bureaus, and this in itself will guarantee that what is involved here is not merely the moving of offices from one place to another. The bulk of the authority of the jaras bureaus as public-administration agencies of the first instance will be taken over by the villages. For example, welfare matters, certain matters pertaining to guardianship and trusteeship, the regulation of store hours, etc. The settlements that function as district centers will handle as public-administration agencies of the first instance only the matters that require greater professional knowledge or are less routine. They will review as public-administration agencies of the second instance the appeals from the decisions of the village councils' specialized administrative organs, and they will also perform certain tasks delegated to them by the megyes. Their tasks will include also direction of the activities of the institutions maintained by the village councils. The institution of the coordinating committee consisting of council chairmen will be retained. It has already proven its viability as a useful forum of cooperation among local councils, within the establishment of public administration in the outskirts of towns.

[Question] What tasks are devolving on the megyes in the administration of villages?
[Answer] As I have already mentioned, relations between the megyes and villages are becoming more direct. So far as the methods of supervision are concerned, we expect that there will be fewer operational interventions. In many respects the megyes have already been administering the villages directly, and they are being assigned certain additional tasks as of 1 January. The assertion of central direction, representation of the local councils' interests, determination of the directions of their activity, oversight of the legality of the village organs' activity, supervision of the local councils' executive committees and the reviewing of their reports will unalterably remain megye tasks. In carrying out these tasks—for example, in investigations within overseeing legality, in supervising the specialized administrative organs in the villages, in tax and budget audits—the megyes will involve also the council organs of the towns and large villages. In addition, planning, investments and budgeting are likewise megye tasks. Besides the listed tasks, the megyes will handle also personnel matters and exercise the employer's rights in relation to village officials. For example, the authority of the jaras bureaus' chairmen to assign the village-council chairmen and executive-committee secretaries to salary brackets, determine their remuneration and prepare their evaluation will devolve on the megye councils, and not on the councils at the district centers. As already noted, supervision of the village councils' special administrative organs is a megye task, and I think it is important to point this out because specifically this is the area in which the megyes will be able to rely the most on the district centers. Primarily in aiding day-to-day operations, in the training and further training of the workers.

[Question] Are the conditions ensured that will enable the local councils, and the village councils in particular, to cope with their new tasks?

[Answer] It is indisputable that the abolition of the jaras bureaus will mean a heavier workload primarily for the workers of the village councils. The vast majority of the village councils' leaders and specialists will be able to handle the new tasks, even though many details are still unclear at present. Incidentally, expansion of the village councils' authority is not an entirely new phenomenon, rather it is a lengthy process that is an integral part of the efforts to perfect public administration. So far as qualifications are concerned, the executive-committee secretaries in practically every village are now university or college graduates, and also most of the administrators meet the necessary requirements and have passed their special examination. Simplification and modernization likewise have made their work easier, and the handling of many types of cases has been streamlined. However, the situation varies considerably. In a few smaller villages you will not always find qualified leaders and well-trained specialists; and in many settlements the turnover is high, due also to low pay. In the reorganization we are relying on the assistance, and especially the loyalty, of the jaras bureaus' chiefs and specialists. In other words, we are counting on them not to leave public administration, because their knowledge, special training and vast experience are sorely needed in public administration.

Humanely

[Question] What will happen to those who leave? Are the councils being kept up to date on the details of the reorganization?
We regard as our special concern the fate of every chief and specialist at the jaras bureaus. It is the duty of the megye councils to help them to relocate or change professions, humanely, circumspectly, and taking into consideration as far as possible their personal circumstances. The councils are receiving in due time detailed information and instructions regarding the division of authority and changes in tasks. In conclusion I would like to emphasize that abolition of jarases is one way of broadening the independence of the villages. And broader independence permits livelier activity within the councils, the pooling of local resources, partnerships among the councils, and the seeking of more cost-efficient and economical solutions, in investments as well as in the operation of existing institutions. As a result of all this, we can expect sounder and faster growth of our villages, which will certainly help to retain the local population. Naturally, this will not happen overnight, just as we cannot expect an immediate radical change from the mere fact of the abolition of the jarases. However, consistent fulfillment of the tasks will reinforce the beneficial effects of these changes, and sooner or later the population, too, will feel these effects.
NEW PASSPORT LAW IN 1984: TRAVEL, APPLICATION FACTS

Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 7 Oct 83 p 5

[Article by Borbas: "Passports and Travels"; passages within slant lines are in italics]

[Text] With the coming of autumn, the large tourist season is over. Our experience as of this date has shown that our countrymen's desire to travel has not flagged this year.

We talked with police colonel Mrs Tibor Drucker, the head of the Passport Office in the Interior Ministry, about how the increasing tourist traffic is reflected in their work.

[Question] Earlier, there were opinions expressed that because of the increasing tensions in the international sphere, and respectively because of the worsening economic circumstances, fewer people would depart for foreign countries.

[Answer] With respect to the activity of the regional passport offices, we can conclude, with the support, by the way, of the statistical data for the first half of the year, that the tourist traffic is increasing in spite of the above mentioned facts. The increase in the number of exit visas both in the case of the socialist and the non-socialist countries is characteristic of developments. In the first six months of the year, 25 percent more people travelled to a foreign country than did last year, up to the end of June. A total of more than a million-and-a-half of our countrymen have crossed our borders.

[Question] Can it be expected that in the second half of the year this tendency will be continued?

[Answer] Certainly, since the large tourist traffic is characteristic of July and August, when most people travel to foreign countries. And the end of the year is still to come, when because of the holidays, the number of visits to relatives increases. It is worth mentioning in connection with the increasing desire to travel that this can be attributed, among other things, to the fact that the state, besides its measures to encourage savings, has provided the opportunities for travel in the form of currency, that is, the National Bank does not limit currency requirements.
Quicker Processing of Cases

[Question] Which forms of travel were the most popular?

[Answer] As in previous years, individual and group tourism have been the most common forms of travel abroad, but the number of those who have crossed the border with visitor and service passports is also appreciable.

[Question] As long as the matter of different types of passports has come up, can we hear about the new plans?

[Answer] There will be detailed information appearing about these at the end of the year. Let me just say now, by way of an introduction, that preparations are in progress for the release of new passports. These will be valid as of January 1, but I want to emphasize that it will be possible to travel with the existing passports as long as they have valid exit permits. This measure is designed to avoid any hitches and make the switch from one passport to another as gradual and as smooth as possible.

[Question] As far as the handling of the case load, more and more people are saying that requests are being carried out quickly and politely.

[Answer] We are glad to hear such comments, and I must add that indeed there are signs of improvement in the handling of the case load. The majority of work falls on the local police departments, and experience has indicated that even during the peak seasons, they keep to deadlines. This is in spite of the fact that technology is of little help since a lot of manual work is required.

[Question] When are most passports requested?

[Answer] The main body of work begins in March. June and July are not as heavy, but during these months the number of extraordinary cases increases.

Reasons for Refusal of Requests

[Question] Are there passport requests which are denied?

[Answer] Naturally, there are some, but their number is insignificantly small. As compared to earlier years, a decrease can be observed in this category. During the first half of this year, we denied only 0.4 percent of passport requests. In the case of non-socialist countries, this number was 1 percent.

[Question] What reasons are there for refusal of passport requests?

[Answer] First of all, any criminal procedure against a person is a cause for denial of a passport. Those who have broken import and currency regulations also do not get one, at least for a period of time. We also deny requests if we find that an individual cannot meet the financial requirements for a stay abroad, and also in cases in which an individual did not behave in a manner appropriate to a Hungarian citizen on previous trips abroad. And I may not even have to say that anything harmful to the interests of the Hungarian People's Republic can serve as a cause for denial.
WORK, ORGANIZATION OF FOREIGN POLICY RESEARCH INSTITUTE OUTLINED
Budapest HUNGARIAN DIGEST in English No 5, 1983 pp 13-18
[Article by Gyula Bognár]

[Text] Researching international politics is just as important for small nations as it is for the major powers. The latter more or less shape the international political scene, while the smaller nations' scope for action is rather limited. Thus, familiarity with the vital decision-making forces is essential.

Academic study of international affairs began in Hungary about ten years ago. In 1972 the Hungarian Government adopted a resolution which provided for the setting up of the Hungarian Institute of International Relations and the publication of its quarterly journal, Foreign Policy.

Extending international links

As a result of Hungary's domestic development and a favorable international climate, Hungary's links with other countries rapidly widened over the last two decades. Hungary's economy is an open economy and the role of foreign trade is important. The transition from extensive to intensive development in the economy took place at a time when détente emerged as the predominant mood in international politics. The intensification and modernization of production was accompanied by fuller integration of the Hungarian economy into the chain of international economic relations. More intensive cooperation with the socialist countries is the most important development, although Hungary's ties with the advanced Western and developing nations have also expanded considerably and Hungary is determined to develop relations with these countries further for mutual benefit.

Hungary ascribes great significance to economic cooperation between countries with differing social systems. One reason is the direct economic advantages this produces by channelling new resources into the development of the economy. Secondly, expanding economic links helps stabilize the international political situation.

The demands of domestic economic development have thus greatly increased the significance of international relations and détente has created the necessary conditions for their improvement. Foreign trade has developed rapidly and now accounts for half of Hungary's national income. Under Hungary's new system of economic management a growing number of companies and cooperatives have been granted the right for direct foreign trade. As a result a growing number of state institutions and social organizations have established direct links with
other countries. These changes have been accompanied by increased interest in international relations in Hungary. It was only a few years ago that the Hungarian Academy of Sciences recognized political science as an autonomous discipline. Although there had been some research into certain aspects of the field earlier, only the new organizational framework brought about an improvement. The demand for reliable research and projection grew rapidly. More importantly, however, it became increasingly urgent that Hungary should enter the mainstream of international scientific research. The number of international conferences on the subject of international relations grew where Hungary had the chance to voice its position. Following a somewhat belated start, research began under close cooperation with the official organs responsible for the shaping of Hungary's foreign relations.

An independent body, the Hungarian Institute of International Relations was set up. The institute is supervised by the Foreign Minister.

The main task of the Institute

The activity of the Hungarian Institute of International Relations covers three main areas:

1. It investigates the theoretical and practical aspects of international relations.
2. It conducts research into the position and aspirations of countries and regions that are important for Hungarian foreign policy.
3. It receives and informs scholars, journalists and study groups visiting Hungary.

Special mention must be given to the Political Science Association, which has a special section on international politics, the basis of which is the Hungarian Institute of International Relations. The Political Science Association comprises professionals specializing in international politics and plays an important part in organizing the scholars involved in political science research. Opportunities for research work in the field of political science will continue to increase in the future and this will affect the work of the Institute of International Relations.

The Institute's staff includes historians and economists, lawyers, sociologists and philosophers, whose common interest is, within their own special field of investigation, international relations and issues pertaining to foreign policy. This underlines the fact that political science is a typically modern interdisciplinary branch of science, which embraces several traditional areas of science.

Organizational structure

At the helm are the director, the deputy-director and the academic secretary.

The research workers are divided into three departments:

— Department for Socialist Countries;
— Department for Advanced Capitalist Countries;
— Department for Developing Countries.

Within the Department of Information and Documentation there functions a specialized reference library and scientific documentation division. The department also publishes research studies, such as those put out by the various departments. Other works are circulated in typeset form outside the Institute. Foreign Policy (Külpolitika) is the Institute's theoretical and political journal — which is also edited by the Institute's staff. The journal also publishes material by outside contributors, both Hungarian and foreign. Each issue contains a summary in English and Russian.

The Institute works with a staff of forty, small by international comparison.
Ten years' experience

The Institute's work is based on medium-term and annual plans, but numerous studies, compilations and analyses are prepared beyond the planned number — in response to unforeseen demand. Consultants are also called in to do research into special areas for which the Institute has no expert of its own.

Research conducted in the course of the past ten years has extended to relations between the socialist countries, relations between the socialist and the advanced capitalist countries and the developing countries, current international issues and certain theoretical issues pertaining to international relations. Special significance has been ascribed to Europe, to other regions important for the foreign policy of the Hungarian People's Republic and to research pertaining to the implementation of the Helsinki Final Act. Basic research has been carried out on the international balance of power, détente, East-West relations and international security.

The Hungarian Institute of International Relations maintains regular contact with similar institutions in other socialist countries — mainly within the framework of long-term cooperation agreements. Joint conferences are held at regular intervals in areas of mutual interest. Several cooperation projects have been established within which research into topical international political issues has been jointly carried out for a number of years with other institutions.

The Institute also maintains regular contact with the advanced capitalist countries of Europe and the United States, though cooperation with geographically distant countries has been considerably hampered by the financial difficulties of recent years.

The Institute regularly exchanges publications with dozens of other institutions.

Cooperation with institutes in Bonn, Hamburg, London, Paris, Geneva and Canada is far-reaching, and regular contact with them is maintained by joint round-table conferences; research workers attend and contribute to discussions, conferences and symposia when their special field of interest is on the agenda. The Institute of International Relations is convinced that international contact between specialists and the exchange of views are vital from an academic and political viewpoint.

Amongst the Institute's guests have been distinguished politicians such as Willy Brandt and other prominent West German figures, the foreign minister of Tanzania, the director of the Norwegian Institute of Foreign Relations, and the secretary of the Indian Communist Party. Personal meetings were arranged in the Institute between distinguished British, Finnish, Austrian, Swiss and other politicians, diplomats, scientists, and journalists. The guests have also delivered lectures.

A common form of international cooperation is the scholarship under which research workers spend a certain period of time, from a few months to a year, at foreign institutes. It is primarily the younger generation of research workers at the Institute who avail themselves of this opportunity. Special mention must be given to the fact that an institute was set up last year in the United States to study East-West cooperation. The director of the Hungarian Institute of International Relations is a member of its directorial council and a Hungarian research worker is always one of its members.

In recognition of the work of Hungarian specialists of international politics, Gyula Gyovai, director of the Hungarian Institute of International Relations, was invited to attend the United Nation's special session on disarmament in 1982. Together with directors of
twenty-six other countries’ foreign relations institutes, Gyula Gyovai was given the opportunity to speak at the world’s most prestigious international political forum. Moreover, a special issue of Foreign Affairs (Kulpolitika) on the arms race and disarmament was distributed prior to Gyula Gyovai’s speech. An English language edition of this issue was prepared especially for this occasion by the Institute of International Relations. (Certain journal articles are also published in English and are included with copies sent abroad.)

The establishment of the Hungarian Institute of International Relations was facilitated by the international political climate which prevailed during the 1970s. How does the present cooler political climate affect the Institute’s work? As the long-term interests of all nations demand the setback in the development of international relations is probably a temporary one.

By nature, political science advocates the necessity of the development of inter-state relations on the basis of mutual rights, though obviously it is itself incapable of making political decisions. Just as the discipline of economics uncovers the objective trends in international economic cooperation, so the analysis of international political issues lead, of necessity, to issues whose resolution unequivocally demand international cooperation. The most important of these is the cause of peace in which everyone is concerned, not least the scholar of international relations.

In the present situation it is vital to analyze the lessons of détente and of the tense period which followed it, in order to help speed up a return to peaceful relations between the countries with different social and political systems. This will create the opportunity to study and explore countless other problems of international political relations as well as helping to resolve them.
POLICE BRUTALITY HOSPITALIZES DISSIDENT EDITOR

Zurich NEUE ZUERCHER ZEITUNG in German 28 Sep 83 p 3

[Article by "ap": "Pressure on Hungarian Dissidents--Report on Police Brutality"]

[Text] Vienna, 26 Sep--According to information from Hungarian exile circles, Gabor Demszky, co-editor of the illegal Hungarian opposition publication BESZEL O, is said to have been seized by a police patrol and beaten so badly that he had to be taken to a hospital for outpatient treatment. As was stated on 26 September in Vienna by members of Hungarian exile circles, police stopped Demszky on Friday just as he was driving to the apartment of Laszlo Rajk, which is regarded as a meeting place for the intellectual opposition in Budapest. The officers allegedly pulled Demszky out of his car and began to search it. When the dissident protested, they are said to have thrust him to the ground and to have beaten him with rubber truncheons. Demszky is said to have suffered bruises and a concussion as a result.

Under pressure from the authorities, Rajk, son of the communist leader Laszlo Rajk who was executed during the time of Stalin, had to give up his apartment located in downtown Budapest, which served as a type of bookstore for illegal literature. His new apartment on the outskirts of the city, however, has also become a meeting place for dissidents. According to a statement from Viennese exile circles, dissidents on the way to or from Rajk's apartment are frequently stopped and searched by police.

CSO: 2300/98
PROVINCIAL TRADE UNION ACTIVITIES REPORTED

Trade Unions With People, for People

Kielce SŁOWO LUDU in Polish 22 Sep 83 p 3

[Article by Adam Berlewicz: "With People and for People"]

[Text] The reborn trade union movement has begun to undertake new initiatives. In practically all public and professional centers, it has made its presence felt and is becoming ever more active; it is becoming a real advocate of workers' interests, as well as a partner of plant management. This is also happening in the Zebiec Mining and Metal Plants.

Bogdan Cyganek, a member of the union leadership, puts it this way: "Our plant organization currently has 700 union members out of a work force of 2,000 people. Is this a large number or a small one? It depends how we look at it. In my opinion, this fact does not mean that it is currently so good that it cannot be made better. However, in order to visualize upcoming changes, we need to have a look at what has already transpired. Initially, the establishment of our union was a very difficult undertaking. Among the work force there were those, fortunately not many, who did everything they could to prevent the union's establishment. And they did not stop at half-measures. They even resorted to frightening people. Even half a year ago, after we had already registered the union, there were just over 100 of us unionists."

Under such circumstances, the key direction of union activity was acknowledged to be, and time proved that this was correct, the need to consolidate in everyday work the presence of the trade union. And not the window-dressing presence which was cuddled and advertised several years ago, but a presence which results from the needs of the work force and the requirements of the moment. These needs and requirements were not only the solution of people's concerns and problems, but also the creation of a climate which promoted a collective effort and productive labor, as well as watchfulness over the compliance of standard regulations and statements with regard to the actions of plant management. The work force had to see that the intentions of the reborn union movement were sincere and that it was acting
on behalf of and for working people. Talks with management were often firm and bold. They ended, however, with a situation where a common ground was determined, taking into account both the interests of the individual and the collective, as well as the rights of the plant. Is this always possible?

Henryk Mergalski, the chairman of the union's leadership and also the only activist on the union's payroll, believes that it can be so. But at the same time, he adds that good faith is indispensable for this, as are understanding and a partner-like regard for the interests of both negotiating parties. As a result, as soon as the union began its activity, there was a plant meeting of representatives from the party's plant committee, the workers' council, management and the union. At this meeting, it was determined what belonged to whom and who answered for what so that no one would harm the interests of the others. Indeed, the goal is unanimous: the good of the work force and of the plant. A promising future lies before everyone.

As a result of recent decisions by the plant's management, boilers for the central heating of single-family housing construction have been produced. These decisions were easily made. Production is increasing, as is demand. This situation is presenting the plant with the chance to specialize technologically and convert itself to the production of boilers. We will not jump so far into the future, but interesting things are currently underway.

Housing is currently issue number one in the union's program. Although the needs are great, the possibilities for satisfying them are small. Nevertheless, we succeeded recently in purchasing three apartments in the Starachowicki Housing Cooperative. These apartments have already been allocated to the workers.

Chairman Mergalski states: "We are currently finishing up with another apartment for a charwoman from Department W-7. They have promised us assistance from the City and Gmina Office. And there is still one more item. The union is not a hermetic organization. We act not only on behalf of union members, but also for the entire work force. Only the person counts for us, his concerns and his problems. Everyday life treats everyone the same way. We recently paid out some allotments. Who was it that received them? All those who expressed a desire. We did not ask anyone about union affiliation. Eighty people received allotments here and 40 in Starachowice."

Edward Pietrzak, a metalworker and chairman of the Social Living Conditions Commission, joined the conversation: "The same was true for our holidays. There were enough for everyone. We had completely satisfied the requirements for resorts and summer camps for our work force's children. That had been an achievement by itself. We were just getting the system to work. I won't even mention the pensioners and retirees. We organized a 2-week vacation for them at the plant recreation center in Krynki. We intend to have a meeting with them about this. And what about potatoes and vegetables for the work force for the winter? We will not replace the plant's social services, especially since it can manage so well by itself."

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The union's intercession activities should not be omitted. Not a day goes by without several people seeking advice, a good work or support from our good offices. And for various reasons, most often for personal ones. In a decisive majority of cases, we have been able to settle requests and demands favorably. Mergalski reaches for a binder and provides some of the first cases settled. He remarks "An auto mechanic, Jan Lagowski, came in with a request for a job transfer. The union interceded and got him one. Krystyna Babek had not been considered for a wage increase. She came to the union's office and explained her case. She convinced the union that she was in the right. The union was also successful on her behalf." We will let Barbara Wojciechowska, a stenographer, talk about the next case: "I was not earning much, 26 zlotys an hour. I turned to the boss for an advancement. He promised that he would work things out. One pay period went by, then another. Still nothing. I repeated my request, but this time to another boss. This one turned out to be at least honest. Without any formalities, he declared: 'You are pregnant, so you don't deserve a raise.' How can this be, I thought. What does this have to do with the price of putty in India? I turned to the union. They told me to make a statement. A few days later, I received a reply. It was favorable. Next pay period, I will receive 400 zlotys more."

Franciszek Urban, the vice chairman of the union's administration, says: "Talks with management over wages are not easy. We know that there is a crisis and inflation. But we somehow work things out. Recently, we managed to get raises in the emoluments paid to people who work under strenuous conditions and earn the least, like blacksmiths and welders. We had to start somewhere. We've been working on this barely 6 months. We are pinning our hopes on an incentive pay system worked out by management. After evaluating it, the union approved its implementation. In this case, it was a trial run in two production departments. If it passes the test, it will be implemented throughout the plant."

In closing, it would be appropriate to bring up one more very important issue. The day for registering the federation of the professional metal and electronics machinery union is drawing near. I had the chance to sit in on the discussion of this very subject with the union presidium. It was determined to provide the union membership with information on this federation, its future authority and capabilities. It was admitted that the best way to do this would be through meetings of the individual union sections. The plant's radio system will be used for this purpose as well.

Trade Union Rights, Formations

Rzeszow NOWINY in Polish 22 Sep 83 p 3

[Text] Not a Day Goes By

Workers without union affiliation at the State Farm [PGR] in Bircza already find themselves in a distinct minority. Of the 290 workers there, 183 had already joined the union's ranks by last Monday. I repeat: by
Monday. Already on 19 September I interviewed Jozef Jakubaszko, the chairman of the Farm Workers Trade Union Administration [ZZPR] at the Bircza State Farm. Right away, he pointed out: "Not a day goes by when someone doesn't express a desire to join our union. More and more people understand that this is necessary, really necessary."

A strong union element is active at the Agricultural Works in Leszczaw and at the works in Mielnow where everyone has signed up with the new union. Trade union activity is again becoming a matter of course in the remaining plants of the Bircza enterprise. Only farm workers from Kotow who still have a wait-and-see attitude are an exception.

The union activists of the Bircza PGR have demonstrated no lack of patience and faith; the impasse in Kotow will be overcome sooner or later. Life itself confirms the need for this organization to exist and operate in order to protect the interests of the PGR workers. Had it not been for the assistance and intercession of the trade union, three families of PGR farm workers in Leszczaw and Cisowa would still be waiting for an apartment. The union's administration took matters into its own hands. In the view of those looking for shelter, the matter was settled. Of course, there are considerably more of such everyday issues which could be cited. Many facts confirm that the opinion of the Bircza PGR unionists is worth something and is a factor in all workers' issues considered.

So it was during the debate on the division of the welfare fund. The union strongly declared itself in favor of increasing the sum designated for cultural activity at the PGR center, and the union got what it had wanted.

There are many tasks facing the union: the implementation of the economic reform, the need for agriculture to guarantee the nation's self-sufficiency in foodstuffs, and the need to guarantee the work force suitable conditions under which to live and work.

Bircza's workers believe that an important factor facilitating their reaching of the designated goals will be the affiliation of their organization to the Federation of Trade Unions of Polish Agricultural Workers, which was registered with the Provincial Court in Warsaw on 14 July. At that time, the Bircza PGR union was one of 761 trade unions which joined the mentioned federation. It is worth mentioning that Jozef Jakubaszki, the ZZPR chairman of the Bircza PGR, was in the founders' group of the national union organization.

Regional Trade Unions

According to information provided by the Polish Press Agency [PAP] on 16 September, the new trade unions increase their membership by an average of 200,000 workers a month. The trade union movement is again expanding in four provinces of south-eastern Poland, just as across the entire country. Here is a sample of the figures confirming this process:
Krosno Province:

--213 trade union organization have been registered;
--70 founders' committees and 12 initiative groups are active;
--the trade union movement in the Carpathian region is made up of 31,000 members or 28 percent of all employed there.

Przemysl Province:

--there are trade union elements in 201 plants and institutions, that is, in two-thirds of all units where trade union organizations are permitted by law;
--founders' committees are active in more than 80 plants and institutions;
--trade unions comprise around 28,000 members, who make up almost 35 percent of all workers there;
--one of the largest unions is the Polish Teachers' Union, which has 3,300 educators and teachers.

Rzeszow Province:

--trade union organizations are active in 318 plants and institutions;
--222 plants have founders' committees and new initiative groups;
--more than 45,000 people, or 24.1 percent of all employees, belong to the reformed trade unions (the statistics are from the end of August).

Tarnobrzeg Province:

--the new trade unions have elected their leaderships and are continuing legal activity in 243 enterprises and plants. Soon, an additional 45 unions will elect their leaderships; these unions have already been registered by the Provincial Court;
--44 founders' committees and 35 initiative groups are becoming active mainly in smaller plants and institutions;
--the number of new union members already exceeds 41,000 people; this is more than 32 percent of all the workers in the socialized sector of the economy.

Workers' Single-Family Houses

This is a statement by Henryk Woloszyn, chairman of the Trade Union of Metal Plants Workers in Nowa Deba:

"We have discovered that one of the most basic issues for a large part of the work force and their families turns out to be the issue of housing. Few apartments were built in Nowa Deba between 1975 and 1980. Afterwards, a definite improvement occurred, and at the beginning of this year we were able to provide apartments in two plant buildings and at the hotel. A cooperative block was next. All this provided 160 apartments. The work force's needs, however, are greater; beyond this, we have to strive for continued building and the further development of the city."
"The enterprise's directors are planning to build two more plant housing blocks. Excavation has already begun for the first block, which will have 25 apartments, but trees are still growing on the site of the second block. The removal of these trees currently presents the greatest problems. It really is not a forest but a grove of pines which was to be removed long ago. I am greatly surprised that our enterprise finds this to be so much of an obstacle, all the more so since we already gave guarantees from the firm for the completion of the two buildings, as well as the financial resources in the plant's housing account. We will 'bear down' on management and generally where it is necessary so that the 25 apartments in the first building can be allocated already in the fourth quarter of 1984, while the other 40 will be turned over in the second building by 1985.

"We also plan to build a community of single-family houses in the Poreby Debski district. Our union will sponsor this action. We want to build these houses with the assistance of those plants which produce a special type of building bricks. Interest on the part of the work force is great. Some of our workers are all ready to contribute their efforts towards the planned construction. For us trade unionists, however, it is a question of those workers being able to build homes for themselves who, apart from modest financial resources, make their own efforts first and only later can pay back their credits..."

Let Us Keep the Union Law in Mind

Who settles the legal questions arising from the practical application of the provisions of the union law?

This question was brought up during one union's registration process with the Rzeszow Provincial Court. Union members had written into the adopted law that the union's leadership will settle any legal questions arising as a result of the law's application. The court did not share this view, acknowledging the cited text as being in opposition to the act on trade unions. Neither the act nor any executive rules issued on the basis of the act can regulate any problems of interpreting the rules of a legally registered union, particularly if the interpretation is made by the trade union itself. It is necessary to keep in mind that any interpretation of the law's provisions could turn out to be defective—something that is entirely possible—and result in a change in the law's basic provisions.

The act requires that the court be immediately advised of any changes in the law which might result from the practical application thereof, insomuch as such changes have to be registered. The court reserves the right to refuse the registration of the act which indicates any changes in the nature of the organization. Any change to the act's regulations is supervised by the court to insure compliance with the law as a result, only the court is empowered to interpret the law's provisions. Many union members, including the union's agencies, recognize the need to make certain changes in the provisions of the act. But they can do this only in the manner suggested by the act—in the form of a resolution adopted at a general meeting by the union members. No other agency is empowered to make such changes. The
cited view is not a restriction to self-action and union independence; it is only supposed to oppose any future arbitrariness and strengthen union democracy.

What conditions need to be met in order to be elected to union leadership?

The answer is to be sought, above all, in the regulations of the given trade union. The act only introduced the principle that elections for union leadership must be secret and that all members have an active or passive voting right. Regulations, however, may make distinctions if administrative duties cannot be combined with trade union duties. They can also define that a position may not be filled by the same person for more than two terms. A restriction of a different kind arises from the act concerning the self-government of a state enterprise's work force--membership in the worker council's presidium cannot be granted to a worker performing leadership functions in the union organization which is active at that enterprise. This restriction, however, does not exclude the possibility of such an individual being elected to the workers' council.

How are union positions currently established?

The issue of positions should be autonomously regulated in a statute. Particularly, it is a question of how long it has been since someone was a member of another trade union, how much union training one had during military service, what kind of affiliation one had with student organizations, and how long one was abroad.

The possibility of including periods of union absence may legally depend on whether dues were paid during the absence. Union training is one of the basic conditions in determining whether one receives union services, paid for by union funds, for instance, legal allotments or allowances.

How can workers of small plants or trade workshops, private home custodians and maids establish a trade union?

Workers who, because of their small number, may not establish a union organization in factories may implement their right to unionize by establishing nationwide union organizations in their respective work sectors, employment areas or professions. In order to establish a union, they should appoint representatives to a founders' group which then elects a founders' committee.

How does a union intervene?

Trade unions exercise public supervision over the working and living conditions of workers and their families, as well as abide by workers' rights. In the union's opinion, if the action on the part of the state or economic administrative agency does not comply with the law in these matters or violates the principles of social justice, then the union must confront the immediate agency trying to eliminate the reported incongruity. The agency approached is required to provide a response to the charge within 2 weeks. A negative response requires particular justification.
Trade Union Consultations at Gorzow

Zielona Gora GAZETA LUBUSKA in Polish 24-25 Sep 83 pp 1, 3

[Article by (so): "Union Consultations"]

[Text] Based on a proposal from the Provincial Notification Team—Advisor on Trade Union Matters with the Provincial People's Council [WRN] in Gorzow, a decision was made to hold periodic meetings of the chairpersons of plant trade union councils and provincial institutions with the directors of the provincial office, as well as with the responsible representatives of administration services and agencies. These meetings will serve to exchange information on the problems of union activity, the situation in the plants and their work forces' complaints, as well as on the activities of the provincial authorities and other services in the region's basic spheres and sectors of life. The union aktiv has also exposed various negative phenomena and problems in its work which need to be immediately handled by the responsible services for clarification and assistance.

During Friday's meeting of union council chairpersons from 30 of the largest plants in Gorzow province, people discussed the winter provision of potatoes and vegetables, the acquisition of working clothes, as well as the obstacles in developing the plant's housing program.

Governor Stanislaw Nowak took a position on these issues and informed those gathered about the tasks of administrative and economic agencies in these areas. He also touched upon the adopted organizational plans for distributing potatoes and allotting building plots. Only the shortage of working clothes can be substantiated by low production; on the other hand, the problems of potatoes and building lots can result only because of negligence on the part of management and the plant's social services. For this reason, union members have to bring them "to life." Stanislaw Nowak also informed the plant council chairpersons about the province's economic and marketing situation.

Further along in the meeting, the principles of public inspection and the election of plant inspectors were discussed, but only for the purpose of educating those gathered in these area.

Unionists Meet with Warsaw Authorities

Warsaw EXPRESS WIEZORNY in Polish 26 Sep 83 p 7

[Article by (ws): "Barriers and Discord Are Not Needed, Strength and Credibility Are"]

[Text] The leadership of the FSO, Ursus, Waryński and Warsaw Steel Mills trade unions deserve much recognition for their organization last Friday of a meeting of Warsaw Province union activists with the political and administrative authorities of Warsaw and central headquarters. - Many of the meeting's participants emphasized that the reborn trade union movement has needed this extensive forum for a long time now in order to exchange views and allow for a presentation of both sides' ideas to the local and central authorities.
The meeting's 3-hour proceedings and the statements by several dozen speakers were recorded on tape. This will provide a live and permanent document of difficult times and issues.

All issues, regardless of whether they were presented quietly or loudly, can be summed up as follows: concern over the honesty and authenticity of the young union movement. Present-day activists, who are gaining experience only slowly, are worried about the future growth of their membership and the union movement itself. Already at the start of their journey, they are running into various barriers.

Dariusz Szewczyk from the FSO presented the situation most clearly as he exemplified relations between the workers' self-government and the trade unions operating in the factory. Theoretically, the roles are divided and each party knows what it has to do. However, areas of activity overlap. This leads to unnecessary discord, especially when regulations are freely interpreted. Questions of authority result. Simultaneously, the professional movement, although it may and must take a stand on specific issues, is relieved of its so-called legal authority in matters touching upon the entire work force.

Looking at this issue from another perspective, the opinion of the unionists needs no respect and the union has no way of executing its decisions.

Management and self-government have proper authority. The union still has an incomparably powerful weapon: the strike. But, the meeting participants argued, why rush to this last alternative if rules and regulation can be corrected?

The themes of plant administration, self-government and unions appear in various contexts. There was discussion on the negated role of the unions in the plants and the slowness with which proper desires and demands were dealt. Cases which were disturbing to the unionists were presented for consideration, e.g., ticklish issues like finances.

The whole country knows about the conflict between the unions and the Wieliszew Horticultural and Market-Gardening Combine. It has been ongoing since the union was organized there. Robert Jankowicz, a member of the Federation of the Agricultural Workers' Trade Union, put it this way: "However, despite all the different commissions, etc. the matter has still not been settled."

Of course, much was said about construction, which is usual with such meetings. Warsaw's authorities were criticized for their sluggish procedures in solving these issues. The mayor, Division General Mieczyslaw Debicki, answered these accusations by presenting to those assembled the inherent difficulties and the methods of overcoming them. It turned out that there is building going on in Warsaw, but... the unionists are not aware of it. There is a shortage of information on sites chosen and legal procedures. Certainly, the housing needs of the work forces cannot be dealt with quickly, but things are not really so bad.
From the beginning of the meeting, the subject of wages, prices and cost of living came up again and again. Many speakers expressed a fear that wage regulation would have its greatest impact on the working class. Anxiety was also caused by the proposal to include compensation with wages, as well as the imposition of a social welfare tax. Stanislaw Bar from the founders' committee of the Construction Trade Union Federation Center pointed out the discrepancies in the regulations referring to wage management.

Minister Stanislaw Ciosek discussed the issue of wage policies against the backdrop of the country's economy. He affirmed that changes are indispensable. Because of these changes, great reserves of productivity will be tapped in the plants. He also stated that the trade unions need quickly to appoint a suitable apparatus to study the relations between wages and the cost of living accurately. In answering the charges against the officers keeping watch over the holdings of former trade unions, the minister promised to keep an eye on their activities.

Marian Wozniak, a member of the PZPR Central Committee Politburo and first secretary of the Provincial Committee, closed the meeting. He stated that trade unions struggling to bring the country out of the crisis should harmoniously join together their defense of workers' interests with greater productivity.

The meeting participants praised the appeal for world peace. In accordance with the will of those assembled, the unionist-organizers of the meeting reformed themselves into an international commission authorized to collect, work out and decide on suggested proposals and demands.

12247
CSO: 2600/61
SOCIAL-CULTURAL STATUS OF POLES

Poll on Living Standards

Poznan GAZETA POZNANSKA in Polish 27 Sep 83 p 3

Article by Wojciech Pielecki

We are constantly under the magnifying glass, for the number of polling institutions has increased recently. There is one affiliated with TV and radio, one with the government, we are being studied by the Institute of Marxism-Leninism, by students and by PAN (Polish Academy of Science) members; also PRON (Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth) is thinking of having its own, independent Gallup Poll. This is good: as a result, the centers of authority, as well as we ourselves, know what is going on. Who knows, maybe this is actually the best way to consult problems and projects. After all, sociological research on representative samples was acknowledged as reliable a long time ago, naturally, provided that it is not influenced by any manipulations which, unfortunately, happens quite often in the world. Then the results of two polls on the same subject differ decisively.

Polish Gallup Polls do not demonstrate such "lapses." Although they are independent of each other, they bring quite similar results. For instance, towards the end of 1983 adult Poles view reality much more rationally than a year ago. Almost two-thirds of the society acknowledges the presently existing political reality and think of their plans and aspirations within its framework. Naturally, the degree of acceptance differs, but it is acceptance. Feelings are clearly becoming stabilized, although anxiety about maintaining the present standard of life is clearly marked as well. This anxiety is also shared by the representatives of the authorities, whose views in this respect do not differ much from common opinions.

The lifting of martial law is naturally mentioned among the factors stabilizing social feelings and the situation, as well as the proclamation of amnesty, noticeable improvements of the supplies of basic articles, more and more pronounced existence of various citizens' organizations—the movement for national rebirth, self-government and trade unions and, finally, the open style of acting of the authorities, calling for a dialogue.
However, the stabilization of feelings does not mean the stabilization of the passive attitudes, which were a fairly universal phenomenon in 1982. Today social activity is clearly reviving and—in accordance with the logic of social psychology—it will continue to grow. Soon it will match the activity of the authorities, especially as the percentage of Poles accepting reality demonstrates a constant growing tendency. Hence it would be desirable for all the participants in the dialogue to notice clearly the problems which must be solved in the economic and social spheres of the country, but also in the consciousness of us all.

For instance, two-thirds of adult Poles support the economic reform, but only 51 percent of the "supports" are moderately positive. Only 42 percent of Poles are interested in it to the degree that allows a fairly competent dialogue, while the rest do not care about the essence of the reform. More than half (1) would like only the government to establish prices; and only 30 percent are for a price system compatible with the principles of the reform.

Thus the situation is not so good at all. There is simply confusion about the problems of the reform and, after all, it is all of us who are to implement this reform, correct its principles, improve its final shape. Naturally, such a great maneuver cannot be carried out without the active—and not only verbal—support of the basic social force of the nation, i.e., the working class. "At the same time, as K.T. Toeplitz rightly observed recently, "this class is, paradoxically, far from feeling the material and social advantages of the reform in any noticeable way, especially during its first stage. While the reform has already today stimulated small producers and a number of healthy and unconventional initiatives, and while appropriate price mechanisms will make it advantageous mainly for the most numerous group of small producers in Poland, i.e., farmers, the worker, whose advantages from the reform are connected with the success or failure of his self-financing enterprise, is the first to feel the burden of the maneuver (especially in the form of price regulations), and not its benefits."

This is unfortunately influenced further by the very common belief that the state will act as a rich uncle handing out goods in all directions. Several central decisions granting various additional benefits from the state budget to some more social groups have not helped to liquidate this myth. According to the concepts of the reform, we must provide ourselves for our universal social security. The state should restrict itself only to precisely defined groups of the population, who are really helpless and needy. It is in the enterprise that the basic consumption funds must be worked out: a self-governing enterprise, in which the workers are the actual co-managers making decisions about the quantity and quality of production and about its profits.

But this authority must be effectively executed in the enterprise. Otherwise the old habits of part of the managerial staff will revive, for it tends to disregard its working partners, such as, e.g., the trade unions being created, and will return to the arbitrary style of management. And the next step from there is to destroy the reform.
As can be seen, a considerable change must occur in our universal consciousness, in the way of thinking about the conditions of our present-day common existence. We should look more around ourselves and not only upwards. We must also re-evaluate the concepts which, after all, we universally accept, such as social justice and equality. Their simplistic understanding may lead straight to uniformization, which will destroy all initiative, deprive us of the motivation to work and achieve higher qualifications. And indeed—in the light of the polls mentioned above—such simplistic understanding of these basic principles of socialism seems to be quite universal. I believe that if the view does not prevail that justice and equality mean mainly equal chances in cultural and educational consumption, in life opportunities for the young and in access to the convenience of collective life, and if we do not acknowledge that individual inequality must exist in connection with abilities, character of work and its results, thus causing certain inequality in life standards, then the reform will go to hell and we will not reach prosperity.

It is difficult to realize that we will regain the "comfort" of the mid-1970's only in 1990, i.e., if no dramatic circumstances occur. It is also difficult to realize that the reform cannot bring rapid results and that an increase of the cost of living is not the only effect it is supposed to bring. It is still difficult to look for the causes around oneself. On the other hand, we continue to love ourselves as a nation. Almost 60 percent of Poles continue to worship themselves, considering Poland to be the chosen country and Poles an unusual nation. I believe that if this view continues, it will be difficult to rationalize any conclusions about ourselves.

Health Care, Medical Facilities

Olsztyn GAZETA OLSZTYNSKA in Polish 30 Sep 83 pp 2, 4

Abbreviated speech by T. Szelachowski to the Sejm

The right of man to live in health has been expressed in the constitutional provisions of our socialist state, for health protection has great significance for the prosperous life of each of us, of each Polish family, of the society as a whole.

These are matters of such great importance that much time was devoted to problems of public health at the Ninth Extraordinary PZPR Congress, as well as at the last ZSL and SD congresses; further development of this field has been specified in the adopted resolutions and decisions.

As a result of social inspiration, the subject of health protection is being undertaken more and more extensively by the central and local elements of PRON [Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth].

During his memorable expose delivered in February 1981, in a situation which was especially dramatic for our country, when national existence was at stake, Army General Wojciech Jaruzelski mentioned the problems of health
protection and gave them the highest rank in government proceedings. The problems of health protection found themselves among the 10 most important problems which needed solutions.

The health of the Polish society has not deteriorated during recent years and phenomena which demonstrate that some health parameters have improved have even appeared. Thus the predictions of the opposition about epidemics, hunger, "raging" tuberculosis, growing number of child deaths have not been confirmed. The thesis about the biological threat to the nation turned out to be a lie. Meanwhile, we achieved some of the highest coefficients of birth rate and population growth in Europe last year. Also a small decrease of the infant mortality rate indicator occurred. The coefficient of total mortality rate decreased as compared with 1980. The tendency toward the lowering of the life expectancy of men observed in the 1970's was stopped. In short, many more of us were born, fewer died, we live longer.

Over 702,000 Poles were born in 1982, which means that we acheived the highest indicator of births in 22 years. The situation is similar this year. Thus, every 3 years there are one million more of us. This is good, for it testifies to the biological resilience of the nation. However, the high growth of the population poses before us serious additional problems.

The number of deaths of infants per 1,000 born alive, i.e., the so-called indicator of infant mortality rate, which is considered the most sensitive measure of the health of the society all over the world, has dropped in our country; it was the lowest in our history in the years 1981-1982. Nevertheless, we consider it still too high for European standards.

In 1982 some improvement was noted in the epidemiological situation with respect to some contagious diseases. Such dangerous diseases as diphtheria and Heine-Medina were actually eliminated and the number of cases of typhoid fever, whooping cough, tetanus, as well as of venereal diseases dropped considerably. Diarrhea in infants below the age of two, dysentery, food poisoning and hepatitis, i.e., diseases connected with insufficient hygiene, continue to be a problem, however.

In the years 1970-1982 there was improvement in the epidemiological situation with respect to tuberculosis, but it remains a serious problem.

Our greatest health problems are--as in other countries--the so-called civilized illnesses of the circulatory system, tumors, accidents and deviations in psychic health.

"On the basis of research done in domestic centers, as well as on the basis of evaluations of the World Health Organization, I may take full responsibility for the statement that the state of health of Poles does not differ from the average state of health of the population of most European countries," emphasized the minister.

"The generosity of the society paying for NFOZ [National Health Protection Fund] has had great significance in the construction of centers for the
health service: a number of new hospitals, outpatient and health centers have been erected thanks to it. The results of the social collection for the construction of the Hospital-Monument, Mother-Pole Health Center in Lodz are a new example of this generosity.

"The number of employed physicians, dentists, nurses and midwives is growing as a result of the development of medical high school and university education. However, the number of candidates to medical high schools has dropped and, consequently, we have a gradual drop of the number of "new" nurses, only part of whom undertake employment in the health service.

"A decided majority of the employees of the health service and social care fulfill their duties well and reliably, despite their frequently very difficult conditions of work. However, such phenonema as violations of work discipline and its faulty organization, low cultural standards of work and even making services dependent on material gains exist in our community. A decisive struggle against such phenomena has been undertaken.

"A significant improvement has been achieved in many groups of medical equipment and appliances thanks to the implementation of the operational program. A number of decisions have been taken in the field of improving the distribution of drugs. Priority of supplies in drugs for hospitals and pediatric centers has been introduced and a group of drugs basic for therapy has been isolated: the production and imports have been concentrated on this group of drugs.

"Having in mind the potential health threat resulting from the present socioeconomic situation, the health service and social care have devoted special attention to the protection of mother and child as well as of old and handicapped people."

The state of health of the nation is a function of the socioexistential and ecological situation, sanitary conditions, scientific and medical achievements in the country and in the world, as well as of the resources, organization and functioning of the health service. It is also dependent on the development of civilization, which fosters health improvement, but many also threaten it. Thus, not only political decisions, activity of the government and local administration, or functioning of the health service influence the achieved health effects, but also the attitude of each of us towards our own health and that of others.

In spite of numerous problems and restrictions resulting from the economic difficulties, indispensable steps were undertaken to protect the life standard of the society, steps which have significantly influenced its state of health. Among the most important decisions in this field we should mention the protection of the lowest-income group of people, the raising of pensions, a significant increase of means for social assistance and great efforts directed at maintaining food supplies and distribution on the indispensable physiological level. The tasks in this field were included in the operational programs. Means were redistributed in order to give priority to social buildings and apartment construction projects; leaves for rearing children
were prolonged; the Office for the Protection of the Environment and Water Management was established, and an introductory inventory of the areas in greatest ecological danger was prepared; extensive relief activities prevented the epidemics that threatened us.

However, we are still having problems in supplying the population with good water, removing impurities and guaranteeing adequate food hygiene, especially the purity of milk and hygienic conditions of work and study.

Experience indicates that the possibility of achieving a decisive change in this field depends not only on the invested funds, but also, to a considerable extent, on the level of social activity. The social movement for village hygiene contributed to the improvement of life conditions in the countryside in the past. I believe that it is worth returning to this good tradition.

Unfortunately, threats to life and health of the population of our country are also connected with excessive consumption of alcohol and smoking. In recent years narcotic drug addiction has become a health and social problem. New legal acts have recently been adopted in order to guarantee more efficient forms of preventing and countering these threats. If only they are executed and observed, we can expect better results.

Almost 10 years ago, during its plenary session, the Sejm of the PRL [Polish People's Republic] discussed and expressed approval for the provisions of the governmental program for developing health protection in our country until 1990. The government has undertaken steps to implement its tasks and, wherever possible, make up for the delays. Recently, however, attention has mainly been concentrated on creating conditions for undisturbed work of the health service and social care.

The funds earmarked for the activity of health protection have been increased from 93 billion in 1980 to 263 billion in 1983. A number of decisions were made which were to protect hospital construction projects in the years 1981-1983. While approximately 2,000 hospital beds were put to use in 1980, the number for 1981 was 4,500 and for 1982--5,500. Due to the growth of population and natural losses of hospital equipment, the average age of which is 60 years, the indicator of beds per 10,000 inhabitants has been staying at almost the same level for many years. It is one of the lowest in Europe. This causes very difficult conditions for hospital treatment and difficult conditions of work for the medical staff, which is known to everyone. The government has now created a situation in which it will be possible to put to use about 5,000-6,000 beds yearly in the future; this should ease the problem.

We are working this year on 117 hospital construction projects--40,500 beds, 3,000 places in houses of social care, 70 nurseries, as well as 157 outpatient centers and 190 health centers.

Since 1981 340 buildings have been taken over for the health service, of which 175 have already been utilized. Consequently, among other things,
1,300 places in houses of social care, 880 hospital and convalescent center beds as well as 65 outpatient centers have been acquired.

The society's generosity still has great significance in funding construction projects for the health service and social care.

Although the yearly contributions of the population to the NFZOZ amount to over 4 billion zlotys—and 34 billion zlotys have been spent on health protection in 1983—a number of new hospitals and health centers have been built out of these social means. In thanking the contributors—said T. Szelachowski—I would like to express the conviction that contributions of this kind will continue to enjoy social support. The results of the collection for the construction of the Hospital-Monument Mother-Pole Health Center in Lodz are an example from recent months."

The number of employed physicians, dentists, nurses and midwives has been growing as a result of the development of medical high school and university education. However, the indicators of employment we have achieved are lower than in many European countries and they do not fully satisfy the needs yet.

The situation in the education of nurses is a matter for concern. The number of candidates for medical schools has dropped and, consequently, also the number of "new" nurses has dropped. In this situation 40 new schools for working nurses have been opened this year and more schools are being organized. The acceptance of candidates to the existing schools has been increased by 25 percent. The government has earmarked additional relief funds this year to increase the salaries of nurses, midwives and wardens employed in hospitals in the three-shift system. Considerable emphasis has been put on proper territorial distribution of the medical staff.

A decisive majority of the health service and social care employees fulfill their duties reliably in spite of frequently very difficult conditions of work and pay. However, negative phenomena exist in our community, which have been criticized by the society, such as, e.g., bad organization and violations of work discipline. There have been complaints about the low cultural level of service. There have also been cases of making medical services dependent on material gains. A decisive struggle against such phenomena has been undertaken.

As a result of the implementation of the operational program, significant improvement has been achieved in many groups of medical equipment and of articles of basic importance for medical treatment. The implementation of the program of development of the network of computerized tomographs and artificial kidney centers is being continued in our very difficult economic situation.

A number of decisions have been taken in the field of improving the supplies and distribution of drugs. Priority in supplies of drugs for hospitals and pediatric centers has been introduced and a group of drugs of basic importance for therapy has been isolated; production and imports have been concentrating on these drugs.
The health service pays special attention to mother and child care in these times of hardship for the whole society.

The activity of the health service has been mainly concerned with the development of prophylactic services. Care for expectant mothers has been improved, all infants have been guaranteed periodical checkups and about 75 percent of children and teenagers have been given examinations. Unfortunately, there are still difficulties in many provinces with guaranteeing specialist medical and rehabilitation care to children and teenagers.

We will consistently develop and enrich the forms and extent of mother and child care. A special role is played in this field by the Center for Child Health already today, and will soon be played by the Hospital-Monument Mother-Pole Health Center in Lodz.

The solution of the problem of care for people requiring assistance is possible only if cooperation between the state and social organizations is better than it has been so far; it is also dependent on shaping the proper model of the family, neighbors' assistance and, finally, on human good will. Professional social service plays a significant role within the framework of this system. The number of social workers has doubled in the last 3 years. Thus there are greater possibilities of eliminating the past weaknesses of community social care. Services and home care are still the greatest problems. Homes of social care must continuously be built. They are not the best solution, however, even though they might seem to be one. Old trees should not be uprooted. We know that old people feel best in their own community. They only need appropriate care and assistance.

The solutions to many problems depend on the degree of organization and activity of the basic health care, which is unfortunately still our weakest point. Hence it draws the highest number of critical remarks from the society.

On 18 December 1981 the government adopted detailed "Directions of Improving Local Basic Health Care in the Years 1982-1985." The activities undertaken are already bringing first positive effects. In 1982 the employment of physicians in regional outpatient centers and health centers increased by nearly 900 people. A total of 59 new centers of basic health care have been organized and improvement of accommodation has been achieved in 206 regional outpatient centers and in 234 health centers.

Further improvement of the organization of the basic health service is connected with the continuing experiment in free choice of physician. It will be continued until the end of 1983, and then its results will be evaluated and conclusions will be drawn regarding possible more general use of this solution.

The industrial health service takes medical and prophylactic care of approximately 5.5 million employees working in the industry. Many critical remarks were presented concerning its functioning during the meetings of the prime
minister and members of the government with the representatives of trade unions and employees of plants. We are drawing conclusions from them. We are adjusting the directions of actions and organizational solutions to the current health needs and postulates of the workers.

An evaluation of the situation in health care cannot omit the medical sciences, the results of which have provided the foundations for taking decisions in the sphere of health protection of the society by prophylactic activity, as well as in the fields of diagnosis, treatment and rehabilitation. We can be proud of a number of achievements in the basic and clinical sciences, many of which are of world-wide significance.

During the coming years the government will concentrate its efforts on the main health threats and on satisfying the elementary needs in this respect. It will devote attention to groups of people who require special care, i.e., to the old and the handicapped, as well as to people working in conditions harmful to their health; and finally, to the prevention and fighting of social diseases. Activities providing for further improvement of supplies of basic drugs, articles and equipment used in everyday medical practice will be continued.

Naturally, steps will also be undertaken to implement the tasks defined in NPSG [National Socioeconomic Plan] for the years 1983-1985. The government realizes that these are modest plans, but we will not be able to afford more in the near future.

Intensive work on a complex of bills concerning matters of health and social care is being and will be continued.

During this month the Presidium of the Government discussed the provisions of the bill on health protection, work on the planned bill on the office of the minister of health and social welfare will end in the nearest future. The government will discuss an outline for a bill on preventing drug addiction. Work on an outline for a bill on state sanitary inspection is well advanced.

The government has undertaken work on updating the program of the development of health protection and social care until 1990. While the final tasks of the program, e.g., in the field of construction projects for health services, in achieving the planned levels of supplies of drugs, medical equipment and appliances, should be kept unchanged, the times for their implementation must be defined realistically.

This must be done because of the necessity of taking into consideration the provisions of the World Health Organization strategy for "Health for Everyone by the Year 2000" and because of the connections with the demographic and health prognosis for the population of our country until the end of the present century, which predicts that almost 13 million Poles will be born by the year 2000.

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The growth of the population by approximately 15 percent in this period will require building hospitals for about 100,000-200,000 beds by the year 2000. We must think about ways of implementing this task already today.

Providing adequate health and social care for the growing population of older people is another important task. In the year 2000 the number of such people will reach almost 6 million and will constitute over 14 percent of the total population of the country.

All the activities of the government—concluded the speakers—are and will be directed at strengthening the state of health of the Polish society, since health is seen not only as a condition for the favorable economic development of the country, but also as the happiness of each Polish family and each of us.

Modern Portrait of Poles

Warsaw EXPRESS WIECZORNY in Polish 4 Oct 83 pp 1, 2

Article by (peg)³

A new cultural season is beginning: difficult but, nevertheless, festive. Polish culture is preparing for the celebrations of the 40th anniversary of the PRL (Polish People's Republic).

The initial announcements suggest that we will get a rich, full and universal portrait of Poles themselves. It will be a contemporary portrait, recorded by the achievements of outstanding artists, cultural activists and animators over the period of 40 years. The culmination of the celebrations will take place between the months of May and September 1984, although a number of cultural events will accompany us for a much longer period of time. Here are some of the announcements:

--The publishing houses are getting ready for the anniversary. The readers will receive several scores of long awaited books dealing with the latest period in our history.

--No fireworks. Performance halls and theaters are preparing their customary, well-tried show cycles. The Theater of the Republic will try to present outstanding performances in Warsaw and elsewhere.

Theatrical festivals will again become a place of confrontation between directors' ideas and actors' creativity.

One new thing is being announced in the calendar of these meetings. Namely, the Forest Opera might become the stage for a small operatic festival in the summer of 1984!

--We have a number of musical events. They will also be of the gala type. The oldest one—the Chopin Festival in Duszniki—will get the patronage of the
MKiS Ministry of Culture and Art, the Warsaw Autumn will have a retrospective program of the Polish school of composition. Also a new thing is being planned in the field of music for the next winter—a Festival of Symphonic Orchestras from the Capitals of Peoples' Democracies.

--The older as well as the newest creations will contribute to a cycle of fine and rich artistic presentations. It seems that the gigantic exhibition called "Painting in Peoples' Poland 1944-1984" presented in the Warsaw "Zacheta" will become the representation of the post-war creativity.

--We sometimes recall the great achievements of Polish cinematography on the occasion of the September days of Polish movies. Such a retrospective show is awaiting us also during the anniversary year of the PRL. It is possible that also the temporarily suspended festival of new movies in Gdansk will take place.

--The great archive of history, which can be found in our numerous museums, will be reviewed by the commissars and scriptwriters of over a dozen interesting exhibitions. The Museum of the History of Polish Revolutionary Movement—with centers in Lublin, Chelm, Olsztyn and Kielce—is preparing for it.

--The former Survey of the Cultural Activity of the Working People will return to the calendar of cultural events under a different name: "Amateur Movement for the Motherland."

The cultural gala on the 40th anniversary of the PRL promises a richer season than usual. Even richer, which we note with satisfaction.

Outstanding artists and cultural activists from all over the country met at the Lazienki Palace on the Water on 3 October 1983 to celebrate the inauguration of the cultural year 1983-1984. During the meeting diplomas were handed to the winners of the awards of the Minister of Culture and Art for artistic creativity in 1983.

The total of 54 individual and group awards of the 1st and 2nd degree were granted in the fields of literature, music, fine arts, artistic photography, theater, circus art, cinematography, radio and television, museums and protection of cultural treasures, spreading of culture. The winners were congratulated by Deputy Premier Mieczyslaw Rakowski.

Composer Piotr Perkowski expressed thanks for the honorable distinctions in the name of the winners.

The meeting ended with a concert of Polish music. Pieces by Karol Szymanowski, Ignacy Paderewski and Henryk Wieniawski were performed by Krzysztof Jakowicz (violin) and Joanna Bochenska (piano).

Those present at the meeting in Lazienki included, among other people: Wlademar Swirgon, secretary of the PZPR Central Committee; Witold Nawrocki,
head of the Central Committee Department of Culture; Jerzy Ozdowski, vice marshal of the Sejm; Stanislaw Wronski member of the State Council; Brig Gen Albin Zyto, deputy chief of the GZPWP [Central Political Board of the Polish Army]; representatives of political parties, social organizations and administrative authorities from all over the country.

12417
CSO: 2600/108
AUTHOR COMMENTS ON NATIONAL CHARACTERISTICS

Warsaw KIERUNKI in Polish No 41, 9 Oct 83 p 8

Article by Michal Dobroczynski: "National Characteristics for Repair"

"Poles consider it patriotism not to know their own weaknesses." (Cyprian Kamil Norwid)

"It is necessary to accept a new, basic rule of conduct: if we want to avoid errors to the maximum, we should learn precisely from our own mistakes. The worst intellectual sin is to conceal errors." (Karl Popper)

The status of national characteristics should not be exaggerated—the development of societies the world over takes place according to definite laws. But the status of such characteristics should also not be minimized for the purposes at hand—from a long-term perspective this leads to serious errors and failures.

National characteristics constitute a set of social phenomena that are difficult to define. This is the case because they are changeable and slightly different in each part of the country, in almost every occupational group and generation. At the same time, the identification of national characteristics requires some familiarity with corresponding situations in other societies, since only then one can speak of the specificity of a given nation.

Despite all these reservations, it is a fact that every society maintains some peculiar traits which are typical of the majority of its representatives. These traits are both good and bad.

Among the distinguishing characteristics of the Polish society there are many that are respected and esteemed by the foreign public opinion. Patriotism, courage, independence of judgment, the sense of dignity, stubbornness in the defense of deeply held values—all these characteristics distinguish Poles from many other national groups.

But Poles also have their enormous faults. In the face of a great crisis of attitudes, these faults are discussed more often than in the
past. It is perhaps worthwhile to supplement the numerous issues raised in the internal, national discussion with the critical opinions of certain foreigners, of people who wish Poland and Poles well, but who, for understandable reasons, constantly compare the characteristics of their own nations with the characteristics of the country in which they are temporarily staying.

Several observations which have originated from these sources should be pondered. It is interesting that they are not very different from the judgments of those Poles who had the opportunity to compare their experience in Poland with the lifestyle and behavior of other European nations.

Alongside significant abilities to improvise and tolerable results in the organization of work on a small scale, one can observe in Poland extensive incompetence in the area of organizing administrative, economic and technological processes on the wider scale of cities and settlements, industries, associations, etc., but also of offices and other such institutions that are not necessarily very large. In this situation, instead of striving for the achievement of real results, there is much apparent activity consisting of meetings, resolutions, decisions and protocols from which nobody draws any concrete conclusions. Most probably, this is partially connected to our past (lack of statehood, fragmentation of agricultural property, relatively small size of industrial units), but it constitutes a serious threat to the effectiveness of collective efforts not only for today and tomorrow, but also for the distant future.

A tendency towards formal, ineffective action might result from a lack of greater imagination and of broader horizons of thought or it may result from simple opportunism, but it also may be connected with another common weakness: unreliability. Unreliability is unbelievably common in such minor, or ostensibly minor, matters as punctuality, responding to letters, adherence to promised deadlines, etc., but, because of the unity of human character, this carries over to larger issues which might threaten general social goals. It is expressed in the quality of products and services, even in such important areas as education and the protection of health. It also results in a contemptuous or mistrustful attitude on the part of our trading partners in the international arena.

The phenomenon of unreliability is connected with another, more complicated and less unequivocal national shortcoming. It is the attitude towards the world, valuable in certain respects, which might be described as tolerance. But while tolerance for someone else's philosophical systems can be very positively evaluated, the general liberalism in the face of such phenomena as corruption, infringement of trade, traffic, sanitary, and public order regulations has to be treated as a particularly dangerous relic of the periods of near anarchy or of foreign occupation. It seems that in no other European country does the society take such a tolerant view toward breaking the law.
It also seems that there are not many countries where the phenomenon of breaking the law is as common as in Poland. This does not refer to the extent of blatant, criminal infringements of the law but to millions of daily departures from standing regulations. Thousands of cars systematically park in places where parking is prohibited and break speed limits. As inspections and observations demonstrate, most stores contravene the code in a more or less drastic manner. Newsstands are closed when they should be open; lawns are full of self-trodden paths and traces of wheels; streets and squares are full of garbage. And so what? Nothing. These phenomena are so common that a person living in Poland does not notice them any more! Or, in any case, he almost never protests.

If one does not consider the specific sphere of retail trade and restaurants, the circumvention of rules is much more common, and the above-mentioned tolerance much greater in cases where the breaking of the law concerns the interests of the entire society and state. A conductor or an employee of a parking lot does not give back a ticket, or takes back one that has already been used in order to sell it again, and he does so openly in front of many silent witnesses. He is not running much risk since "it is only the state that loses," and states do not mean you or me. One cannot find anything similar in any other European society, at least not on the same scale.

A different attitude towards the state and public property, much worse than elsewhere, manifests itself not only in connection with the custom of free infringement of regulations. Differences exist also in such areas as, for example, the spirit of innovation or the energy put into actions which are clearly much higher in the private area than in the public sphere. It can be said, of course, that in this respect Poles are not very different from many other nations. Many, but not all. In Europe, there are already societies which manifest an impressive scale of effort and energy in the care for the public good, if not state, than regional or communal. But it is still public. A great number of Poles still do not perceive clearly any connection between behavior in the public forum and the most private of interests.

What is worse, this applies to people on very different rungs of the social ladder. Particularism is characteristic, among others, also for significant parts of the administration. This is connected with a highly developed tendency to support groups or cliques, toward favoritism, toward disrespect for the more general matters, and toward such matters for which one is not directly responsible.

In this context, an observer is struck by one more thing: a developed system of various kinds of privileges, formal (i.e., legal, "delegated," as it were) and informal, resulting from the familiarity with arrangements and positions. Obviously, such phenomena occur in many countries of the world, but only in a few are they accepted by such an extensive part of public opinion and are treated as naturally as in Poland.
The particular mixture of tolerance, of the attitude towards state interests and of the attitude towards work, constitutes the peculiarly Polish liberalism—conscious or unconscious—that is manifested by many representatives of the public administration. A high percentage of transgressions is simply, in a practical sense, not noticed. Maybe this has its charm, as it allows for parking one's car in a convenient (illegal) space, for noise after midnight, for underweighing goods, and for throwing cigarette butts on the sidewalk. But it also creates a general belief that being caught is a result of a particularly unlucky coincidence. In a majority of European countries, these matters stand precisely the other way around: only with luck can one avoid quick intervention. And yet, every unpunished circumvention of rules brings new temptations, or in any case leads to disrespect for the legal system that, after all, constitutes a whole and is not composed of rules to be followed and regulations that can be circumvented.

More divergent opinions exist about the Polish culture of interpersonal relations. This culture is more diverse, less homogenous, than other social characteristics; it is very high in some groups or strata and very low in others. Among outsiders it evokes very changeable moods and evaluations, provides pleasant and distinctly unpleasant surprises. In comparison with many nations of Europe, what is striking are the incomparably lower standards of behavior in public places, alongside greater warmth and mutual cordiality in closed groups, that is, among acquaintances. Unfortunately, this last characteristic is connected with the above-mentioned phenomenon of favoritism in professional activities.

The lifting of martial law ended one of the most dramatic periods of contemporary Polish history. But no parliament will be able to eliminate by decree any of the national weaknesses.

This is why concern for a proper diagnosis of social faults and pathology must always accompany—or even be significantly prior to—the work on the elimination of the sources of critical tensions and crises. It would be a simplification of complex reality to reduce difficulties to external factors or to subjective individual mistakes, and such a simplification might even lead to new threats. In order to understand the whole one must search for deeply hidden causes of difficulties. This demands an honest consideration of opinions about our national characteristics, both good and bad, those that resulted from our past, both distant and near, those that resulted from backwardness and from rapid social changes, from institutional weaknesses and systemic mechanisms, as well as those that resulted from megalomania and from critical breakpoints. These characteristics vary, but they actually do exist in their unity. It is to these characteristics that we must adopt the tools of renovation, and not the other way around.

12495
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TV PREPARES DOCUMENTARY ON PAPAL VISIT

Warsaw SŁOWO POWSZECHNE in Polish 4 Oct 83 p 4

[Article by Piotr Wojcicki: "Religious Documentaries"]

[Text] We all remember the emotion with which we viewed the 1981 film 'Cardinal Wyszynski--Legatus Natus,' by Zbigniew Domaranczyk, which was begun during the illness of the cardinal, and because of his death was released unfinished. With equal emotion, the viewer watched the pictures related to the death by martyrdom of Saint Maximilian Maria Kolbe, 'Auschwitz--Requiem' by Andrzej Barszczynski and 'Won By Love' by Maciej Leszczynski and M. Sieminski. These feelings are completely understandable because we are dealing with a Catholic and Polish audience.

We decided then to seek information at the Poltel Television Film Production Studios on works we can look forward to which will deal with subjects of interest to us. The Documentary Film Department, under the directorship of Elżbieta Kozłowska, proposes first of all a film which will be a special document of the last visit of Pope John Paul II to Poland, entitled 'The Second Pilgrimage,' by Krystian Przybylski, Andrzej Czajkowski, and Ludomir Motylski. Twenty camera crews took part in its filming. The anticipated running time is about 1 hour.

The influence of faith on the individual's fate is the subject of a work by Mieczysław Sieminski, entitled 'Joni in Poland' (cinematography by R. Farst, running time approximately 25 minutes). The heroine of the film is a young American, Joni Erickson. At about 20 years of age, a diving accident left her seriously and permanently handicapped. The maker of the film was interested in her attitude towards her new life situation, her entire life afterwards, and her attitude toward her handicap, which rendered her arms and legs useless, and in how her attitude as a full participant in life found its base in an unusually strong religious motivation. Faith in God helped the young girl find faith in her own strength. Today, 31-year-old Joni, one of the best known figures in the West, travels throughout the world, and meets a multitude of handicapped people in churches and stadiums. She tells them her experiences, showing her zeal and will to overcome the adversities of life. Recently, Joni was in Poland. The director asks, with this film, "about the sense of life, about the sources of strength by which one endures illness, about relations among people, and about life's goals."
Mieczysław Siemieniski, along with Maciej Leszczyński, has undertaken the important task of filming a 13-part series, "Religions in the PPR." Following are the titles of particular segments presenting particular churches and religious communities: "The Seventh Day Adventists," "The Baptists," "The Old Catholic Mariavits," "The Catholic Mariavits" (the four above-mentioned segments have already been released), "The United Evangelical Church," "The National Church of Poland," "The Jewish Union," "The Independent Orthodox Church," "The Reformed Evangelical Church," "The Augsburg Confession," "The Methodist Church," "Islam," and "The Church of Christ." The scripts were done in consultation with representatives of the individual churches.

Poltel, the Television Film Production Studios, also performs services related to film production (production of materials, duplication).

And that is all. At Poltel, journalists are accepted cordially and are provided with straightforward information. That is admirable and that is how it should be, but there should also be more production of films on religious themes. After all, it should be taken into consideration that the largest audience is the believing audience. It is worthwhile to consider this in television, which is the most widely disseminated of the mass media.

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MEASURES TO ENSURE MEDICAL CARE FOR MILITARY IN FIELD

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Article by MO Col Dr Constantin Stanculescu and MO Col Dr Gheorghe Cosovei: "The Provision of Medical Care in the Defensive Operation of the Army of Combined Branches in Hilly and Forested Mountain Terrain, Performed Together with Border-Guard Units, Units of the Ministry of the Interior, Patriotic Guards and Other Defense Formations"/

The provision of medical care in the defensive operation of the army of combined branches in hilly and forested mountain terrain, through the complexity and diversity of the forms of relief and of the meteorological conditions, entails both advantages and, in particular, difficulties that make it necessary to know beforehand the possibilities of the country's health network and to take steps to medically prepare the territory for any eventuality of foreign aggression.

To this end, it is necessary to devise a unitary plan for providing medical care that would include the measures for treatment, hospitalization, evacuation, and supply of medical and pharmaceutical materials to the major units of border guards, of the MAI [Ministry of the Interior] and of patriotic guards in the period when they are subordinate to the major units of combined branches.

At the same time, it is necessary to organize the antiepidemic activity through the collaboration of the army's specialized formations with the local civilian ones.

An important role in organizing all activities for providing medical care devolves upon the local defense councils, there being used to as great an extent as possible the local possibilities of billeting, transportation, treatment and medical and pharmaceutical supply.

As published/ medicine in the field

The measures adopted by the Romanian Communist Party in our state for preserving the health of the people, concretized in the optimization of the
medical-aid activities, the construction of new hospitals, sanatoriums and rest homes, the growth of the number of medical and health personnel and the specialized training of them, and the domestic production, to a greater and greater extent, of medical apparatus, medicine and biological products and of other materials and means that can be used, if necessary, for medical purposes—achievements of the construction of our multilaterally developed socialist society—create conditions for favorably solving the problems of treating and hospitalizing the sick and wounded and of supplying medical materials to the armed forces.

Our military doctrine reflects in the fullest form the policy of our party and state regarding the whole populace’s involvement in the homeland’s defense and, consequently, this conception presupposes the participation of both the army’s medical forces and means and those of the territorial health network in providing medical care in the defensive operation.

It is necessary for the organization and the concrete forms and methods of performance of the activities for providing medical care to be suited to the requirements of this doctrine and to be based on the conception of the defensive operation in order to achieve efficient cooperation, in a unitary view, by all medical forces and means of the army and the territory.

Hilly and forested mountain terrain, through its nature and structure, the altitude, the specific meteorological conditions and the characteristics of the hydrographic and road network and due to the relatively low number of localities and inhabitants and the limited development of the territorial health network and the sources of supply of medical materials, leads to some peculiarities in organizing and carrying out the provision of medical care in the defensive operation of the army of combined branches.

Due to the advantages offered by hilly terrain and, in particular, mountain terrain and the conditions for conducting the defensive actions with fewer forces spread along the front and in the depth of the disposition, the health casualties at the level of the army of combined branches will be comparatively lower than in flat terrain. Even in the case of the use of mass-destruction weapons by the enemy, the number of wounded will be lower than in normal terrain, since forested mountain terrain reduces the effect of the light emission and the range of propagation of the shock wave of the nuclear explosions and of the neutrons. There is thus the possibility of giving medical aid in the complete volume both at the level of the medical points of the units and at the firstline hospitals of the major units. Due to the stationary nature of the defense, in mountain terrain there is the possibility of keeping the sick and wounded for a longer time at the medical points and especially at the firstline hospital, thus achieving a higher percentage of wounded who are returned to the subunits to replenish the losses. The lower number of wounded creates conditions for giving competent medical aid and hospitalizing those recoverable within 6-10 days, which will reduce the volume of evacuations and, as a result, the need for means of evacuation.

Longer hospitalization, when the combat situation permits, without causing congestion in the medical formations, is also advisable in order to avoid
postoperative complications, through transportation, under low-temperature conditions.

Hilly and, in particular, forested mountain terrain permits the closer placement of the medical formations on all echelons to the forward limit of the defense, the concealment of them and the use of ravines, of caves or of spots in the dead angle of the terrain.

The placement of the medical formations closer to the forward limit of the defense is also due to the more difficult conditions for movement of motor vehicles and, consequently, it is necessary to take into account the duration of the transportation for evacuation, which should not exceed the time in normal terrain.

In principle, the situation in which the army goes on the defensive, the missions, the disposition, the terrain's nature and characteristics, the season, the number and orientation of the supply and evacuation roads, and the existence and possibilities of the health network and the sources of supply in the area are taken into account in the placement of the medical formations.

From the exercises performed in mountain terrain there has resulted the necessity that the medical formations be put in areas from which they can provide medical care along all directions of interdiction, as far as possible in the vicinity of the road-branching points, as a rule, in valleys, in defiles and on plateaus, and on a smaller area than under normal conditions. When the terrain beyond the road is inaccessible to the medical formations of the major units (the units, the subunits), some can be put behind others along the same road, with the regions being established in this situation by the higher echelon and transmitted to the major units (the units, the subunits) through the medical orders. Depending on the possibilities, it is advisable for the firstline hospitals of the major units to be put in localities or health resorts, using, by mutual agreement with the local defense councils, the buildings (hotels, rest homes and so on) that are suitable to be utilized for medical purposes.

The compartmentation of hilly and mountain terrain leads to some peculiarities in organizing and carrying out the provision of medical care for the army of combined branches. The inherent channeling of the combat actions in certain directions, especially along the wide valleys and the plateaus, and the hard-to-reach terrain that separates different directions confer on them a character of independence.

These conditions make it necessary, in organizing the provision of medical care, to take into account the number and importance of the directions of interdiction for the purpose of sensibly distributing the medical forces and means and, if necessary, to supplement the stocks of medical materials in accordance with the duration of the missions and the possibility of doing the supplying of the major units.

The provision of medical care is organized in accordance with the situations in which the army of combined branches goes on the defensive.
In the situation when the enemy has made a surprise attack, the time for positioning the medical formations and putting them into operation is limited, which makes it necessary to organize and perform with priority the activities for giving medical aid and the evacuation of the wounded from the sectors most threatened by the aggressor, and in order to perform the medical evacuations in a timely manner and provide competent emergency treatment, it is necessary to request from the local defense councils the hospitalization of the wounded at the territorial hospitals and the temporary participation of motor vehicles existing in the area in the evacuation of the sick and wounded.

A special importance will be accorded to organizing the provision of medical care for the units (subunits) that carry out raids and forays against the enemy. Medical personnel, medical and pharmaceutical materials, and means of evacuation are provided to them in relation to the duration of the mission.

The provision of medical care for the major units (the units, the subunits) of border guards from the time of their going under the subordination of the army of combined branches is done through it. Depending on the place and role in the operational (combat) disposition, the major units (the units) of border guards are reinforced with medical means of evacuation and will evacuate the sick and wounded to the closest territorial military and civilian hospitals or to the frontline hospitals of the major units of combined branches, on the basis of the orders given by the army's chief physician. In the situation when the border-guard brigade constitutes a grouping along a direction of interdiction or in a region where there are no territorial hospitals, the army has in its strip (region) a frontline hospital for giving competent medical aid and providing for the evacuation of the sick and wounded.

The major units (the units) of border guards that perform isolated combat missions or fight under difficult conditions to defend a locality or other important facilities are provided with additional stocks of medical and pharmaceutical materials both for their own troops and for the subordinate defense formations. If necessary, medical and pharmaceutical materials existing on a local level are used, and in special situations, the evacuation of the seriously wounded is done by air.

Complete stocks of medical and pharmaceutical materials are provided to the medical formations of the border-guard brigade (battalion) on its release from the subordination of the army of combined branches.

The Ministry of the Interior's units and the defense formations temporarily subordinate to the major units of combined branches are provided with medical care, on request, depending on the possibilities of the medical formations of the major unit (the unit) to which they are subordinate.

The giving of first aid to the sick and wounded, the removal of them from the enemy's fire, the sheltering of them, and the evacuation to the medical formations of the major unit (the unit) of combined branches are done with the forces and means of the Ministry of the Interior's units (subunits) and the defense formations. The medical formations of the major units (motorized infantry, mechanized) or the mountain infantry brigade will give competent medical
aid to the sick and wounded coming from the Ministry of the Interior's units and the defense formations, and on their release from the subordination of the major units (the units) of combined branches, they are provided with the stocks of medical and pharmaceutical materials that they had at the time of subordination.

The sick and wounded to whom competent medical aid is given in the medical formations of the major units of combined branches are evacuated to the closest territorial military and civilian hospitals.

The transportation of the medical and pharmaceutical materials needed by the medical formations of the Ministry of the Interior, of the patriotic guards and of the other defense formations is done with the means in their inventory and with those put at their disposal by the local defense councils. In the situations in which the required means of transportation cannot be provided, the major units to which they are subordinate will also meet, on request, their transportation needs.

The chief physician of the army of combined branches must always know the possibilities of providing medical care for the Ministry of the Interior's units, the patriotic guards and the other defense formations in the army's strip and must maintain constant contact with their appropriate bodies and those of the local defense councils for achieving continual, prompt and efficient collaboration. In addition, he must be informed about the content of the decision of the local defense council and the orders given along the line of providing medical care for the defense formations put under subordination and must collaborate with their headquarters and operational groups (representatives) to solve all problems of providing medical care.

In order to give specialized medical aid, evacuate the sick and wounded from the major units (motorized infantry, mechanized) and the mountain infantry brigades and supply medical and pharmaceutical materials to them in the defensive strip of the army of combined branches, as a rule, a hospitalization base is placed 80-100 km from the forward limit of the defense, using the facilities existing in the health resorts. Taking into account the positive experience accumulated over the years and depending on the number of main directions of interdiction, the medical formations of the hospitalization base are placed in two to three regions.

As regards the evacuation of the sick and wounded in forested mountain terrain, due to the low capacity of the roads and the difficult conditions under which the transportation is done, it is necessary to use various procedures and means of evacuation, beginning in the subunits with arm carrying, sleds, skis or other improvised means and at the level of the units with horse-drawn means, on pack animals or, in special situations, by air.

On the longer evacuation roads and on those located at high altitude, especially in winter, in order to avoid the harmful effect of the cold on the wounded, it is advisable to set up dressing and warming points for the purpose of refreshing and, if necessary, feeding them. In addition, due to the blockage of the evacuation roads by the actions of the enemy, rockfalls or avalanches, as
has resulted from troop exercises in the mountains, it is advisable to set up
small landing fields for helicopters and to provide medical personnel and means
of evacuation for the transshipping points. The evacuation of the wounded in
such situations can also be done to the medical formations of the adjacent
major units (adjacent units), if they are nearby and have accessible roads.

On narrow roads with a single lane, at the obliged places for passing, espe-
cially in winter, priority must be given to the means that transport the sick
and wounded.

The big variations in temperature during the day and the sudden meteorological
changes necessitate the protection of the troops and especially the wounded
from the effect of the cold, dampness and wind or other atmospheric manifesta-
tions both during the transportation of them and within the medical formations.

In addition, in the mountains it is also necessary to take into account the
prevention of accidents caused by altitude sickness, sunstroke and burns on the
integuments of exposed parts, especially at high altitudes, and, in areas with
abundant snow, vision problems.

In applying the medical, hygienic and antiepidemic measures, the fact will be
taken into account that, on defense, the troops are in contact with the popula-
tion in the area for a long time and, due to laziness along a hygienic line, inher-
ent in warfare, the possibility of the appearance of foci of infectious dis-
eases arises. Consequently, in this case, it is necessary for the troops, the
members of the defense formations and the population to be vaccinated at the
same time.

In hilly terrain and forested mountain terrain, the existence of species of
birds, wild animals or insects that can be vectors for pathogenic agents cre-
ates the possibility of the outbreak of epidemic foci, such as those of enceph-
alitis or rabies. There are added the conditions favorable to the production
of poisonous snakebites.

Through abundance and variety, the flora and fauna in the hilly and mountain
areas create the possibility of providing nourishment for the military person-
nel in the subunits that perform combat actions under difficult conditions that
do not permit the supplying of food on time. This presupposes the knowing of
the edible flora and fauna and the correct application of the measures to pre-
vent illnesses through uncontrolled consumption of the different species of
fruit, mushrooms, fungi, birds or animals.

In order to prevent illnesses caused by consumption of contaminated (polluted)
water coming from mountain streams, which, in general, to the eye, could be
considered drinkable, it is still necessary to take strict steps to disinfect
the water sources. They can be contaminated upstream through the discharge of
effluents or, intentionally, by the reconnaissance and sabotage groups of the
enemy.

It follows that, under such conditions, the antiepidemic measures will have a
wider spectrum and will include both the men of the army of combined branches
and those of the border-guard troops, the Ministry of the Interior and the defense formations in a unitary view that would ensure the efficiency of their application and the sensible use of the antiepidemic forces and means.

The supplying of medical and pharmaceutical materials to the major units (the units) of border guards and to the troops of the Ministry of the Interior and of the defense formations exhibits some peculiarities caused by their structure's lack of elements for providing medical materials. Consequently, the provision of medical and pharmaceutical materials to these major units, units and defense formations will be done by the army of combined branches, taking into account the health casualties and the makeup of the respective medical formations, with the quantities and sources and the method of transportation being included in the plan for supplying medical materials. Under these conditions, the supplying of medical materials will be done jointly from the army's depot and the territorial military depots and from the county pharmaceutical offices or the pharmacies existing in the localities in the army's strip, in the amount set by mutual agreement with the bodies of the local defense councils. From the exercises performed in hilly and forested mountain terrain it has resulted that the supplying of medical materials is generally done in a decentralized manner, with priority being given to the forces that operate along the main directions of interdiction. The same procedure will also be used to provide preserved blood, oxygen and biological products, in the amount established with the appropriate bodies of the local defense councils.

The initial superiority of the aggressor can be of great detriment to the performance of the activity of the territorial health network, through the taking of hospitals, antiepidemic formations, blood-collection and preservation centers, and storehouses for medicine out of operation and through the attacking of enterprises of the national economy, thus limiting considerably the possibilities of treating and hospitalizing the sick and wounded coming from the troops and the population.

Under the conditions of the overdemand on the territorial health network, as follows from the documentation along a specialized line, accumulated from the recent military conflicts and the experience acquired by carrying out exercises on an operational level, there has resulted the necessity that in the defensive operation the sources of medical and pharmaceutical materials be used sparingly and some conveniently dispersed, consistent reserves be achieved. In addition, it is advisable to sensibly use the medical forces and means and to create a reserve of mobile field medical formations at the disposal of the army's chief physician.

Drawing conclusions about the problems regarding the medical organization of the defensive operation of the army of combined branches in hilly and forested mountain terrain, we appreciate the necessity of pointing out some ideas that outline more strikingly a few main aspects, of which we mention:

The growth of the complexity of the activities for providing medical care, a fact that presupposes the matter of knowing at the level of the army of combined branches the possibilities of the country's health network and the steps to medically prepare the territory;
The necessity of devising a unitary plan for providing medical care that would include the activities and measures for treatment, hospitalization, evacuation, and supply of medical and pharmaceutical materials to the major units (the units) of border guards, security and patriotic guards in the period when they are subordinate to the major units of combined branches;

The organization of the antiepidemic activity by assigning the army's specialized formations and those in the territorial antiepidemic network to strips in action, with the establishment of precise measures regarding epidemiological supervision of the territory, mass vaccinations, interventions in foci of contagious diseases, disinfection and so on;

Collaboration with the bodies of the local defense councils in preparing the plan for providing medical care in order to establish concrete tasks for these bodies according to certain directions of evacuation.

The problems discussed in the article present some aspects regarding the provision of medical care in the defensive operation of the army of combined branches in hilly and forested mountain terrain, performed within the war of the whole populace, and, as a result, we consider it necessary and useful to discuss later other aspects that would lead to the elucidation both of activities with an organizational character and of the measures for treatment, hospitalization and evacuation of the sick and wounded under these combat conditions.

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