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DIFFICULTIES FACED BY PARTY RECALLED BY HISTORIAN

Tirana BASHKIMI in Albanian 10 Oct 76 p 3

[Article by Resul Galanxhi, head of the department of the history of the Albanian Labor Party in the V.I. Lenin Higher Party School: "Inspirer, Organizer and Leader of the People's Revolution"]

[Text] The founding of our party by Comrade Enver Hoxha on 8 November 1941 marks the most important event in the glorious history of the Albanian people. The period of the founding of the Communist Party of Albania, Comrade Enver Hoxha teaches us, "is the brightest and grandest period in the many centuries of the history of our people, when, led by the party, they passed from darkness into light and showed with unparalleled force their vitality, heroism and indomitable freedom-loving spirit, when they unleashed their talents, abilities and energies as never before."

The Anti-Fascist National Liberation War is one of the most glorious pages in the brilliant history of our people and party.

The PKSH (Communist Party of Albania) (Today the PPSH, or Labor Party of Albania), at its very founding under the leadership of the Central Committee headed by Comrade Enver Hoxha, drafted a profoundly revolutionary line for the people's revolution. This line, grounded on Marxist-Leninist principles, was based firmly on the internal and external conditions of the country. Above all, that line proceeded from the interests of our people and the revolutionary national liberation movement of the peoples of the world, from a scientific analysis of the main contradiction of the period of World War II, the relationship between the forces on a national and international scale and from the revolutionary and fighting experience of our people and the revolutionary forces of other countries.

The fight for national liberation, to insure true national independence and establish a people's democracy, was grounded on the revolutionary line of our party. In working out its revolutionary line, the PKSH (now PPSH) solved a number of problems of great strategic importance by defining scientifically its immediate and long-term aims, the motive forces of the revolution, the leading role of the working class in our people's revolution, the role of the peasants as the most reliable and steadfast allies of the proletariat, as the main striking force of the revolution, the foreign allies, and so forth.

In elaborating and applying its strategic line during the stage of the people's revolution, the party, led by Comrade Enver Hoxha, waged a hard fight against all anti-Marxist views spread by the heads of communist groups, views which emerged even in the meeting to form our party.

The party at the same time determined the ways to achieve its strategic aim, brilliantly solving three basic problems that were closely interrelated: the union of the Albanian people in the National Liberation Front, the organization of the armed insurrection and the creation of the National Liberation Army, the destruction of the old government and the organization of the government of national liberation councils.

Under the leadership of its Central Committee headed by Comrade Enver, the PKSH was able to unite all the revolutionary and patriotic forces of the country in a broad political organization, the National Liberation Front, thus laying and consolidating the foundation of the political unity of our people and placing it on a sound organizational basis. On this Front was grounded the alliance of the working class with the peasants, led by the working class, headed by its Marxist-Leninist revolutionary party, the PKSH. The unity of the Albanian people, created and consolidated in the Anti-Fascist National Liberation War, stood many hard tests and proved unbreakable.

Our party's experience with regard to the Front, elaborated theoretically and practically in the heat of battle by Comrade Enver Hoxha, is a very valuable contribution to the revolutionary theory and practice of the working class.

The PKSH, with Marxist-Leninist wisdom and mastery, organized and led the armed uprising of our people. It applied and further developed the Marxist-Leninist teachings on people's wars. It is the creator, organizer, leader and educator of the National Liberation Army. The whole road traveled by the National Liberation Army is linked with the organizing, political, ideological and military work carried on by the PKSH headed by Comrade Enver Hoxha. It formulated our army's strategy and tactics, solved scientifically the fundamental problems produced by the creation of a people's army: the problem of political and military cadres, armament, clothing, ideopolitical education of the fighters, and so forth. The party likewise successfully solved the basic problems of the combat tactics of the armed uprising and partisan warfare, which was distinguished by its aggressive and uninterrupted character, by masterful maneuvering, by sudden actions at any time, day or night, by the great initiative of the commanders, by the knowledge and masterful exploitation of the terrain, by the combination of actions by the regular partisan army with those of the armed people; and so forth.

Led by the PKSH, and personally by Comrade Enver Hoxha, and equipped with its teachings, our National Liberation Army with its partisan warfare acquitted itself of independent strategic tasks. It liberated the country with its own forces, without waiting for military forces from outside, thus insuring the victory of the people's rule and becoming its armed support.

In this manner, under the party's leadership, our people and army won freedom and independence with blood and sacrifice.

The PKSH also solved in a Marxist-Leninist revolutionary manner the basic problem of the truly popular revolution, that of rule. It did not separate the fight for national liberation from the fight to destroy the old rule and erect on its ruins the new people's rule which rose from the barrel of a gun, grew and became consolidated along with the armed struggle. It played a decisive role in all the phases through which the rule of the national liberation councils passed, in the Peze Conference, where the foundations of the rule of the national liberation councils were laid, in the Labinot Conference, which consolidated and centralized the rule, in the Permet Congress, where the question of rule was generally decided in favor of the insurgent people and the foundations of the new Albanian democratic people's state were laid.

The PKSH unmasked and smashed the plans and efforts of domestic and foreign reaction to establish the rule of the dominant classes in Albania. It unmasked and resolutely castigated the opportunism of Ymer Disnica in Mukje, who sought to share power with the bourgeoisie. Our party's resolute stand toward this act of capitulation, as well as its determined and unshakable stand toward the aims of Anglo-American imperialism to stifle the revolution and bring the reaction into power have been decisive for the fate of our fatherland and the people's rule.

The Anti-Fascist National Liberation War against the Italian and German occupiers and against the traitors, which lasted 5 1/2 years, was the bloodiest and most courageous fight ever waged by the Albanian people during its whole age-old history.

Our people, small in numbers, but having an ancient patriotic tradition, pinned down in a fierce war whole well-armed Italian and German divisions having great experience in warfare. By their legendary struggle, our people not only freed the country from the invader but made an important contribution to the common struggle of anti-Fascist peoples.

The heroic effeorts, the blood of 28,000 martyrs, the great material losses caused during the war have not been in vain: they were crowned with final victory over domestic and foreign enemies.

Albania has torn itself away forever from the capitalist system, our country has entered upon a new historic stage, as glorious as that of the people's revolution, the stage of the construction of the socialist society.

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DEMOCRATIC FRONT MEETING ATTACKS ALIEN MANIFESTATIONS

Tirana BASHKIMI in Albanian 13 Oct 76 p 3

[Article by Llazar Vero: "The Continual Strengthening of the Unity of our People With the Party--a Permanent Duty of the Front Organization"]

[Text] The principal task of the Democratic Front organizations has been and is the continual strengthening of the unity of the people with the party. To achieve this aim, the Front organizations, led by the local party organizations, have had to wage a hard fight against the remnants of the old world and the fierce pressure of bourgeois-revisionist ideology. And in spite of the successes achieved in this respect the Front organizations still have much work left to do.

Great as are the tasks facing our people in building socialism and carrying out the Sixth Five-Year Plan under the conditions of the double imperialist-revisionist encirclement of our country, they are no greater than the tasks of the Front organizations in strengthening the people's unity with the party, so that the energy and strength springing from that unity may, as heretofore, be the basis of our victories.

Viewing and evaluating the problem of the continual strengthening of unity as an important factor in building socialism and defending the country, the heads of the General Council of the Democratic Front of Albania, in collaboration with the heads of the Council of the Democratic Front of the Fier district, recently organized in Fier a national seminar on the tasks facing the Front organizations in further strengthening the people's moral-political unity with the party in the fight against quarrels, rancor and gossip. The seminar made a detailed and critical analysis of the work of the Front organizations in the fight against alien manifestations which do even the least harm. The method of work by the Front organizations with the masses, it was stressed in the seminar, has been steadily improving, becoming more ample and effective. This was also shown during the popular discussion of the draft constitution, and the draft directives of the seventh party congress on the Sixth Five-Year Plan, and, finally, in the great ideological drive to intensify the political work with the masses which was launched in honor of the 25th anniversary of the founding

of the party and its seventh congress. Thousands of activists of the Front organization, young men and women, veterans of war and labor were activated in the enlivenment of figurative agitation and the holding of talks and lectures, down to the warm social contacts in groups and with separate individuals. This year a more proper and fruitful collaboration between all the mass organizations has also been insured better than ever before.

In the organized discussions and confrontations, all the workers expressed their great willingness to perform successfully the tasks on the production front and thus also to rise up as one body against alien manifestations which harm our unity, however slightly. The fight against these manifestations, as an aspect of the class struggle, it was emphasized in the seminar, requires continuity and patience, without lapsing into opportunistic positions, or into sectarian attitudes, but applying correctly the party's injunction that we start always with the method of persuasion in educating work with people. In Lofkend in the Fier district, due to the fact that a peasant quarreled with comrades in the rural people's council over a lot for building a house, the Front organization demanded that the peasant be expelled from the Front organization (!). Where is the ideopolitical work of the organization here, when such short shrift is given to a problem? If problems were analyzed thoroughly, the true causes would be discovered: age-old notions about private property. And it is precisely here that political, ideological and educational work with the masses must be concentrated until they understand the evils caused by private ownership through the centuries. Hence also the quarrels, rancors and gossip, it was stressed in the seminar, will not disappear with a blow of the axe so long as the imperialist-revisionist encirclement exists. A long, keen and concrete struggle, devoid of the rubber stamps of formalism, is required. Although the material base of the old world, such as private property, has disappeared, there are notions and ideas lurking in some people's minds with regard to it, against which we have to fight constantly and consistently. The fight to create correct revolutionary concepts about common ownership, labor and life is one of the chief tasks for the Front organizations, which contribute directly to the further strengthening of the people's unity with the party. Of course, this victory cannot be complete and daily if the Front organizations permit indifferent attitudes in their work, self-complacency and euphoria, which are always harmful. "We need to combat the mistaken tendency of some Front organizations to conceal the situation with the pretext that it gives the village a bad reputation, or in order to shield themselves from responsibility and the criticism which may be made of them," said the chairman of the council of the Democratic Front of the Skrapar district, Novruz Greva, in the discussion. This entirely erroneous stand embodies two evils: first, remnants of the past, such as quarrels and rancors for personal reasons, are defended with the same old attitudes of petty-bourgeois "shame," sickly patriarchal pride, and so forth; and second, this "preservation" of customs may be exploited by the class enemy, domestic or foreign. Hence, we cannot speak of fruitful qualitative

work in the communist education of the masses unless these problems are analyzed thoroughly, unless the proper "response" is given to them, not only in words and with lectures, but also by practice in real life.

There is now no village, block, ward or city in which there has not been discussion of these problems in a high spirit of partisanship, with persuasive and clarifying force. As has been seen from the discussions in this aktiv too, wherever these problems have been posed correctly and they have worked continuously to make the masses conscious of the great political, patriotic and ideological value of this fight, the results have been great and perceptible in every field of life, and in the economy. The strengthening of unity brings joy and harmony to the ward, the collective, the family and individual persons, and it mobilizes the masses to achieve the tasks. This has also vitalized the life of the Front organizations itself, which, in the fight against self-complacency, draw lessons and conclusions and determine the tasks for the future.

Without drying up the spring of alien manifestations, it was stressed in the seminar, we cannot talk of true work with the most noticeable possible results. Therefore, the aktiv has drawn the attention of the Front organizations to the fact that problems are often not brought to a conclusion, and this, so to speak, gives an occasion for reviving the customs and vestiges of the past, revenge, self-justice, patriarchalism, manifestations of liberalism, and so forth. Manifestations of a misapprehension by some parents about the new relations between girls and boys in the creation of the family, and so forth, are being noted. The conservative and patriarchal attitude is rearing its head and obstacles are being placed in the path of young people. This happens in some cases, as in Tirana or Durres, when the parents refuse to admit the girl into the house just because she married for love. To combat these manifestations it is necessary to have the continual cooperation of the Front organizations with the women's organizations, and of the Youth and Trade Union organizations, in further intensifying the fight against the remnants of the old world and alien manifestations in the behavior of some young people due to the pressure of bourgeois and revisionist ideology, against which we must keep the fire lighted every hour, every day without letup.

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MIHALI HAILS PEASANT-WORKER ALLIANCE

Tirana BASHKIMI in Albanian 13 Oct 76 p 2

[Article by Qirjako Mihali, candidate for the Politbureau of the Central Committee: "The Strengthening of the Alliance of the Working Class With the Peasants--a Decisive Factor for our 35 Years of Victory"]

[Text] Our party's history is a living and brilliant example of the consistent and creative application of the teachings of Marxism-Leninism concerning the alliance of the working class with the peasants. At its very inception, the party, in defining its strategic aim, also determined that the main force in attaining that aim was the working class and the peasants under the leadership of the working class, and set the task of working with all energy to link the working class with the peasants. "To create and broaden the fighting unity between the urban and rural working masses," it says in the resolution of the meeting of communist groups. From the start, the party combated and rejected the anti-Marxist views of the enemies who sought to deny the alliance of the working class with the peasants, to deny the revolutionary role of our peasants, calling them conservative, reactionary, and declaring that they could not become allies of the working class. The party saw in the peasants a force of great revolutionary energy and correctly evaluated their role in the struggle. "The struggle would be won under the conditions of our country," said Comrade Enver, "by the class that would have the peasants on its side."

The alliance of the working class with the working peasants, which arose during the National Liberation War, was the result of the party's correct political line. This line reflected the interests of the workers and the working peasants in stamping out fascism, freeing the country and establishing the rule of the people, and therefore they joined with the party, and under its leadership they fought heroically and won. The strength of the National Liberation War lay in the alliance of the working class with the working peasants.

After the liberation, the fighting alliance of the working class with the working peasants was strengthened still more. The victory of the people's revolution, the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat, raised

that alliance to a higher level. Marxism-Leninism teaches us that the working class not only cannot win the revolution and establish the dictatorship of the proletariat without an alliance with the working peasants, but it likewise cannot make radical changes in political and economic life, overcome the resistance of the exploiting classes and create conditions for the construction of socialism and communism without joining in an alliance with the working peasants. Hence, the party attached prime importance to the continual strengthening of the alliance of the working class with the working peasants and the leading role of the working class in that alliance. To do so, the party, on the basis of its correct Marxist-Leninist line, carried on an all-around effort and took concrete measures to strengthen the economic base of that alliance. The agrarian reform was a great event in this respect. It did away with big ownership of the land, wiped forever from the face of the earth the remnants of feudalism and the landlord class and gave the land to the peasants, to those who worked it, which they had dreamed of and fought for through the centuries. The agrarian reform and the other measures taken after the liberation in our country showed that only the working class and its party, after assuming political power, are able to save the working peasants from poverty and exploitation and set them on the road to the construction of a new and happy life without exploiters.

A great job has been done by the party in collectivizing agriculture, which marks the socialist transformation of the countryside and the development of a true and thorough revolution in the countryside. The party, guided by the teachings of Lenin and Stalin, applied itself with all its energies to collectivization without waiting for the material-technical base to be strengthened, and this has provided valuable experience. It knew that the collectivization of agriculture was the most difficult task of the socialist revolution after the seizure of power by the working class, but it was the only way to build socialism in the countryside. "The definitive solution of the agricultural problem," emphasized Comrade Enver, "is rural socialism, that is, collectivization." To do this, the party did a great amount of educational, ideological and persuasive work with the peasants, and from year to year also created the necessary conditions by extending all-around aid to the countryside in the form of loans, machinery, seeds, fertilizers, reclamation, and so on.

Thanks to the party's concern about developing agriculture, great reclamation projects were undertaken, which gained 46,000 hectares of new land and improved 186,000 other hectares; the area under irrigation was increased, embracing in 1975 50 percent of the arable land; the number of tractors in terms of 15 horsepower, which was 30 in 1938, increased to 16,825; a chemical fertilizer industry was created; and so forth. These things have brought about an increase in agricultural and livestock products. In 1975 total farm production was about 4 times larger than in 1938.

The course pursued by the party in developing our agriculture, beginning with the agrarian reform, reclamation works, mechanization, the creation of a chemical fertilizer industry, and so forth, and, above all, the collectivization of agriculture, as Comrade Enver Hoxha has said, led to the strengthening of the alliance of the working class with the peasants, who have been tied not only spiritually, but also economically and materially to the line of the party and socialism.

The building of the economic base of socialism has radically changed the old class structure in our country. The most characteristic and fundamental feature of this structure is the existence of two friendly classes, the working class and the peasant cooperativist class, their alliance under the leadership of the working class and the strengthening, on this basis, of the moral-political unity of all workers.

As a result of the party's correct policy, the socialist industrialization of the country has engendered and increased our new working class and enhanced and strengthened its leading role. This class is not only many times larger in number than the workers in our country before the liberation, but--and this is of decisive importance--it is a united army, organized and educated in the party ideology, a directing class holding in its hands the political, initiating and organizational power over all the economic-social transformations that are taking place in our society.

The working class, on the basis of the teachings of the party and Comrade Enver, has given great assistance to its ally, the peasantry, in performing the tasks set by the party, effecting the socialist transformation of the countryside, developing and promoting our socialist agriculture, constantly raising the material and cultural well-being of the peasants, narrowing the difference between town and country, and so forth. On the basis of the orders and teachings of Comrade Enver, the working class has originated initiatives and undertaken various drives, such as the mass drives in the cooperatives during the farm campaigns, and other drives to aid agriculture, the movement to go to work and live in the country, and so forth. All these things have served to strengthen the alliance of the working class with the peasants so as to perform ever better the tasks set for agriculture, and to inculcate ever more deeply the spirit of the working class in the countryside.

The alliance of the working class with the working peasants has been and is being annealed in the fire of the hard class struggle. The domestic and foreign enemies, to achieve their aims against the dictatorship of the proletariat and the construction of socialism in our country, both during the war and after the liberation, have made great efforts, through the pressures of their unbridled and slanderous propaganda against the party and the people's rule, to separate the peasants from the party and set them against the working class and its party, but all these efforts have failed ignominiously as a result of our party's correct Marxist-Leninist policy.

The great ideopolitical job done by the party and the measures taken by it have strengthened the political conscience and the hatred of the peasant masses for the enemy and heightened their revolutionary vigilance. Educated by the party, our peasants have stood ever fast and fought with unshakable loyalty alongside the working class under the party's leadership against foreign and domestic enemies, against their plots, ever manifesting their fiery patriotism and revolutionary spirit.

And under the new conditions, with the disappearance of the exploiting classes, the alliance of the working class with the peasants is being annealed and strengthened as it wages the class struggle against the remnants of the exploiting classes, the anti-socialist concepts and habits inherited from the past, the alien bourgeois-revisionist influences and manifestations, and the new antisocialist elements arising from the pressure of the bourgeois and petty bourgeois ideology inherited from the past, and from the imperialist-revisionist pressure. This fight, which is being waged in all fields, and everywhere even in the ranks of the working class and its ally, the cooperativist peasantry, as Comrade Enver teaches us, "is a powerful weapon protecting us from the enemy, cleansing us of evil and forging us as proletarian revolutionaries."

The alliance of the working class with the working peasants is the foundation of the political union of our people with the party. This union has been and is a granite rock, on which all the domestic and foreign enemies of our socialist fatherland and the dictatorship of the proletariat in our country have dashed and will dash their heads to pieces. As sanctioned in Article 2 of the draft constitution, "the Socialist People's Republic of Albania is grounded on the unity of the people and the alliance of the working class with the cooperativist peasants under the leadership of the working class." This unity and this alliance have been daily strengthened and steeled by the great job done by the party in constructing socialism, by the broad work with the masses to give them a deep understanding of the political and ideological content of the party's line and directives; by the effort to root and assert triumphantly the proletarian ideology in the conscience of the working masses; by the effort to root ever more deeply in the hearts and sentiments of the masses love for and loyalty to the party and the socialist fatherland, and to keep ever alive and further develop the patriotic and revolutionary traditions of our people; by the work done to intensify incessantly the hatred for domestic and foreign enemies, imperialists and revisionists; and by the efforts to increase beyond measure the training and military preparedness of our people, considering the defense of the fatherland a duty above all other. As Comrade Enver Hoxha teaches us, we counter the many pressures of the enemy, the imperialist-revisionist encirclement and blockades, their devilish propaganda, with our monolithic union, the steel-like unity of the whole people with the party.

The party, guided by the teachings of Marxism-Leninism, has devoted continual care to improving the life of the peasants, and narrowing the

differences between town and country, which it considers as a prime question of principle in strengthening the alliance of the working class with the peasants. For this purpose, the party has applied and is applying a broad program of measures of a profound ideological, political, economic, social and cultural character, and has continually taken concrete measures for the benefit of the countryside. These have transformed our countryside. The productive forces have been and are being developed at a rapid rate; the socialist relations in production have been and are being incessantly improved; and the systematic elevation of the material and cultural well-being of the cooperativist peasants has been insured. Living has been radically altered: new houses have been erected everywhere, as have educational, cultural, health and social institutions. A great victory is the electrification of all villages, which has brought great changes in the whole life of our countryside. Education and culture have undergone wide dissemination and development; the educational and cultural level in the countryside has been raised; in 1975 the higher and secondary cadres numbered 18,610, up from 213 in 1938; every kind of fee; pensions have been established in the countryside also; and so forth. In this year of the 35th anniversary of its founding, the party has taken new measures for the benefit of the countryside with the decision "on reducing high salaries, on some improvements in the system of workers' wages and on the further narrowing of the differences between town and country." For these and other measures for the benefit of the countryside, the state will spend over 140 million leks a year from its budget. This will serve to further strengthen the farm cooperatives, further increase the prosperity and well-being of the cooperative peasants, and narrow more and more the gap between town and country.

New and great prospects are being opened with regard to the development of our socialist agriculture, the raising of the well-being of the cooperativist peasants during the Sixth Five-Year Plan, which will mark the further strengthening of the alliance of the working class with the cooperativist peasants. This is clearly expressed in the draft directives of the seventh party congress. During their discussion, the cooperativist peasants, as a result of the party's work and in view of the example of their ally, the working class displayed a high sense of responsibility and pledged themselves to realize many of the indicators for 1980 in the year 1978 or earlier, and those for 1978 in 1977. Likewise, the cooperativist peasants have been mobilized to make those objectives a reality, and to perform the task defined in the draft directives of the seventh congress, namely to insure the domestic production of bread grains beginning in 1976, viewing this as a task having to do with the defense of our socialist fatherland and with resistance to the fierce imperialist-revisionist blockade. They fulfilled and exceeded this year the plan and pledges for wheat production, and the same is anticipated for corn production.

The alliance of the working class with the peasants, formed and steeled by our party on the basis of its correct Marxist-Leninist line, has been the decisive force for our 35 years of victory, and it is a guarantee for

winning new victories in the future. Its strength has been and is being manifested in every moment of our life. In these days of the 35th anniversary of the founding of the party and its seventh congress, the working class and the cooperativist peasants have mobilized with enthusiasm and revolutionary ardor to greet those great historic events with the maximum results in every field, with tasks performed, thus manifesting their unbounded love for the party and Comrade Enver, and their resoluteness and readiness to march ever forward under the party's leadership toward new victories, and to carry out the tasks to be assigned to them by the seventh party congress.

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MORE REALISTIC PAINTINGS, SCULPTURES URGED

Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 10 Oct 76 p 3

[Article by Kujtim Buza: "The Representational Arts and Our Reality"]

[Text] The best works of our representational arts are undoubtedly those which are closely linked with the basic problems and preoccupations of the people's life and history. Resting strongly on our revolutionary reality, painters, sculptors, graphic artists and workers in applied art have treated motifs and elevated to art the problems relating to the great ideological, political, economic and moral transformations having to do with the class struggle, the fight against domestic and foreign enemies, the mass and individual heroism shown by our people in building socialism. These important aspects which derive from our revolutionary reality and are great sources of themes and ideas have been grasped and treated with ideological acumen by our militant creators.

The continual teachings of the party and Comrade Enver, the ever correct thematic orientation of creativity, resting upon a thorough and all-around knowledge of life, the clothing of this vital material in a progressive artistic form, have greatly increased the number of works with a broad scope of inspiration, tackling important timely problems or echoing the present. Among them may be mentioned the compositional pictures "Voice of the Masses," "The Moscow Meeting," "Denunciation of the Warsaw Pact," "Monument of Independence"; the sculpture "Up With the Revolutionary Spirit"; the monument for the four heroines of Mirdita and many other productions in all the genres of our representational arts. The results of the last few years attest the deepening of the national character, which stems, among other things, from the deepening of the content of our revolutionary present and from the study of present-day life in close conjunction with the historic past and the bright future. Our artists, guided by the party's teachings, are aware that the tackling and treatment of those essential problems means fighting for the communist education of our working masses, converting a work into "bombs and banner," making artistic creativity into a powerful means of patriotic and revolutionary education.

But the correct thematic orientation in the most current problems is still not everything. Resting upon these themes and ideas and incarnating them artistically, the creator must unleash with emotion and artistic values the objective tendencies of development so that his picture or composition may also bear in itself elements of the prospective future. Relying on a thorough knowledge of life and its typical contradictions, one must discover what is typically new in connection with the character of our socialist order and with the national peculiarities of our people. For this purpose, continual live contact with life is needed: a detailed knowledge of the vital processes and, together with them, a good Marxist-Leninist theoretical training to interpret the facts from the clear class and dialectic standpoint. Contemplating the pictures "Meeting in Moscow," "Denunciation of the Warsaw Pact," "Declaration of the Republic," "The Party Has Been Founded" and other works of this sort, one feels clearly the heroic pathos of our people, the steel-like unity of the people with the party, the vigilance and readiness, all reflected in art and from clear class and political standpoints. Such pictures as "Voice of the Masses," "Shepherds," "Ever Ready," "Cannon," "War Comrades, Life Comrades," and so forth, attest the enrichment and deepening of content, the broadening of the range of themes and the strengthening of thought with motifs found and inspired by our Albanian reality.

At the sixth congress, Comrade Enver emphasized that: "The reflection of the new socialist reality in its revolutionary development and with the contradictions of the times, which provide literature and art with the necessary drama and conflicts--herein lies the new content which lends strength to our literature and art of socialist realism."

The cold and merely documentary attitude toward life, the lack of artistic generalization and confinement to photographing events and facts, the external placard-like character in the treatment of important problems minimize the content and lower the ideo-artistic values of a work. Thus, some productions treating the subject of the working class at the building sites of the big projects, in some work that we have seen at the expositions on the navy or air force, and so forth, were pale and anemic, without creative emotion or artistic fantasy. In such productions, casual photographic statements predominate; they have been made, not with a thorough knowledge of life, but from a superficial, transitory contact, or, what is worse, solely on the basis of scanty photographic material. It is even worse, then, when we dissociate ourselves from the reality and fantasize about it, hatch obscure works loaded with symbols, as has happened in some cases before the fourth plenum of the party Central Committee and in some even thereafter. The necessity for thorough and all-around treatment of the most essential questions does not mean at all that one should set limits and deny other themes and problems that are a part of our life and have their importance on the social or ethical-moral plane. The problem is for us to know how to distinguish the principal and necessary from other things and maintain relationships which are in harmony with the interests of our society and its concerns; otherwise, art would suffer from thematic onesidedness and be concentrated on micro-themes.

The more realistic a work of art is, and the better and more thoroughly it reflects our life, the more national it will be in both content and form. The present reality as portrayed from a partisan standpoint has found incarnation in many good works of painting, sculpture and graphic art. But in the treatment of a timely theme, weaknesses are sometimes noted in the compositional representation of the subject, which may be stuffed into standardized moulds, lacks realistic creative fancy, is devoid of true artistic interpretation grounded on a thorough knowledge of life, the facts and phenomena. But in particular one notes weaknesses in concretizing the figures, the types, and in crystallizing the individual features of the figures and environments which surround them. In many works the figures are similar to one another and very general. Such weaknesses are due primarily to ignorance of life, to a failure to delve into it, to a superficial attitude in studying the figure of our man, especially in the study and psychological treatment of his portrait. Observations of life and serious systematic studies, not just to find a subject or idea, but to carry it to a conclusion, enable the artist to discover the particular characteristics of the people which distinguish them from other peoples, as in the way of living, in temperament, in physical and psychological characteristics down to the least important details, such as gait, way of sitting, movements, and so forth. But, above all, it is necessary to know the internal psychological world of our man, who promotes and has promoted the highest qualities of our people, formed through the ages, which in fact constitute the essence of our national peculiarities and have been determined primarily by the efforts to resist all storms and preserve the national existence. The best qualities of our people, which were further developed and enriched in the Anti-Fascist National Liberation War, are to be found today in our men and women with a new understanding, raised to a higher degree, in the new world outlook and morality brought by our socialist system. The discovery and reflection of this rich psychological world will make a work of art powerful and, as a result, this content will also dictate the manner of conceiving artistic form and will further it. The truthful reflection of the new moral-political qualities, of the psychology of our new man, will be the best means for creating original works of national value.

The national exposition of representational arts devoted to the 35th anniversary of the founding of the party and its seventh congress, and to be opened within this framework, will certainly bring new successes for our representational art in the truthful reflection of our revolutionary reality on a high artistic level.

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BULGARIA

LACK OF DISCIPLINE IN CONSTRUCTION TROOPS SEVERELY CRITICIZED

Speech by Commander of Construction Troops

Sofia TRUDOVO DELO in Bulgarian 26 Oct 76 pp 1,2

[Speech by chief of Construction Troops, Lt Gen Tonyu Petkov: "Everyone Who Wears a Uniform and Shoulder Loops Is Responsible for the State of Military Discipline"]

[Text] Comrade generals and officers! In opening the meeting I stated that at present we are examing an exceptionally important and basic problem in our activities, the state of discipline in the Construction Troops. As was pointed out in the report given by Maj Gen Vulev, this is a question primarily of the correct understanding of the great and responsible tasks posed by the party and the government for the troops. Modern discipline requires not only the strict and precise but also the most conscientious and active fulfillment of the requirements of the laws and regulations by the servicemen and a profound awareness of personal responsibility for carrying out the set tasks.

We are discussing this question not because we have not been working on it or there are certain failings. On the contrary, in the system of the Construction Troops there are many units in which there is very good order according to the regulations, there have been no severe extraordinary incidents, disciplinary infractions have been minimized, the financial, production and planning discipline are on a good level, and these units fulfill their construction tasks for all indicators. A significant improvement in discipline has been noted in the subunits from the forces of the Sofia Garrison.

We are raising this question for discussion because discipline in some of our units is still not on a level of the party requirements, and because there are phenomena which, if they are not promptly eliminated, can cause harm.

The necessity of a fundamental change in the strengthening of planning, production, financial, labor and military discipline is a regularity of socioeconomic development in our country, and of the process of building a developed socialist society.

I will not examine all aspects of discipline. This was done in the report which was read. I feel it necessary to take up only certain questions of military discipline, since this is the core of discipline in our troops and the basis of any military organization.

Many measures have been carried out both by the Chief Directorate of the Construction Troops [GUSV] and by the units for creating firm and proper order, for strengthening military discipline and for combating extraordinary incidents. In a majority of our units, the basic command relating to discipline of 1974 is being fulfilled, generally speaking, successfully, and strict demands are being shown toward the violators. The checks conducted by the GUSV and the units to a significant degree have helped to maintain internal order on a good level in a number of units, to stand comparatively good duty by persons on daily detail, and to carry out measures according to the schedules for the allocation of time.

As a result of the efforts of the commanders of all levels, the staffs and the political bodies, recently, as was pointed out, generally in the troops there has been a tendency for a decline in extraordinary incidents.

The chief of the Construction Troops went on to point out certain facts and examples of unsatisfactory activity in the area of discipline.

To what are due the weaknesses in organizing military order and discipline, after there have been so many orders, after strict responsibility has been demanded from the guilty parties and after the attention of the troop commanders has been repeatedly drawn to these questions?

In first place, the reasons go back to certain serious shortcomings in the work of a number of the commanders, in the incorrect understanding and application of the principle of one-man leadership and in insufficient organization, efficiency and exactingness by the commander for instituting and maintaining strict order according to the regulations and strong discipline in the life of the units.

The personal example of certain officers and sergeants is not on the required level. There are officials who not only do not require the observance of the regulations and legality, but they themselves violate this. Individual servicemen place their personal interest above the public ones, and this undermines their authority.

The surprise inspections conducted by the GUSV bodies have shown that still there are a number of commanders of the various levels who are cut off from the personnel and do not have the skill of talking with a soldier. In practice, these officers become dry administrators and not indoctrinators.

An essential reason for the unsolved problems related to the strengthening of discipline and the combating of incidents is that a number of the commanders and particularly of the smaller units, are not the object of constant exposure to indoctrination. There is also little help for the young officers. Not enough use is made of the various forms of political indoctrination, and individual work with the soldiers inclined to violations in many units has a very formal character. In most instances, the work consists merely in the notation in the individual notebook of these soldiers and the assigning of officials who must work with them.

Another reason for the still unsatisfactory state of discipline is the shortcomings in the work of certain political bodies. In an investigation of a number of incidents, it was established that in many instances they have reacted after they have been committed and not enough efforts of the personnel are directed to preventive work or to solving the urgent problems and needs of the unit.

In what directions must our work be organized in order to eliminate the prerequisites and conditions leading to infractions of socialist legality and the committing of incidents, and in order to improve the state of discipline?

1. First of all, it is essential to set up a strict organization of work in all levels of the system of the troops, whereby the tasks are performed on time and with the highest feeling of responsibility.

2. To raise significantly the criterion of the exactingness of the commanders of all levels and of all the administrative bodies in light of the tasks posed on disciplinary questions by the 11th Congress and the July Plenum of the BCP Central Committee.

3. One of the basic factors for successfully solving these problems is the correct application of the principle of one-man leadership. This is the principle which concentrates drill, administrative, housekeeping and indoctrinational functions in a single person. Only the correct use of the power which is given to the commander can guarantee organization and iron conscientious discipline, as well as firmness and security in the command of the subunits. The commander has the power to demand strictest responsibility for the assigned work, and to inspect precisely and promptly the fulfillment of his orders. He has an opportunity to efficiently coordinate and direct to a single end the efforts of the individual servicemen and to constantly fulfill the party's policy. Each commander must show daily exactingness for himself and his subordinates and bear personal responsibility for the fulfillment of his functional duties. Subordinates constantly observe their commanders, and see what questions they focus attention on and which they underestimate. All those present must understant that the commander who underestimates the questions of discipline cannot have discipline in his unit.

4. For strengthening discipline in the troops, an essential role is played by the personal example of the commanders and chiefs of all levels. In the person of their superiors, the subordinates must see an example to imitate. For this reason, the positive example of the commanders and chiefs in carrying

out orders, in introducing proper order, and in observing legality in and of itself instills discipline in subordinates. The unit commanders must take under personal supervision those officers and sergeants who by their conduct and actions do not serve as a positive example for their subordinates, and do everything necessary to help them.

5. Another direction in which it is essential to improve our work is the link of commanders with their subordinates and the concern which must be shown for them. We want not distance from the servicemen, but rather constant contact with them, and a knowledge of their moods and complaints. The relationship of the commander with his subordinates must be manifested not only through the giving of lectures and reports, but also by friendly meetings and talks with the personnel. He must show paternal concern for their needs and proposals, and he must promptly settle questions which are validly raised, in order to keep their confidence and raise his own authority. In order to successfully meet the serious and responsible tasks related to construction, indoctrination and discipline, our commanders must have the affection and respect and be able at any time and under any circumstances to win over and lead their subordinates.

6. It is essential to decisively put an end to the liberalism and inertia and to draw political assessments and conclusions from the various incidents and infractions. The prevention of incidents such as labor accidents, motor vehicle accidents, absences without leave, distortions of disciplinary practices, drunkenness and fighting, like the manifestations of a lack of principles and abuse of official position, Philistinism and moral dissoluteness, must become a task for each official of the superior personnel at all times and in all places, that is, at the installations, barracks, during excercises, and so forth. There can no longer be any justification for those commanders in whose units there are thefts, various economic crimes, and losses caused to the state.

7. Also imperative are the concrete measures to eliminate weaknesses in the organization of internal order, and the observance of the standards and conditions of military life and standing daily detail. In all the units, specific and effective measures must be outlined and carried out providing for the occurrence of daily life without any deviations from the daily schedule. Reveille, a carefull attitude toward clothing and footwear, good appearance, the observance of personal hygiene the ordering of the troop quarters, the prompt arrival at and departure from the construction projects, the organization of meals and so forth are questions which create conditions for instilling order and discipline in the personnel.

Specific measures must be taken against the infractions committed in the organizing and standing of guard, vehicle park and interior service, in sharply raising the exactingness for the persons on detail so that they precisely and firmly, without any compromises and deviations from the regulations, carry out their obligations. In this regard, constant and systematic control must be excercised by the superior staff and commanders.

8. The commanders of all levels must take measures to excercise effective and strict control over the personnel both during work as well as after working hours and after the evening inspection. Our activities must be so organized so at any time the availability of personnel is known by the company orderly sergeant and the duty officers.

9. In strengthening discipline, an enormous role is played by correct disciplinary practices. As is known, by disciplinary practices one understands the entire aggregate of political and moral means which are used by the commander for influencing the awareness and feelings of the servicemen in the aim of instilling in them great responsibility and a conscientious attitude in carrying out the requirements of the regulations and orders.

Our commanders must determine properly when subordinates are to be commended and for what, as well as select that means of indoctrination which best corresponds to the effort and initiative shown by the subordinate. The basic criterion for establishing the degree of guilt is certainly the character of the infraction committed and its social danger as well as the influence on the overall state of discipline.

The commanders, staff and political sections must not allow the imposing of penalties which do not correspond to the guilt or are merely the strictest.

10. Of particular importance is the work of the staffs to strengthen discipline. The staff is the basic body of the commander for controlling the units. The chief of staff is the main organizer of the fulfillment of the decisions and orders of the commander. High organization, coordination, initiative, efficiency, firmness and exactingness must be part of the working style of each staff in carrying out the problems of improving discipline.

In providing concrete leadership for the staff and in showing great exactingness for it, the commander must grant it the necessary initiative and independence in the work of improving the state of discipline. At the same time, all the activities of the staff must be aimed at strengthening the authority of the commander.

The staffs also have a great responsibility in organizing and conducting a analyses of discipline. They must actively help the subordinate units in preparing and conducting them. The contents of the analyses must reflect the objective state of discipline. They must not show the successes and weaknesses generally, but rather on a differentiated basis, so that the persons attending the meeting can draw the correct conclusions for their own style of work.

11. The work of the political bodies is also important and responsible in strengthening discipline. By carrying out effective political indoctrination, high discipline and political-moral qualities are developed in the servicemen. It must not be forgotten that indoctrinational work produces good results and contributes to a strengthening of discipline only when it is specific and

and constant, and when it is closely tied to the missions to which the unit is carrying out. There is systematic analysis of the reasons which prevent discipline from reaching the necessary height and from responding promptly to eliminate negative aspects. The questions of discipline must be solved not by a brief campaign or by the carrying out of widely publicized measures which are subsequently abandoned. Particular attention must be paid to individual work with each serviceman, and particularly to those inclined toward infractions, in correctly utilizing the free time of the soldiers. All means are to be used, including mass sports work, the viewing of television broadcasts, and the organizing of cultured recreation for the soldiers. These will engage and mobilize the efforts of the personnel to fulfill the missions related to strengthening proper order and discipline.

12. Along with what has been said up to now and which must be done, in order to minimize incidents and to raise the level of discipline, we feel it necessary to take up also the interaction of our commanders, staff and political bodies with the bodies of the judge advocate's office and the court martial and the bodies of the VKR [? regional military commissariat] and the People's Militia. We have always had good relations with these bodies, and I would take this occassion to express the gratitude of the leadership of the troops and my own to the judge advocates in the person of Comrade Lt Gen Kapitanov, the courts martial in the person of Comrade Col Rachev and the other guests at the meeting who have always provided us with aid and assistance in combating violations of the law and crime. Our commanders in the future must improve their relations with these bodies and outline coordinated measures to mobilize the collectives to successfully strengthening discipline in the Construction Troops.

Comrade generals and officers! In the struggle to strengthen discipline and reduce incidents, decisive and firm measures are needed. This struggle must involve not only the commanders, the staff and the political bodies, but all the officers of the technical, economic, rear and supply services. Everyone in uniform and wearing shoulder loops bears responsibility for the state of military discipline.

The new regulations of the Bulgarian Armed Forces which went into effect on 1 Oct 1976 must be studied thoroughly by the end of Nov by all officers and sergeants and the efforts of all the personnel must be mobilized for introducing them into the life of the units. Both their observance as well as the strict fulfillment of the orders given related to labor accidents, motor vehicle accidents, the combating of the use of alcohol and smoking and so forth can guarantee us of success in strengthening discipline in the Construction Troops.

Comrade generals and officers! In bearing in mind the conclusions drawn in the report, the statements and the instructions given to you at today's meeting, you must assess your activities on these important and basic questions as well as the analyses which will be carried out in the month of October and the last quarter of the current year, and you must outline specific measures to eliminate weaknesses in introducing strict order according to the regulations in the units.

I am confident that the commanders of all levels, the staffs, the political bodies, the party and Komsomol organizations, like all our commanders, will take to heart the designated task of decisively improving discipline and will do what is necessary to raise it to the level of the tasks posed by the 11th Congress and the July Plenum of the BCP Central Committee.

Speech by General Vulev at Army Conference

Sofia TRUDOVO DELO in Bulgarian 26 Oct 76 pp 1,2

[Speech by Maj Gen Anton Vulev, deputy chief of the Construction Troops and chief of the Political Directorate: "Let Us Raise the Effectiveness and Quality of the Work in Strengthening Discipline"]

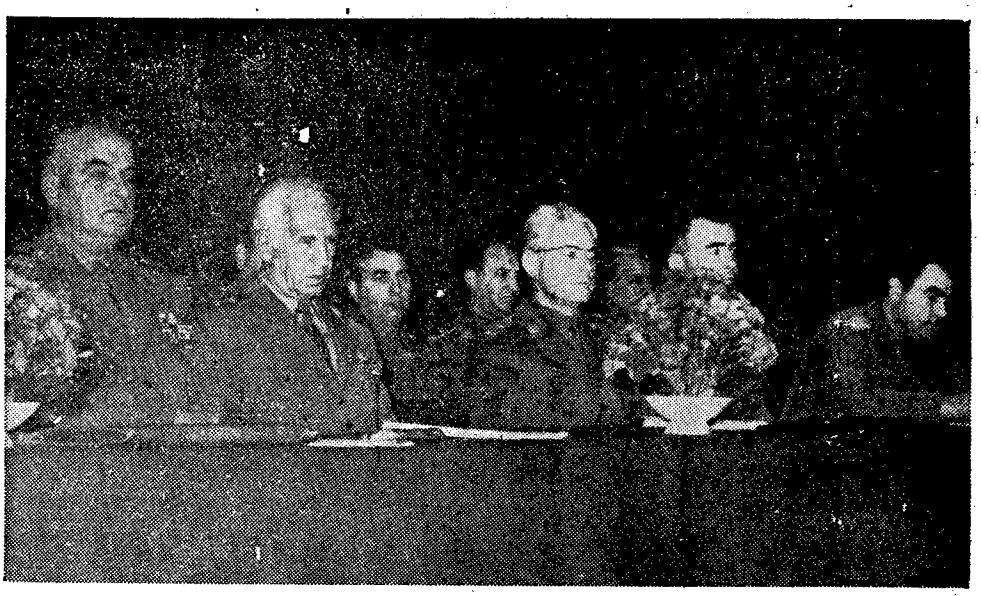
[Text] Under this motto [Let Us Raise the Effectiveness and Quality of the Work in Strengthening Discipline], a 2-day general troop meeting was held with the basic command personnel and party-political workers. The meeting was held at the GUSV House of Culture. Participating in its work were Lt Gen Dimitur Kapitanov, the judge advocate of the Armed Forces, officers Dzhedzhev and Yotov from the Military Department of the BCP Central Committee, Col Racho Rachev, chief of the Court Martial Department, and representatives of the BNA [Bulgarian People's Army] and the MVR [Ministry of Internal Affairs].

As members of the official presidium were: the chief of the Construction Troops, Lt Gen Tonyu Petkov, the chief of the Political Directorate, Maj Gen Anton Vulev, the chief of staff of the troops, Col Ivan Petrov, the deputy chief of the troops Maj Gen Vasil Vasilev, and members of the Military Administrative Council and the Bureau of the Political Directorate.

The general troop meeting was opened by a brief speech given by the chief of the Construction Troops, Lt Gen Tonyu Petkov, who turned the floor over to the deputy chief of the troops and the chief of the Political Directorate, Maj Gen Anton Vulev, for giving the report "The Work of the Commanders, Political Bodies, Party, Komsomol and Trade Union Organizations for Strengthening Discipline in the Construction Troops."

At present, when the 11th Congress and the July Plenum of the BCP Central Committee are posing for solution new, more complicated and responsible tasks, the speaker said, socialist discipline in the planning, financial, production, technological and labor areas, is assuming decisive significance for our further development along the path of mature socialism. The discussion of this key and very urgent question for us is required, in the first place, by the demands of the BCP Central Committee for assimilating and applying a new approach in the socioeconomic development of our country during the 7th Five Year Plan and, secondly, by the presence of certain shortcomings and weaknesses in our work of strengthening discipline.

The first problem which was examined in the report was the essence and characteristic features of discipline in the Construction Troops. It was emphasized that discipline is a particular feature of the conduct of people



and it derives from the social character of human life. For us, military discipline is of decisive significance and it is built on the basis of social discipline. It appears as the basic core of all the remaining forms of its manifestation.

The specific features of construction work require that the leaders and command personnel consider the requirements of planning discipline, that the prescribed production methods and completion programs be most strictly observed, that precise consideration be given to the expenditure of financial means, and a struggle waged for excellent quality. We could not successfully fulfill the construction tasks assigned to us without a close tie between military and labor discipline.

All forms of discipline in the Contruction Troops are in a dialectical unity, they complement one another and have a comprehensive effect in carrying out the tasks posed in the area of construction, in military and political training and in strengthening the moral and political state of the troops. Related to these unique activities are certain characteristic features, without consideration of which the commanders, staff, political workers and specialists could not wage a successfull struggle for its strengthening.

The second problem raised in the report was related to the state of discipline in the Construction Troops and to the role of the commanders, political bodies, party, Komsomol and trade union organizations in the struggle for its improve-

ment. It was stressed that at present the military administrative councils, the staffs, the political bodies, the party and Komsomol committees in a more systematic and effective manner are examining and analysing the development of military discipline, and are outlining measures for its strengthening. An improvement has been noted in the mass political, explanatory and individual work with the personnel. The party and Komsomol organizations are successfully applying the established practice of individual reports given by the communists and Komsomol members about their work. Service and party exactingness are being strengthened.

The command and the Political Directorate of the Construction Troops feel that, along with the numerous positive aspects in the work of strengthening discipline in all its aspects, serious weaknesses are also permitted. These have been profoundly analysed in the report, with the persons responsible for them being pointed out. The causes are due to the imperfections in the work style and methods of certain commanders and staffs, as well as to the weaknesses committed by individual commanders and political workers in indoctrination of the personnel.

The third problem taken up in the report examined the basic directions in the work of the political bodies, the commanders, the party, Komsomol and trade union organizations to further strengthen discipline in the Construction Troops. It was emphasized with great soundness that the struggle in this regard must be carried out comprehensively and on a broad front in using all the means which we possess.

It is essential to carry out a further raising of the ideological growth, and the general, military and special training of the command personnel in the Troops. It is also essential to wage a stubborn struggle to eliminate the liberalism among the commanders and staffs, to constantly strengthen service and party exactingness, and for the precise observance of the regulations and orders. The instituting of greater concreteness and specificness in the activities of all the officers and organs was noted as an essential factor for carrying out the tasks.

The command and the Political Directorate of the Construction Troops, the speech pointed out, expressed their confidence that the commanders, staffs, political bodies, party, Komsomol and trade union bodies and organizations in the future will develop extensive organizational and political work for decisively improving discipline in all its aspects, for creating a movement for exemplary units, and for making it the decisive factor in the struggle for carrying out the party demands stemming from the decisions of the 11th Congress and the July Plenum of the BCP Central Committee.

The lively discussions which occurred fully substantiated the evaluations, conclusions and recommendations given in the report for improving future work. Valuable experience was shared and a desire could be seen to raise troop life in accord with the high demands of the July Plenum, with the new regulations, with the orders of the chief of the Construction Troops and the instructions of the Political Directorate. And this means that the level of the

organizational command, party political and ideological indoctrination work will be raised, and everything possible will be done to fulfill the tasks in the area of construction and the training process by creating strong and aware military discipline.

Officer Penchev spoke on the question of the role of the personality of the responsible commander, while officer Goranov shared interesting thoughts on the factors which influence military discipline. Officer Mateev told how the unit solves the problem of strengthening one-man leadership and how the commanders, political section, party and Komsomol organizations contribute to this. Lt Nikolov in his speech took up the place and initiatives of the Komsomol in solving the discussed major problem. Officer Kaptebilov examined the question of individual work with the men as a factor for strengthening discipline. Officer Paunov told of what is being done at the General Blagoy Ivanov VNVSU [Higher People's Military Construction School] in developing the officer candidates as future disciplined responsible commanders. Officer Dzhaluzov shared the experience on the question of how in their unit the commanders work and direct the party, trade union and Komsomol organizations in the struggle for building strong military discipline. The problems of planning and financial discipline were touched upon by officer Pishtovliyski. Good recommendations were made by officer Kutsarov.

The judge advocate of the Armed Forces Lt Gen Dimitur Kapitanov, had positive praise for the work of the meeting. After taking up certain facts, he drew attention to the requirements of socialist legality and the combined arms regulations, and recommended that preventive and political work be strengthened in the units.

The persons present listened with great attention to the major speech of the chief of the Construction Troops, Lt Gen Tonyu Petkov. (Selections of the speech are published separately.)

The second day of the general troop meeting continued the work in sections with the party-organizational ideological and Komsomol workers. We will take them up in separate articles.

The general troop meeting with the basic commanders and party-political workers was closed by the chief of the Political Directorate, Maj Gen Anton Vulev. He gave specific instructions on certain urgent problems of party political work.

Struggle Against Negative Phenomena Urged

Sofia TRUDOVO DELO in Bulgarian 26 Oct 76 p 2

[Unattributed article: "The Struggle Against Negative Phenomena--An Important Task"]

"Ideological Work in Combating Negative Phenomena in the Life and Activities of Servicemen" was the basic report of a theoretical seminar held for workers of the ideological front; the report was given by the chief of the 'Propaganda and

Agitation' Department of the Political Directorate, officer Iliya Kitinski. Three basic questions were brought up: the essence of negative phenomena and the causes of their rise and existence under socialism, negative phenomena in the Construction Troops and the reason for their existence and the approach, forms and means of ideological work in the struggle against negative phenomena.

The program envisaged four coreports which gave the experience of the units in the struggle against negative phenomena. These included: "The Role of Commanders, Party-Political Workers and Specialists and the Use of Ideological Means in the Struggle Against Negative Phenomena," "Mass Political Work--One of the Forms for Creating Irreconcilability Against Negative Phenomena," "Ideological Work in the Struggle Against Intercession, Lack of Principles, a Philistine and Consumer Attitude Toward Life" and "Individual Work With the Men and Ideological Influence." These were given by officers Dimitrov Kozlev, Gavrilov and Ivanov.

The statements of officers Feyzulov, Gruncharov and Tanev shared the experience of their units relating to the role and significance of mass political work, the individual approach to indoctrination and the training process for forming a Marxist-Leninist viewpoint and raising the awareness of the servicemen. Using concrete examples and implemented measure, they reinforced their conclusions that the forms of ideological work are effective and produce results only with good organization, purposefullness and preparation. At present, after the decisions of the July Plenum of the BCP Central Committee, the efforts of the workers on the ideological front are focused on the fuller linking of the measures with the life of the units and with the construction program. The struggle against negative phenomena such as the avoidance of labor, the shunning of service duties, and an uneconomic attitude toward socialist property is being waged more systematically and purposefully.

The basic report gave a profound analysis of the reasons which give rise to the negative phenomena, and the necessity was stressed of the preventive role of ideological indoctrination. It was stressed that for this purpose it is essential to completely carry out the reorganization of ideological work, to create an optimum psychological climate in the collectives, to more closely link the indoctrinational process with the life and missions of the units, and to respond efficiently to the negative phenomena of each element.

For the participants in the seminar, an evaluation was given of the results in the past training year. Officer Iliya Kitinski gave instructions for improving the work, and for raising the effectiveness of the exercises in all the training groups.

Role of Komsomol Organization Outlined

Sofia TRUDOVO DELO in Bulgarian 26 Oct 76 p 2

[Unattributed article: "The Role of the Komsomol in Strengthening the Collective"]

[Text] The first deputy chief of the Political Directorate of the Construction Troops, Col Encho Raykovski, opened the work of the section with the Komsomol

workers and turned the floor over to Capt Gancho Ganchev for giving the report on the subject "For Further Raising the Role of the Komsomol in Strengthening the Troop Collective."

It was pointed out that as a result of the organizational and indoctrinational work carried out by the commanders, the political workers, the party and Komsomol organizations, virtually all the collectives in the Construction Troops are in good condition. A larger portion of the Komsomol organizations are correctly endeavoring to influence the creation of a cheerful atmosphere in the collective, to indoctrinate the young persons and activate them in fulfilling the tasks.

However, along with the successes, a number of weaknesses can be pointed out. In certain areas, due to the presence of formalism in planning the measures (which, in turn, make the activities one-sided and reduces them to merely holding organizational meetings of a formal sort), indifference to the Komsomol measures has resulted. Often the concern for cultured recreation is nothing more than the attending of a certain film or the viewing of TV broadcasts. Formalism and routine in many of the instances reduced the effects even of our basic initiative of "The Komsomol Report to the Party." The necessary effect on the collectives is also not achieved through agreements for Komsomol sponsorship of nearly completed projects.

The shortcomings are particularly great in the most effective form of collectivism, the Komsomol meeting which, in many organizations, has not been turned into a form for bringing out the intelligence, talent and daring of the youth.

The greatest weakness in indoctrinational activities is that they do not always work concretely with each young person.

Also unsatisfactory are the measures to create a strong public opinion.

The report stressed that at present the basic task is an improvement in the organization and management in indoctrinational activities in the Komsomol organizations and groups. At the same time it is also essential to strengthen the participation of the youth in the socialist competition. The political departments are to be concerned more frequently and completely with the problems of Komsomol work.

Statements on the questions raised by the report were made by Sr Lt Kunev, Lt Khristov, Sr Lt Rusev, Lt Lichev, Jr Lt Shiderski, Lt Velkov, Sr Lt Angelov, Lt Yakimov, Sr Lt Martsenkov, Sr Lt Donev and Lt Kazakov. The Komsomol workers examined the link between the individual aspects of activities in the organizations and the problem of strengthening the collectives. Experience was shared, and interesting proposals were made. In addition, the statements were sufficiently self-critical.

Finally, an evaluation was read concerning the results of the report-election meetings which had been held up to now in the Komsomol. The forthcoming most immediate tasks of the Komsomol organizations were posed.

10272
CSO: 2200

FEDERAL ASSEMBLY OPERATIONS UNDER SOCIALISM DISCUSSED

Prague ZIVOT STRANY in Czech No 20, Sep 76 pp 9-11

[Article by Dalibor Hanes, member of the Central Committee of the CPCZ and chairman of the CSSR Federal Assembly Chamber of Nations: "A Common Goal, a Common Effort, a Common Policy"]

[Text] Our socialist state, and all its organs and organizations from the lowest to the central, and therefore also the highest organ of state power in the CSSR--the Federal Assembly-- is the main policy instrument of the working class and the communist party. All legislative, control, and foreign policy initiatives of the Federal Assembly, both chambers that constitute it, and all its organs originate from this consciousness of the large class political and society-wide responsibility of the socialist state. This consciousness also conditions the level of political activity of all 350 deputies of the Federal Assembly. That this is really so is shown by the results of the activity of the FS [Federal Assembly] during the second electoral period.

In this activity of the Federal Assembly, the policy line that was determined by the 14th congress and made specific by individual sessions of the Central Committee of the CPCZ for the mind and staff of our socialist society, the communist party, was applied in a creative manner and in an entirely principled way. A consistent adherence to this policy line was the contribution of the Federal Assembly while consolidating the domestic and f reign policy, economic, social and cultural positions of the Czechoslovak federation, which constitutes a firm class and international basis for the brotherly coexistence of the nations and nationalities of the CSSR. This was also its contribution to the further perfection and development of socialist democracy.

However positively the 15th congress evaluated the activity of the highest representative body of the federation in connection with the general results of the work of all representative organs, the reached level of legislative control, initiative, and foreign policy activities of the Federal Assembly is the realization of merely one of the stages leading to the development

and ultimately the fulfilling of the historical mission of the socialist state and socialist democracy. The dialectics of the long-term development of the socialist state and socialist democracy and the entire socialist society show that together with the development of the material-technical base of socialism, for which collective ownership of capital assets is characteristic, there is constant expansion of the possibilities for further improvement in the democratic character of the socialist social system, of the organization and management of the national economy, as well as of all other apsects of the life of society. It is exactly this improvement in quality, intensifying, and strict maintaining of the democratic principles which is, at the same time, one of the most important conditions for the further development of the socialist economy, the still more intensified and broader democratization of education, culture, and all other spheres, including interpersonal relations.

This process urgently demands the legal assertion of the leading role of the communist party, for the party is the model for the creation of the most optimal forms of communist social autonomy. This process demands respect for the collective experiences of the masses and close contact with the masses, a sufficient courage for the continual perfection of a creative approach to the solution of economic tasks, it demands a constant search for the most usable forms of growth in activity and initiative of the citizens. In this process the Federal Assembly, its chambers, their presidium, committees, and all deputies see quite clearly their place, mission, tasks and jurisdiction.

The party teaches us to approach results that have already been achieved as a foundation upon which we are developing the next process of socialist construction, conscious of the fact that the needs of tomorrow, the needs of the future are the new and consequently more demanding criterion. The party teaches us to approach the results achieved and the experiences attained as a valuable source of instruction and knowledge that is useful for a further direction of progress. It is not possible to live from memories, though they be memories of honestly completed work, even of heroic acts. It is impossible to live merely from accomplished results. though they be unequivocally positive. Therefore the 15th congress of the party emphasized Lenin's call "that we not be content with what we can do, what we learned earlier, but that we go further at any cost, that we set greater and greater demands at any cost, that we proceed unconditionally from easy tasks to more difficult ones. Without this no progress whatsoever is possible, and consequently not even progress in socialist construction is possible."

The Leninist credo formulated the idea that emphasizes the need for high demands on everyone together with the greatest care for man--this is the criterion by which we must evaluate all that has been accomplished and attained, not with regard to the state of the past, but to the needs of tomorrow, the needs of the future.

From this angle we in the Federal Assembly pondered over the results achieved in the second electoral period and over how to proceed further, how to improve the quality of activity of the highest organ of state power and in the only legislative body of the Czechoslovak federation in accordance with the policy line of the 15th CPCZ Congress. Because every activity of the whole Federal Assembly is conditioned primarily by the political, professional, and moral qualities of the deputies, by their abilities to assert society-wide interests in accord with the needs of the development of individual localities, okreses, and krajs, by their ability to creatively develop and put into practice in a principled way the policies of the communist party and the socialist state in their entrusted function, by their attentive relationship to the people and their cares and needs--for this reason we have in the past electoral period exerted no small effort so that the profile of a deputy of the people of a socialist state would be further molded in the spirit of these principles.

The nomination of candidates by all political parties and organizations of the National Front in 1971 as deputies to the representative bodies also proceeded on the basis of these demanding criteria. The nominations were carried out in a really responsible manner. In the Federal Assembly itself, 80 percent of all elected deputies began after the elections to perform their functions as deputies for the very first time. The Federal Assembly in its second electoral period worked during a 5-year period that belonged to the most complex so far in the process of the socialist construction of our country. After all, in the unbelievably short course of five years everything was basically accomplished, which according to the predictions of all enemies of socialism was a 10-year task: the rectification of errors that had accumulated already before 1968, the liquidation of the consequences of the crisis in the party and society, the accomplishment of the necessary overall economic and social advance, and consequently also the general stability of the domestic and international politics of Czechoslovak society.

The Central Committee and with it the whole party, who have a clear program, strong will, and the ability to realize the program consistently, together with the working class, the cooperative farmers, the honorable members of the intelligentsia and all honest supporters of socialism, proved they could transform this most complicated period in the construction of socialism in the CSSR into an epoch that ranks among the most successful. It can be said that the imprint left by the activity of the Federal Assembly, both chambers, their organs and deputies on this effort of the entire society, augmented mainly by the international brotherly help of the Soviet Union, is evident. It is possible to state that the deputies literally grew from day to day on such fundamental tasks as the consistent consolidation of the socialist state, the application of Marxist-Leninist ideology in all spheres of the activity of the Federal Assembly, the consolidation of socialist ownership of capital assets and the planned management of the national economy, and the explicit enforcement of the principles of proletarian and socialist internationalism in domestic and foreign policy, especially in relation to

the Soviet Union. All legislative, control, and initiative activity and all foreign policy activity which the Federal Assembly developed was directed toward solidifying these fundamental immutable values of socialism.

The deputies of the highest organ of state power of the CSSR served honorably in such a difficult period and in the solving of such monumental tasks, which were shared by the Federal Assembly with, and under the leadership of, the communist party. The deputies--communists, those of other parties, and those with no party affiliation--proceeded uniformly and with full responsibility from the correct class political positions to the realization of the political line of the CPCZ in parliamentary activity. It is especially rewarding to point to their parliamentary activity in the electoral districts, their close contacts with the working people, their responsible approach to suggestions and critical remarks of the citizens, their attempt to contribute as effectively as possible to the realization of the line of the 14th congress of the party. By a vigorous interaction of their parliamentary activity in the districts and their performances in individual or joint sessions of the chambers or in discussions in the committees of both chambers, the deputies could substantively enrich their understanding and resolution of various society-wide processes and phenomena, especially regarding specific manifestations from places of work, localities, okreses or krajs.

Further possibilities for intensification of representative democracy are hidden in this very link between parliamentary activity in the districts, between the electorate, in contacts with the national committees at all levels, with social and economic organs and organizations, and the activities in the committees of the chambers and in independent or joint sessions of the chambers. Indeed, not a single one of the activities of the Federal Assembly, be it legislative, control and initiative, or international policy, can do (if it is not to be tainted by subjectivism) without close cooperation of the central organs, including the Federal Assembly, and local, okres, and kraj organ ; without constantly bringing local and individual interests into accord with society-wide interests; without unremitting confrontation of the main lines of socialist construction with practical aspects of all structures of society; without the enrichment of these main lines with the experiences and views of the masses.

If the deputy is to be one of the important actors in this process (and if we take into consideration that the electoral district of a deputy to the Chamber of Nations or the Chamber of People represents a considerably broad territory), his activity must be made still more rational, efficient, and objective by the forces, means, and forms and methods of work which social and economic organs and organizations have at their disposal and use. Likewise this must be done by the forces of the broad, volunteer citizen aktiv that surround the national committees. The question of extensive contact of deputies of both chambers with the electorate, not limited just to the days the chambers are in session, of relations with the national committees, social and economic organs and organizations--

this question will remain even in the next electoral period in the forefront of attention, just like the concern for the continual raising of the level of political quality and unity of all deputies. It is a question of immense political consequence, for by its resolution the real participation of working people in the creation, realization, and control of the politics of our socialist state will be ensured. The way to the unification of all creative forces of society in the main tasks of the present and future development of our socialist society is the same.

In the entire electoral period now ending and in the coming period, the focus of the activity of both chambers, their committees, presidia, and all deputies was and will be on the responsible, creative preparation and accomplishment of the tasks emerging from the individual sessions of the Central Committee of the CPCZ which systematically specify and concern themselves with the policy line of the congresses.

Though it is impossible to express all this activity in numerical balances, some data deserve to be noted, even if they are only a part of the varied and colorful mosaic of parliamentary activity in the second electoral period. On the basis of the plan for the main tasks of the Federal Assembly, which was efficiently coordinated with the plans for work of the government of the CSSR, the Czech National Council and the Slovak National Council, the Chamber of Nations and the Chamber of People and their committees reviewed and discussed and, at a joint meeting, approved altogether 55 constitutional and other laws, including legal measures. They also expressed agreement with 58 international conventions, agreements, and treaties. While implementing the conclusions of the individual sessions of the Central Committee of the CPCZ, the committees of both chambers included in their discussions and in the adopted measures decisive political, economic, social, and cultural-political problems. The intensity of their work is documented by the fact that on a yearly average they worked on 16 to 19 principle tasks. Here, in the work of the committees of the chambers are concentrated the political qualities, collective reason, understanding, experiences and wisdom of the workers, cooperative farmers, technicians, scientists, humanitarian intelligentsia, political and economic workers, and the rest of the deputies. Research into all spheres of the life of society are components of the committees' work. So far, during the second electoral period, the committees have accomplished 123 instances of such research, along with 65 seminars at which the deputies get thoroughly acquainted with the most grave and pressing problems of political, economic and cultural life.

The way in which the chambers resolve one of the principle tasks of today--the realization of the economic policy of the party, which is specifically expressed by the five-year plans for the development of the national economy and approved by the FS in the form of a law--is evident not only in the fact that in the total number of laws approved by the joint sessions of the chambers there was a number of important economic laws, that at these sessions the annual government report on the fulfillment of their programs was reviewed and the federal state budget was legislatively approved each

year, but especially in the fact that all accomplished tasks which were on the agenda of independent sessions of the chambers in the second electoral period were essentially directed to the economic sphere. At these sessions were discussed, for example, conceptual questions of housing construction, the development of the fuel-power base, the problems of the engineering and metallurgical industries, transportation, the domestic market, and fundamental tasks in the area of scientific-technical development. At the same time, most of the work involved in the reviewing and resolving of economic problems was done in the committees of the chambers.

Nor must one omit the good cooperation of the Federal Assembly and the government of the CSSR. In the period that has elapsed, the Federal government has accomplished, under the leadership of the communist party and its central committee, very complex and difficult tasks in all areas of the life of the state and society. In this effort it always had the absolute support of the Federal Assembly, its chambers, its organs and deputies. At the same time, through critical attitudes and a share in the resolution of problems, the deputies participated in the correction of errors and the elimination of weaknesses in the work of government departments. They did so on the basis of their experience and knowledge gained from their legislative activity in the districts and during numerous investigations.

The international political activity of the Federal Assembly follows the foreign policy line of the communist party consistently. Extensive foreign contacts testify to this. In the second electoral period official delegations of the FS were abroad 18 times; 2 working visits by the FS chairman and 6 trips of the Czechoslovak group, the Interparliamentary Union, took place; we sent representatives to 26 sessions of the Interparliamentary Union and consultative meetings in connection with them; delegations of the committees were abroad 3 times, and so forth. In the same period 19 official parliamentary delegations visited our country, 9 parliamentary representatives were received, 19 visits from the initiative of the Parliamentary Union took place, etc. The arrivals of ambassadors can be counted in the hundreds, and the visits of delegations and prominent political representatives from abroad, who came to the CSSR privately or on various invitations, number in the dozens.

In all these contacts we have proceeded from pivotal principles which the communist party applies in the activity of the organs and organizations of the socialist state and socialist society: to strengthen the alliance, cooperation, and friendship with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism; to contribute to the unity of the international communist and labor movement and its ability to act; to provide support to the national liberation movements. Furthermore, to intensify cooperation with countries that have freed themselves from colonial rule, to apply the principles of peaceful coexistence and mutually advantageous cooperation to states with other social systems, and to contribute thus to the consolidation of peace.

The uniform and purposeful assertion of the class-political interests of the leading force of our society--the working class and its avantgarde, the communist party--in all constitutional jurisdictions of the Federal Assembly is very closely connected with the activities of the Club of Communist Deputies. The Party is well aware that the complexity of the tasks, which increase from year to year, raises the demands primarily on its entire political organism, on each communist. Therefore the responsibility of communist deputies for the application of the party line in the activity of the Federal Assembly also increases. The Club of Communist Deputies focuses not only all communist deputies on this activity, but also invites non-party deputies to the majority of its meetings. In cooperation with the clubs of deputies of other political parties, it discusses a common course of action in parliamentary activity during the realization of the construction of a developed socialist society. The preparation of the communist deputies in the plenums of the club, in the party groups of the chambers, at the proceedings of the Chamber of People and the Chamber of Nations, or at the proceedings of the committees of both chambers, together with the activity of the leadership of the club of communist deputies--all this, in open cooperation with the non-party deputies and the clubs of deputies of the other parties of the National Front, has a positive effect on the creation of political and consequently also ideological unity of all deputies in the realization of a unified party and state policy in the activity of the highest organ of state power in the CSSR.

In the second electoral period, which will be completed in a few weeks, the Federal Assembly accomplished an honest piece of work. It did so while implementing the political line of the communist party through the exercise of its constitutional authority, the performance of its duties to the vanguard of the working class and of all working people, and the performance of its duties to the socialist state, society, and all people. This can be said without undercutting or embellishing reality. From the deputies of the highest organ of state power in the Czechoslovak Federation has emerged an influential, preeminent aktiv of the communist party and the socialist state. Thus it will function in the following period as well.

8976
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FUNCTIONS, ACCOMPLISHMENTS OF GDR RED CROSS DETAILED

East Berlin PRESSE-INFORMATIONEN in German 29 Oct 76 pp 2-3

[Article by Dr Werner Ludwig, Professor of Medicine, President of the German Red Cross of the GDR: "Health Protection at the Workplace Is Effectively Supported"]

[Text] It is the concern of the German Red Cross of the German Democratic Republic to aid in the health protection of the population of our republic. This concern will be discussed by the delegates at the Eighth Congress of the Socialist Mass Organizations on 12 and 13 November 1976 in Karl-Marx-Stadt.

Since its establishment, the German Red Cross of the GDR has supported the efforts of state organs for ever more effective health protection. Its fundamental tasks, to work for the protection of life and health, correspond fully with the social interests of the workers and peasants state and the personal interests of its citizens. It therefore helps actively to realize the social policy goals set by the Ninth SED Congress.

Our members exercise direct influence, especially in the enterprises, on the preservation of the health of the working people. In the past, the activity of the health aides was concentrated primarily on providing skilled first aid services. Nowadays they are increasingly concerned with a comprehensive structuring of healthful working and living conditions. In this connection the achievements of the "Herbert Warnke" VEB Combine for Transformer Technology in Erfurt are exemplary. Its members increasingly use all opportunities to support the enterprise leaderships in analyses of workplaces and inspection of labor hygiene standards.

Health Aides Facing Greater Tasks

The range of tasks of German Red Cross members in the enterprises has expanded. It is therefore necessary to redefine the social position and function of the health aide. Of course the health aide will continue to provide skilled first aid and thus to be a partner of the enterprise health services; this accords with Labor Protection Regulation 20/1

(GESETZBLATT, supplement 636 of 4 August 1969), which remains an important legal foundation for the public health activity of the German Red Cross in the enterprises. But at the same time he is a partner of the labor safety officials in the union as well as a public inspector in the area of health and labor protection, hygiene and labor hygiene. He is a propagandist and model of a healthy style of working and living in the labor process.

Since our Seventh Congress in October 1970, we have been able to record visible successes of the activity of the German Red Cross of the GDR in enterprises employing more than 1000 people. Evidence is provided by the accomplishments of the primary organizations, the growing number of health aides, the use being made of them in all departments and shifts, their further training in the specific conditions of the enterprise, and the development of new primary organizations. The responsibility of the working people themselves for health and labor protection was especially increased wherever the work of the German Red Cross primary organizations was drawn into the brigade contracts, competitive pledges, and enterprise documents; this is the case, for example, in the Kirow Works VEB in Leipzig. In many enterprises of the republic, such as the Suhl "Ernst Thaelmann" VEB for Vehicle and Hunting Weapon Works, plant Number 9 in Barchfeld, the enterprise leaderships value the activity of the German Red Cross primary organizations in reducing labor accidents and the incidence of illness.

The members of the German Red Cross of the GDR also undertook great efforts in industrial enterprises with fewer than 1000 employees, in construction enterprises, at major construction projects, and in agriculture. An agreement with the minister of construction has as its goal the improvement of health and labor protection and greater effectiveness of our mass organizations in construction enterprises. Red Cross members and health aides can thus contribute even more in this area to the securing of health and labor protection, entirely in the spirit of the comprehensive residential construction program.

In recent years the German Red Cross of the GDR has concerned itself with helping to improve the working and living conditions of the cooperative farmers and other working people in socialist agriculture. In this effort, two concerns were in the foreground. First was the issue of securing first aid at the workplace in all brigades, labor collectives, and in shift labor through the training of many collective farmers as health aides. In addition, German Red Cross members supported local labor health measures in rural residential areas and agricultural enterprises.

Allies of State Hygiene Organs

The hygienic arrangement of working and living conditions is among the most important preconditions for the prevention of many diseases, especially contagious diseases. On the basis of the "Regulation on State Hygiene Inspection" of 11 December 1975 (GESETZBLATT, Part I, Number 2 of 22 January 1976), the members of the German Red Cross of the GDR,

especially the 18,000 whose special responsibility is hygiene or labor hygiene, are being drawn into these tasks more than in the past. This is how the necessary and possible mass basis is created in this area.

We see our task in supporting the state hygiene organs even more effectively in three directions: in checking to make sure that hygienic standards are observed, above all in food production enterprises; in striving for better hygienic conditions in places of residence, educational and child-care facilities for children and young people, and vacation and recreation areas; and finally in promoting a healthy style of life of the citizens, especially children and young people. In these areas there are still many possibilities for the trained specialists for hygiene or labor hygiene of the German Red Cross of the GDR. Their knowledge and experience could be used even more effectively through close cooperation with the colleagues in the enterprise health services; such cooperation is already routine in the "Ernst Thaelmann" VEB Combine for Heavy Machinery Construction in Magdeburg, in the railway repair yard in Wittenberge, and in the "Wilhelm Pieck" Oberspree VEB Combine for Cable Works in Berlin-Oberschoeneweide.

[The following explanatory note, in italics, is inserted into the text of the article:]

The German Red Cross of the German Democratic Republic has, since its Seventh Congress, increased its social effectiveness in all areas of its work.

From 1971 to 1975 the nearly 570,000 members gave first aid more than 13 million times, i.e., about 2.6 million times annually.

Nearly 500,000 members have had the basic training, and more than 18,000 have been trained as specialist for hygiene or labor hygiene.

Some 11,635 members are qualified as teachers. In the past five years they trained more than 268,000 citizens as health aides, and they gave general training in first aid to 1.47 million citizens.

The number of blood donations increased steadily. From 1971 to 1975 the German Red Cross of the GDR was able to provide blood for a total of nearly one million transfusion units to the public health agencies.

The ambulance service of the German Red Cross of the GDR annually transports more than 3.5 million patients over a total distance of more than 60 million kilometers.

In nursing and social services, the achievements increased considerably in the last five years. In 1971 there were 530,000 hours of nursing care, while in 1975 1.5 million hours were recorded in caring for elderly and sick citizens. A significant part of this service consists of at-home care, in which young people are the most active.

The members of the water life-saving service and mountain accident service kept watch in the vacation and recreation areas of our republic over the life and safety of adults and children in vacation camps. In five years the water life-saving service saved 3,496 people from drowning, and the mountain accident service helped 656 people out of mortally dangerous situations.

8994
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SOCIAL SIGNIFICANCE OF NEW PUBLIC EDUCATION LAW NOTED

Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 20 Oct 76 p 3

[Article by Ervin Havas]

[Excerpts] A thorough job, lasting for a long time and mobilizing much energy has arrived at an important stage: the National Assembly accepted the public education law at its autumn session. While reviewing the preliminaries, listening to the National Assembly's debate, or reading the paragraphs of the accepted law one cannot suppress the thoughts intermingled with--if you will--pride that such a law could only appear on the agenda in a socialist country where the apparatus created by the state and supported by the entire society cares for the culture of the public, for the harmony of quality of life and social conscience, intellectual improvements and behavior.

The Meeting of the Masses and of Culture

The social, political and cultural changes which have taken place since liberation are now adding to the pages of the history book written by today's older and younger generations and many of us remember well, perhaps from personal memories, that among others in culture and in education what a heavy inheritance we received from the past, or rather, one depressing with its weightlessness.

And we also remember that hunger and fever with which the worker and peasant masses, cheated out of culture earlier, actually jumped at every source from which the waters of culture bubbled up. And also, that public education started out in our country with vigor never before seen--because even the limited satisfying of these mass needs was that--which was organized by the best of intellectual life, the communists, sympathizers, antifascists, leaders and participants of the pre-war progressive intellectual movements.

Today all this is a little bit of history, just as the building up of cultural houses, public education libraries, the network of movie theaters--urgently rapid, and wearing the disadvantageous marks of this speed--

belongs to the preliminaries. And together with the political-sociological changes the country's educational system has also undergone fundamental change, the qualitatively new system of public education outside the school was built up, and the meeting of the masses and culture was ever increasingly permeated by the ideas of Marxism-Leninism.

Those who were 20-30 years of age at that time remember well what an unsettling and shattering experience it was to become familiar with the excellent creations of Soviet literature, theater and film, they also remember the human warmth of the cultural-artistic groups which were in the vanguard of the political struggles and which sprang up like mushrooms.

And though even this process could not be free of the distortions of dogmatism, then of the effects of counterrevolution, stepping beyond these recessions also, that first stage of the socialist cultural revolution answered to the socioeconomic conditions; requirements creating the foundations of socialism did take place successfully.

Though it is difficult to tie the stages of development to calendar dates, there is no doubt that just as in the life of our society, so in culture the powerful, intensive socialist growth has opened up since the beginning of the sixties.

Life itself dictated that during these years greater attention should be paid to public education, science, the arts and public culture--of the latter the contextual as well as institutional aspects. This was indicated first by the stand on scientific policy, then by the party resolution passed about public education and the development of public culture.

Greater Demands

In the party resolution newer, greater demands were expressed: all of that which the building of an advanced socialist society, the fulfillment of socialist democracy, the scientific-technological revolution, the restructuring of society, the improvement of standard of life and the conscious, the change of lifestyle and the increasing amount of free time demand from the cultural resources of society. The need of legal regulation, of laws on public education, was also defined in this party resolution for the first time, with the goal that in the spirit of the constitution it should summarize the basic principles covering the entirety of public education, general tasks, rights and obligations; so that by offering broad space to public cultural activities, to every progressive initiative, it should systematize, and flexibly regulate the already developed practice.

The Central Committee's resolution fitted public culture into the life of socialist society more organically than before, to its communal forms, explaining clearly that it is not a resort-assignment but a central concern of the entire society, in which the central state organs, councils, party and mass organizations, leaders of production units, educational and cultural institutions and news organs alike must all do their part.

In this spirit, in the broader interpretation of public education did the lawmakers also create the law itself. This is how Imre Gyori, secretary of MSZMP's [Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party] Central Committee defined this, speaking to the parliament of the proposed law: "The category of public education connects the various aspects of cultural life, ties into one unit the political, ideological, professional and general education, including here in an auxiliary manner but with full rights the cultures of socialist morale, life style, manner of life and socialist consumption. And it brings this more complex culture, interpreted in its diversity, deliberately and emphatically into relation with that area from which it derives and which it aids--that is, it links it with social practice. The interconnection applies to production, community life, public life, social democratism, the socio-political practice of decreasing the differences of inherited social conditions and inequalities, and between physical and intellectual work."

In Focus: Worker Education

This broad interpretation of education focuses on the development of socialist man--that is, the political and ideological, the general and professional education, the culture of natural sciences and technology as well as of the arts, the knowledge of how to live with the benefits, the culture of using free time in a meaningful manner are woven within it into an organic unit. But it expresses also that socially and humanly only that knowledge is productive in which education itself is continuous and which exists in mutual relationship with the education of others. That is, the educated man is also instinctively and consciously an educating man, and a learning man also.

The law expresses the intention to have public education encompass the entire society--the workers, peasants, intellectual--but it pays particular attention to improving the education of the working class. Improving on one's education is a fundamental interest of the working class which desires primarily a leading role fulfilled in society. But being better educated is also necessary to a better understanding of the economic processes, in the interest of broadening the social democratism.

There is no opportunity to report in detail on the law within the present article; plenty was said about its entirety and about its specific points during the debate in parliament. We will emphasize only the conclusion that the conditions of public education are primarily assured by the state. But the conclusion is of no lesser importance that public cultural activity is built upon society's pulling together, upon the voluntary, active participation by the citizens and by their communities. This pulling together and participation of society's proportions can assure that the spirit and letter of the public education law will become embodied in deeds, to benefit us all.

8584
CSO: 2500

POLAND

ISSUES RELATED TO PRINCIPLE OF INDEPENDENT JUDICIARY DISCUSSED

Monitoring Court Decisions

Warsaw PANSTWO I PRAWO in Polish No 8-9, Aug-Sept 76 pp 18-31

[Article by Jerzy Wroblewski: "Review of the Court Decision; Selected Theoretical Problems"]

[Excerpts] 1. Many legal cultures have developed the principle that the judge is subject only to the statutes. In this connection the question arises as to how to relate the judge's independence to supervision of his activity, because, on the one hand, any sort of supervision has the potential of threatening that independence, but, on the other hand, it is necessary to determine whether or not the judge is basing his decisions on the standards to which he is subject. This dilemma is resolved institutionally by the legal regulations in effect and by the practical functioning of the body for the administration of justice.

Monitoring of the judge's rendering of decisions depends on the extent to which his decisions are determined by the application of regulations of the law in effect. The term "decision" here means any sort of court action in which the judge resolves particular issues in the process of handling cases. From this point of view we may speak not only of a "final decision" or decree (bringing a case to a close at a given level) but also of interpretive decisions, evidentiary decisions, and so on.

In this connection I am taking up the subject of the extent to which the court decision is determined by the regulations of the applicable law and the factors which operate to tighten up the slack in the rendering of decisions, and I am analyzing in general the problem of monitoring the rendering of decisions in the realm of the activity designated by law and in the realm of decision leeway.

My deliberations are a general theoretical reflection and refer to the systems of statutory law, in which the principle is adopted that the judge's independence is subject only to the statutes and that he should operate in keeping with applicable law. An example of this is the socialist type of legal system, especially that of the Polish People's Republic, in which the ideology of the court application of the law is the ideology of court decisions based on the law[1].

4. Decision leeway occurs to a varying extent both because of the methods of legal regulation and because of factors which in practice have an influence on the process of rendering decisions.

I distinguish among four types of factors which reduce decision leeway in rendering decisions: a) regulations of applicable law, b) rules and judgments to which applicable law refers outside the system through general provisions or direct references, c) factors which should be considered in keeping with the judge's own ideology concerning the court's application of the law, and d) rudimentary legal culture.

In my further deliberations, in relation to the various types of decision leeway, I shall discuss only applicable regulations. I am discussing the other factors in general terms, because this is sufficient for the deliberations being conducted here.

5. The regulations in effect are formulated by various sorts of directives on the application of the law (directives on validity, interpretation, and evidence or on the selection of consequences), which tend to reduce (or, in extreme cases, to eliminate altogether) any decision leeway. The existence of this sort of legal regulation limits this decision leeway, so long as it does not lead in turn to the creation of special leeway at a higher level.

Legal regulations limit validity leeway through the formulation of rules of derogation. Here we are dealing with the clear derogation of old regulations through the introduction of new regulations in situations where without such regulation the court would be forced to operate under a conflicting directive based on a differentiation between legi speciali and legi generali. The limiting of validity leeway by a law which regulates the recognition of the consequences of binding regulations seems rather restricted but significant in particular in instances where there is a prohibition against using analogy in penal law, because of the values which this law protects and because of the nature of the sanctions for which it provides.

Interpretive leeway is reduced by interpretation directives in effect. Such directives, expressed in the form of legal regulations, can have a clear influence on the type of assessment made by the person rendering the interpretation uses and the interpretation directives to which he assigns priority (for example, Article 4 of the penal code). Advocates of views which envision the codification of "interpretive law" as an instrument for eliminating leeway in interpretation attribute an exaggerated role to such directives,[8] but such directives do nonetheless surely limit this leeway in a certain area.

Here we should mention the binding interpretation, which restricts this leeway, either in all instances or in concrete ones. These are not legal regulations issued by legislative bodies ex lege but, for example, in our system, guidelines for the administration of justice and court practice or other forms of binding interpretation.[9] From the functional point of view, directives on interpretation (or simply the interpretation included in them)

eliminate or reduce decision leeway in the area in which they apply, just as interpretation directives expressed in applicable legal regulations do.

Evidential leeway is reduced or eliminated by legal regulations governing evidence. Even systems which accept the theory of a free evaluation of the evidence contain a certain number of legal evidential directives. Our system of civil and penal procedure is an example.

Leeway in choosing the consequences is restricted by directives on the selection of consequences, usually formulated as applicable regulations of law. There is no room here to discuss regulations of this sort, which are particularly abundant in material penal law. These regulations either contain regulations which completely eliminate decision leeway or merely show the guiding principles which the judge should consider in establishing legal consequences within the framework of those which the applicable law provides for his selection.

6. The adopted regulations of applicable law sometimes refer to judgments and regulations which are not part of the system of law, for example, to principles of community life, morality, correct procedure, custom, and so on.[10] Any theoretical explanation of the properties of these regulations and judgments referred to is extremely debatable. A paradigm of these difficulties is the concept of the principles of living together in society, whose relationship to moral rules, and the extent to which they are de facto rules and the extent to which concrete assessments which cannot be generalized are involved are highly debatable.[11]

References of this type limit decision leeway to a certain degree, because we are dealing with the directing of decisions. This may be more or less precise. It is the least precise when the reference consists of pointing out a certain very concrete type of judgment which cannot be generalized. An example is self-contained legitimacy.[12] Then leeway is limited, when we assume that this type of judgment is identified by the people making the decisions and that the given legal culture has a common basis for rendering judgments (see under Point 10). A reference to custom would be the most precise in relative terms, although its existence has not been proved through sociological techniques.[13]

7. The ideology of the court application of the law points out values and also formulates the goals which the court decisions are supposed to serve. This ideology is in part defined by applicable law, that is, by the concept of the function of the judge as contained therein and by axiological assumptions of the system of law and is in part structured by legal doctrine and practice in concrete sociopolitical situations. The ideology of the court application of the law describes the role which should be played by various factors in rendering decisions. I shall limit myself to three of these factors (values, doctrine, and practice) and in order to shorten the discussion I shall talk about their role only in terms of legally proper ideology and rational court decisions.

The ideology of legally proper court decisions shows that the judge should be guided by the axiology of the applicable system of law and the axiology of the sociopolitical system of which applicable law is a part.[14] The ideology of the court application of the law is therefore defined at least by the types of values which it should promote in its operation. Therefore, decision leeway is limited to some extent, if the judge is consistent in his judgments.

The ideology of the court's application of the law also defines the role which the person rendering the decision should assign to the points of legal doctrine. The relationship which ideology bears to doctrine is bilateral, however, because doctrine is one of the important factors which shape this ideology, which in turn provides a guiding definition of the role which should be ascribed to doctrine. In various influences, doctrine is a factor which affects the decision processes.

The points of doctrine adopted in practice and sanctioned by the appropriate ideology of applying the law are a factor which reduces decision leeway.[15]

The ideology of the court's application of the law also defines the role of the court decision. In systems of statute law the question of precedent and practice as a "source of law" also arises here.[16] This role depends on the way in which ideology views the uniformity of court decisions and the sort of means provided to insure it. If we overlook the binding ways in which other decisions influence the person handing down the decision, then the role of precedent is justified by the values which that person adopts.

The limitation of decision leeway through factors determined in the adopted ideology of the court application of the law is relative for three reasons: a) these factors have only a guiding influence to help narrow decision leeway; b) ideology is very general in indicating these factors and does not define the weight which should be given to them; c) the adoption of a given ideology depends in part on what the judge accepts to be the basic values by which he operates and hence on his selection, insofar as there are practical possibilities for accepting various values in the system under which he hands down his decisions.

14. I divide the consequences of monitoring into types, according to two criteria: a) the consequences for the judge, for settling the case, and for the party to whom the decision bringing the case to a close at a given level is addressed; b) the consequences of a legal and factual nature. Owing to the limited scope of these deliberations, I shall discuss only the legal and factual consequences for the judge and the legal consequences for the case, and I am interested in a general description of the nature of the problems rather than in an exhaustive elaboration of the corresponding legal institutions and facts.

By the monitoring consequences for the judge I mean the consequences which he personally faces as a result of the findings made. Legal consequences

of this type are only the judge's personal responsibility for the decision act. From his point of view this is the most far-reaching legal consequence of the decisions, which will be discussed in the next point. For the judge the actual consequences of the effects of the review are both important to his assumed independence and difficult to establish. Let us take two extreme cases. A judge whose decisions, as a result of review are usually overturned or changed, feels certain that his action does not enjoy the approval of the reviewing bodies. It is probable that such consequenes of review have an influence on his personal career in all instances where he does not hold a position for life and his professional advancement depends on the decisions of superiors in the administration of justice. A judge whose decisions are upheld finds himself in a situation which is the opposite of the one discussed above. The factual consequences of the review require that the principle of independence be juxtaposed. There is a broad field of decision behavior between "the good judge Magneaud"[25] and the judge who, for career reasons, does not avail himself of his independence.

In terms of the case, the legal consequences of the control process are upholding, changing, or revoking a decision when the person doing the reviewing either examines it or refers it to another level, depending on the trial regulations. This is an outcome which may, but need not necessarily, be tied in with the judge's personal responsibility, just as it may be tied in with the factual consequences for the judge, as I mentioned above. Subordination to applicable statutory regulations needs to be reviewed to see if the decision is in keeping with them. A problem arises in establishing what the applicable law designates and what sort of standards of propriety of the decision de facto are used. Extreme instances create no doubts, because they are based on criteria which are generally accepted within the given legal culture. On the other hand, wherever there is decision leeway, we are dealing with corresponding review leeway. Then, theoretically speaking, various solutions are possible, although in practical terms only one is recognized as suitable. The criterion of suitability of a decision is hence a practical one based on the position of the body which authoritatively brings the investigation of the case to a close. Hence, authority does the resolving, and this situation is socially essential from the viewpoint of the administration of justice, or, more broadly, from the viewpoint of settling all sorts of legal disputes.

The most far-reaching consequence of the reviewing of the judge's action in handing down a decision is his personal responsibility, wherein he personally faces certain consequences for his actions. Three types of responsibility are usually mentioned here: civil, penal, and disciplinary.[26] Under the socialist system, when judges are elected it is sometimes possible to remove a judge, and then it is possible to perhaps list a fourth type of responsibility,[27] but this does not apply to our system of law.[28]

Within the framework of civil responsibility, institutional solutions either establish the judge's own inherent responsibility or tie it in with the state treasury's responsibility for damages inflicted. "By the nature of

things" penal and disciplinary responsibility are the judge's personal responsibility. I am excluding them my deliberations that disciplinary responsibility which is related to the judge's refusal to abide by organizational regulations, because for the sake of simplicity I am assuming that they are not included in the term "violation of the law" and that they can be included under the principle of the judge's independence in handing down a decision.

The question arises as to whether such responsibility does not conflict with the axiological assumptions of the institution of the judge's independence. The answer is "No," if we are talking about behavior, which is defined by applicable law and more precisely by the statute under which the judge is acting, because then this responsibility is a consequence of the judge's subordination to the statute.

In terms of the case, the legal consequences can vary (revocation, amendment), but it is only in special cases that they are related to the judge's responsibility. At any rate the basis for changing a decision is violation of applicable regulations or other directives which are binding on the judge. In certain instances, the violation of the law may involve responsibility, while in certain other cases the "only" result will be revocation or amendment of the decision without the judge's being held responsible as the person handing down the decision.

How can we explain the existence of this sort of situation I think that situations in which the judge is not held legally responsible for his decisions fall within the limits of the tolerance of the system of law. In other words, the judge's legal responsibility has a place only for such violations of applicable regulations which cannot be rectified by revocation or alteration of the decision or if a reaction concerning him personally is necessary. In these instances it is supposed that he will be held accountable on the basis of the same principles as any other state official operating within a system based on the postulate of legal propriety (see Articles 417-419 of the civil code). There is hence no reason for excluding a judge, as an employee of the administration of justice, from these general principles: immunity in this area would be a paradox. At the same time, because of the principle of the judge's independence, this independence must be institutionalized in such a way that it cannot be exploited as a tool which de facto would undermine this independence. And this represents the very axiological justification for the special procedures related to the judge's penal or civil responsibility and encourages a particularly careful investigation of the forms and scope of disciplinary responsibility.

16. Question of the review of the judge's activity in handing down decisions are therefore related to a very complicated set of theoretical and practical issues, because, theoretically, the review of judges' decisions as decisions subject to the application of statutory regulations, is essential at least in the realm in which these decisions are described by applicable regulations. On the other hand, there is the problem of the extent of this description, owing to the fact that decision leeway is legally provided for and in part

legally protected, decision leeway stemming from the quality of the legal language and the decision process itself. This leeway is restricted through directives and assessments, which are sometimes not included in applicable law or cannot be inferred from that law. There is the practical issue of coordinating the review of the judge's activity of handing down decisions with the principle of his independence, so as to insure that decisions are consistent with applicable law, to guarantee the way optimal decisions are issued in keeping with the law, and at the same time to see that the consequences of the review, especially the factual consequences, do not violate his established position.

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Court Review of Administrative Activity

Warsaw PANSTWO I PRAWO in Polish No 8-9, Aug-Sept 76 pp 32-41

[Article by Jerzy Swiatkiewicz: "Court Review of Administrative Activity in the Polish People's Republic"]

[Excerpts] 1. The introduction of the court review of administrative decisions has been proposed and justified almost since the very first months of the existence of People's Poland. We note an increase in these tendencies, particularly during the period of the post-December changes in our political life.[1] It was also expressed in the statements made by representatives of legal groups,[2] in the aspirations of the government,[3] and even in political programs.[4] This institution is related to the process of upgrading state administrative activity in keeping with the requirements of proper legal procedure. The introduction of it in Bulgaria, Yugoslavia, Romania, and Hungary[5] demonstrates its usefulness in socialist countries.

The fact nonetheless remains that this review, as a principle, has still not been introduced in Poland, and it would probably be difficult to say when it will be.

I do not intend in this article to go back either to a justification of the need to set up court review of administrative action or to a discussion of proposals for its legal design. Too much has already been said and written on the subject. Furthermore, there is no need to provide justification for the obvious. What I do want to do is point out that in the Polish People's Republic this review does exist and is performed on the basis of specific regulations, and present the conclusions that may be derived therefrom.

2. Court review of state administrative activity may be performed either directly or indirectly. Let us explain at the outset that we are still talking about reviewing the administration as it operates in forms which are characteristic of its bodies, that is, in the forms which distinguish it from other organizational units, especially enterprises.[6] To put it

another way, it is a question of activity in the forms of power, especially in the form of administrative decisions, because it is obvious that in matters in which the body of state administration often operates on behalf of the state as a party in civil-legal regulations, for example in entering into an agreement, or as a party in a labor-employee relationship, in the event of a dispute its actions are turned over to the court or arbitration commission, and in the area of jurisdictional subordination its position does not basically differ from that of any other legal unit. The body's legal position will be similar if the matter reaches the stage of the state's paying damages for civil responsibility for injury done by state officials in the performance of their duties (Article 417 of the civil code).

Within the scope of their jurisdiction, civil and penal courts, on the other hand, indirectly monitor the legality of administrative decisions, and hence review the basic form of official operations.[7] Thus, for example, having found that a body of state administration has resolved a civil matter by a decision, the court places it on the calendar and issues a decision within its jurisdiction.[8] In reviewing a civil case, the court must sometimes evaluate the evidential value of the administrative decision which states certain facts of significance to the given case. In a criminal case, once having determined that in issuing an administrative decision or performing some other legal function, for example, an executive function, a public official has exceeded his authority and caused damage to public property or an individual (Article 246, Paragraph 1 of the penal code), the court may pass judgment on that offical, regardless of whether the body of the state administration has investigated a violation of law and overturned or amended a faulty decision or determined the employee's action to be unlawful.[9] In these situations the court is not authorized to overturn or change a wrong administrative action, even though it has arrived at a different judgment of the factual condition in legal terms. But without being bound by the structure of the administrative decision and having resolved the matter within the limits of its own jurisdiction, it indirectly hands down a ruling that the decision violates the law.

Direct review is expressed in depriving an administrative decision, or other legal administrative action, of legal force through a court judgment. It therefore achieves its end in the simplest way, by removing those unlawful acts from circulation without the need for having the proper administrative body overturn them.

3. Court intervention in matters in which there is a mixed legal relationship, sometimes called a joint relationship, would seem to fall between the first form of court review and the second. It usually occurs when an agreement is made on the basis of an administrative act.[10] The ultimate legal effect depends on the course of proceedings in the two phases. A typical example here is where the body of the administration issues a decision which designates the buyer of a single-family home or dwelling in a small residential building sold by the state, on the basis of which decision a purchase and sales agreement is drawn up before a notary.[11] Another example is an administrative body's decision to permit the transfer of real estate

ownership in the even a farm is divided up.[12] Sometimes it also happens that the administrative decision underlying the signing of the agreement is revoked by the overseeing administrative body as being contrary to law, after the agreement has already been signed. In keeping with the Supreme Court's established jurisdiction,[13] which science has supported, such revocation does not automatically invalidate the agreement, but in the course of the proceedings to invalidate it the court weighs whether the facts which caused the decision to be overturned took place and are sufficiently important to make the agreement invalid on the plane of civil law. The special nature of court decisions lies in the fact that if a judgment is reached which differs from that of the overseeing administrative body, then, as with indirect review, the court does not revoke the decision overturning the decision underlying the agreement. This decision formally is still in effect, but the decision revoked by it, upon which the agreement was made, is removed from circulation in administrative law. In practice, however, the overseeing body's decision is deprived of any legal consequences through court judgment, because the ultimate result has taken place in the sphere of civil law by virtue of the contract. The court, operating under the auspices of its jurisdiction, has, on the other hand, not reviewed the unlawfulness of a contract signed on the basis of an overruled decision. The legal propriety of the situation in which two acts formally continue to be in effect, the court judgment and the administrative decision,nullified thereby, are a separate issue.

4. Regulations of our law sometimes recognize the right of legal protection through the courts, if it is not provided for in the findings of the state administrative body. Utilization of the administrative route usually is grounds for court review of the case. The court does not overturn the administrative decision here either. Instead it resolves the matter in its own realm, without encroaching on the findings of the administrative body. Some regulations clearly provide that then the decision loses its validity in the area covered by the court ruling. Others leave open the question of its fate. From this we can probably draw the conclusion that even if it does not become invalid ex lege, it is still useless at any rate. In their judgments in these cases the courts avail themselves of the civil case or noncase procedure, depending upon the provisions of the particular regulations. Although not always, usually these are in essence basically civil matters in which disputes between parties are resolved by a body of the state administration. The adoption of administrative procedure during the first stage of settlement does not deprive the material legal relationship of its prior nature.[14] In these instances the relationship between the court judgment and the administrative decision is clearer than in the above-mentioned cases of indirect court review or on the basis of a mixed legal relationship. Insuring the party of the possibility of asking for a court review of the matter at a later stage in the proceedings compensates in part for entrusting the state administrations with decisions in matters which essentially fall outside the scope of its basic interests. There is usually at the root of such regulations an appreciation of the need for quick action, and the assumption that the administrative body will be impartial in settling a dispute on a matter in which it is not directly in-

volved. This solution is also justified at the project stage by the fact that is is also in the interest of the citizen who does not therefore expose himself to extended claims through overly formalized court procedure or a sometimes distant court location. If, on the other hand, the party has reservations about the decision, he has a way out in being able to have the matter referred to the courts. We will not debate this position here, but will instead limit ourselves to presenting it, in order to permit a better understanding of the grounds for the practice of setting norms.

6. I think that the legal material assembled provides the basis for making an analysis and presenting general conclusions.

First of all it confirms the hypothesis that court review of the decisions (actions) of state administrative bodies, and sometimes of decisions of other organizational units when issued in the realm of the administration's discharge of a function, is a fact. This review also sometimes encompasses decisions besides those on the forms of legal administrative activity. The scope of this review is being slowly but consistently expanded. An expression of this fact is to be found in the statutory documents issued in recent years and the drafts of new legislative solutions, which have been discussed.

The review encompasses basically civil matters which are turned over to state administrative bodies, according to the standards, for solution, as in the case of matters regulated by the norms for material administrative law. The introduction of the distinction, whether the matter being resolved by the administrative bodies is "in essence" a civil or administrative one, is sometimes not one of the easiest matters. It should be remembered that legal science is against transferring the handing down of decisions to administrative bodies in civil matters.[17] Court review of administrative bodies or administrative-type bodies (collegiums) in criminal treasury matters or violations is a separate category.

The principles of court review differ greatly. Alongside the above-mentioned indirect review, within the framework of which the court issues a decision on a matter in which an administrative body has issued a previous decision, falling within the court's jurisdiction, and evaluates the evidential value of the administrative decision in a civil matter, we also have basic forms of review, such as monitoring complaints in cases in which a state administrative body has settled the claims or reviewing complaints concerning the legality of a decision or other legal administrative act. In the first situation the court neither overturns nor changes an administrative decision, although it indirectly invalidates it, but in the latter situation it must clearly take action, depending on legal regulations, and either revoke it or change it.

There are also various solutions which regulate the manner of the review. Before a civil complaint in a case may be referred to the court, administrative remedies in the case must be exhausted, in some instances at one level and in others at two levels. In certain instances, court proceedings are limited to a single level, and in others general principles of proper court procedure are adopted. The court bodies authorized to review cases in which the parties wish to question acts of administrative bodies are sometimes regional courts, in other instances voivodship courts sometimes the Supreme Court, and in still other instances, special courts (district labor and social security courts). In certain instances the courts adopt civil case procedure, in others, noncase procedures, and in still others a separate procedure in which court procedure regulations used in cases not covered by norms.

Once we agree that court review of some actions in private matters, because of their specific nature, requires separate regulation, for example, in criminal treasury cases and misdemeanor cases, it would nonetheless seem that the proposal to standardize the forms of court review of administrative decisions in a single statutory act was justified. As various categories of decisions on this review are handed down detailed regulations on the principles and manner of this review would refer to this law. The law would take into consideration the generalizations derived from an analysis of past legal settlements and court experience, and proposals for the proper organization of the work of the state bodies as well as the citizenry's justified interests in the realm of a simplified approach to complaints. Of course the legislative work could also use the solutions adopted in the 1972 draft[18]. The proposed law would not be of as great importance as a law providing for review on the basis of a general clause, it is true, but under the present conditions it would represent a step forward, it would bring order to the very different and varied legal solutions adopted in this area, it would help create the basis for court jurisdiction in administrative matters, and it would further successive expansion of the scope of court review of administrative procedure.

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POLAND

COOPERATION BETWEEN OFFICER SCHOOLS, UNITS STRESSED

Warsaw PRZEGLAD WOJSK LADOWYCH in Polish Aug 76 pp 5-7

[Article by Brig Gen Stefan Zielinski: "Cooperation of Higher Officer Schools With Military Units"]

[Text] The major aim of the activity of higher officer schools is preparation, for the needs of the armed forces, of command and technical cadres capable of solving complex problems connected with conduct of combat activities and direction of the complex process of training and educating personnel in peacetime. Higher officer schools are in a position to accomplish this aim successfully only if their activity will be closely connected with the life, schooling, and needs of military units.

The directive of the Minister of National Defense and the instructions of the chief inspector of training require in an unequivocal manner: To form commander-instructor traits and organizational competence for the benefit of units. To enlarge the participation of schools in the solving of research problems resulting from the needs of military units. To strengthen cooperation with military units. Together with military units, to initiate organization of training courses in methodology, exercises, etc.

The setting of these tasks requires still closer cooperation than now exists between higher officer schools and military units; the more so in that cooperation to date has provided reciprocal benefits, and possibilities exist of its multidirectional intensification. This cooperation should develop in two fundamental areas:

--leadership and methodology preparation of graduates in agreement with requirements arising from the activity of military units and requirements of the modern battlefield.

--scientific research, seeking--through officer schools in close cooperation with military units--optimum principles and forms of battle activity of subunits in combat, as well as methods of training subunits.

Leadership and Methodology Preparations

The aims and contents of the scheduled training of officer cadets of higher officer schools arise from the nature of the missions of line units during battle. The scope of preparing officer cadets for them thus should be systematically correlated and coordinated with military units. On the other hand the cadre of miltary units should actively and constructively participate in the planning of the contents of the training, in accordance with the needs arising from their own experience in units with graduates of higher military schools. Several of the higher military schools, for example the Higher Mechanized Troop Officers School, conducted studies on the theme: "Methodological problems concerning selection of the contents of intstruction in light of needs and requirements of military units." Furthermore, representatives of military units are consulted on programs of studies that are drafted.

An exchange of experiences and views on problems dealing with the education and training of soldiers in military and officer cadet units provides much. Exchange-type practical training, on-the-job training, scientific conferences, scientific-methodological meetings, and jointly organized symposia held by the cadre of schools and tactical formations represent an opportunity for this exchange. Likewise valuable is exchange of experiences with regard to organization and prescribed military life, formation of military discipline, and adaptation of officer cadets to the difficulties of military life in military units.

Delivery of lectures (talks) by commanders of tactical formations, commanders of officer cadet units, and the cadre of officer schools on the most current topics pertaining to military units, and by command personnel schools on problems of educating officer cadets provides an excellent opportunity for more broadly acquainting oneself with current affairs of the military. Likewise, participation of representatives of tactical formations in examinations for fourth-year officer cadets and cadets of NCO schools permits military schools to better know the requirements of units in the area of cadre preparation.

Practical training in units is a form of preparing officer cadets for the accomplishment of duties in their first official position involving a particular military speciality. Apart from the training function, it likewise fulfills an educational and cognitive function. It helps the officer cadet to acquire practical knowledge of command, education and schooling, work organization and control of the utilization of combat equipment. The content, organization, and progress of the practical training of officer cadets of higher officer schools demand particular attention because they are one of the fundamental, periodically recurring undertakings within the framework of cooperation of higher officer schools with military units. This demands from the school commandants suitable preparation of officer cadets to perform practical training, and from the commanders of tactical formations and units--employment of proper organizational, systematic, and educational criteria.

The former system of officer cadet practical training did not always permit the accomplishment of established aims. The Higher Mechanized Troop Officers School experimentally adopted a semiannual practical training system for officer cadets in the second year of studies. From results achieved it will be possible to draw conclusions concerning the method of performing practical training by all officer cadets in the following years.

It is therefore necessary to radically change the attitude of both unit and military school cadres toward the conduct of practical training. The concern here is about the useful and rational participation of both school and unit cadres in preparing school graduates for practical activity in units.

One of the elements of cooperation between higher officer schools and military units is organization of joint tactical and command-staff exercises in which the school cadre and officer cadets participate. Such exercises have as a principal objective:

--the gaining by the cadre and officer cadets of practical skills in commanding subunits and cooperation of subunits of various troop branches;

--practical learning of the qualities of battle equipment and the possibilities of utilizing this equipment in battle;

--comparison and improvement of practical skills acquired during training at the school, chiefly in the area of command and utilization of battle equipment.

Regimental exercises, in the preparation of which tactics lecturers of higher officer schools participate and in which officer cadets appears as squad and platoon leaders, are the most prevalent as well as the most beneficial form from the point of view of accomplishing the basic aims of instruction. The functions of company commanders are entrusted to regularly assigned commanders of companies and platoons. In connection with the amended instruction system, the functions of company commanders may likewise be entrusted to some fourth-year officer cadets, and the staff of the battalion command may be organized from the regular cadre of subunits or lecturers. The best results of joint exercises can be attained if officer cadets as a part of the practical training, performed only the functions of commanders in line subunits; in practice this is impossible to accomplish in relation to all officer cadets.

Another form of participation of the cadre of higher schools in joint exercises is its participation in the preparation and carrying out of joint tactical and command-staff exercises organized by tactical formations and units. This form of cooperation is already quite universally employed in the army.

The performance of exchange-type practical training and on-the-job training by the cadre of higher officer schools and tactical formations should be the universally employed form of improving the qualifications of officers. Officers from military units as well as from military schools appreciate the significance of this training, which besides elevating and improving qualifications furthers a wide exchange of experiences.

An example of a good beginning for exchange of experiences between military schools and units may be the introduction of monthly practical training for commanders (commandants) of NCO infantry schools and armored troops in basic military service. There should be organized similar practical training for the lecturing cadre of officer schools in training units. Continuation of this training is proper and useful.

Organization and conduct of joint training courses in methodology is the next form of exchanging experiences. The still existing divergence between organizational forms and methods of instruction in schools and line units is being eliminated from these course; this is conducive to securing better results in instruction. Thus it is necessary to encourage organizers of training courses in methodology at the unit and tactical formation level and in officer schools to cooperate more closely in enriching the forms and methods of schooling, as well as increased reciprocal participation of officers in these courses.

In the sphere of scientific-research work

Cooperation of units with higher schools in scientific-research, searching for optimal principles and methods of operation of subunits in combat, for methods of combat training, has also provided certain results and still has important prospects. For example, the assistance provided by units in experimental exercises conducted by the Higher Armored Troop Officers School on the theme: "Overcoming enemy defense by tank subunits," and by the Higher Mechanized Troop Officers School in solving the problem: "Optimum utilization of infantry subunits and their weapons (chiefly antitank) in defense to engage enemy armored combat vehicles."

Cooperation in the sphere of uniformity of views on the activity of subunits on the battle field and the methods of training these subunits is indispensable for bettering and enriching tactical knowledge in the sphere of the combat activities of subunits as well as for improving the process of training troops.

Another example of cooperation between military schools and units is their activity in the field of amending the combat regulations. This undertaking must be accomplished in particularly close cooperation.

The preparation by military schools of monographs that include detailed descriptions of the activity of subunits in various types of combat also seems useful. These publications, both in form and content, should constitute "an example" of the combat regulations--their methodological development.

The organizational and methodological elaboration of concrete topics from the scheduled training of subunits, in agreement with the practical needs and possibilities of units might be, for example, the topic of research projects.

Fourth-year officer cadets, within the framework of theses under the direction of officers of schools for a particular unit, may perform such research.

To sum up, cooperation of higher officer schools with military units still provides extensive opportunities for improved preparation of officer cadets for the current and future needs of the military. Consideration of the changes occurring in the activities of units in the training of officer cadets and mutual utilization of experiences are rendered more efficient through cooperation.

9005
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'POLITYKA' ARTICLE URGES ACTION TO ABOLISH POVERTY IN POLAND

Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish 9 Oct 76 pp 1, 4

[Article by Jerzy Urban: "Below the Limit of Subsistence"]

[Text] The leadership of public life, in programing social policies, has always stressed in particular the alleviation of the material handicap of those who fare most poorly. In recent years this tendency was expressed not only in words but also in numerous wage-related and social measures.

However, it would be an exaggeration to assert that the question of want and the existence of the social strata which benefit least from the fruits of progress, attracts in equal measure the public opinion of the majority of society which is better off. This want of sensitivity has its rational reasons.

The feeble interest accorded to the fact that some part of the population does not attain the minimum conditions of decent existence stems from the moral peace of mind of the better-off majority. It results from the peculiarities of our system which cause everyone to consider his sufficient or even very good material situation as deserved and well worked for. He has not, and rightly, the feeling that his own prosperity is built at the expense of others, and that he himself is at least indirectly guilty of someone's handicap.

The second reason is the conviction, an equally substantiated one, that extreme want and poverty is a shrinking, quantitatively inconsiderable margin, something that is rapidly disappearing. Moreover, let us add, it is not by itself very conspicuous. As a matter of fact, in recent years the number of families achieving an income of below 1,000 zlotys a month per person has decreased from year to year by one-third or faster. This means that the sphere of want has shrunk, even if you take into account the rise in the cost of living.

Insensibility to indigence also has, however, an irrational undercurrent sometimes. There is a widespread conviction that there are so many possibilities of work and getting a job in Poland, that the nonachievement of minimum decent living conditions is mostly attributable to the indigent person himself.

The hint of this viewpoint is also found in studies by the Center for the Study of Public Opinion on the subject of public welfare where the priority of the aid was considered as due to the people in extreme situations (invalid, victims of fire). On the other hand the smallest number of questioned persons expressed the opinion that "all the people without means of livelihood whoever they are should be helped." In other words, roughly speaking, being human by itself without any additional merits or reasons is not sufficient to be helped to survive by society. Likewise not a very great support--in another study--was accorded to a hypothetical project that a certain minimum pension--old-age pension--should be granted for any elderly person if he does not have any other income.

Another erroneous opinion, simply an illusion, is that all tender spots can be solved through a grand socioeconomic policy dealing with whole social groups and resorting to measures causing transformations on a mass scale. As a matter of fact the increases of minimum wages and relief funds, appropriate construction, development of social services, and humanitarian directives in employment policies, all this is far more effective than preregrinations of a prewar good lady--a philanthropist with a sack full of bread rolls. In general the nature of socialism is social engineering on a grand scale, based on the conviction that from the way in which the universal living conditions have been created and mass possibilities are provided for the achievement of success, depends the favorable fate of individuals. But woe to those who will fall through even the densest meshes of the net lifting the society upwards. They will not find a place in any statistical compartment which is the subject of discussions or in any aggregat of people and phenomena. I intend to expand on this subject, but first I will remark that even the general social recognition of the socialization of indigents is feeble and devoid of inquisitiveness. This is evidenced, for example, by the myth of the cleaning woman.

This occupation is simply considered as a stereotyped synonym of indigence and when discussions arise on the subject of excessive inequalities there is immediately talk about the cleaning woman and her wages. I don't deny that many cleaning women may be in difficult material situations. No one has investigated as yet this occupational group of women. The thing is that contrary to the facts the concept of indigence is being connected with the amount of wages, which means that the current notions are unreal. As it is, cleaning women earn let us say 1,500 zlotys (although there are some that earn twice as much) but often only for 1 hour, or 2 hours a day, after which they go to other quite well-paid, private employments, thereby augmenting their husbands' incomes.

Meanwhile, whereas in 1974 about 5.9 percent of the overall working families achieved an income of 1,000 zlotys or less per member of the family, then among families numbering six and more persons the percentage of those that did not spend more than 1,000 per head amounted to as much as one-third. Among peasant families it equaled almost one-fourth. Among retirees it was 18 percent. Therefore the social area of want should not be looked

for by analyzing the payrolls. Indigence, especially in households of employed people, is a function chiefly of the size of the family or more properly of the low proportion of persons working in relation to nonworking, who are mostly children. Furthermore it results from the fact that the earning members of a low-salaried head of the family are also earning little since as a rule they also have inferior education. (Here in agreement with Dr Tymowski it is worth adding that the current opinion that education in our society does not pay is erroneous. It is very rare for educated people to be within the bracket of indigence.) Either the members of the family do not work at all since the wife of the provider has many children to bringup and at the same time her qualifications do not promise attractive earnings. In retired families poverty occurs when the low pension must suffice for the maintenance of more than one person. There are many families of alcoholics living in poverty as well as widowed elderly women who receive very modest pensions. The indigence in villages stems from very complex sources which are connected with the economic structure of agriculture, and the number of children and elderly persons.

Moreover the determinant of indigence is not only pecuniary income. Contrary to the assumptions of social policy, the people in the worst material situation to a more modest degree than higher salaried avail of social consumption funds and other benefits. Their housing situation is as a rule worse. And as is well known apartments were previously allocated gratis and also at present the people with low incomes are entitled to reduced rates or to free accommodations.

The Extent of Indigence

The part of society that is less well-off and that does not benefit even on a medium scale from the progress of prosperity is highly differentiated as regards living standards. Dr Tymowski estimates the so-called social minimum to be close to 1,500 zlotys a month per person. (We have to take into account here also whether this person lives with his family or is alone, whose expenses are not distributed between the participants of the household.) The minimum of subsistence does not mean biological basis of the existence alone but the participation on a modest level in such a consumption model which is a share of the majority. It comprises therefore the satisfaction of living, cultural and other requirements.

Curiously enough this socially adequate minimum of subsistence means is estimated by the public opinion in a similar way as the scientists. In 1964 at 1,250 zlotys per person, and in the present year at 1,500. Thus conceived minimum adequate living conditions were not achieved last year by about 15 percent of working families, a dozen or so percent of families in all, and about one-third of peasant families (where, however, consumption, in particular that of food, is rather independent of pecuniary estimate of income). About one-third of pensioners families.

The statistics of GUS [Central Office of Statistics] singles out the category of persons with an income below 1,000 zlotys a month per family member

(average income 11,000 a year). In 1975, there were 184,000 of such families. Two years before such families amounted to 12.3 percent. Only 5.9 percent of working families were in the group with such low income, and in the past year only 3.3 percent, that is 58,000 families. However, whereas all those having such small pecuniary income may be called--in view of requirements which in our system are rightful--as living in poverty, nevertheless the material situation of this group as a whole has nothing to do with conceptions of poverty according to prewar criteria or those being applied to poor countries. As regards the amount of calories consumed by families with income below 1,000 zlotys per person, the deviation below the average is not great. They consume about one-third less meat than the average. Their having radio sets is not much less than the average. Only a dozen or so percent of those families do not have television sets and only 8 percent do not possess electric washing machines.

When we get some idea about the living conditions of the whole group with lowest (in terms of statistics) income per family member (as suggested by GUS) one can see that to single out extreme indigence, something that under our conditions we should not and must not tolerate, we would have to make a further differentiation.

Unfortunately, we know very little about those that live in utter misery, without basis of subsistence stabilized even on a very modest level. For example, only a fraction of a percent of families benefits from the social aid, whereas the extent of extreme poverty, under Polish conditions, is to be found somewhere between that fraction of a percent (including it to be sure) and the number of families with an income below 1,000 per person a month, which is probably at present lower than those 184,000 families mentioned previously.

Neophilanthropy

The opinion that maintains that extreme poverty should not preoccupy and worry us since its social range is shrinking (which recently has taken place very rapidly) may be contrasted with an opposite conclusion. The smaller the number of families living in wretched poverty--which is due to a general advance in prosperity and improvement in everyone's opportunity on the labor market as well as the increase in benefits paid on account of social services--the more we can afford both economically and organizationally to eliminate extreme poverty altogether. The more exceptional is the given phenomenon, the more it should be in some respect conspicuous. We have, unfortunately, too great a tendency to consider of minor importance everything that is shrinking statistically. Meanwhile it is not at all proper to identify the quantitative picture of a phenomenon with its importance. Even though there were 30 million philatelists in Poland the collecting of stamps will not come to the fore of social phenomena.

For combating extreme poverty we have the appropriate units in the state administration organizationally attached to the health departments, as well as social organizations of which there are several, with help included in their programs of action.

Persons without a source of income are being taken care of by the state social services and those who are temporarily in a difficult situation are given temporary support. The social guardians are to provide a more effective action.

The participation of funds for social aid, among the outlays of funds for social benefits, is on the whole minimal, so that the Statistical Yearbook does not show them; they disappear in the column "others." In short, over 1 billion zlotys is being spent at present for a quarter million beneficiaries. In the past year the overall outlays for social benefits reached 214 billion. Besides money, social services may also provide material help and eventually an accommodation in the institution appropriate for the kind of handicap, where the number of candidates considerably exceeds the number of those admitted. In the 16 investigated communes of Krakow Voivodship the expenditures for social care amounted to only 1.3 percent of outlays for the overall social consumption, although the commune is not after all that rung of the administration which consumes a more considerable part of means allocated for culture or sport; its schools are also only elementary and its health service is only of the "open" kind.

That does not mean, however, that the persons in need of care are being sent away empty-handed. Not at all. Funds in principle are allocated in the budget according to needs. The only thing is that these anticipated needs are minimalistic in size. The units of social care are to provide the means of subsistence on a scale lower than a minimal pension, and they only distribute money or material aid and provide nursing care.

Public opinion, as follows from investigations carried out by the Center of the Study of Public Opinion in 1974, is little aware that such thing as social care exists at all. Only 15 percent of the persons questioned stated that they would think about it in case of need, 40 percent never heard at all about its existence, and 7 percent had sometime some kind of personal contact with such a unit. Social care is a thing of minor importance in our life, as well as the whole problem which their beneficiaries create. The main current of problems of interest to us runs in a different dimension. We are interested in the overall standard of life, not in the individual one. The existence of social care is, for that part of happily living Poles who never heard about it at all, a link of moral insurance against anxiety. If someone lags behind our average standard of living and aspirations, we tend to think in any case that somewhere on the side there is a safety valve which ensures that no children in Poland run around barefoot or go hungry.

Action Suggested

The higher society as a whole climbs the ladder of prosperity, the less extreme poverty is found, because of the policy of pulling up the rearguard. And the smaller the number, the greater the effect of the coming together, in the case of each materially handicapped family, of unfavorable

circumstances. Great operations in the domain of social policy may relate only in the insufficiency of its typical sources: minimal wages and pensions, family allowances, extension of compulsory school attendance. Remedying particular nontypical circumstances is also possible, but by other means. Surely we can afford to allocate to state and social care units ampler material means, more numerous cadres and regulations nonminimizing the aid standards. However, the elimination in Poland of obvious indigence, which is now our political and moral duty, requires the conception and action created jointly by various domains of the state administration and various organizations, as well as actions exceeding the competence, possibilities and horizons of professional social care. The matter should be advanced to the rank of a nationwide undertaking.

The present days of providing relief for the helpless, in their want, differs in its outlook from the prewar charitable work of the "soup-for-the-hungry" type, even though the actions are similar, viz. providing food, clothing and warmth, but only in moderation. For if only those in need of social care deemed it worthwhile, parasitism would develop on a great scale, and we would find that the number of very poor is steadily increasing. These apprehensions have a rational basis, but only when the presiding idea of aid is not extrication from the state of indigence and elimination of its causes but merely an alleviation of its manifestations and that on a scale not producing demoralization which would result from the wilful evasion of work by candidates for social care.

Combating the causes of indigence does not create these complications. However, it is not feasible merely through legal enactments in the form of governmental or legislative decisions that could remedy many social deficiencies.

Let us reduce these considerations to hard facts. Since such definitions as "poverty," "indigence," "extreme poverty" do not sound nice, I suggest the appointment of committees for combating want composed of representatives of the interested departments (at central level) and of those of state administration and advisers on the local scale. In addition, they should include representatives of the trade unions, employers and social organizations.

It seems logical that the offices of communes, city districts and towns--the basic units of local administration, aided by social workers--should bear the burden of compiling lists of persons and families not achieving the necessary minimum of subsistence. Certainly the list should include all persons below a certain income limit and not only the beneficiaries of social care. The sphere of indigence amounts anyway only to a few percent, and therefore is sufficiently limited so that one can, with the aid of youth and union organizations, advisers and other social workers, carry out investigation of the causes of want of each family individually, and then, also individually, work out a plan for improving its material situation and its social status.

I think in particular that the conceptional and organizational activity consisting of devising and realizing together with the interested family a program of the improvement of family livelihood would be a valuable social experience of great educational importance. Hitherto the planning, preparation of programs, and way of thinking connected with this, has been always related to a wider scale--some anonymous community but never individual specific persons. Such work would enrich not only the sensibility but the imagination as well. And not only because such an organized, planned activity would also encompass individuals and families. It would also be of value for the education of social workers, who often do not visualize any other rational activity than the one functioning from above and for the masses of the people.

The main purpose of compiling these detailed records, analysis, and plans, and the chief task of the committees and the basic destination of funds they should have at their disposal, should not be providing the immediate relief even though its ensurance goes without saying. The action is aimed, let me repeat it, at the elimination of sources that engender indigence. There are innumerable means to effect this, but their selection must result from the situation of each investigated family separately: providing occupation for the wife and ensurance of work for her, accommodation of children in day care centers and kindergartens, treatment of the father for alcoholism, giving aid in repairing the apartment, accommodation of children in boarding schools, increasing professional qualifications of principal provider, providing the grandmother with tools for cottage work (the only kind of productiveness to which the present social aid applies) and ensuring the necessary commercial contacts even if it be in the private sector, birth control instruction given to women and girls, providing an old but good television set from among those that are destined for scrap, legal aid including housing, providing an allotment garden, providing a teenage daughter with patterns of fashionable clothing, teaching her to sew for her own needs and providing the address of odds and ends store, enrolling her brothers and sisters in athletic clubs, hobby or artistic groups, advising adults where and how they can get steady or additional earning and providing them with proper contacts, providing them with tickets for the movies and sending them to holiday resorts.

After all there is no need to strain my imagination. The point is merely to show the range of possible action leading to the two things at the same time: the facilitation of the improvement of life which will be achieved by the efforts of the members of the family themselves, and raising it from the state of apathy, the subjective feeling of handicap and fear that prevents it from taking advantage of the assistance accessible to all.

I believe that it is precisely because the number of extremely poor families becomes so small, that it is possible, within a year or so, radically to change the economical and social situation of each of them and actually to abolish extreme poverty in Poland.

I am of the opinion that such actions should be treated on the political level and a not purely humanitarian one. The point is that our social system should give evidence not only of the increasing average living standards, and in general a just distribution of goods, but also be distinguished from the majority of rich capitalist countries by the fact that we will have absolutely no glaring poverty, nowhere.

- END -

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