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7 June 1984

EAST EUROPE REPORT

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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SOVIET WRITER EVALUATES 'POLISH CRISIS'

Warsaw ARGUMENTY in Polish No 12, 18 Mar 84 p 10

[Article by Wladyslaw Wolodkiewicz: "Operation Polonia"]

[Text] Among the numerous journalistic positions abroad regarding the 1980-1981 period in Poland, special attention is merited by the documentary sketch by Vadim Trubnikov, "The 'Operation Polonia' Fiasco, 1980-1981," which was published at the end of last year in Moscow by the NOVOSTI Press Agency Publishing House in a printing of 100,000 copies.

The author of the sketch, Vadim Trubnikov, who was born in 1930 and graduated from the State University in Tashkent, is a candidate in philosophical sciences and the chief editor of the NOVOSTI journal SOCIALISM: THEORY AND PRACTICE, which is published in four languages. He is a researcher on the problems of scientific communism (his works also appear beyond the borders of the Soviet Union). He has been a collaborator in the editorial board of the monthly PROBLEMS OF PEACE AND SOCIALISM published in Prague, has visited Poland many times, and has for many years studied closely the socioeconomic and political problems of our country.

Precisely 2 years after martial law was imposed in Poland, ending the most dramatic period in the history of socialist Poland, V. Trubnikov provided the Soviet reader with his analysis of those 16 months, which threatened a counterrevolutionary coup if at the critical moment the highest authorities of the Polish People's Republic had not made the dramatic decision that suppressed the waves of chaos and anarchy.

Vadim Trubnikov discusses in detail in his work the entire juncture of facts and elements from a considerably earlier period, which preceded and in a certain sense foretold the growing impasse. In doing so he stresses the features characteristic of the Polish crisis, while at the same time distinguishing it from the crisis situations in Hungary in 1956 and in Czechoslovakia in 1968, and even in Poland itself in the years 1956 and 1970.

The author precedes his analysis of the events occurring in Poland during those 500 tragic days of economic and political chaos with an introduction in which, among other things, he warns that at times he hears the view that virtually the only reason for the social crisis in Poland

was the broadly conceived, purposeful, and destabilizing influence of imperialism on the situation in the country. There is also an opposing view, attributing the entire matter to errors and distortions in the socioeconomic policy of the PZPR. Both of these views, V. Trubnikov notes, suffer from one-sidedness. The real relationship of the factors that caused the crisis is complicated.

The fact that it is not possible to make a clear separation of the reasons and consequences of unusual social tension and of the dramatic events coming in its wake. The role of the "spark" cannot be assigned to any of the factors; they cannot be examined in isolation from their organic links. This complicated mutual influence of the reasons for the development of the crisis was also noted by the 26th Congress of the CPSU. "Where mistakes and blunders in internal policy have led to the subversive activity of imperialism," the Central Committee report states, "the groundwork is laid for increased activity by elements hostile to socialism. This is what occurred in fraternal Poland..."

V. Trubnikov further states, "The author did not set as his goal an illumination of all of the vicissitudes of this dramatic period, and concentrated his attention mainly on the activities of the counterrevolutionary forces and of their imperialist allies and inspirers."

Proceeding from this assumption, and citing the cover name "Operation Polonia" included in the title of his work, the author of the book performs a thorough analysis of this activity, based on the materials available to him. He quotes at length from materials well known to the Polish reader that indicate the true political aspect of the leaders and activists of the former Solidarity, and from statements from the Polish and foreign press. In doing so, he devotes particular attention to a highly secret American document, little disseminated postfactum in Poland, called the "U.S. Plan for Destabilizing Poland," which was published in February 1983 in the pages of the Spanish periodical TIEMPO. The readers of ARGUMENTY will certainly be interested in the details of this plan.

As V. Trubnikov writes, this plan was submitted on 17 March 1978 to then President Jimmy Carter by his national security advisor, Prof Zbigniew Brzezinski. In actuality, this was a summary, worked out in a methodical manner, and based on a thorough acquaintance with the subject, of the ways and means for U.S. interference in the internal affairs of Poland, and a method of destabilizing social life throughout the entire country. Furthermore, the plan proposed to the president was supplemented with a methodical scenario for preparations for a coup d'etat in the Polish People's Republic.

The author of the book writes, in fact, that the plan published by the Spanish journal for a "secret war" against socialist Poland facilitated his analytical study of the events in Poland and confirmed his earlier hypotheses, which were initially based instead on intuition.

Here are the basic theses of the "Brzezinski Plan," which reveals the scope, aims, and prospects for the anti-Polish assumptions of the White House:

The starting concept: "After reanalyzing the situation in individual countries," the U.S. president's advisor stresses, "we have come to the conclusion that Poland is the weakest link among the states of Eastern Europe."

Means and methods: In order to cause a "conflagration in Poland", Z. Brzezinski recommends: a) forcing the Polish communists to "make concessions in the area of human rights," and thus ensuring greater freedom of action for antisocialist underground groups; b) "expanding the influence of the Catholic Church" by all possible means; c) very specific utilization of the influence of Polish emigres."

Increasing influence in foreign policy: using the critical financial indebtedness of Poland to the Western countries. "In the 1980's," Z. Brzezinski predicted, "Poland will have to use 90 percent of its export earnings to cover its debts, which will reach the amount of \$18-20 billion." The plan also outlines other methods of influencing the situation in Poland from outside. "For the formation of a pro-Western policy," Z. Brzezinski emphasized, "all available means should be utilized ruthlessly."

The paths to "economic erosion": these paths which lead to an "ideological softening" of the PZPR have to be directed primarily toward "creating a preponderance of nationalism over communism in the highest state spheres of Poland." This is in order to achieve the domination of the national characteristics of "Polish socialism." "U.S. propaganda should concentrate on the impossibility of reconciling the interests of Poland with the communist model."

The structures of the antisocialist opposition: "The Polish opposition, supported by the Catholic Church, " Z. Brzezinski writes, "should be composed primarily of people with a pro-Western orientation with experience in fighting against the existing order. The opposition, based on illegal and semi-official groups, will be capable of creating an independent popular resistance movement (author's question: Does this refer to Solidarity?), attracting workers, peasants, the intelligentsia and students to it.

The dates for the operation: in Z. Brzezinski's opinion, the program worked out should begin to be carried out, in accordance with the calculations, at the beginning of the 1980's, when Poland's financial indebtedness would exceed the critical level. "This circumstance will occur at a convenient moment," and at that time the operation would enter its final stage. "As a result of this, our activities should lead to a destabilization of the situation in Poland. Under such circumstances, confusion and disorder will arise in the ranks of the PZPR, and the opposition will gain a large number of adherents."

Carrying out the coup: the program of counterrevolutionary activities in Poland assumed two variants: "the creation of a coalition government composed of moderate communists, independent economists, opposition activists, and representatives of the church." Clearly, the creation of such a "pluralistic" government would have to be only a transitional period on the way to a truly "pro-Western" government. "In such a case," Z. Brzezinski notes, "the process will be a long one." In the other conceivable but less desirable variant, projected as the outcome if unforeseen obstacles arose on the way to a "quiet" counterrevolution, Z. Brzezinski did not rule out "an anticommunist uprising." Then "The United States should make maximum efforts to intensify the development of events in the outlined direction." The plan also provided for the United States to undertake the necessary steps within NATO aimed at "concentrating the attention of the allies on Poland."

Shortly after this plan was submitted to President Jimmy Carter, the Foreign Relations Committee of the U.S. Senate formed a special coordinating committee on Poland, headed by Z. Brzezinski, which was closely linked to the activities of the White House's Committee on Intelligence. Its task was to involve private banks, reactionary trade unions, the managing apparatus of the Republican and Democratic Parties, information centers, and conservative Polish emigres in the anti-Polish action, which received the cover name "Operation Polonia."

The above-mentioned plan did not remain secret for long. Among others, it has been discussed by the well-known Portuguese journalist M. U. Rodrigues in his book "Poland and Afghanistan: Capitalist Indirection and Disinformation," which was published in April 1983. Analyzing the sabotage actions directed against these two countries, he writes, among other things, that "at the beginning of the 1970's, the White House and the Department of State reached the conclusion that Poland had become unusually vulnerable to all sorts of sabotage activity directed by the West. It was precisely then that 'Operation Polonia' was planned." We presented its details in an extensive summary above. It can be concluded from all this -- as V. Trubnikov emphasizes -- that the roots of the sabotage against socialist Poland have really gone far and deep for a long time now.

Writing about the counterrevolutionary activity within Poland, the author of the above-mentioned monograph provides a detailed description of such organizations as KSS-KOR [Social Self-Defense Committee -- KOR], KPN [Confederation for an Independent Poland], and obviously the NSZZ Solidarnosc, and, which goes along with this, he draws political sketches of activists such as Kuron, Modzelewski, Michnik, Bujak, Gwiazda, Moczulski, Gieremek, and others. Regarding Walesa, he writes "...At the time of these worker demonstrations, there appeared in the counterrevolutionary firmament precisely the figure that had been so necessary to the 'scenario writers' across the ocean for beginning a new stage in the anti-Polish game. If a certain disorganized part of the working class was assigned the role of the main destabilizer of the entire sociopolitical situation of the country, then what was obviously necessary was also a 'leader of the workers,' a symbol of the 'proletarian nature' of future demonstrations. Lech Walesa, a young electrical worker, less than 30 years old at that time, resolute, very articulate

somewhat inexperienced politically, in the opinion of the Western sabotage services could serve as good starting material for gradually molding him into the nominal 'leader of a worker revolution.'" He called their attention to himself in December 1970 when he became a member of the Gdansk strike committee.

The organizers of the operation were also completely satisfied with Walsea's personal traits: his striving for popularity and his thirst for money, his show of piety, and his admiration for the bourgeois standard of living. The atmosphere in which Walsea grew up is sufficiently described by the fact that in 1973 his father (stepfather) emigrated to America, where on the spot he became associated with the most reactionary Polish organizations, and voted for Reagan in the 1980 elections. From 1971 to 1980 Walsea worked only a few months as an electromechanical worker in the Gdansk shipyard. For a decade, he went through "his own universities," being closely associated with the underground. Nevertheless, he lived with his family in comfort. During these years he was supported by the Catholic Church. He also received abundant support from foreign patrons.

The readers of ARGUMENTY will certainly be interested in Vadim Trubnikov's view of the position of the church concerning the events on which he comments. Here are two quotations:

"The church has great resources, allowing it considerable influence on people's minds. Not to mention such a channel as the sermons in 20,000 churches, the Catholic Church has 60 periodical publishing houses in Poland with secular and theological orientations. Although the church does not participate directly in the matters of 'secular life,' Catholics have many sociopolitical organizations, including the PAX organizations of lay Catholics, the ZNAK group, etc. Catholic organizations have their own delegates to the Sejm. The positions of the highest church hierarchy during these years of growing crisis cannot be characterized simply. There are trends and groups there, taking positions differing from each other on the basic issues of social life. Although the church hierarchy, especially the part of it that has in mind above all a patriotic approach to all events in the country -- weakening or strengthening Poland --, has found a common language in principle with the people's government, it has never actively supported the efforts of working people in building socialism. In any case no assessments of the spiritual and ideological life of Poland or of the course of events in this country will be correct unless they take into account the Catholic Church as a permanent and important factor in any situation, especially in periods of crisis, obviously."

The next quotation:

"...The Catholic Church, which supported the creation of Solidarity, thought it would be possible to subordinate it to its own influence in order to expand, as made clear by one of the Catholic newspapers, 'the living space of the church'; in short, it was convinced that the 'union association' was controlled by people seeking to use the authority of the church to force

the processes of destabilization and counterrevolutionary outbreaks. The episcopate called for caution and gradualism with respect to changes, and did not accept 'strike terrorism.' It sought to achieve political changes primarily through growing 'social pressure' against the socialist state. Cardinal Wyszynski called upon believers more than once to work enthusiastically and with a sense of civic responsibility, and during a meeting with Solidarity leaders he told them that they should not allow themselves to be carried away by ambitions of a purely political cast. 'Remember,' he insisted, 'that your primary goal is to carry out social and professional tasks.' Furthermore, in December 1980 the priest A. Orszulik, the deputy secretary of the Polish Episcopate, even accused the opposition, especially KSS-KOR, of irresponsible behavior that threatened the sovereignty of the country. The church's purpose consisted of supporting the creation of a fairly strong antisocialist opposition in order to assume the role of an arbitrator between it and the socialist state, using this role to increase its own influence on all areas of social life..."

Today, when the country, in spite of the Reagan sanctions and other economic sanctions, has embarked on a course of economic and political stabilization, it is worthwhile to recall the facts which the author of the above publication presents and discusses in chronological order, and in so doing assess the leaderships of the internal and external forces that wanted to push socialist Poland to the edge of the precipice, and thus preserve the existing European and worldwide order.

The final point, concluding Vadim Trubnikov's documentary sketch devoted to the Polish events of the years 1980-1981, is the extensively quoted text of the 12 October 1983 television interview with Wojciech Jaruzelski, the first secretary of the Central Committee of the PZPR.

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ZHIVKOV POLITICAL LIFE, NATIONALISM REVIEWED

Paris EST & QUEST in French No 5, Apr 84 pp 4-6

[Article by Vladimir Kostov: "Bulgaria: The Unconditional Ally and Its Mysteries"]

[Text] Vladimir Kostov, the author of this article, served as the Bulgarian Radio-Television correspondent in Paris, and he broke with the communist regime in 1977. The following year, he was the victim of an "umbrella" attack at the Etoile-Charles de Gaulle Subway Station, from which he miraculously escaped. Today he is a journalist in Paris and Munich.

It will soon be 3 years now that the Bulgarian public has engaged in a game of assertions and uncertainties in the realm of Kremlinology. Obviously, there are no commentaries in the official press. But mouth-to-ear communications are functioning perfectly. Public rumor has it that Mrs L. Zhivkova, who died in July of 1981 under circumstances which have never been fully explained, was in fact eliminated by the KGB, and that this tragic event was the product of a serious conflict between the father of the young woman, Todor Zhivkov, and the Kremlin masters. The people are looking closely and believe they see signs of this clash even in the pictures on television, which is however tightly controlled. The real truth as to these assertions is difficult to establish. On the other hand, the consequences are easily seen. Earlier, the public judged T. Zhivkov harshly because of his unconditional loyalty to Moscow. Now judgments are somewhat modified, and the image of the subjugated ally is taking on the aspects of a father constantly subjected to abuse and, some believe, motivated by a desire for vengeance.

The brief passage of Yu. Andropov at the head of the Soviet Union therefore created real tensions between that country and Bulgaria, however carefully they may have been hidden. The Bulgarian public expected a clash between the two men, in the conviction that in the eyes of Zhivkov, it was Andropov who was responsible for the death of his daughter. The persistence of such rumors irritated the Soviet authorities, for the image of Bulgaria as the model ally of the Soviets was compromised thereby. In the hope that Andropov's health would improve, plans were made for his official visit to Sofia last autumn. The party publishing house put out a book of his speeches and articles. The communist party cells prepared the public for an "enthusiastic"

meeting between Zhivkov and Andropov, which was supposed to put an end to the rumors being spread. In the end, the deterioration of his illness made Andropov's visit impossible.

At the end of September 1983, the Central Committee of the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party] accepted "the personal request" of A. Lilov and released him from his responsibilities as a member of the Politburo and Central Committee secretary. No one believed in this "personal request" from Lilov, who was regarded as "the No 2 man" in the party under Zhivkov. A. Lilov was known as a man very close to L. Zhivkova, and according to certain rumors, he had expressed a preference for Chernenko when the issue of Brezhnev's successor arose. The public concluded that Lilov had been forced to resign from the Politburo, and that the responsibility again fell to Andropov.

Was the sanction imposed on Lilov limited to him alone? Did it not carry within itself a warning for others, and for Zhivkov above all? On the basis of indiscretions on the part of individuals close to the BCP leadership which have come to our ears, it was only spared substantial modifications by Andropov's illness. For this reason, the death of Andropov and his replacement by Chernenko were greeted in Sofia with an undisguised sigh of relief.

Foreign observers clearly noted the complications in Bulgarian-Soviet relations. The problem was to determine whether these "shifts of mood" were based solely on recent developments, for example the personal drama of Zhivkov and the changes which had occurred in the Kremlin. Or, behind these "shifts of mood" seemingly linked with transitory feelings, could one glimpse signs of a much deeper crisis between Moscow and Sofia?

It is commonly admitted that the unconditional alignment of Bulgaria with the USSR is based on certain clearly determined constraints. These include, for example, the pro-Soviet orthodoxy of the BCP leadership, which has been subject to the control of the Soviet secret services since the 1920s. Or the almost complete destruction of the Bulgarian civil society because of the reign of terror which began during the first phase of Sovietization in the days of Stalin and the domestic potentates G. Dimitrov and V. Chervenkov (1943-1953). Or again, the integration now long since effected between the USSR and Bulgaria in the realms of economics, defense, secret services and ideology.

Less well known and thoroughly studied are the compromises and accommodations made to Bulgarian public opinion at various times, both by the BCP leadership and by the leaders of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Often seen solely as demagogic maneuvers with no future, it was not expected that in the long run, they would take on for Bulgarian society a meaning and importance far removed from the projects and hopes of their protagonists.

Among these accommodations, the "flirtation" of the communist leadership with Bulgarian nationalism plays a starring role not only because of the complexity of the game, but because of its extensions and unexpected developments as well. Moscow's preference for Zhivkov at the beginning of the 1950s already reflected a compromise with the desire to impose someone faithful and

submissive, as well as close to the party apparatus and a part of public opinion. Zhivkov was outstanding for his lack of biography as a leader, although he was past his 40's. The only merit mentioned in connection with him was his participation in the Kominform campaign against Titoism and the ideas of Traycho Kostov.* In Bulgaria, this campaign took on a mainly nationalist hue. A large number of the cadres of the BCP in fact pursued an old anti-Serbian nationalism under the cover of "defending Marxism-Leninism." This was probably a little more true of Zhivkov than the others, since in January 1950, he became secretary of the Central Committee, and, as of 4 March 1954, first secretary. This was a promotion which crowned his zeal and placed him in the front line of the BCP cadres eager to develop a career under Moscow's wing while keeping a clear conscience thanks to the traditional anti-Serbian nationalism.

The compromise was rather advantageous to Soviet interests in Bulgaria. The mixture of a climber and closet nationalist embodied in the personality of Zhivkov provided a cover for the Sovietization of the country, which continued after the 22nd Congress of the CPSU at the same rate as before. But Zhivkov was skillful enough to present this Sovietization as a political line on which the decision had been made in Bulgaria itself. To a certain extent this was true, because an effort was made to anticipate the Soviet desires and proposals concerning Bulgaria, as for example with the decisions of the plenum of the Central Committee in April of 1956. At a time when the public dreamed of de-Stalinization which would at the same time be de-Sovietization, Zhivkov and the leadership of the BCP adopted secret decisions favoring a "rapprochement" between Bulgaria and the USSR, something Moscow could not openly ask of Sofia, even just after the 22nd Congress of the CPSU.

At the beginning of the 1960s, after a summit meeting between Khrushchev and Zhivkov (Moscow 1964), the policy of rapprochement became official. At that time it was seen as a path leading directly to the "communism of the 1980s." However, it was very soon clear that they would have to change their tune. The programs of the communist parties so ostentatiously proclaimed (22nd Congress of the CPSU, 7th Congress of the BCP) could soon be seen to be unachievable, particularly where the improvement of the standard of living was concerned. But Moscow had no intention of altering this rapprochement, which served its expansionist aims well. It simply needed to find a new cover.

Therefore, Zhivkov and the BCP made the rapprochement a part of the compromise comparable to that of the preceding decade. Anti-Serbian nationalism no longer sufficed, although it was still discreetly present. Zhivkov became the apostle of patriotic education of the youth. Bulgarian history, distorted to the point of caricature on Soviet instructions in the 1940s and 1950s, has now been almost rehabilitated. The heritage of the past which casts no shadow on Bulgaria's relations with the USSR was developed. In those years, Zhivkov's daughter was pursuing historical studies, which she completed with the defense of a thesis at Oxford. These two things were certainly no coincidence.

* This was a deviationist trend symbolized by Traycho Kostov, a secretary of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party who was hung as a traitor in 1949.

The 1970s even saw the policy of rapprochement raised to the level of "ever greater and more intensive rapprochement" (decisions of the Central Committee of the BCP and the Central Committee of the CPSU, 1973). An effort was made to emphasize the integration between Bulgaria and the USSR in the various aspects of social structure and life in general as much as possible. The completed implementation of the decisions adopted in the name of "ever greater rapprochement" meant the liquidation of the existence of the Bulgarian nation and state pure and simple.

The enormity of the stakes also demanded vast means of accommodation. While the development of the relations between the USSR quashed what remained of Bulgarian independence, both within the country and abroad, evidences of Bulgarian patriotic awareness multiplied: exhibits, historic research and publications, attentive conservation of vestiges of the past, etc. Demonstrations organized throughout the country celebrated the 1,300th anniversary of the Bulgarian nation. Zhivkov, and above all his daughter, Lyudmila Zhivkova, were in the forefront at all these demonstrations of rediscovered national feeling. Slogans of allegiance to the USSR were not lacking, but the Bulgarian public heard them with an inattentive ear. For the Bulgarians, the importance of what was happening lay elsewhere. The Soviets were not unaware of the significance assigned to these festivities by a large part of the population. Their official participation was rather cautious, and privately, they openly revealed their concern.

Since 1981, the official manifestations glorifying the Bulgarian past have become less frequent. "The anniversary is over," some say. "Lyudmila Zhivkova is gone," say others. "The Soviets have reestablished order," yet another faction says. And yet no one would deny the change which has come about in the conduct of the public. Attention to problems of national history, national awareness and national pride is still there. The possibility of discussing these matters with real freedom and openness is not always still there. But even the government press publications suggest a desire on the part of society to search, to remember, to protect the collective memory and to assert a Bulgarian national conscience. This is a will which vastly exceeds what is wanted and tolerated by the leadership of the communist party.

Perhaps less spectacular but no less important are the consequences of certain compromises made in the economic sector. For a long time the BCP leadership was viewed as a "champion" of "collectivization in the Soviet manner." In 1951, it was not unwilling to use armed force to overcome the peasants' resistance to collectivization. It is in Bulgaria, among all the various CEMA member nations, that the percentages of collectivized land and nationalized industry have always been closest to those of the USSR. Except that after the drums and the trumpets urging collectivization to the end, it was necessary to produce in order, somehow or other, to satisfy the needs of society. In theory, the BCP leadership still remains faithful to the Soviet example giving priority to collective work. In practice, since the end of the 1960s, it has embarked upon a path of gradual expansion of the possibilities for private work.

Tens and perhaps hundreds of thousands of citizens are now working, in one way or another, outside the "socialist" state production machine. Legally, they are all still within the boundaries of the "socialist" social apparatus. They are pensioners, industrial or farm workers, government employees. What distinguishes them from other workers is that they are earning the main portion or at least a substantial part of their income from individual labor outside the "socialist production circuit."

The assessment of this phenomenon by the BCP leadership differs from that of the public. The policy of the party benefits from the fact that productivity increases and the market is provided with products which the official economy cannot obtain for it. The public, for its part, sees above all in this development the signs of liberation of the people, if only partial from the total control of the communist party and state. Under different pretexts, the communist press criticizes these "private workers" in the name of "the norms of communist morality." Public opinion, which admires them more or less openly, sees these people as resourceful individuals who have escaped the clutches of the grayness of "socialist life."

The image of a communist party and the state leader, Zhivkov in this case, motivated by a desire for vengeance against someone in power in the Kremlin, the late Andropov for example, in itself has something enthralling about it. One can presume that the leadership of the BCP, like that of the CPSU, will make an effort to focus public opinion on that image, because in this way, the problem of Bulgarian-Soviet relations is "already settled." And the agency is fate: Zhivkova is dead and Andropov is too. There are therefore no hindrances to the establishment of "fraternal, friendly, cordial" relations, etc., etc. between Zhivkov and Chernenko, like those in the days of Khrushchev and Brezhnev. Sofia's alleged "indiscretions" in this connection are certainly more than a little motivated by self-interest.

The importance assumed by the national aspect and the private labor in Bulgarian society we have just discussed bear witness to the existence of important trends which differ significantly from the soviet model and the political program of the BCP. It appears that the present status of these trends suggest new developments in the future. Obviously, it is here that the real problem in Bulgarian-Soviet relations can be found.

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STEFANAK CALLS FOR UNITY OF COMMUNIST, WORKERS MOVEMENT

AU201820 Prague NOVA MYSL in Czech and Slovak Special Issue Apr 84 pp 109-120

[Article by Doctor Michal Stefanak, candidate of sciences, CPCZ Central Committee candidate member, and deputy head of the CPCZ Central Committee's Department of International Policy: "The Unity of the International Communist and Workers Movement--an Important Factor in the Battle for Peace and Social Progress"--article is written in Slovak]

[Text] We are living at a time when great political-social transformations are taking place in the world, transformations that signify the strengthening of social progress, peace and socialism. Currently, the political map of the world is completely different from that of a few years ago. The revolutionary process today affects all continents, and even the most distant regions of the world.

Numerous and varied, frequently opposed, social and political forces are operating in the world arena. Some of them are rivals, others are striving to unify their efforts in a single stream. Everything is clearly showing the dominating trend of the world development--the unceasing growth and consolidation of forces that are operating under the banner of peace and social progress. Herein lies the main tendency of our times; it is here that the substance of our era is reflected. New and newer social strata, parties and organizations of the workers class and of other working people are joining the fight for peace and social progress. Even whole nations are entering this process.

All the positive features and events of the present are, in many respects, the result of the communists' everyday persevering work. The activity of communist parties is one of the decisive factors that determine the maintenance of peace and the forward movement of social progress in the world. The world communist movement (despite the difficulties that it must resolve among its ranks) is ensuring the unity of the international class struggle, its revolutionary purposefulness, its dynamism. Apart from the main task of fighting for social and societal progress, the international communist and workersmovement is encountering a new task for saving human civilization and mankind's basic right--the right to live. This is a new all-human task which is being accomplished by the socialist countries, by the communist revolutionary movement, by all fighters against imperialism and for eliminating the outbreak of a nuclear war.

We are far from thinking that all that is progressive and good in the world can be done only by communists. The communists highly appreciate any and all contributions to the cause of peace and social progress, including the contribution of other progressive democratic and peace-loving forces of the present.

In this all-human struggle for social and societal advance, the vanguard role is being fulfilled by the socialist countries, which are the material base of the revolutionary process. As the result of the consolidating positions of real socialism, of the growth of its economic and defense strength, of its increasing international political influence and its social, moral and ideological prestige, the world revolutionary process is accelerating. Socialism has become firmly and definitely anchored in the world. It shows the concrete, progressive alternative in the development of human society. The successes of socialism and the expansion of its positions are the material and socio-historic foundations that determine the direction in which all aspects of the world revolutionary process develop, and that ensure the shaping of a better society throughout the world.

Thanks to the communists and to other revolutionary and progressive forces, the policy, strategy and tactics of the communist parties themselves must be increasingly reflected in the contemporary world development. Due to the crisis of capitalism, a great regrouping of class forces is taking place throughout the nonsocialist world; this produces new phenomena in the class struggle and establishes new conditions for the development of the revolutionary movement both on a national and world scale.

The international development also demands a further development of the revolutionary theory and the concretization of political and strategic slogans. The current imperialist policy is laying bare the conflicts of capitalism and establishing more favorable conditions for the development of the class struggle, for the cohesion of democratic forces, for the establishment of broad antimonopolist and antiwar groupings, and for the isolation of the most reactionary elements of the large capital.

Recently the world communist movement has been studying and explaining the laws and peculiarities of the current phase of the world revolutionary process and drawing basic conclusions that are necessary for developing the class struggle. This is helping to scientifically substantiate the policy, strategy and tactics of the movement as a whole, as well as to work out the course of individual communist and workers parties. As is confirmed by the experience acquired to date, the most effective means for this are the international conferences of communist and workers parties on various bilateral and multilateral levels.

The representatives of the communist parties from all over the world are increasingly, and more and more frequently, emphasizing the significance of real socialism and its revolutionizing influence on the processes of world development; they are appraising the correlation of forces in the world and the active influence of socialism on the course of individual classes, political parties, and nations in the battle for national and social liberation in capitalist and developing countries.

Under contemporary conditions, the prospects of the revolutionary transformation of the world can be appraised only in close connection with the assessment of issues of the consolidation of peace, which on their part cannot be appraised without taking the consolidation of the international cohesion of progressive and anti-imperialist forces into account. It is in this way that the majority of communist and workers parties approaches the analysis of topical issues of the fight for peace. In working out the strategy and tactics of the fight for the eighties, the communist parties proceed from the thought that the consolidation of peace is the main and primary task; mankind's future development and social progress depend on the solution of it to a very considerable extent.

The communists' goal is to carry out basic socioeconomic transformations and to liquidate the social roots of exploitation, to liquidate any and all oppression and wars of conquest. That is why the communists were, and are, the most important and most purposeful fighters against war. "The danger of a nuclear war that is threatening the world is forcing us to appraise in a new way the main purpose of the activities of the entire communist movement," Comrade Yuriy Andropov stressed at the CPSU Central Committee session last June. "The communists have always fought against oppression and man's exploitation by man; and today they are fighting for preserving human civilization and for man's right to live." (Footnote 1) (We Are Resolving Realistic Tasks That Life Is Setting Up for Us. Bratislava, PRAVDA, 64, 16 June 1983, p 6)

The Successes of the Communist Movement in the Recent Period

The communist movement has consolidated its positions both as a national and an international force that is making a decisive contribution to the battle for peace and socialism. Imperialism's hopes for a split in the movement, and its hopes of evoking its crisis, have not materialized. The international communist movement is the most influential organized political force of the present. The communists have won their high authority by standing at the head of the working people in their fight for democratic and social rights, for socialism. As the bearers of the most revolutionary ideology, the communists are the most important fighters for peace and for the elimination of wars from mankind's life.

The communists' active fight for peace, for the nations' security, and for democracy, their defense of the working people's national and class interests, their policy of creating broad groupings and the unity of leftist political forces, have all contributed toward their further successes in resolving the most burning issues of the present. One of the results of this is the increasing attractiveness of the communist parties' policy and the increase of their numbers and of their membership base.

Today 95 communist parties are operating in the world; more than 77 million members are organized in them. In the nonsocialist part of the world, the communist parties are working in almost 80 countries. In that part of the world, the total number of members in the communist parties amounts to almost 4.8 million, and in recent years it increased by more than 1.5 million.

In Western Europe, the communist parties are working in 22 states. Their ranks consist of about 3 million members (in 1970 the figure was 2.27 million). The

The communist parties in 27 developed capitalist states rally almost 3.5 million members. In the countries of Latin America and the Caribbean, 24 communist parties with a total of about 400,000 members are pursuing their activities. In the developing countries of Asia, Australia, Oceania and Africa there are more than 1 million communists, that means twice as many as at the beginning of the seventies.

In many countries (in Italy, France, Portugal, Finland, Greece, Cyprus, Argentina, India and elsewhere) the communist parties have become mass parties; elsewhere they are striving to acquire positions that would enable them to become an active all-national political force. The working people are electing the communists into parliaments, local administration bodies, or international bodies; the communists are actively working in trade union and other mass social organizations. For instance, more than 40 million voters are giving their votes to the communists in elections. The elections in the capitalist states have long ago ceased to be merely a duel of bourgeois parties. By their program and by their everyday activity, the communist parties are increasingly winning over the people--the people are becoming convinced that their program corresponds to the most basic interests of the working people and that it is not calculated to act like a kind of preelection promise. The communists in many capitalist and developing countries have at their disposal a broad ramified network of party press which is published in a large number of copies. A single edition of the communist parties' newspapers has more than 10 million copies. Apart from that they publish more than 100 magazines, including theoretical ones. The movement also has its own common periodical, problems of peace and socialism. The communist press disseminates among the masses truthful information about the situation in the individual countries and in the world, and mobilizes the working people and other progressive and democratic forces for a fight for peace, democracy and socialism.

The international cooperation of fraternal parties has strikingly consolidated in the recent period. International conferences and meetings on a bilateral and also multilateral level are frequently held, and there the representatives of individual communist parties exchange the experience acquired in their work, and assess the specific issues of the revolutionary struggle in the interests of the fight for peace, security, cooperation and social progress and against the policy of world imperialism and reaction. During the last 10 years, more than 2,000 bilateral, and about 1,000 multilateral, meetings have been held, as have also more than 120 meetings and conferences on theoretical and ideological issues. Apart from the Paris meeting in April 1980, the European communist and workers parties met at a conference in Brussels in October 1980. Other significant conferences have also been held, for instance the one in December 1978 in Sofia--the international theoretical conference "The Building of Socialism and Communism and World Development"; the international theoretical-political conference "Topical Issues of Relations Toward Socialist and Social-Democratic Parties" in December 1979 in Tihanyi, in the Hungarian People's Republic; the international scientific conference "The Common Fight of the Workers and National-Liberation Movement Against Imperialism and for Social Progress" in October 1980 in Berlin; the international theoretical conference "G. Dimitrov and Today" in June 1982 in Sofia; the Berlin Conference in honor of the 100th death anniversary and 165th birth anniversary of K. Marx in April 1983; and other conferences. One of the positive things is that some of these conferences are also attended by certain socialist and social-democratic parties.

The standards of the communist parties' organizational work have recently considerably improved. Out of all the existing political forces in the world, the communist parties alone are submitting comprehensively worked out, realistically materializable, and scientifically substantiated programs for resolving social problems; they alone are providing an adequate political and theoretical answer to the burning problems of the present and to the demands of the workers class and of other working people.

Imperialism Is Striving To Weaken and Break Up the Action Unity of Revolutionary Forces

Imperialism is creating for itself an extremely ramified "mechanism of self-preservation" against the revolutionary forces, which contains international, internal, social, political, economic, military, cultural, ideological and psychological measures. Despite its crisis in the last few years, this mechanism is being steadily perfected and adjusted to the new situations.

An enormous effort is directed to the further development of the action unity of the workers class on a national and an international scale, against the establishment of ties between the workers class and the other strata of working people, and also for effecting a split in the broad anti-monopolist alliances that are being shaped. [Sentence as received] The greater successes the forces of peace, of the national liberation movement, of democracy and socialism achieve, the more furious and skillful becomes the resistance of the monopoly capital. Every step forward that is taken by the forces of social progress must be won in a dogged struggle against the reaction.

Three basic goals are apparent in this sphere in the activities of the bourgeois propaganda. The first and foremost place among them belongs to the falsification and weakening of the positions held by the world progressive forces, and particularly by the socialist states, in the minds of the citizens. The second goal is the systematic, comprehensive weakening and undermining of the authority of the workers class, and particularly of the communists, in their own country. The third goal is the deliberate neglect and weakening of social problems and the establishment of a "democratic wrapping" around the capitalist political system.

When "fulfilling" its mission, bourgeois propaganda does not find valid international agreements a hindrance. In the capitalist countries, the stipulations of the Helsinki conference on the objectivity of information are being violated. Above all, the information about life in the socialist countries lacks objectivity; one can get to know only very little about the social policy, culture, science and technology in the countries of the socialist community. The aim of the "information" is to create the impression that socialism is undergoing a deep crisis, that the suppression of human rights there is almost an everyday occurrence, and that it is the Soviet Union and the socialist countries that represent the real threat to world peace.

By their disinformation and fabrications about the socialist countries, bourgeois information media at the same time want to weaken the positions of the workers class and to undermine the authority of the workers parties. This is certainly no coincidence. The working people--communists, and also people not belonging to the party--still represent the majority of voters. That is why any pretext is good enough for attacking the trade unions and the communists.

Bourgeois propaganda is making systematic use of fabrications and half-truths. At the same time it is making use of the traditional elements of chauvinism, nationalism and anticommunism, of the ignorance of history and geography; it is constantly referring in a deformed way to the past, and skilfully merging truth with fabrications. It wants to prove by every means and by every effort how joyless an ordeal is the citizen's life in the socialist countries, and how "well" one lives under the rule of the monopolies.

Capital wants to survive. That is why it is escalating its hateful anticommunist and anti-Soviet campaign, that is why it is heckling every sign of progress, and even against an only seeming danger for capital. That is why it needs the information media, that is why it finances them, buys them, directs and orients them. The means for deceiving the public also include one tool that must be stressed: the "double" myth. Basically, it consists of identifying the interests of capital with those of the peoples in the capitalist countries, and of intimidating the masses by speaking of the "threat of world communism."

The grudge against the communists and against communist ideology is being escalated. It is utilized for discriminating against the other forces in the leftwing and democratic movements that support certain political and programmatic demands of the communists. Witch-hunts are organized against these forces. Here is one example for all of them: In September 1980, the Labor Party of Great Britain adopted at its conference several resolutions, for instance on nuclear disarmament, on leaving the EEC, and so forth. The bourgeois press called this event proof of the Laborites' being in favor of "immediate socialism." The paper THE TIMES wrote that we are confronted here by the "leftwingers' aggressiveness," and by their "obvious subordination to totalitarian communism" and not to "liberal capitalism"--the paper thus identified the leftwingers with the communists, and communism with totalitarianism.

The bourgeoisie is also making use of the difficulties encountered by the international communist and workers movement. It makes most use of the split in the workers movement. It can be said that, were it not for the disunity and the split, capital would not be able to rely on the rightwing social democrats--that means, it would be able to slow down the development of revolutionary processes, and the period of its existence would be substantially decreased.

Many directions of the workers movement are successfully cooperating at present. In resolving the issues of everyday struggle, the enterprises often encounter the action unity of Christian socialists and leftwing forces, of the social democrats and the communists.

Although the tendency toward action unity of the workers class has been increasingly asserting itself in recent years in numerous capitalist countries, this process is still only at an initial stage.

International reaction, led by U.S. imperialist circles, recently prepared quite a few operations aimed at weakening the unity of the movement and lowering its revolutionary action ability. It is striving to utilize the help of various opportunist and revisionist forces, of the movement's renegades, who are meant to introduce a split into the communist movement and into the socialist community.

It is unnecessary to try and prove how greatly the harmful nature of any and all manifestations of opportunism in the communist and workers parties is currently growing. The revisionists' entire "wisdom" lies in the negation of the objective laws that govern history, in cutting down the activity of the communist parties according to the possibilities of the moment. This leads to the circumvention of basic criteria, and to the loss of orientation forms in developing the class struggle and in adopting political solutions. The orientation in international events is being lost.

The variety of conditions under which the communist parties are working is used by the revisionists for spreading doubts about the feasibility of the international unity of revolutionary theory and policy; this leads to doubts about the topicality and international validity of the doctrine of Marxism-Leninism. After all, by casting doubts on the international principles of theory and policy, they cast doubts on the very existence of the communist movement as an international political factor.

To those who do not recognize the international unity of the basic principles of communist policy, the international communist movement may seem to be a simple sum total of individual parties, whose policy is not bound together in any way. They reject some of the basic principles of revolutionary policy--particularly those on which the common strategy of the communist movement is based, namely the principles of class and revolutionary nature and of internationalism.

The experience of certain parties shows that the pragmatic policy that narrows down the framework of specific national conditions (and frequently does so in a false presentation) leads to national limitation and to provincialism in evaluating the relationship between the national and the international.

The revisionists' attacks against the principles of proletarian internationalism are not ceasing. They are proposing a "new internationalism" that should renounce the class criteria and include all the sociopolitical forces that are fighting against imperialism. But in reality we have here a concealed negation of the leading role of the workers class in the present era--the negation of the leading position of the world socialist community as the basic factor of international solidarity. How can one qualify the revisionists' endeavor to convince the communists of the need to build some kind of "third force" between the two "superpowers" and to "disassociate oneself" from the CPSU and the other communist parties that are standing at the head of our building the new society, or else from entertaining friendly relations with the CPSU?

The harmful nature of opportunism and revisionism is rather markedly manifested on the battlefield of the fight for peace. The war danger has attained a scope and a nature which not only require that we intensify our efforts, but also further develop the mutual collaboration of the communists of all countries in the fight against imperialism policy.

Currently, the deeper understanding of the communists' proper role and responsibility as the most consistent antiwar force is of paramount significance, as is the full respect of the fact that, in order to avert war and to halt feverish armament, it is imperative to achieve the international cooperation of all, and not only some or only certain individual, detachments of peace-loving forces,

and of the communists in the first place. However, it is deplorable that in certain instances we notice the underestimation of either the first, or the second, aspect. One must trust that this state of affairs will be overcome. It would be to the detriment of peace and of the communist goals in general, were the familiar unevenness to continue appearing in the development of the fraternal parties' activity, or the belated development of the antiwar fight continue to persevere.

Wherein lie the roots of the revisionist opinions in the communist movement? The factors that determine the penetration of these opinions include the influence of petty bourgeois views. Their bearers are, in the first place, members of the nonproletarian strata that are joining the ranks of the communist movement; the pressure of imperialist ideology (which is extremely dangerous exactly because of the heterogenous makeup of the workers class, since its ranks include people who easily succumb to arguments in favor of a nonclass view of the development of the international situation and to arguments against class cooperation); and shortcomings in the theoretical training of communists who have only recently joined the party and who are not sufficiently immune to the ideological concepts that are hostile to the communist movement. All these are further factors weakening the revolutionary profile of communist parties. Last, but not least, these factors also include various nationalist approaches.

These phenomena are actually the toll that we pay for that searching for new paths toward socialism, which the fraternal parties are doing. The communists' main task is to cope with this toll, so that one can progress forward. This is also what the fraternal parties are striving to achieve. Whenever they encounter the negative phenomena, they wage a fight against them.

For Consolidating the Action Unity of the Workers Class

The communist parties of the capitalist states are pushing through a constructive policy aimed at achieving the action unity of the workers class; and they reflect the new phenomena and the specific conditions of the workers movement in every country. They proceed from the fact that, under contemporary conditions, the unity of all working people, regardless of their political appurtenance, is imperative for the successful fight of the workers class for accomplishing the common tasks of the antimonopolist struggle, in the interests of delivering a decisive blow to the monopolist bourgeoisie.

In resolving the problems of achieving the unity of the workers class and of all working people, the policy of communist parties is also implementing new approaches and methods:

- (a) The fight for the action unity of the workers class as an important strategic task;
- (b) the communist parties are stressing that, under the conditions of the existence of a powerful, multidimensional, broadly developed, and ramified mechanism of self-preservation in state-monopoly capitalism, it is impossible to set up a mass army that is necessary for the revolutionary reorganization of the society without social democracy; and, they stress, it is therefore necessary to pursue a consistent policy of the fight for unity for a long time;

(c) in the fight for achieving the leading role in the union of leftwing political forces, the communists implement the principles of the equality of parties, and they do not strive to acquire privileges;

(d) the communist parties are striving to establish cooperation with the social democratic and socialist parties not only in the fight for peace and for improving the working people's living conditions, in the fight for defending and expanding democratic rights and freedoms, but also in the struggle for winning power and for building the socialist society.

These theses testify to the enrichment and deepening of the policy of a united front; they form a vital part of the entire strategy of the fight for democracy and socialism. The new strategy of the fight for the action unity of the workers class does not mean reconciliation with social democratic reformist ideological dogmas. The dialectic formulation of the new strategy of the action unity of the workers class says that it is based on the union for the defense of the vital interests of the workers class and all working people, on the ideological struggle based on the assessment of the theoretical foundations of the workers movement. In stressing the idea of political partnership between the workers parties, the communists at the same time emphasize that they are maintaining their independence in politics [politika] and ideology, and that they are claiming the right to wage an ideological struggle against the ideology that subordinates the interests of the workers class to the interests of the bourgeoisie.

The communists are consistently striving to realize the idea that was voiced at the international conference in 1969: namely, that the peoples of socialist countries, the proletarians, all democratic forces in the capitalist countries, and both the already liberated nations and those that are still oppressed, should all join forces in a common battle against imperialism and for peace, national independence, and social progress, for democracy and socialism.

The realization of this slogan has considerably expanded the platform and dimensions of the international solidarity of the workers class and of other progressive forces, and also establish prerequisites for enhancing its influence on mankind's development.

The social foundation of the international solidarity of the workers class is constantly expanding. The accelerating internationalization of social development widens the scope of the social interests of workers in various countries, deepens these interests, and enhances the significance of the international tasks of the workers class. Even though this is happening unevenly, the workers class nevertheless is gradually and increasingly learning to understand the objective international interests and tasks. This ensures the expansion and consolidation of its international unity and enhances its effectiveness.

The Communists' Tasks in the Fight for Peace and Social Progress in the Present Complicated International Situation

The communists are activating themselves, they are rousing the peoples' conscience and mobilizing all peace-loving forces against the war danger. The communists are declaring that currently it is extremely important not to waste

time, not to permit a new round of feverish armament to be foisted on Europe, not to permit the international situation to become uncontrollable. They demand that the governments of capitalist countries be guided by realism and that they refrain from trying to ignore the objective conditions of the present world, that they refrain from resorting to attempts at a diktat, that they renounce imperial ambitions and refrain from staking everything on military strength.

The communists are revealing the source of the European and world danger. They are stressing that the danger does not lie in a "Soviet threat," or in a mythical "military supremacy" of the Soviet Union, as is claimed by the Western propaganda, but that it lies in the feverish armament and in the tension foisted on the world by the aggressive imperialist circles. These processes are being accelerated by the U.S. and NATO policy, which would like to ensure its position of strength by achieving supremacy in armaments.

In uncovering the sources of war danger, the communist press compares the phases of feverish armament and recalls that the Soviet Union has always been merely balancing-out the military correlation of forces. It points out the total difference of the Peace Program for the Eighties and of the plans for peaceful construction in the economic and social spheres, and so forth, which have been adopted by the 26th CPSU Congress, from the American program of "rearmament" and from the increased armament expenditures of the NATO countries up to the end of the century. These are two different concepts. The first is a concept of peace and construction; the second a concept of threat to mankind's future.

The Marxist-Leninists know very well that expansive aspirations and militarism are the children of the capitalist society. Peaceful cooperation is being foisted on the capitalist states primarily by the socialist, revolutionary and democratic forces. That is why it is incorrect to assess the foreign policy of the two systems by using the same criteria of international law, as is sometimes being done by certain national revisionists in our movement, according to bourgeois propaganda. Such an approach disorients the revolutionary movements, blunts the working people's class awareness, and weakens their fight for peace.

For the communists it is clear that detente can be achieved solely through a persistent political struggle, through the constant effort of all peace-loving forces in the interests of isolating the militant imperialist circles. The Marxist-Leninist parties are staunchly resisting imperialism's attempts to return mankind to the times of "cold war" and of sabrerattling.

The communist parties are revealing the imperialist circles to the nations as the authors and builders of the war danger. At the same time they are waging a dauntless struggle against these circles, into which they are involving increasingly broader people's masses. Thanks to these efforts, many a dangerous action of world imperialism could be frustrated. There is not a single capitalist country without a powerful peace movement in which a prominent role is played by the communists. In this respect we highly appraise particularly the communists in the FRG, in the United States, Denmark and other countries. The communist parties are widely propagating their foreign-political programmatic demands. An effective instrument of their influence on the foreign-political orientation of the ruling circles in imperialist countries are the mass political campaigns,

which are being successfully realized in cooperation with the democratic mass organizations. They are exerting pressure both "from below" and "from above" on the governments of their countries, in the effort to positively resolve the problems of foreign policy. The center of their attention is held by the issues of the process of international detente and by the issues of cooperation with the socialist countries.

Against the plotting of militarist villains, the communists have set up political realism; they are pointing out the practical possibilities of halting the present dangerous development of events, of directing it in the right way, of consolidating mutual trust, and of resolving, one after another, the tasks of limiting and reducing arms arsenals, especially nuclear ones.

The communists are convinced that prerequisites continue to exist in the world for realism to win in international relations. The nations have convinced themselves of their own experience about the advantages of detente as truly the only sensible alternative of the coexistence of states with different social systems.

We, Czechoslovak Communists, are also opposed to the pessimistic moods of desperation that are being disseminated by the bourgeois propaganda. We believe that it is both possible and unavoidable to fight for a better future of the world, for peace, democracy and social progress; and we are convinced that the common struggle of communists and of all peace-loving forces will be a successful one.

The unity of communists, of the workers class, of other working people, and of the democratic and peace-loving forces encounters the resistance of reactionary imperialist forces and of their helpers from among the ranks of revisionists. Despite this, the unity continues to consolidate. And this is the guarantee of the victory of peace and social progress throughout the world.

CSO: 2400/321

CPCZ INDRA'S ARTICLE ON DEFENSE, SECURITY

AU182000 Prague NOVA MYSL in Czech and Slovak "Special Issue," Apr 84 (signed to press 16 Mar 84) pp 5-17

[Article by Alois Indra, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and chairman of the CSSR Federal Assembly: "To Build and Defend Socialism"; passages between slantlines are printed in boldface--article is written in Czech]

[Text] Exactly 39 years ago in May, Soviet and American soldiers embraced each other on the Elbe River and the last shots of World War II grew silent in Europe. Mankind wept for more than 50 million dead people and tallied up enormous material damage. The tears of sorrow were coupled with joy over the victory over the fascist hydra and the voice of firm determination resounded all over the world: "No longer fascism, no more war!" However, the basic aspirations of mankind have always been at sharp variance with the interests of imperialism. Even then plans of an attack on the USSR, the people and the army of which bore the main burden of the fight against Nazi Germany, were being drawn up in the offices of the Pentagon and the White House. The first two nuclear bombs, which swept Hiroshima and Nagasaki off the earth's surface, were nothing but an instrument of intimidation and blackmail, designed to help the United States dominate the whole world....

/Regrettably, not a single day of the past 39 years has been truly peaceful for the entire planet./ It is true that imperialism has not succeeded in unleashing another world war, but it has been constantly afflicting mankind with "local" conflicts. Hundreds of thousands of dead people are being added to its account. Imperialism is wading through the blood of innocent women, children and old people, turning towns and villages into ruins, and devastating the nature of entire regions with chemical devices, scorched land being the visiting card of its mercenaries. From the flood of daily news there emerges a mosaic that is a grave indictment of imperialism. In Central America, in northern, eastern, and southern Africa, in the Middle East, in Southeast Asia--the ubiquitous imperialism is trying everywhere to extinguish the fire of the national liberation movement, to thwart social progress, and to foil the nations' craving for freedom and political and economic independence. These goals are served by diplomacy, propaganda, banks and supranational monopolies, "peace corps" and "economic experts," but also by military instructors, supplies of arms to dictators and reactionary movements, as well as impertinent direct military intervention. /Imperialism, in short, remains imperialism; it does not want to respect the law-governed evolution of history and become reconciled to the twilight of its rule. Mad armament is the blood of its organism, wars and brute force in various forms characterize its true image./

It is impossible to be indifferent to the so-called local conflicts, no upright person can indifferently watch the horrors that are conveyed through television screens or photography. We realize at the same time that all this is a mere fraction of the main plan of imperialism: to unleash a world war, to pull the fateful trigger of the amassed nuclear weapons. This is the reason for the horrendously growing U.S. military budget, for the development of new and even more effective mass destruction weapons, for the plan to turn outer space into an arena of war. This is the reason for the 1,500 American military bases and facilities on the territories of 32 states, for the permanent service duty of more than 500,000 American soldiers outside their homeland. /The most telling indictment of the United States and its allies is the deployment of intermediate-range nuclear missiles--missiles that are intended for the first strike--on the territories of some states of Western Europe./ This step in particular, the aim of which is to upset the military parity between the United States and the USSR and between the Warsaw Pact and NATO, has sharply aggravated the international situation and lowered the threshold of possible nuclear conflict.

/It is no simplification if we seek the causes of the present disconcerting international relations in the answer to the question: Who is served by this?/ The class approach really is the most reliable compass. /There is no argument that could logically prove the United States' and the USSR's "equal responsibility" or even ascribe aggressive designs to the Soviet Union and its allies./ The innermost desire to preserve peace and the tenacious efforts for peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems stem from the humanitarian essence of socialism. Peace is, after all, the basic prerequisite for the successful solution of the wide-ranging tasks of building socialism and communism. And it is sheer cynicism to ascribe aggressive designs to a country that got to know the horrors of the last war and suffered immeasurable losses in it. There are no individuals or groups in the Soviet Union and the other countries of the socialist community deriving any material or any other benefit from armament programs or even from war. The USSR and its allies do not have any territorial claims vis-a-vis anyone, violent expansion is intrinsically alien to them. And do the more than 100 concrete proposals, the adoption of which would contribute to easing tension and reducing the possibilities of a war, especially nuclear war, but also conventional war, while ensuring equal security for all participating sides, not bear witness to the Soviet Union's love for peace? But the good will of one side is not enough; any agreement needs two partners.

/Not artificial theories but demonstratable facts from the past and the present show that to blame for the dangerous situation are the United States and those of its allies that are obedient to Washington's order, counter to the public opinion in their own countries and to the interests of the whole of mankind./ Bourgeois politicals and U.S. representatives, in particular, have never had any love for the Soviet Union and the socialist countries. From the first days of Great October, the existence of the first land of socialism has been a thorn in their side and it is generally known how much endeavor they have exerted to stifle it. This hatred, which is understandable from the class viewpoint, was later expanded to encompass the other socialist states as well, each of which frustrated their dreams of world domination and meant a political and economic loss for them. /The fear of the expansion and reinforcement of socialism and the endeavor to destroy the new social system have always been the basic motive

of the capitalist states' foreign and domestic policies./ It is possible, nevertheless, to detect divergent periods in the history of relations between capitalist and socialist countries, which could be graphically illustrated by a sine curve. Anticommunist blindness has sometimes given way to more realistic approaches, which have always been beneficial for the world, although there is no point in denying that, logically, ideological antagonism has always persisted. This alternation of "colder and warmer" waves in the attitude toward the USSR and its allies has been characteristic also of U.S. administrations. In 1980, however, the most reactionary wing of American imperialism came to the White House, embodied by Reagan. Class-motivated anticommunism has merged with the interests of the military-industrial complex into a turbid river of hysteria, on which floats the ill-famous "crusade" against communism, which has been called an "error of history." And errors, as is known, must be set right, be it at the price of a nuclear war. /Ideological differences have become the supporting pillar of American foreign policy, which has thus deprived itself of the ability to realistically view the world and relations among states and between political-military alliances./ These are the sources that have given birth, in an avalanche-like fashion, to all kinds of doctrines about the "predestination of the United States being "the guard of democracy and freedom," about "spheres of vital U.S. interests," about things that are "more important than peace," down to speculations about the possibility of a "limited nuclear war" or the "possible victory in an all-out nuclear war." Going hand in hand with this, and running sharply counter to the Helsinki Final Act, doubts are being cast upon the postwar settlement in Europe, the United States brutally interferes in the internal affairs of sovereign states, and the countries of the socialist community are being given "marks for conduct" as elementary school pupils.

/However, the policy of the anticommunist "crusade" is not confined to rhetoric. It has been materialized for the benefit of the military-industrial complex and to the detriment of the American taxpayers./ The U.S. administration does not occupy itself with the problems of existence of 10 million unemployed citizens but reduces social expenditures. A total of 32 million American citizens live below the recognized poverty limit, 2 million are without shelter, 10 million are illiterate, and 23 million semi-literate. Yet the annual arms budget exceeds \$300 billion. And Western Europe, already chock-full of arms arsenals, received as a "gift" for the 1984 New Year 600 intermediate-range nuclear missiles!

The hundreds of billions of dollars spent on armament are complemented by billions spent on the propaganda of hostility and hatred. The French LE MONDE DIPLOMATEQUE observed that the "growth of expenditures on influencing public opinion and on the propaganda of war and anti-Sovietism is matched only by the growth of financial resources that the United States earmarks for feverish armament." From all this follows that the United States and NATO have staked their all on the card of dangerous adventurism. They are threatening the world with a nuclear apocalypse and, acting from a position of strength, would like to dictate to the USSR, its allies, and ultimately to the whole world the terms of "Pax Americana." Indeed, one cannot be surprised by the words of W. Averell Harriman, who wrote in the INTERNATIONAL HERALD TRIBUNE about Reagan: "He can no longer expect the Americans to support a policy that causes that relations with the Soviet Union are more dangerous now than at any point during the previous generations."

It is true that in the last few months the tone of the Washington hawks' speeches has changed somewhat. Muscle-flexing has been replaced by phrases about peace. First of all, the presidential elections are drawing near and, second, the necessity is becoming apparent to comfort representatives of the allied states and their restless public opinion. Somewhat more moderate speeches are, of course, more acceptable than a vocabulary that is full of insults, a vocabulary that, although it goes beyond of what is customary for statesmen, has long been so typical for Reagan. /But even the nicest words are mere words if they are not accompanied by corresponding deeds. And it is deeds for which the world, unfortunately, is still waiting. Not an iota has changed in the concrete American foreign policy./ How can we find any logic in the claim that "peace has become safer" after the deployment of new American missiles in Western Europe? It is a hypocrisy in this situation to call on the Soviet Union "to return to the conference table." Do the people in the White House really think that it is realistic to negotiate with the Soviet Union over the "missile fence" and to force upon it a dialogue "from the position of strength." /Every reasonable person will accept the position of the Soviet party and state leadership that there is no point in a dialogue for the sake of dialogue, that dialogue must not be a smokescreen for deceiving the world public. Negotiations are possible solely on the principles of equal security, only--as has been stressed by representatives of the USSR--if the United States and its allies return to the situation that existed prior to the deployment of the new intermediate-range missiles in Europe.

/The United States has the chance, if it displays enough realism and good will, to respond to the numerous concrete and generally comprehensible proposals of the Soviet Union and its allies./ And, indeed, there is enough to negotiate about. Why have the proposals of the Warsaw Pact Political Consultative Committee contained in the "Prague Declaration" of January 1983 been "studied" for 16 months already? What is unacceptable about the proposal that the Warsaw Pact and NATO conclude the agreement about the renunciation of the use of force against each other? Only he can hesitate who reckons with the opposite--that is, with an attack. Why does the United States so stubbornly refuse to follow the example of the Soviet Union and to commit itself not to be the first to use nuclear weapons? Is it, perhaps, because this would bind its hands? After all, as A. Gromyko declared at the UN General Assembly, if there is no first strike, there will not be any second strike and the outbreak of a nuclear war will be virtually ruled out. And in the same way we could analyze a whole series of the proposals put forward by the Soviet Union, one after the other, and demonstrate their mutual acceptability and all-round benefit. It is obvious that there exist objective conditions for the U.S. representatives to complement their peaceful-sounding speeches by useful deeds. Instead, they are making no secret of their contempt for the opinions of the overwhelming majority of UN member-countries, have in the last 2 years vetoed no less than 100 resolutions in the Security Council and, irrespective of their words, are driving the push-cart of their bellicose policy ever faster forward.

/Can under these circumstances anyone blame the Soviet Union for not closing its eyes to the extremely dangerous reality, for taking steps to ensure its security and that of its allies?/ Peace-loving mankind understands that the USSR's efforts to restore the upset military parity are justified, that they reduce the aggressor's chances, that they--to use K. Chernenko's words--cool hot heads.

The Soviet Union has never sought, and does not seek, one-sided supremacy; throughout the postwar period it has always been forced to catch up with the United States' and NATO's edge in armament and to restore the previous balance. This is a proof of responsibility to mankind, to socialism and its revolutionary gains, and to peace in the world. Let nobody doubt that the first land of socialism is strong enough and has the means not to let itself be blackmailed and not to find itself in an unequal position. The deliberate and persistent course taken by the Soviet Union clearly shows that the endeavor to preserve and strengthen just peace is the priority concern of its foreign policy; this has been the unchanging principle of Soviet policy ever since the first hours of the Great October Socialist Revolution. Peace in relations among nations and peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems are in harmony with the ideas of the classics of the revolutionary theory and never meant the abandonment of socialist ideological positions--ideological struggle is, and will remain, an objective reality.

Czechoslovakia's Co-Responsibility

/The CPCZ, our state leadership, and all Czechoslovak people, too, must very realistically assess the present international situation and adequately react to the exacerbated threat of an imperialist military aggression./ Gustav Husak declared in one of his speeches: "We do not realize the world, we know that it is divided along class boundaries. We know that aside from forces wishing a peaceful solution of problems--and these forces are growing in strength--there also exist strong reactionary forces, which--were the times favorable for them--would not hesitate to change the world and deal with various problems even by means of war. That is why it is not enough to merely demand and beg for peace; it is necessary to be able to ensure the defense of our national and state independence and the defense of our state system, to have a well-prepared army, and, naturally, also to have good and reliable allies." Yes, what is at stake is primarily the security of our country, but--to no lesser degree--also our co-responsibility for the joint defense of the independence of the Warsaw Pact member-states. After all, the "line of contact" between the Warsaw Pact and NATO forms a large part of the Czechoslovak western border; the new American nuclear missiles are deployed at a stone's throw from Czechoslovakia; not only Bundeswehr barracks but also U.S. Army facilities are within sight; and our country is a permanent target of the unscrupulous barrage of imperialist propaganda and "enjoys" extraordinary attention of the special services of the United States and its allies. It would be irresponsible to close one's eyes to these facts and to yield to carelessness. Underestimating the danger of possible imperialist attack would be tantamount to betraying the principles of the socialist revolution.

/However, we have never perceived the necessity to be on guard as a fatalistic waiting for war; we have never been guided by the idea that a military confrontation is unavoidable, that it cannot be averted./ On the contrary, we have always advocated the view that war can be forestalled, that mankind is strong enough, and has enough common sense, to defend and reinforce peace. This highly humanitarian goal has been, and is, persistently served by our diplomacy, by the international contacts of the CPCZ, other political parties, social organizations, the government and the parliament, but also by our broadly developed foreign

trade and by scientific and technical cooperation. The voice of the CSSR is heard everywhere that peace, democracy and social progress are at issue. The continuity of Czechoslovak foreign policy, its steadfastness in questions of principle, and its reliability in treaty relations--all this enhances the international authority of our country. Our coordinated course of action with the states of the socialist community and, in particular, our systematic support for all peace-loving initiatives of the USSR also very significantly contribute to this. We are not being immodest in voicing the conviction that Czechoslovakia's international activity benefits not only our homeland but the interests of all mankind. Even in this highly complicated period we proceed in this highly principled manner and will never abandon this line.

/The foreign and domestic policies of every country form an integral unity. In a way they represent communicating vessels, being always an expression of the interests the views of our workers class and its allies; that is, the basic interests of all people, who have drawn effective conclusions from their historical experience: They have opted for socialism and decided to ensure their country's security through alliance with the Soviet Union and other states of the socialist community. Czechoslovakia's authority in the world is undoubtedly a product of the country's economic, social and cultural results and of the good domestic political situation. /The moral and political unity of the people rallied around the CPCZ is thus literally a key factor. The constant renewal and strengthening of this unity is a basic prerequisite for our effective participation in the struggle for peace, against all forms of imperialist intrigues, and for raising our defense capability./ Only a morally and politically united nation is determined to defend under all circumstances the independence of its country and the gains of the socialist revolution and to honorably fulfill the obligations arising from its ties of alliance. In these connections we must also view the importance of the National Front and, in the spirit of the conclusions of the 16th CPCZ Congress, develop its activity at a level corresponding to the present tasks. In harmony with these goals, we also perceive the necessity of purposefully improving and deepening socialist democracy. In assessing the democratic nature of the domestic and foreign policies of individual states, Lenin's idea will always apply that "democracy is most markedly manifested in the question of war and peace." It follows from concrete policy that socialist democracy serves peace and is a principled adversary of war-mongering imperialist circles. However, their incendiary plans cannot be foiled by diplomacy and propaganda alone, or even by unilateral disarmament. The imperialists must know that, in the event of a military attack, they would run up against resolute and well-organized resistance, they would not get away with impunity.

They Will Not Arm Us to Death!

/The most reactionary forces of the capitalist world are making no secret of the fact that one of the aims of the feverishly stepped-up arms race is to "arm to death" the USSR and its allies./ They indulge in the erroneous notion that the economy of the states of the socialist community will not be able to bear the burden of the growing defense costs, that it will collapse, and that this will create conditions for "internal changes," naturally in favor of capitalism; that is, for an onslaught of the counterrevolution. This aim is to be served also by obstacles in mutual trade, by all kinds of embargoes, bans on the export of

sophisticated technology from capitalist states, and so forth. The Soviet Union and the states of the Warsaw Pact have more than once survived such charlatany. They have passed even the most severe tests and will not be broken even by the present adventurism of the United States and NATO. Even realistically minded capitalist politicians and entrepreneurs are aware of this, which is a frequent cause of conflicts between the White House and some West European states, especially in the sphere of trade.

/Of course, there is no point in denying that the unavoidable defense measures to a certain degree burden the economies of the Soviet Union and its allies. We, too, in Czechoslovakia must reckon with this./ All initiatives of the USSR and its allies have pursued the opposite aim. Halting the arms race, freezing arsenals--especially nuclear arsenals--banning all nuclear weapons tests, banning the use of outerspace for military aims, gradual disarmament, and so forth would logically lead to a reduction in the burden of military budgets. This was very concretely formulated in the Warsaw Pact member-states' proposals of March pertaining to the conclusion of a treaty on refraining from increasing and on reducing military budgets. It is an error to believe that the USSR and its allies are taking all these steps for narrow selfish reasons, just to gain more "breathing space." It transpires from various well-informed statistical sources that the horrendously growing military budgets harmfully affect the entire world, including the strongest capitalist countries. Only arms producers are "lining their pockets" and the military-industrial complex is raking in fantastic profits.

/Be that as it may, we cannot and must not passively stand by and watch the war preparations of the United States and NATO. In taking the unavoidable defense measures that have been forced upon us, we will not avoid--as the Ninth CPCZ Central Committee Plenum noted--corresponding financial and material sacrifices./ However, a substantial difference lies in the fact that our defense costs are growing at an incomparably slower rate than the military budgets of the NATO member-states. The blood-sucking military-industrial complex, especially in the United States, has scented its opportunity and we are thus witnesses to the fact that the prices of comparable weapons systems are 5-10 times higher in the capitalist world than in the countries of the socialist community. /A more intensive mobilization of untapped resources in our national economy is a way toward solving the problems that have emerged./ The main thing is, basically, to consistently implement the program of economic and social development approved by the 16th CPCZ Congress. What matters is a maximal intensification of production, top quality in all work, a bolder utilization of the results of scientific and technical development in practice, a much more energetic application of the socialist principles of wage policy, improved management and planning at all levels, and strengthening of civil, work, planning and financial discipline. /The more successful we are in fulfilling and overfulfilling in the desired directions the set production tasks in industry, agriculture, the building industry and transport, the easier it will be for us to come to terms with the defense obligations and the less we shall feel the repercussions of the aggressive policy of imperialism./ The mutual interdependence of economic development and the possibilities of defense is obvious. To defend socialism and peace and to thwart the aggressive imperialist designs means to continue in an undisturbed fashion to build an advanced socialist society and to strengthen its material and technical base. That is why seeing to the development of the economy remains our foremost task, from which we must not let ourselves be discouraged by any-

thing. /As Comrade Husak said in his New Year's address, creative work is our most effective contribution to preserving and strengthening peace./

/Attention paid to the building tasks must be integrally linked with utmost vigilance and with the reinforcement of all defense factors, especially with raising the political and combat preparedness of the Czechoslovak People's Army./ Concern for the army and comprehensively ensuring its needs has nothing in common with militarism. That is a typical feature of the reactionary policy of capitalist states, which is manifested in an incessant reinforcement of military might, in subordinating the economy and the whole social life to the aims of the war of conquest, and in inhuman drill degrading human dignity. /The mission of our army is part of the state's peace policy and its task is preparation for rebuffing an enemy's attack, for defending state independence and the revolutionary gains of socialism, and for fulfilling obligations arising from our ties of alliance./ Honestly performed military service is among the most honorable obligations of a citizen; our army is a people's army in the true sense of the word, it serves the people and their fundamental interests, its members are citizens in uniforms having full rights, and its commanders are sons of their people. /The building up of the army for defense against imperialist aggression is the inalienable right and duty of our entire society./ It is evidence of our loyalty to the progressive bequest of past generations and a manifestation of our responsibility to our own people, our allies, and to all movements striving for social progress and the preservation of peace. Let us in this connection recall Comrade Husak's words at the 16th CPCZ Congress: "To strengthen and raise the defense capability of our country is among our most important tasks. We will continue to build the Czechoslovak People's Army as an integral part of the Warsaw Pact Joint Armed Forces. We will spare no effort and no means to ensure that our army is a highly modern army, totally committed to the party and the people, and capable--along with the Soviet Army and the armies of the other Warsaw Pact member-states--of protecting peace and the gains of socialism."

/The Leninist idea of the unity of building and defending socialism is not only reflected in the people's nature of our army, but finds its expression also in the all-people's nature of defense./ This involves, among other things, a widely ramified defense education of the population, particularly the youth, which is organized in a highly qualified manner. For example, the building of the civil defense system and the tasks to be taken in the event of an attack are entrusted to individual institutions, social organizations, and economic branches. The aim of defense education is that the youth, in particular, should master technical defense skills. However, political-educational influence, too, is extraordinarily important. /The combat capability of broad people's masses, including the youth, is contingent on conscious socialist patriotism./ Let us overcome the barrage of hostile cosmopolitan, antisocialist, and anti-Soviet propaganda by rearing people who love their homeland, the country in which they were born and grew up, the country in which live their parents, brothers and sisters and friends. Patriotism is pride in all the bright chapters in the history of our country, but it is also pride in what our socialist society has accomplished in developing industry and agriculture, in the upsurge of education and culture, and in ensuring the social certitudes of our working people. A conscious patriot is imbued with the spirit of socialist internationalism. In the interest of his country, he guards and deepens the alliance and friendship with the Soviet Union and other states of the socialist community. Let us instill in young people's minds--including in connection with the 40th anniversary of the culmination of

the national liberation struggle and the liberation of Czechoslovakia--that a dear price had to be paid for the restoration of our national freedom and state independence, that we owe this to the heroes of our domestic and foreign resistance and, above all, to the immeasurable victims of the Soviet people and their glorious army. Let us make a much more consistent use of the innumerable examples of heroism of Czechoslovak fighters in World War II to cultivate in the young generation pride in the glorious combat traditions of today's Czechoslovak People's Army.

/The more tense the international relations are and the sharper the rhetoric of the apologists of imperialism becomes, the more exacting also become the tasks of all forms of our political-educational work. Not defensive, but purposeful offensive and initiative must be the program of socialist propaganda and agitation./ We have in our hands all the trumpcards for exposing the cynicism, amorality and antihumanism of imperialist policy and its advocates. What can they pit against the consistent peace efforts of the USSR and the countries of the socialist community, against our policy, which is in harmony with the aspirations of all mankind? Only brute force that has accompanied the entire history of capitalism, criminal plans for the destruction of our planet, and the vision of the horrors of nuclear war--no matter how much they try to wrap this in the luster of phrases about peace, no matter how hard they try to attribute their own designs to the Soviet Union and its allies, no matter how much the thief shouts "Catch the thief!" This has been very tellingly pointed out by the American sociologist Donovan: "The Soviet menace is the most convenient and most permanent enemy. If this 'menace' did not exist, soldiers would simply have to invent it." Facts (mostly even those coming from bourgeois sources) are on our side; it is possible to prove with them whom mankind should brand as enemies of peace, who is the cause of the black clouds on the sky of international relations. If the facts provided are correctly used, the citizens of socialist countries, but also people from the rest of the world as well, will grasp that our cause is a just one and this understanding is a basic condition for and, subsequently, also the driving force of active resistance to imperialist plans.

Fear of the Example of Socialism

One of the refrains of bourgeois propaganda that is being repeated ad infinitum is the eulogizing of its own social system, the extolling of its "democratic nature" and the scope of "human rights," and claims about the capitalist economy being "perfect." It goes without saying that, in the same breath, it does not find anything good in socialism, describes life in it as the "grayness of barracks," and snatches at our own criticism of partial shortcomings of the socialist economy, which is, according to them, "lagging hopelessly behind." With these traps they would like to confuse their own public and the public of the socialist countries, especially the youth, banking on its lack of experience. This betrays, among other things, a fear of the example of socialist countries. What are they, in fact, offering us? After all, their world also has its seamy side. Aside from automobiles of various makes and sparkling shop windows and shops overflowing with goods, there is also declining purchasing power of the broad masses, hard-fought social battles against the growing exploitation of working people, tens of millions of unemployed, and a large segment of the young generation that has lost all prospects in life. In short, it is a social system, the basic law of which is exploitation of man by man, a system in which for the

majority of people the proclaimed human rights are nothing but empty words. We must truthfully and much more boldly show the shadows of the capitalist society and emphasize the merits of socialism as a world of rule by the people, a world of liberated labor, of the systematic plan-based growth of the economy, of true democracy, social certitudes of working people, and actual equality of citizens based on the joint ownership of production assets.

A weapon that is frequently used by our enemies is pacificism, which is being propagated in a very peculiar way. They would like to overcome the troubles caused them by the constantly growing peace movement by disintegrating it and blunting the edge of its actions: People, do by all means demonstrate for peace but do not prevent us from deploying new missiles, do not forget that the Soviet Union is at least equally responsible, and do continue to deny nations their right to defense measures and national liberation wars. And in the socialist countries these forces are trying, by means of pacifist arguments, to incite some sort of an "anti-government peace movement," pointing out that in the West all such movements have an anti-government orientation, that they are so-called nonconformist movements. Precisely therein is the rub: Over there, people are expressing their disagreement with governments that have embarked upon the path of escalating the danger of nuclear war; the policy of the governments of the countries of the socialist community, on the other hand, is demonstrably peaceful and in harmony with the interests and aspirations of the people, whose full support it enjoys. Let the spoil-peaces not rely on the fact that our determination to defend peace will turn into a resistance directed against our defense measures, which have been forced upon us by NATO policy. /Our experiences warn us, in accordance with the historical lessons of all nations, against retreating before the aggressor--we do not have the least desire for a second Munich, regardless of its form./

Imperialist propaganda is trying to make capital of the fact that the American missiles in Europe have been deployed despite clearly manifested public resistance. And thus we are able to hear that "the street does not decide," that the fate of the world is in the hands of governments. In other words, there is no point in committing oneself, in holding protest rallies and organizing peace camps. From this perception of democracy, a perception that is typical of capitalism, emerges an inducement to fatalism--if it is destined by "providence," the nuclear war will break out; we will not alter this, let us therefore sit with our arms folded and wait for what happens. Our propaganda must crack down on such medieval views because they serve the aims of imperialist aggressiveness and are a manifestation of reckless contempt for people's will and of underestimation of their possibilities. /We are, and will remain, advocates of the opposite view: People who fight consistently and in an organized fashion have the right and the possibility to tear destruction-yielding weapons out of the hands of imperialist politicians and generals and to defend peace and their own existence./

/Our profound conviction about the possibility to preserve peace is fully consistent with the preparation of defense against an imperialist attack. Resolutely organized defense constitutes a warning for imperialists and is thus an integral part of our peace policy./ Dedication to the ideas of socialist and proletarian internationalism, which is the most effective weapon against the international

plot of imperialist forces, fills us with certainty for the present and the years to come. Czechoslovakia is not a helpless small ship in the stormy waters of present international relations; it will never again become an insignificant pawn on the imperialist chessboard. The effectiveness of our defense is multiplied by the strength of the allied countries, especially by the moral, political, economic, and military potentials of the first and most powerful socialist state. /The all-round usefulness of the alliance with the Soviet Union is generally known and convincingly provable; its most important outcome have been the 39 years of our life in peace./ Notwithstanding all the snares of imperialism, the borders of our country are inviolable to it. That is why we guard the alliance and friendship with the Soviet Union as the apple of our eye, that is why we will continue to strengthen and deepen them. Our mutual agreement on the deployment of Soviet missile complexes of tactical-operational designation in Czechoslovakia is an adequate response to the implemented "rearmament" of NATO, strengthening our own as well as the joint defense. It is by its nature an act through which we contribute to the defense of peace. We are not threatening anyone. The Soviet Union and its allies will never be aggressors. However, should the need arise, they will be able to defend themselves with all the consequences arising from this for the imperialist aggressors.

We rightly regard as our /allies in the present historic struggle for the preservation of peace/ all progressive forces of the world, including developing countries with an anti-imperialist orientation. It is in the interest of world peace, and thus also in our innermost interest, to cooperate with them, to support them morally and, in keeping with our possibilities, also materially, and to proceed with them side by side at international forums. /In defiance of the efforts of imperialists to divide the peace movement in the West from the socialist world, and to isolate and disorient it, this movement, too, is on our side./ Not because, as is claimed by its enemies, it is "Moscow's extended arm," but because the most noble goals of mankind and its most sacred interests are concentrated in it. And if these interests are in all substantial aspects concurrent with the policy of the USSR and its allies, it is our advantage. This is in response to the peace efforts of the Warsaw Pact and to its innumerable initiatives for the solution of existing problems and confirms the correctness of our concrete course of action. /The unprecedented upsurge of the peace movement in the world is a reinforcement for us. We cannot, and must not, behave "neutrally" toward it; it deserves our sympathy and support./ The benefits of a joint course of action with all forces of peace also clearly transpired from the course and from the conclusions of the World Assembly for Peace and Life, Against Nuclear War, which was hosted 1 year ago by the capital of our republic or, to be more precise, by all people of our country.

/In defiance of the complex nature of the present situation, we will not stop taking part in the efforts of the USSR and all progressive forces to lead the world out of the seemingly blind alley, to divert it from the abyss of its own destruction, to establish normal relations among states with different social systems, and to achieve that all disputed issues are dealt with by way of political talks in an atmosphere of mutual understanding and respect for equal security. To sum up, we regard it as our duty to take an active part in the defense and in the strengthening of just peace./ For us it is no chimera, but a conviction stemming from the foundations of our philosophy and, hence, also our policy that there exist all prerequisites for peace to be preserved, that this is a realistic task. One of our ways of contributing to this is by regarding the building and the defense of socialism forever as two tasks in one.

RUDE PRAVO REVIEWS JOZEF LENART'S LITERARY WORK

AU171220 [Editorial Report] Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech on 15 May 1984 on page 3 carries a 800-word article by Vladimir Gerloch, headlined "Life Must Be Changed," reviewing a 2-volume anthology of Slovak party leader Jozef Lenart's selected articles and speeches, published by the Svoboda publishing house recently.

Gerloch describes the anthology as a "work borne by life and written for life," which reflects the "wealth of experience of a political worker, who has significantly participated in the all-round development of Slovakia in Socialist Czechoslovakia."

Gerloch notes that most of Lenart's published material is devoted to economic issues, a sphere to which Lenart "devotes himself most systematically." In his articles, he adds, Lenart ponders how communists and party organizations can help to assert the findings of scientific-technical development in production and other spheres. His articles and speeches reveal one of the main characteristics of his political thinking--the feeling for everything new and progressive, Gerloch goes on, adding that he constantly cites the duty of communists, and particularly functionaries, as being to "keep in step with the times," apply new methods of work, and help introduce new findings.

Every speech contained in Lenart's anthology is a testimony to work and to the struggle to change life for the better, the article notes. "The author is one of the people who have grasped that life must be changed, and whose personal contribution to the development of our society has stood the severe test of the time," Gerloch concludes.

CSO: 2400/321

LENART ADDRESSES SLOVAK UNION OF WOMEN

LD130201 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 1630 GMT 12 May 84

[Excerpts] The Congress of the Slovak Union of Women began in Bratislava today with the slogan: Through creative acts of women for the flourishing of the socialist homeland, for peace in the whole world. Present were the delegations of the CPCZ Central Committee, the CPSL Central Committee, the National Front Central Committee, and the government of the Slovak SR, which is led by Jozef Lenart, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium, first secretary of the CPSL Central Committee.

Comrade Jozef Lenart spoke to the delegates and guests. In connection with the current tasks of the building of a developed socialist society, he said:

[Begin Lenart recording] One important source for producing national income more rapidly involves product quality. We can ask ourselves why an increase in quality appears with such clarity and urgency. It is mainly because, with the maturing of our society, its rights are naturally growing, the people have new material and spiritual needs that must be satisfied. This is very clearly manifested in our shops, where there is demand for products of higher quality, with new and improved features, aesthetically attractive, etc. It is in the fundamental interest of society, of both consumers and producers, that these growing needs should be met more fully. We must all work for this with our hands and our minds.

The need for work of high quality is further called for by the scientific and technical revolution, which totally changes and adds dynamism to our life with new discoveries. To grasp its gains, to make practical use of it requires great knowledge, an innovative approach, precision and responsibility. Without such approaches, we would not have succeeded in the development of nuclear energy, electrical engineering, computer technology, biochemistry, genetics, and so on. The advances in science and technology are decisive in the improvement of quality.

There is also the well known fact that in recent years the cost of mining raw materials and the production of energy has risen sharply, and as a result of this, so have their prices. For our country, with limited sources of raw materials, the task of making better use of raw materials, energy and production material, to create from them more uses and a greater national income has become supremely important. It is precisely quality that has an irreplaceable role in this.

The quality of products becomes an important factor in the vital need to deepen our share in the international labor market, and in particular in the socialist economic integration, where we must gain the trust of partners through the high level of our work. We must be aware that the quality, the technical level, and the high parameters of our products are the key to successfully withstanding the intense competition and to gaining further foreign markets. There is also, esteemed comrades, the fact that the quality of our products and services advertises Socialist Czechoslovakia to the world and is a matter of national prestige, proof of the capability, and the maturity of the talent of our nations and nationalities.

It is highly desirable and necessary that we should judge the level of our work, the quality of our products, in precisely these dimensions, but most importantly we should make concrete conclusions from this, take practical measures in management, in factories, in research institutes, in services, at every workplace. We in Slovakia must be stirred into action by the fact that the share of first quality products and products of a high technical level has only reached 11.3 percent. That is why a task of true mobilization stands before us, so that in a short time we can achieve a great stride forward, so that we can considerably increase and even multiply today's share.

It is very right that a decisive path in the struggle for higher efficiency and quality can be seen in the effort by women to help to make bolder use of science and technology, to strengthen discipline, organization, and order at every workplace, through their work in factories, research, construction and offices. I want to assure you, esteemed comrades, that you will have the full support of our Communist Party in this deserving effort. [Applause] [End recording]

CSO: 2400/321

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

KEMPNY SPEECH AT PRAGUE FESTIVE RALLY

LD072254 Prague Television Service in Czech and Slovak 1655 GMT 7 May 84

[Speech by Josef Kempny, at the festive rally in Prague's National Theater on 7 May to commemorate the 39th anniversary of the Soviet Army's liberation of Czechoslovakia--recorded; no video available]

[Text] Esteemed comrade general secretary and president of the republic, esteemed comrades and dear friends: 9 May 1945 is and will remain for ever in the memory of mankind as the day of victory over fascism, as the glorious day, long awaited by the peoples, marking the end of World War II on the European continent, the day on which the peoples were relieved of the horrors of the Hitlerite tyranny and stood at the crossroads of newly creating their future. The victory over fascism represented the result of joint effort of the countries of anti-Hitlerite coalition, but the main burden of the war was borne by the USSR. Progressive people throughout the world will never forget that during the Great Patriotic War the Soviet people defended not only their freedom and independence but also saved the world civilization from destruction.

The young and middle generations today did not experience directly the glorious May days of 1945. But the events of that time are and will remain alive because they have principally and lastingly influenced the future fates of mankind. The evidence of these events will continually be passed from generation to generation. If we want to understand the essence of politics, we must profoundly understand the essence of history. True greatness of historical events is learned according to what social transformations they provoked, what development follows them, what wealth of ideological and emotional impact they preserve.

If we assess the USSR's victory over fascism from these viewpoints then it is primarily under its revolutionary influence that the correlation of forces in the world radically changed, many liberated countries of Central and East Europe stood on the path of building a new social order, and socialism began to develop as a world system.

The growth of revolutionary and national liberation movement speeded up the gradual disintegration of the colonial system of imperialism. Millions of the oppressed and exploited in all spheres of the world began to march along the path for a new, free life. This is how we must view the political consequences of the victory over fascism and their lasting validity. They have convincingly proved that progress and regular advance of socialism cannot be hindered.

Comrades, we are entering the period in which we will mark the 40th anniversary of these historical events in the lives of our fraternal peoples. The significance of the national liberation struggle of the Czechs and Slovaks consists not only in its share in the victorious culmination of the antifascist struggle, but also in its firmly determining the position of our country in the revolutionary movement of the world social forces. These historical events, Comrade Gustav Husak has said, opened the way for our people toward the renewal of national freedom and state independence, toward reliable international guarantee of the independence of Czechoslovakia, toward great social, economic and cultural development. It is with deep respect that we remember the heroes who dedicated the most precious value in the struggle for freedom and preservation of humanity: their lives. We pay tribute to the determined struggle and dedicated work of true patriots who in the national struggle and afterward in the days of new peace created the foundations of our socialist present. The Czechoslovak people had never come to terms with the loss of national freedom and state independence. They launched a resolute struggle with fascism both at home and abroad. Their determination was not broken by the hard battles or cruel terror and barbarism which found expression in Lidice for the entire cultural world. The indissoluble faith of our people in final victory stemmed from profound patriotism and from the knowledge of historical invincibility of human progress. A mighty source of strength and courage was the firm conviction of the invincibility of the USSR, the first country of socialism.

In this struggle, side by side with the heroic Soviet Army, the alliance of our country with the USSR was sealed with blood on the fronts of foreign and home resistance. The friendship of the Czechoslovak and the Soviet peoples has become a matter of profound, intrinsic conviction. It is and will remain forever in our minds and hearts, it is continually being renewed in our common work, in the struggle for the implementation of common ideals.

For the CPCZ the May days of 1945 constitute a confirmation of the correctness of Leninist ideals from which it was born and in whose spirit it fought against bourgeoisie and fascism. At the times, most difficult for our peoples, the CPCZ, purposefully defending the interests of the Proletariat, manifested that it is also a profoundly national force, expressing the strivings of broad popular masses. The communist concentrated around them the working class, gradually united all the patriotic and progressive forces, and stood in the vanguard of the national liberation movement. The Communist Party united the active antifascist struggle with the struggle for revolutionary political and social transformations. It succeeded in forming a broad national front for the fulfillment of these aims.

An important landmark in this struggle was the Slovak National Uprising. It was one of the most powerful antifascist actions in Europe and will remain forever a significant event of our modern history. It unequivocally endorsed the co-existence of the Czechs and Slovaks in one state, it opened the process of the national and democratic revolution in Czechoslovakia. The revolutionary transformations, carried out on the insurgent territory, spelled the beginning of people's power.

They significantly influenced the final phase of the national liberation struggle, as well as the political character of the liberated republic whose fundamental features were anchored in the Kosice government program. The culmination of the long years of the antifascist resistance of the Czech people, the expression of their desire for setting up a new, socially just society was the May uprising of the Czech people. The working class, led by the CPCZ, imprinted on it a markedly revolutionary and democratic character by means of mass participation and combat determination.

The legendary Prague operation of the Soviet Army saved from destruction the heart of our country and had a decisive significance for the further fate of our homeland. The Soviet Army brought us not only peace but also the freedom to build the life in the liberated country according to our own ideas. Owing to the thoughtful policy of the Communist Party, the Czech and Slovak peoples could fully utilize this historical opportunity. Within a short period of time they carried out fundamental social transformation in accordance with the aims of the national and democratic revolution, and with the ideals for which they were fighting in the antifascist resistance.

The period following May 1945 was imbued with complicated political struggle. The working people experienced the correctness of socialist ideas and the anti-popular direction of the reactionary forces in our country, as well as abroad. In February 1948 the people, united by the Communist Party, defeated the counter-revolutionary attempt of the bourgeoisie at a reversal of the social development, and the struggle for power was definitively decided in favor of the people.

The CPCZ has again confirmed its adherence to the pursuit of the interests of the broad strata of the people, and at the same time also its ability to manage a state which serves the working people. At its Ninth Congress, which took place 35 years ago, Klement Gottwald in his memorable 10 points expressed the general line of the construction of socialism; the new stage of our history had started; the bright long-term prospects of our country and our people had been opened up.

Comrades, in the period since the memorable days of May 1945 the working people, led by the CPCZ, have done much. Owing to the nationalization [zespolecensteni] of the means of production, industrialization, collectivization and the vast development of production capacities, the position of the working people in society and their whole life has changed. The entire picture of our country has changed: for a long time we have not had here any backward areas. People everywhere live a full and cultured life of the socialist man. In all-round cooperation with the Soviet Union our people have managed in a short time to realize fundamental social changes. Our people used to dream about these changes and were fighting for their realization for dozens of years. The socialist social order in our country has ensured high living standards and created a broad area for the application of democratic rights, social securities and an unprecedented development of education and culture.

It is a great success of the Leninist policy on nationalities that in the course of the lifespan of one single generation it has been possible to overcome historically determined economic, cultural and social differences in the life of Czechs and Slovaks and other nationalities. The federal arrangement of consti-

tutional relations between the two fraternal nations of our country has fully proved itself. This arrangement has created prerequisites for ensuring the rights of the nations and nationalities living in our country and for a harmonious development of a united CSSR.

Everything that has been done fully confirms the historical experience that to win power for the people, defend it and lay the foundations of socialism and develop it, requires consistently and creatively to realize the generally valid laws of Marxism-Leninism in all spheres of social life. The gradual realization of a developed socialist society has demonstrated the huge creative power of the people led by the Marxist-Leninist party and working for the development of its country. It understands their importance and topical connections with our efforts now. We appreciate the fact that the unity of the national liberation struggle and the current policy of the party is clearly expressed in the personality of Comrade Gustav Husak. With his name we connect the events of 40 years ago, the great Slovak National Rising, and the return to the revolutionary Marxist-Leninist line of the party 15 years ago, as we recalled in April 1984.

Comrades, when communists fought for social progress, they always had in mind the interest of their people and the future of their country. But they never forgot the common interests of the working people in other countries and continents, with whom we share the same ideals and longing for social justice and a happy life. In the struggle for national liberation and a better tomorrow they will always have in us a reliable friend.

We ourselves have learned the significance of international ties in tackling decisive problems in economic and cultural construction, in the struggle for peace, and during joint defense of socialist advantages. The building of socialism is taking place in complicated class struggle with imperialism. Socialist Czechoslovakia has always been one of the objects of its subversive activity. We must continually remember this fact; we must be prepared to oppose it.

Owing to international help we overcame the most difficult test of the postwar development 15 years ago, when the counterrevolutionary and rightwing opportunist elements, helped by the foreign reaction, tried to reverse the socialist development of our society. The international cooperation of the socialist countries, headed by the USSR, secured effective defense against the aggressive policy of imperialism. The development of the economic cooperation of the fraternal socialist countries strengthens this community as a whole, creating prerequisites for a successful solution of new and even more demanding tasks. It makes it possible to advance the scientific-technological revolution, intensification of social production, as the main way leading toward increasing the material and spiritual well-being of the people, toward increasing the strength and attractiveness of socialism. Our whole society, comrades, is striving for successful development of the revolutionary process of socialist construction in very difficult external conditions.

In 1983 we succeeded in renewing the dynamism of the development of the national economy, and we may note with full justification that our economy has successfully withstood the difficult trials of the past years. The good results, achieved last year, created prerequisites for faster rates of the development of the

national economy this year and the coming year and thus also for the fulfillment of the tasks of the entire Seventh 5-Year Plan. The progress of the intensification of the national economy is a result of dedicated work of our people, immeasurable effort, great organizational and political educational activities. The good results we achieved in 1983 created prerequisites for a speedier development of the national economy in 1984 and 1985 and thus for fulfilling the tasks of the entire Seventh 5-Year Plan.

The progress achieved in the intensification of the national economy is the result of the selfless work of our people and the vast effort of great organizational and political-educational activity. It is connected with the systematic care that the CPCZ Central Committee devotes to the solution of the fundamental socioeconomic questions of the development of society. The Central Committee believes that, following the stipulation of the correct targets and the means of achieving them it is necessary to win the working people for these targets, to mobilize them and push through all that is new and necessary; to fulfill tasks. We refer to Klement Gottwald's words to the effect that the greatest capital of the party is the trust it enjoys among the masses. The Gottwald-like policy of the party, a policy of a broad National Front, carried out with the people and for the people, is a reliable foundation of the construction of socialism in our country. We realize this policy also now in the construction of advanced socialist society. It is a course that helps us with solving our problems and brings successes, a course from which we will never depart.

Comrades, the realization and further development of the ideals of the antifascist struggle at the moment means primarily to fight against the tricks of imperialism and against the threat of a new war. We must explain, especially to the young generation, the essence of the world struggle between socialism and capitalism, develop the awareness and ability of the young people, create the best prerequisites for the young generation in the interest of peace and the further development of socialism. We must incessantly recall the fundamental lesson from past struggles: it is necessary to eradicate consistently everything that breeds reaction, violence and leads to fascism.

We must explain to young people that fascism is intrinsically connected with imperialism, and that it is always directed against progress and against the revolutionary movement. We live in a time when the most reactionary circles of the United States are stepping up the feverish arms race in an attempt to achieve military superiority, are grossly violating the rights of sovereign nations and are creating dangerous centers of war in various parts of the world.

The deployment of new U.S. missiles in Europe has considerably aggravated the threat of a nuclear war breaking out. Every war starting here would inevitably be a catastrophe for all nations of the world. Throughout the world protests against this dangerous policy of imperialism are growing. This was confirmed again by this year's powerful peace actions and May Day marches of the working people in all countries of the world. To be loyal to the revolutionary heritage of the antifascist struggle means to strengthen the international solidarity of all peaceful, progressive and democratic forces. At the moment there is no more important task for mankind but to fight against the threat of a new war. The strategic balance of military forces, which has come into being, testifies to the political, economic, scientific-technological and moral maturity of the socialist community; it is one of the main prerequisites of ensuring peace.

The Soviet Union and other Warsaw Pact member states make tireless efforts toward reducing the arms buildup, nuclear stockpiling, and toward ensuring military equilibrium at the lowest level possible. However, we will never allow the violation of this equilibrium. We threaten no one, but we will not allow the imperialists to deal with us from a position of power and to carry out their hegemonist plans and to reverse historical progress.

The Czechoslovak people fully support the peace effort of the Soviet Union which is at the head of all socialist and progressive forces. We consistently fulfill the words delivered by Comrade Gustav Husak at the 16th Congress of our Communist Party, that we will pursue the realization of all peace initiatives jointly prepared and pushed through by the socialist countries who demonstrate to the whole world that socialism is the decisive force in the struggle of nations for peace and international security. Our entire domestic and foreign policy aim at making the contribution of our country to world progress and the pushing through of peaceful cooperation of nations as large as possible.

Comrades, we are aware of the indivisible connection between an active struggle for peace and construction effort. The forthcoming period of the 40th anniversary of the culmination of the national-liberation fight of the Czechoslovak people and the liberation of our country by the Soviet Army, in line with the appeal of the CPCZ Central Committee, the National Front and the government of the CSSR, is becoming for the citizens of our country a new stimulus for enhancing work and social activity.

This initiative and responsibility must be focused everywhere on the implementation of the decisive tasks, the tasks leading toward the intensification of our economy, toward faster implementation of the scientific-technology development, toward enhancing the social productivity of labor and its quality. Fulfilling these tasks as well as possible--that is the significance of the revolutionary character of the present time--as has been stressed many times. Thus we shall also do our best to fulfill and to develop further the legacy of the heroes who fought for and won our national freedom and of all those who by their devoted labor created our socialist present. The Czech and Slovak peoples will never forget the fundamental lesson of our modern history. We have learned from our own experiences that the USSR is our most faithful friend, most reliable guarantor of the national and state sovereignty, of the successful building and defense of socialism. [Applause]

This fundamental legacy of the national liberation struggle is deeply and forever anchored in the consciousness of our people. We are justly proud of the successes which we have achieved in the building of our advanced socialist society in our homeland. At the same time we realize that we would never have been able to achieve these results if it were not for the experience of Lenin's party, for the creative implementation of Marxism-Leninism and for the help of the Soviet people. The USSR has been standing and is standing today by our side, being the chief force in the struggle for peace and progress in the world. [Applause] We are justly proud of the fact that ever since its birth socialist is firmly connected with peace and the development of creative labor, freed from exploitation. We do not associate the struggle for the future of the world with the accumulation of profit and destructive weapons, with expansion and war, but only with the effort for the well-being of man. The struggle of the two social

systems of the current epoch must be won in the spheres of scientific, technological and social progress, by means of creating values, by caring for every single human being, his health, education and moral qualities, and effort for his better life, for better and more accomplished relations between human beings.

We are convinced that the growing strength of the socialist community, together with the activity of all peaceful and progressive forces, will defend the peaceful future of nations. The entire development in our country and in the world confirms the strength and invincibility of socialism, its deeply progressive and human character and its great historical long-term prospects. This is the main heritage of the great May days and the victory of the Soviet people over fascism. Therefore: Long live the Soviet Union, our liberator, ally and friend!

[Applause]

Prosperity to our socialist homeland; long live the leading force of our people, the CPCZ! [Applause]

May the unity and activity of all socialist, progressive and antiwar forces grow ever greater; long live peace and the cooperation of nations, a cooperation advantageous to all mankind! [Applause]

CSO: 2400/321

CHNOUPEK SEES MITTERRAND, GIVES LUNCHEON TOAST

LD102232 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1930 GMT 10 May 84

[Text] Today Bohuslav Chnoupek, starting an official working visit in France, was received in the Elysee Palace in Paris by French President Francois Mitterrand. Bohuslav Chnoupek handed to Francois Mitterrand a message from Gustav Husak, president of the republic.

Claude Cheysson, French minister of foreign affairs, gave a festive luncheon in honor of Czechoslovak Minister of Foreign Affairs Bohuslav Chnoupek. The two ministers delivered toasts at the luncheon.

Bohuslav Chnoupek emphasized Czechoslovakia's interest in strengthening mutual relations between the two countries and expressed the conviction that the current open and constructive deliberations would be followed by an objective and regular dialogue at all levels. We would like to think that this dialogue would lead to substantial development of our relations, Bohuslav Chnoupek said and added that the Czechoslovak Government will make every effort to achieve the set target: in 3 to 4 years to double the volume of trade exchange between the two countries.

Bohuslav Chnoupek went on to say that the current dangerous international development is not irreversible. He said: Although our views regarding its causes differ, we believe that it is not only necessary but possible to go back to detente and renew the Helsinki process. As for the question of talks concerning nuclear weapons, we expressed our views at the latest session of the Committee of Warsaw Pact States' Foreign Ministers, the Czechoslovak minister further said. We appealed for halting the deployment of U.S. medium range nuclear missiles in Western Europe because these missiles further aggravate the exacerbated international situation. We stated that if steps leading to removing the missiles already deployed are adopted, our side will simultaneously do away with [zrusi] counterdefense measures. Thus prerequisites for renewing negotiations on removing nuclear missiles from Europe, both medium-range and tactical ones, will be created. We think that all European nations must consistently endeavor to remove the danger of a nuclear war, Minister Bohuslav Chnoupek emphasized in his toast delivered at the luncheon given in his honor in Paris by Claude Cheysson, French minister of foreign affairs.

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ALCOHOL ABUSE SEEN AS PROBLEM IN ARMED FORCES

West Berlin TAGESSPIEGEL in German 8 Apr 84 p 3

[Article by Michael Mara: "In Many GDR Garrisons the Bottle Continues to Make the Rounds; Severe Punishment for Disobeying Orders and Lack of Discipline"]

[Text] The non-commissioned duty officer in a unit of the GDR Army was recently violently assaulted by a PFC. The PFC had celebrated (with drinks) with his room comrades his upcoming transfer to the reserves after "lights out". By doing this, he violated an order. When the duty non-comm tried to step in, he was reviled by the PFC and knocked down with a punch.

This really blatant example of breach of discipline may not be absolutely typical for the GDR Army, which is run with Prussian strictness. The majority of the soldiers, as estimated by the East-Berlin Military Command, executes orders with a sense of responsibility and discipline. Nevertheless, the military tribunals have to deal with cases of violence and other punishable actions, which are mainly committed under the influence of alcohol, more often than they would like to.

The alcohol consumption and abuse and the resulting breaches of discipline as well as punishable offences present a not so recent problem in the socialist military forces. Ten years ago Defense Minister Hoffmann issued Order No 30/74, which forbids drinking while on duty under penalty and this concept is widely recognized in the GDR Army.

Nevertheless, the bottle still makes the rounds in many military barracks. Even the disciplinary regulation which became effective in 1982 with which a one-to-three months' punishment duty was introduced, did not change anything. Since then the soldiers who are detailed to penal units, are especially those soldiers who have repeatedly committed disciplinary offences under the influence of alcohol or who stubbornly resist military discipline.

According to regulations, the use of alcohol in the GDR troops is basically not an extenuating circumstance in cases of disciplinary or criminal responsibility. Quite to the contrary! If a disciplinary offense was committed under the influence of alcohol, a higher penalty must be inflicted. Besides paying compensation to the injured party and reimbursing him for treatment costs, the above mentioned PFC must also serve a prison sentence.

Despite severe penalties, the GDR Army has not been successful in handling the alcohol and discipline problem. The authorities are increasingly faced with loss of discipline. Above all, for example, young leaders complain that soldiers disobey orders or don't follow them properly, that they behave rebelliously, or that they act indifferently. It is not seldom that "provocation questions" are asked during political instruction.

Apparently, these symptoms express a certain aversion and dissatisfaction. There are many indications that a recent times the proportion of soldiers, who serve their active service without inner conviction and who don't stand behind their "class mandate", is increasing. The harsh war-related training, and not infrequent rough manners of leaders, the petty leave regulations, and an excessive supervision of free time get on many soldiers' nerves, which then results in disciplinary offences.

The East Berlin Military Command demands a more energetic fight against all forms of disregard for orders and lack of discipline, because they weaken combat strength and battle readiness. Failings and shortcomings, which promote misdemeanour and punishable acts are to be stopped and increased efforts are to be undertaken to strengthen the sense of rectitude on the part of Army personnel.

A "clear attitude" toward orders is to be especially impressed on the soldiers. In training matters, it is stressed that only the requirements of armed combat can be the criterion, by which discipline in the Army is to be measured. Precisely uncontested subordination and unconditional execution of orders make an army strong and are the prerequisites for victory in battle. This--with the requirements of the new and increasingly more complicated weapons systems--is especially the case today. The smallest breach of discipline can have bad effects.

12521

CSO: 2300/456

PROSPECTS OF GERMAN REUNIFICATION PROTESTED

Warsaw RZECZYWISTOSC in Polish 8 Apr 84 pp 1,12

[Article by Hubert Kozlowski]

[Excerpts] It is both understandable and obvious that the terms "Europe," "the Europeans," and "Europeanness" are deeply ingrained in the conscience and subconscious of the nations of our continent, and they also meet with considerable resonance in the minds and hearts of the Poles. For more than 1000 years our state and nation have constituted a durable and indispensable element of European order, culture, and historical heritage, despite many people's evaluations, indisputable Polish errors, and the sinister activities of enemies, aiming at our downfall, eradication from the map of Europe, or at least reducing us to the role of subjugated vassal--a hinterland.

This has to be remembered particularly today, when the problem of finding the answer to the question of what Europe is has become an important element of ideological confrontation on our continent. The politicians and thinkers in the West attempt to contrast "Europeanness" with existing socialism and to relate it only to the bourgeois system of values, evaluation criteria, and behavior. Also, their intention is to awaken inferiority complexes in the societies of the Warsaw Pact states by trying to convince them that they would have been better off materially and otherwise were it not for the present political system there. This is the means to disarm them internally.

The first plane is seemingly ideological, filled with--I dare to say--hypocritical "compassion" for "the nations tied to the European tradition" which "at present cannot contribute to the further development of these traditions, because in the present political conditions they find themselves subjugated by communist regimes."

The other plane is the conscious effort to play the Polish card, the country believed "not to be entirely lost to the cause of future Europe." Mr Helmut Kohl, West German chancellor, in this context--on behalf of the German imperialism--considers himself the judge who gives the verdict on Poland's Europeanness as well as the cultural and religious values of our nation, which is being flirted with just as in 1977 by Chancellor Schmidt in Warsaw. For Kohl stated the following: "Poland is indeed one of these great nations of Europe. We have seen this in the last few years when the Poles sang their national anthem."

It is necessary to point out the double meaning of the words "noch ich Polen nich verloren" when they are spoken by a representative of imperialist interests. They do not mean that "Poland has not perished"--as a straightforward Pole might think--but that it "has not been lost." When Kohl talks about "Europe" or "future Europe," these terms must be understood in accordance with the iron logic they are subordinated to. He means a Europe united under the leadership of united Germany. Such an aim runs counter to the Polish national interest as well as the objective interest of Europe as a whole and of its individual states as well, regardless of their allegiance to the East or to the West.

The West German views of "Europe" are being presented to us by various persons and officials of that country. They will be joined, no doubt, by authors who write and speak in Polish without thinking in Polish categories, or who have lost their sense of responsibility, national instinct, and common sense. Their written and spoken words sound like programs and concepts coming from Bonn or Washington. Thus, it is necessary to strengthen in Polish conscience our own concept of European developmental processes and of our place in the historical perspective, which is indispensable for Poland's existence now and in the future and which is necessary for Poland to play a proper role in Europe. It is against this background that Polish-German relations develop.

I refer to these matters on purpose. On 11 November 1982 I participated in a conversation with Alois Mertes--better known for his anti-Polish pronouncements than his position as Helmut Kohl's "brain" on foreign policy--at the Bonn Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Mertes tried then with perfidy to entice the Poles with the thesis that "the border of Europe rests on the Bug river; we, the Poles and the Germans, belong to the Roman civilization; beyond is already Byzantium."

This was an attempt--Kohl acted in the same spirit in Washington--to sow discord between Poland and her closest ally, to question the ideological foundations of Polish-Soviet friendship, and to usurp for the German Federal Republic the right to speak for the Roman civilization or for the more universal European civilization, and to decide who has the right to belong to it.

The Third Reich was defeated, and yet in the postwar history of the German problem, which the German Federal Republic desires to make the central problem in Europe, there are very many direct and sophisticated indirect links with past history. When the state was weak and took its first steps on the international arena, it was particularly eager to demonstrate its subordination to the new "Western" tasks. It has never agreed, however, to subordinate the autonomous goals of German imperialism to the logic of the East-West rivalry, even though there have been disguised actions and attempts to influence European and Polish public opinion. On the contrary! With each year it has tried to introduce its goals as unbreakable elements of the "Atlantic" as well as the European program.

Prof Jozef Kokot, an outstanding specialist in history and international law who passed away in 1975, wrote in his book "From Potsdam to Helsinki," published in 1974: "Since World War II the aims of territorial revisionism and political expansion have been served by all kinds of "European" concepts, constructed in such a way as to--by means of the mathematical identity theory

link chain--make 'Europeanness' equal 'Germanness' at least in the sense of the leading force. These European concepts brand any caution in this area as backward nationalism, thus giving the old theories of 'the German mission' the glow of progressiveness."

These words--published 4 years after the death of the great European, Charles de Gaulle, at a time when the "new" star of Willy Brandt had appeared and led states and nations astray--reflect the real state of affairs even better today than 10 years ago. Despite signing in Helsinki the CSCE Final Act which constitutes the realization of the all-European goals, and thus the Polish goals as well, the German Federal Republic has been making even greater efforts to subordinate the term "Europe" to its own aims. The weaker, more cosmopolitan, and less "national" the West European partners are, the easier the job. All kinds of channels are used for this purpose: state-political, economic, and even the "European" structures of various parties, characterized by similar profiles. This has produced benefits for Bonn and disadvantages for Polish foreign policy. Western "socialists" and social democrats--i.e., President Mitterand or Italian Premier Craxi--very eagerly present themselves to the Bonn politicians as obedient pupils.

Equally dangerous is the infiltration of communities that in the past univocally represented their own national interests, but at the same time eagerly listened to the Polish arguments, and which now repeat Bonn's arguments. Mrs Simone Veil is a classic example of such an attitude. She was nominated by the gaullists and giscardists as their candidate to the European Parliament, the elections to which are scheduled for 17 June 1984.

In her interview for Springer's DIE WELT of 28 February 1984 she stated: "I have become a European. To be a European means to represent equally the interests of the German and of the French nations." This is, then, the same line, which by all kinds of channels is being forced upon or suggested to the Poles. Yet pro-Western "Europeanness" means forfeiting one's own national interests in favor of the interests of great German imperialism.

One of the senior deputies to the French Parliament warns: "I fear the unification of Germany. This would be a catastrophe for France as well as Europe. We must do everything to prevent it." This is in agreement with the Polish *raison d'etat*. Regrettably, politicians such as Mrs Veil--acting to the detriment of both France and Poland--who, by the way, was herself a victim of racist persecution by the Nazis, has a totally different view: "I am of a totally different opinion. On the contrary, we ought to render moral support to the German nation in its efforts toward unification."

She continued by repeating almost verbatim the theses of West German imperialism: "The division of Europe is unnatural and it will be possible to overcome this in the not-too-distant future. In thus abrogating the Yalta agreements the German nation will be able to regain its national unity."

On the other hand, German imperialism, while utilizing this kind of support from its allies, or people who describe themselves as the "nutzliche Idioten" [useful idiots], always views "this entire European mess" in a utilitarian fashion. The interests of Germany are above all.

On our continent it is Poland's duty to do anything possible in order to highlight the dangers and consistently mount actions against them. This means uniting the national interest with the responsibility for Europe. None of the "European" fantasies publicized in the West will overshadow this.

Thus, it is in the interest of the Federal Republic of Germany for our voice to be the weakest one and to be heard in Europe only when it has "earned" a "positive rating" from Bonn. Hence, Kohl's flirtations, Mertes' sophistication, and suggestion that only the Federal Republic of Germany--unless we are too determined to defend our interests and systemic achievements--can introduce Poland "to the European salons." It is as if they want to reverse the situation of 1970, when by the treaty of 7 December 1970 Poland emphasized that she considers the Federal Republic of Germany to be a state that deserves to be seated at the same negotiating table with the Poles and other Europeans. Hence, the utilization in an anti-Polish spirit of such "European institutions" --covering structures of Western Europe--as the European Parliament. At the same time, one can rely on the support of others. It is significant that the Federal Republic of Germany was one of the main authors of the draft of the anti-Polish resolution submitted to the United Nations Commission on Human Rights by several NATO countries. Fortunately, it was not adopted. But the fact that Bonn attempts to evaluate Poland on political-moral grounds must be a very alarming signal to all Poles.

I have been emphasizing at every opportunity that our belonging to Europe can be measured not just by wonderful traditions and cultural heritage. To them we have a special obligation to multiply these assets and not to waste them on political and economic grounds. We can be respected Europeans only by being a member of the socialist commonwealth and at the same time maintaining our identity, spiritual continuity, and cultural ties.

Having this allies' support we must painstakingly reestablish ties and contacts, but as a partner and by taking action against the monopolization of European matters by the Federal Republic of Germany as well as by establishing a dialog with partners representing various orientations.

This can be exemplified by the positive event of an invitation by the Italian Democrazia Cristiana to a Polish delegation to the symposium on "The Spiritual and Cultural Unity of Europe Above Political Divisions." The sense of the Polish voice here lies in continuing the work of Pawel Wlodkowic--continued since his times to this day by other Great Poles--which consists in recalling the need for morality in Europe. This value contradicts any misuse of ideas for nationalist and imperialist aims and programs, which--as I have already shown--we have opposed and will oppose.

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DRAFT LAW ON CULTURAL AFFAIRS PROPOSED

Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 27 Apr 84 p 5

[Article by (PAP): "Draft Law on Dissemination of Culture and Rights and Duties of Culture Dissemination Workers. Report by Deputy Krystyna Marszalek-Mlynczyk"; passages enclosed in slantlines printed in bold face]

[Text] /"In a few days," said the deputy, "two years will have passed since the PRL Sejm plenary session which, for the first time in its history, was devoted almost completely to the discussion of the national culture's state and needs. The laws passed then and the Sejm resolution were aimed at the strengthening of the position of culture in the strategy of the development of the socialist state and at the creation of such legal, organizational, and, above all, economic foundations which would shield it from the results of the economic crisis and enable it to function and develop independently of the country's economic possibilities and the wealth of its budget. /

"The Sejm resolution contained the government's commitment to submit a draft law on the dissemination of culture, which signifies a full, legal development of one of the principles of the system guaranteeing citizens a democratic and general access to the values of culture. Thus the draft law presented today is a realization of the Sejm resolution of 4 May 1982 and concerns a constitutional matter, because art 73 paragraph 1 of the Constitution states that 'the citizens of People's Poland have the right to the use of the achievements of culture and to a creative participation in the development of national culture.'

"The experience of the past 40 years proves that the right to access to culture, next to the right to access to education, has become in our country one of the fundamental factors in the advancement of individuals and social groups and in the development of their personal ambitions. The conditions for participation in culture in the 40-year period were not always and not everywhere equal. Neglecting the material base of culture, its uneven development nationwide and insufficient investments in the industries producing cultural goods created a gap between social expectations and the technical possibilities of meeting them. In recent years the breakdown in the patronage of culture by enterprises has made its mark through many disquieting phenomena, such as the widening disproportion of access to culture of regions and social milieus. The inequality of opportunities in access to culture is particularly tangible in worker, peasant and small town milieus.

"The draft law examined in the year of the 40th anniversary of the PRL concerning the spiritual and moral sphere of the nation's life must, therefore, refer to the continuity of experience, to expectations of the community and individuals, to the present and future needs and economic reality, and also must constitute a turning point in the understanding and treatment of the role of culture in the country's socioeconomic development and in the life of its citizens. It is significant that the draft law, which has gained social and political support, and in favor of which the highest bodies and authorities have spoken, namely: the PZPR Ninth Extraordinary Congress, the ZSL and SD congresses, the PRON congress, trade unions and social organizations, took such a long time to be born and met with so much resistance. It was thanks to the personal attention of Premier Wojciech Jaruzelski and the decisive support of deputy clubs that the draft law was submitted to the Sejm and given the form in which it can be presented today. The work of the deputies was accompanied by considerable social interest. /

"As a result of extensive work, a draft law was created, favorably differing from the prototype and from the solutions suggested by the government, which in the version currently presented to the Sejm has gained the approval of government representatives and the support of the milieus participating in the consultations.

"The draft formulates in a comprehensive way the problems of the dissemination of culture, which until now have been regulated fragmentarily by two laws: on libraries and the protection of cultural goods, and on museums. There have also been laws of a lower order. A preamble referring to the Constitution, stating that 'the national culture is the common good of all Poles,' constitutes the ideological commentary to the draft, and the decisions of the draft law are to create for citizens the conditions for a realization of their right to use the values of culture and to participate in its reception and creation."

Presenting further the particular decisions of the draft law, Deputy Krystyna Marszalek-Mlynczyk reported that /"access to the values of culture and their inclusion in social circulation are considered elements of the dissemination of culture; this also represents the open character of our culture and its respect for all the values of national and world culture, as well as for regional and folk cultures. The purpose of the dissemination of culture is to enrich man's personality, shape the citizens' ideological, moral, and patriotic attitudes and the socialist relations and principles of social coexistence, strengthen the ties between people and develop the culture of work, recreation and daily living. The dissemination of culture is to serve the integration of society and the narrowing of disproportions between milieus and regions concerning the access to cultural goods and the participation in the creation of its values. /

The draft anticipates that this process will take place in connection with the socioeconomic policy of the state, with the system of central and regional planning, with the tasks in this sphere of the minister of culture and art, the people's councils, the regional administration, enterprises, the coopera-

tive movement, and social organizations. The legal framework shaped by the draft allows for a creation of conditions for the dissemination of culture and for the realization in a planned way of the tasks defined by the draft, in the whole territory of the country and in all the milieus of human existence and activity. The deputy pointed out that the draft law allows for a multiplicity of organizers of the process of the dissemination of culture.

/"The fundamental role in the creation of the conditions for the dissemination of culture ought to be played by the people's councils. The new law on the system of people's councils and regional self-government will increase the possibilities for their application in practice./ Experience so far has shown varying practices in this regard. There are splendid examples of the richness of artistic initiatives, a concern about culture's material base, and the promotion of regional traditions. Not infrequent, however, are examples of total indifference, apathy, listlessness, and neglect in the organization of cultural life.

"During the course of the preparations for the elections to people's councils," the deputy said, "I very much wanted to vote for the presence of cultural activists in the future councils. I also wanted to remind everyone that town and gmina offices, which according to the draft law currently under discussion are to organize and disseminate culture in their areas, lack the technical and personnel preparation for it.

/"The draft law emphasizes that providing proper material-technical and organizational conditions for the dissemination of culture, and the organization of the dissemination of culture in the scope and forms defined by the law, is the duty of state enterprises and other state organizational units, cooperatives, their unions, union organizations, and other trade and social organizations. It therefore confirms the principle of broad social patronage over the development of culture which 40 years ago lay at the foundations of people's statehood,/ and which in recent years has been distorted as a result of the abandonment by some enterprises of the duty to provide cultural development for employees and their families. The liquidation of enterprise houses of culture, libraries, cinemas, artistic assemblies, and depriving enterprises of the responsibility for monuments, has brought in the last few years irreplaceable losses to general culture. The draft law interrupts this practice, assigning enterprises the duty to carry out cultural activity, and indicating the methods of financing it.

/"It must be noted with great satisfaction that the draft law grants a long awaited status both to culture dissemination institutions and workers. This will certainly have a positive impact on the strengthening and widening of the activity of those cultural centers which are basic and nearest to the consumers, on the consolidating of ties of culture dissemination workers to the centers, and on the raising of their qualifications and prestige in the milieu in which they will work as organizers of cultural life. The draft obliges the Council of Ministers to define the principles of forming the network of institutions and posts for the dissemination of culture, which provides an opportunity for a planned and systematic enrichment of, until now, a modest and incomplete cultural infrastructure.

/"The draft law recognizes the social cultural movement as an important partner of state and cooperative organizational units in the dissemination of culture. This movement is a kind of self-government in culture, and the idea of self-government is one of the important social conditions of culture.

"Man, the creator and the subject of culture, is the main object of the project. Therefore, let this socially important law meet the expectations and serve man well,"/ Deputy Krystyna Marszalek-Mlynczyk said in conclusion.

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