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REPAIR SHIPYARDS FINANCED BY SOVIET CREDITS

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 24 Oct 86 p 2

[Text] Gdansk. The ship repair industry is one of the most profitable maritime businesses; it does not require too many materials, and earnings are mainly from labor and quality of service. At present, shipowners prefer to modernize their ships rather than ordering new ones built. The chances for securing orders thus are enormous, yet it is necessary to offer potential clients a wide gamut of bids and to have the technical capabilities to carry them out.

Due to a deficit in productive capabilities, the repair shipyards are in no state to meet even the national needs, especially in the medium-sized and large categories of ships. And export, in spite of lines willing to take orders, is also not developing at a satisfactory rate for this reason.

It became obvious that a lot of investment is needed in this line of business. A program worked out by the Association of Shipping Repair Enterprises for development of this branch of the industry up to 1995 determined the value of investments needed to be 55-60 billion zloty. This would allow meeting the needs of the national fleet in full for every type of ship it uses, a significant growth in export services, as well as an estimated profit of 150 billion zloty.

Investment of such a huge sum from the shipyards' own funds is impossible; they are in a position to finance about 50 percent of the aims of the program. An allocation from the state budget for development of the line of business is also problematic, because it would then be necessary to take advantage of resources at the cost of other spheres of public life.

The turning point in the resolution of the repair shipyard industry's investment troubles was the Soviet offer of a credit share in the modernization of maritime "ship clinics." About half the shipyards' potential is utilized every year for repair of ships from the Soviet fleet, for Soviet shipbuilders are interested in the efficient work of our "repair shops." The Soviet Union thus decided to give Poland credits of 200 million rubles for shipyard modernization.

"This will finance almost 20 percent of our investment needs," said engineer Stanislaw Cybulski from the Association of Shipping Repair Enterprises. What is important is that supplies of equipment and materials from the USSR and socialist countries will be given on credit. A certain sum in hard currencies will also be handed over for our disposal. Nine shipyards and three cooperating establishments will take advantage of the credit. The agreement anticipates supplies of capital in 20 categories of goods. These, for example, will be docks and their equipment, a train of cargo ships, machine tools, and implements.

This credit, like all credit, incurs interest, and it will have to be paid. In this instance, not with cash, but with work. Utilizing our developed technical potential, we thus will expand repair services for the fleet of the USSR, repair of all ships in our fleet, and will broaden our export bid. This, then, is the credit which will help us raise the quality and efficiency of work during repair of ships and reach a respectable standard.

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SZCZECIN PORT CHIEF QUERIED ON FINANCIAL PERFORMANCE

Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 23 Oct 86 p 3

[Interview with Ryszard Szykowski, manager of Szczecin-Swinoujscie Port Authority, by Pawel Tarnowski]

[Text] [Question] Why is the performance of the Szczecin-Swinoujscie Port getting worse and worse?

[Answer] You are the first to express that kind of opinion. In addition, it is entirely untrue.

[Question] But let us look at the figures. Up to 1984, you slowly incurred losses stemming from the earlier total breakdown of the whole Polish economy. Port turnover, after a regression of nearly 9 million, gradually increased, so that two years ago it rose to a level of 21.4 million tons. But just last year it fell again, to 19 million tons. Of this, if things go well, you will transship 17.5 million tons. This is one million tons less than established by even a modest plan. This decline does not augur well at all.

[Answer] Why yes! I should say so. But it does not indicate at all that the port is performing poorly.

[Question] Then what does it show?

[Answer] It shows changes in the structure of Polish foreign trade, enormous difficulties in changing our economy to be export-oriented, the lack of foreign currency for imports, without which Polish industry will fall way behind, and also that our chances for selling raw materials are dwindling.

Someone rightly said that these ports are a mirror reflecting the state of the Polish economy, especially foreign exchange. Perhaps this is even a crooked mirror, but something can be seen in it, after all.

[Question] I do not see much that is good.

[Answer] The Szczecin and Swinoujscie port turnover definitely has dwindled lately, but from the point of view of the entire economy. this decline does not always have to cause unhappiness. In comparison with the late seventies and early eighties, imports of, for example, grain fell drastically. In 1979, almost 3 million tons of grain passed through the local waterfront. This year, there will be only 600,000-700,000 tons. What is more, three-fourths of these goods are not bound for the interior of the country, but on the contrary, overseas. We are beginning to export some rye, rapeseed, barley, and potato flakes. We have waited for years for an inkling of this type of trend.

Of course, other changes will not make us happy. There are not, and certainly will not be, larger quantities of coal for export. For the second year in a row we are seeing less and less transshipment of this raw material. Imports of iron ore through Szczecin and Swinoujscie declined by 1 million tons only this year. Purchases of phosphates from Florida were curtailed, and imports from North African countries were not sufficient to close the resulting gap. Things are also not the best with small goods. More than before, the port must look for commodities and solicit clients.

[Question] In spite of this decline in turnover, the Szczecin-Swinoujscie Port continues to be profitable and brings in returns. Is this not surprising?

[Answer] The price list of port services has been based for many years on pertinent international tariffs. After all, it cannot be otherwise. No one will pay us more, taking into account the geographic situation and standard of service, than competition demands. Rates are calculated on the lately growing rates of exchange, and thus an item of income is generated. Our costs--although, of course, short--are calculated instead on the basis of national prices, which for many businesses are already very high, but yet are continually far from the level of world prices.

For now, the port is self-supporting. If, on the other hand, national prices approach the level of world prices, which was finally written into the plans for reforming our economic system, then it will cease to bring in profits. It is a question of constructing a system reckoned by national standards, and also of implementing a definite tax system for the port. One should remember, however, that without taking financial consequences into consideration, the port must exist and transship goods. Even if it ceased being profitable, no one would padlock it, of course.

[Question] Are the profits which currently are brought in by transshipment sufficient for reconstruction and development of the port?

[Answer] Unfortunately, no. Our backlog is large, but resources are too modest.

[Question] Since transshipments are declining, then is there perhaps plenty of time for investments?

[Answer] You are joking. The amortization of our property reaches 48.5 percent, and this is the worst index on the entire Coast. It is true it was still worse last year. The aging of our port's fittings was eventually inhibited, but we have no cause for rejoicing. Many cranes strewn around the waterfront should have been taken to foundries long ago for scrap, and our temporary container base defies world engineering. For now, we have survived the worst, critical period, but this most certainly is too little.

[Question] Then what are the prospects?

[Answer] Estimates by the Planning Commission at the Council of Ministers show that in 1987, the Szczecin-Swinoujscie Port will transship 18.5 million tons of goods, and 18 million tons in 1990. I understand that these are the national requirements. We ourselves assume that, in reality, this quantity of goods will be larger. Planners always clearly were mistaken in their calculations to our detriment. The port transshipped more than was foreseen. We have a right to see to it that this time it will turn out similarly.

In order to service such a flood of goods properly, the technical transshipping capability of the port should reach 23-24 million tons, which leaves us indispensable room for maneuvering. Otherwise, long lines for port entry will appear again, ships will sit rather than sail, train cars will be at a stand-still on sidings, and transit will be left for good to the neighbors. In order to avoid this, the port must raise the quality of its services, increase the tempo of some of its work, and introduce modern engineering. This must cost, to the end of 1990, probably 15-17 billion zloty.

[Question] I already know that you do not have the money for this.

[Answer] We have part of it. If the obligatory rules of the game, the system of taxation, pricing, etc., do not change, then the port will set aside 8-9 billion zloty by 1990. The bank may lend us another 3 billion. Greater credits would threaten the businesses with financial destabilization. And that we definitely want to avoid.

[Question] There remains a gap on the order of 5-7 billion zloty.

[Answer] We are trying to fill it by seeking partners in port investments, which certainly are terribly expensive. This, after all, is a method we have tried, and which gives good results for a certain time. Recently, a gantry dedicated to transshipment of ore in Swinoujscie was built with money from the port and the Polish Maritime Fleet. We are financing a great new floating crane jointly with a dozen or so businesses, including the local shipyards and the Crane Equipment Factory in Minsk Mazowiecki.

[Question] What kind of interest do they have, to participate in this kind of investment?

[Answer] The 200-ton crane will serve not only us, but also the entire maritime center. Neither shipyards nor the port could repair any stationary cranes without it, or put main motors into ships, etc. On the other hand, the Crane Equipment Factory would not be able to assemble the fittings they manufacture. Besides, this is only an example. We want to establish more, such partnerships. However, we also have no illusions that we will succeed in obtaining the money we lack by these means exclusively.

[Question] Where are the worst "sore spots" in the port today?

[Answer] Undoubtedly on the small-goods quays, which are outdated and almost totally unsuited for transshipments of containers. Here, we have no choice. We must slowly, in a progressive fashion, build a real container base, and complete earlier the Polish Waterfront, conventional, but sufficiently modern that we do not have to be ashamed of it. If we want to trade with the West and pay our debts, then transshipments of small goods must grow. The epoch of raw materials is slowly coming to an end. The port must adapt itself to these changes.

[Question] Are these all most urgent investments?

[Answer] Ore-based transshipping areas in Swinoujscie should be built quickly. The Swi-II coal base soon will be 20 years old, and requires rejuvenation. Our energy base is in a disastrous state. Cleanup requires a water-sewage system. This list is long.

[Question] I understand that, not having fully utilized transshipping capabilities at present, you service foreign goods with greater willingness?

[Answer] We certainly look for them now more eagerly than before. If all goes well, in 1986 we will transship almost 3.2 million tons of goods in transit. This would be a record in the history of the port, and most important, an essential injection of currency for the nation.

[Question] So you believe that the manager of the Szczecin-Swinoujscie Port Authority now has sufficiently great freedom of action?

[Answer] I think so. In any event, he certainly stopped being just an exploiter, something on the order of a property manager having no practical right to speak up on investment issues. His competence has increased, as well as his responsibility. Of course, there is a definite procedure for making decisions, with acceptance by the Labor Council and civic organizations. This enables us above all to avoid drastic mistakes. The conviction of all concerning the purposefulness of making a concrete decision usually is not easy. It permits one to consider all arguments and allows time for calm reflection.

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ECONOMIC PICTURE, REFORM APPRAISED IN CATHOLIC WEEKLY

Krakow TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY in Polish No 48, 30 Nov 86 pp 1,4

[Article by Jerzy Surdykowski: "The Economy at a Crossroads"]

[Text] This is a time of cautious hope. At the recent June congress of the party he heads, the First Secretary of the PZPR Central Committee has clearly stated the necessity of transition to the "second stage" of the economic reform. Those who, like I, are over 40 and have experienced on their own skin that unfortunate consequence of the "renewal" lasting since the memorable October 1956 [workers' bread riots in Poznan], remember the hysterical reactions elicited by the hopes for the "second stage" of post-October changes voiced not only by "revisionist" bogeymen but also by big wheels of contemporary economy headed by Oskar Lange. Hence, the present-day implications of this official declaration have to be assessed in its historical context. Last September political prisoners were released, and this is supposed to be followed by the revocation of the last American sanctions and an improvement in relations between the PRL [People's Republic of Poland] and the Western world. Perhaps finally, in this new and long-expected atmosphere, it will be possible to discuss publicly and honestly the issues of greatest concern to Poles, dramatically urgent issues; to discuss them more honestly than in the past, by taking into consideration views other than those officially sanctioned. I pray that I am not mistaken....

The most important of these issues, standing in the center of all Polish problems proper, is the economy.

I

The condition of the economy does not inspire optimism. There is no need to cite once more the widely known figures on the unexampled decline in industrial output and national income during the 1979-1982 period, comparable only with the economic chasm of the "Great Depression" of the late 1920s and early 1930s. Incidentally, it is worth bearing in mind that the first year in which economic decline had set in was 1979 and not 1980, and the loss of work time owing to strikes in the years 1980-1981 accounted for only an insignificant percentage of the losses due to such reasons as sickness-caused absenteeism or work stoppages owing to shortages of energy or raw materials; looking up the "Rocznik Statystyczny" [Statistical Yearbook] suffices to

disprove the thesis, still being offered in some places....

[Decree of 31 July 1981 on the Control of Publications and Entertainment, Article 2, Point 6 (DZIENNIK USTAW, Item 99, No 20; revised in DZIENNIK USTAW, Item 204, No 44, 1983)] [i.e., censored passage]] But the worst and most menacing future peril is not the decline itself in national income with the attendant decline in living standards, real wages, etc., which has caused us to regress by at least a decade, but the extremely slow -- slower than it had seemed at the very nadir of the crisis -- recovery of the pre-crisis level of basic economic indicators. The years 1983 and 1984 (1983 was the first year of a rise in national income) brought fairly high, because reaching 6 percent, growth indicators, which at the time some extremely dense and officially optimistic individual had termed "the Polish economic miracle," forgetting that the history of economics shows that periods of economic depression always are followed by a rapid recovery of the previous level (chiefly owing to the easy utilization of unutilized production capacities and other primary potential); it is not as easy to exceed that level and make up for lost time --- this may be exemplified by the period of the Great Depression when the economies it had affected began to boom 2 or 3 years following the onset of their recovery. The example of our country in recent years demonstrates something completely different, because following the relatively favorable results of the 1983-1984 period, in the 1985-1986 period the growth rate of generated national income has been at a level of barely more than 3 percent annually, while both the draft plan for 1987 and the 5-year plan till the year 1990 do not point to more favorable indicators. An economic growth rate on the scale of 3.0-3.5 percent annually would be something quite satisfactory to mature and stabilized economies of the United States, FRG, or British type, but for a country emerging from a crisis unprecedented in postwar economic history such a result is totally inadequate. This means that economy thus organized is, once its most elementary potential is exploited, incapable of even recovering its pre-crisis growth rate, that it is getting mired in stagnation at a level lower than prior to the crisis. The recovery of the pre-crisis level in 1990, which had been realistically expected as late as 2 or 3 years ago, is nowadays extremely doubtful -- all the more so considering that, in view of the fairly rapid rate of population increase, in per capita terms the pre-crisis growth rate would have to be readjusted to barely more than 2 percent and the indicator of growth in distributed national income would be even lower owing to the need to at least pay the interest on foreign indebtedness, let alone the repayment of the higher interest rate which has, following agreements with creditors, been postponed till after the year 1990. The recently published Government report on foreign indebtedness discusses two versions of the future unfolding of economic events and views the persistence of an economic growth rate of 3 percent annually, combined with stagnation of the export capabilities of our economy, as precisely the less favorable variant preventing extrication from foreign indebtedness.

In addition to the trend toward stagnation of growth rate, another alarming economic indicator is precisely the decline in export capabilities on the sector most important to us, namely, in the sales of Polish goods for convertible currencies. The surplus of exports over imports, finally achieved following 10 years of a markedly negative balance of trade that had been carelessly offset with an abundant flood of foreign credit, was to be proof of the recovery of the Polish economy following the crisis. To be sure, that

surplus was achieved by means of a drastic curtailment of imports of producer goods, and hence also underutilization of productive capacity whose activation requires Western subassemblies or raw materials, and by means of a marked expansion of the exports of coal (at the time of the general strike of British miners in 1983!) and other natural commodities, but its very existence has served to assure some credibility as a payer in face of Western creditors as well as to awaken hope of a gradual unblocking of the imports of producer goods in measure with growth in that surplus. Yet, in the last 2 years, instead of growing, that surplus has been diminishing, and while previously it had reached US\$1.4 billion, this year it will probably not reach US\$1 billion. This is happening not in the least owing solely to the decline in fuel (coal!!) prices and the temporary restrictions placed on Polish food exports following the Chernobyl disaster, but chiefly owing to the low competitiveness of Polish industrial goods on the world market. The others have made advances while we still cannot reattain the level of the quality and modernity of our goods in the second half of the 1970s. Unless a real "economic miracle" occurs in the form of an injection of new technologies, components, and machinery and an explosion of initiative and economic resourcefulness of Poles, our exports of industrial products will continue to decline, the more so considering that competition by the rapidly developing countries of the Third World is becoming increasingly tangible. This means not only such countries as South Korea, Taiwan or Hongkong, but also the previously "completely innocuous" countries such as India, Brazil, Malaysia, and even the Philippines or Thailand, which are rapidly invading the world markets for less complicated products. The Chinese colossus, which had in recent years done a bit to rescue our foreign-exchange exports by acquiring obsolete Polish motor vehicles, will now itself, owing to the bold course it is steering toward a free-market economy, become a huge exporter with a tremendous competitive strength precisely on the markets on which we still have something to say. And what will happen once there is an end to the unprecedented sequence of 5 years of abundant harvests in Poland, harvests favored less by the application of artificial fertilizers or the universal availability of machinery than by good weather? What will happen once it will be again necessary to spend hundreds of millions of dollars on imports of grain as in the 1970s? Or what will happen if the prices of crude petroleum plummet even farther, thus causing the world for a time to lose interest in coal? A rational economist relies on something more than good weather or times of economic prosperity.

A consequence of this shrinking export capability of our economy in its present shape, this diminishing surplus of the balance of payments, must be increasingly limited possibilities for meeting its demand for Western imports needed to utilize the production capacities established in the 1970s (the notorious licenses!) and to manufacture increasingly modern products that still can be salable in that same West. The vicious circle is closing: the less we sell, the fewer spare parts and raw materials needed to produce for export we can buy and hence also we will sell still less in the future. Replacing foreign-made components and subassemblies with their domestic counterparts usually either lowers quality or ruins machinery. Even that minuscule growth of our national income, miserable even for our conditions and possibilities, is turning out to be imperiled, and the stagnation may become even further aggravated owing to our export incapability. The dream of having

the faucet of Western credit turned on again -- whether through the mediation of the International Monetary Fund or through the revocation of American sanctions -- is illusory: unless far-reaching changes are made in the machinery of our economy, what we would face at best would be a repetition of the delusion of "prosperity" as in Gierek's times, followed by even harder landing on solid ground. But this is already known to all, beginning with Western bankers who have lost their detente-era naivete and ending with the present-day political leadership in Warsaw which -- let us hope -- is studying the lessons of the disconsolate sequence of Polish sociopolitical crises, for which a good opportunity is afforded by the current 30th anniversary of that October [1956, workers' bread riots in Poznan] with its dispelled hopes and lost illusions.

And lastly, there is the third of the "alarm bells" -- investments. Six years following the last social shock in that cycle of recurring crises, after August 1980 which again, like all the other previous shocks, brought with it the postulate of discontinuing the prioritization of the heavy and least effective industries, our investment structure at present reproduces the memorable 6-Year Plan with its emphasis on huge projects that drag on for years and do not promise to be profitable. These central investments crush with their mammoth weight whatever could eventually be effective, profitable, and export-promoting. At present we observe for the most part a decline of the "great projects" commenced in the 1970's and continued with a blind obduracy. In absolute figures, in comparable prices, the scale of the present-day huge investments is of course smaller than in those years, but since national income also is smaller, the share of investments in distributed national income is approximately again the same as in the periods preceding the onset of social unrest. (Footnote) (the draft 1986-1990 5-Year Plan submitted to the Sejm consolidates even further this primacy of heavy industry.)

[Decree of 31 July 1981 on the Control of Publications and Entertainment, Article 2, Point 6 (DZIENNIK USTAW, Item 99, No 20; revised in DZIENNIK USTAW, Item 204, No 44, 1983)] [i.e., censored passage]

This also is what is happening in the Poland of 1985-1986, and this is in no way a fabrication of oppositionist publicists who publish, owing to lack of other opportunities, in a little Catholic periodical and who will immediately be brought to heel by the priceless Zygmunt Szeliga. The same thing, although without adducing political conclusions, too obvious as they are, can be read in ZYCIE GOSPODARCZE or WEKTORY and in the reports of the Advisory Economic Council and the Social Report on the Economic Reform published by the PRON [Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth].

In such a situation there are two ways out: either we get reconciled to what is happening, i.e., to yet another natural death of reform, with eventual preservation of the facade of pro-reform phraseology, or a great and extremely bold undertaking, that postulated "second stage," is initiated.

II

The conservative solution is as simple and easy as sliding down a slope. We have adopted it already so many times following each of the crisis shocks. The return to safe structures, to yet another modification of the command economy system, a cozy system that abolishes all responsibility and that is about as different from the grandiose ideas of Hilary Minc [Minister of Industry and Trade in 1945-1949] as the present-day "assignats" are from the past "coupons." It is not true that the contemporary anti-reform conservative has the "structural-concrete" mug of the troglodyte, the memorable "Mr. Director" ridiculed by the nightclub comedian Jacek Fedorowicz; usually his face is that of a well-intentioned and wellwishing manager who, however, has been raised in these structures and knows no world outside them, or, worse even, it is the face of the ordinary official, worker, or pensioner who is scared by the depreciation of his wage and the irregularities at his workplace, the worried face of the Polish plebeian.... So let us stop feeling surprised because, after the joyless experiences of recent years, growing numbers of frightened and frustrated people not only are crying "Gimme" but also are opposed to any experiment, because they know that things can be only worse and that in the final analysis it is they who will pay. After all, it is precisely to such people that pseudopopulist appeals for "the same stomachs" are made, and it is they that are being ogled by specious "friends of the people" when these point their finger at the private entrepreneur whose initiative sends a tremor through the thicket of rigid regulations, as the cause of evil and economic oppression.

But the real cause is the same as that owing to which in his time August Bebel called anti-Semitism "the socialism of idiots."

That is why I do not share the opinion of certain enthusiastic friends of mine that the conservative downslide is occurring and will occur in face of social resistance; no, it is occurring in the presence of a passive general acquiescence underlain by a feeling of hopelessness.

And here is where I could end my article were it not for the increasingly louder screech of the reality which, I hope, has not just recently begun to reach the top floors of the political structure [Decree of 31 July 1981 on the Control of Publications and Entertainment, Article 2, Point 6, DZIENNIK POLSKI, Item 99, No 20; revised in DZIENNIK POLSKI, Item 204, No 44, 1983]] [censored] It is the economy that will decide which system of society is superior. Well and precisely... that conservative downslide in the direction of structures long since discredited signifies not only the blissful snooze of the bureaucrat and the indolence of the goldbricker but also falling still farther behind the civilizational advance of the modern world, widening still further the technology gap, voluntarily condemning the country to an eternal lag in every domain with the exception of traditional smokestack industries, to incapability for innovations, and to tenacious suppression of what is most valuable in people -- their initiative, resourcefulness, humanity.

The conservative alternative means the final doom of "World B" and perhaps also "C." What is beginning nowadays to happen in the Soviet Union, and

especially what has been already happening for several years in China, indicates that the leadership strata in these countries understand this challenge and are exploring an alternative other than the conservative one at this crossroads. In Poland, both in view of the experience of the already 30 years long sequence of social shocks and lost opportunities, as well as in view of the aspirations awakened during 1980/1981, we must advance even farther.

The world has entered yet another technological stage linked to electronics and informatics, and in the not distant future to biotechnology as well. And this has happened in the presence of a veritable explosion of private enterprise, small companies at which new innovations are conceived more efficiently than at mammoth concerns. This is a great and beautiful new adventure for mankind following the adventures of the times of steam, electricity, atom, and outer space.

Are we once again to trail in the wake, on offering that unfortunate justification of Poles which has essentially remained the same for 200 years?

III

The "second stage," but what and how? Since that June prediction, subsequently affirmed in a couple of Government declarations, more than 3 months have passed and there has been no radical measure taken as yet in the economy. Instead of the resolute course toward a competitive market economy (though upon maintaining the basic elements of strategic state planning) predicted in the "Directions of the Economic Reform" resolved upon by the Ninth PZPR Congress in 1981 and confirmed by the Sejm, all that has happened was the drive for universal job certification, a measure surely dictated by rational premises and goodwill but being in the nature of yet another of the drives, orchestrated from the top, with which the Polish managerial cadre at all levels is familiar and which it so expertly knows how to defang with consequences favorable to itself. Such a drive may serve to improve the organization of the current centralized model of management, but it in no way brings closer a market economy or provides what is most greatly needed nowadays, namely, new fields for personal initiative, resourcefulness, and desire to "accomplish something" independently and for oneself. This also applies to the recently formed commission for reviewing central structures. The autonomy of exporters has similarly been disrupted by the virtual blocking of the so-called "Retained Hard Currency Earnings Allowances" owing to the shortage of "green banknotes" [U. S. dollars] in banks; in effect, the previously strongest incentive for enterprises to promote exports to the West has ceased to operate. (Footnote) (After this article was submitted for publication, the Sejm began to consider a decree for revising 11 economic decrees which I view as a step in the direction of curtailing the machinery of reform and the powers of self-government.)

All this does not sound optimistic, although it does not annul all opportunities.

I mentioned the market economy and competition, but I also should mention the capital market, currency convertibility, and a couple of attendant matters which in themselves deserve a separate long article.

But this smacks of capitalism! So will cry in unison the rather numerous opponents of changes who visualize the "second stage" safely and in the old manner as "improving" the existing structures.

Right, it does.

But there does not exist a socialist method of production, a socialist profit, socialist cost, or even a socialist enterprise -- and this should finally be said open in a country that has for 40 years been ineffectively contending with dogmas thought up by no one knows who. It is distribution at most that can be socialist; as for production, it is everywhere the same. Eventually, ownership can be socialist, although state ownership also exists in nonsocialist political systems, but there is never an absence of ownership, and ownership is always appraised in terms of money. Unless.... But in this case let us not speak of the "second stage"; let us speak of something completely different. And in this case, socialist that I am, let me continue to be an "antisocialist force."

Above all, politics can be socialist; anyhow, regardless of the direction it represents, politics has to be realistic. That is why a competitive market economy, such as is after all mentioned in the party document, "Directions of Economic Reform," even when it goes much, much farther, will not deprive the PZPR of power and neither will it lead to an oppositionist Sejm, although, of course, the enterprise director, the entrepreneur, or the self-government will then ask the opinion of his accountant rather than that of a committee. Otherwise, the only thing that remains would be an equal distribution of shortages; if that is to be socialism, thank you kindly.

Nowadays everyone in Poland knows that in its current political and organizational form the economy can only stagnate. The central authorities are aware of this, and so are enterprise directors, oppositionists, secretaries, experts, and factory loafers; everyone knows this in his own fashion, on his own turf, and everyone also sticks to his circumstances, fears, and sacrosanct habits, so that as a result so far nothing and no one can be moved, and hence matters will roll down the track of the aforementioned natural incline. The theory of this situation has been described very clearly by the well-known [Janos] Kornai in his well-known "Economy of Shortage," while in practice it is painfully reflected in the aforementioned alarming processes and indicators. Besides this also had happened during the previous cycles of the sequence of Polish crises, although certainly not as dramatically. Besides also, this is not difficult to translate into the reality of nearly every enterprise, in terms of the direct experience of the proverbial Pan Zenek, who knows the same thing as Kornai, except that he describes it much more tersely and pointedly.

Nowadays there are no longer secrets and omissions, although the self-deceiving response of the terrified ostrich still persists. As observed in a letter to POLITYKA (No 39) by the well-known economist of the older generation

Professor Wacław Wilczyński, "Economists have probably said all they should say, but they were not and are not the kind of economists who are listened to willingly. The conceptual and decisionmaking impasse in which the Polish economic policy finds itself is a signal that it is high time to withdraw one's head from the sand, to begin to learn economics, and to cease to pretend that nothing wrong is happening."

As I once had stated in this periodical with the gracious permission of the censor (TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY, No 50, 1985, "On the Life and Death of the Recent Reform"), the problem "socialism or capitalism" is in our conditions a seeming problem, artificially inflated by terrified conservatives, and a healthy market economy need not mean the return of capitalism, although it must mean complete freedom of all economic initiatives, including private ones. Besides where can capitalists be found in a country whose middle class has been destroyed and where the entire "capitalism" consists of a couple of Polonia companies and a few produce hothouses near Grojec; in such a situation even an extreme procapitalist like Kisiel has to accept the function of the state as the owner. But this does not mean that the state should at the same time act as the entrepreneur and the organizer of the production process.

Socialism will not be overthrown by a couple of TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY columnists or even by the informal (and quite likable) association of dogmatic liberals who meet now and then for companionable dinners and which fosters the private enterprise of its members. Just as the economic reform will not be overthrown by Aleksander Bochenski who has recently been offering in the [PRON] weekly ODRÓDZENIE economic views which he of a certainty borrowed from a Prussian infantry officers school. But they all are useful and even indispensable, just like those people who, owing to considerations of, say, censorship still are unable to take part in the -- I am hoping -- commencing discussion among Poles of their problem number one, which the economy indubitably is. Nothing promotes the public weal as much as an impertinent devil's advocate; may we cross successfully at least this threshold to democracy on not only economic issues.

As I wrote in the aforementioned article, the only real political problem facing Poland nowadays is the dilemma of traditional poverty or bold reform.

Whichever way this dilemma is resolved, it will decide the country's fate for decades ahead; it will also decide the issue of public tranquility, stability of the present system of society, etc. That is why I began by saying that we are at a crossroads. A seeming resolution will mean opting in favor of poverty or stagnation.

Of course, it is possible and necessary to dispute about the societal and political assessment of the bold solution. The price of that solution will not not only the loss of positions of influence by an entire army of bureaucrats and of holy peace by loafers. Its price will also be inequality, lightning upscale advancement by capable and nimble individuals, and temporary unemployment for the less fortunate. And here precisely is room for a socialist policy -- in the question of strategic planning, creation of new jobs, social welfare, stimulation of the development of those lagging behind.

Here there is room for a great and highly professional discussion of new problems of an economy that is not at all new.

IV

Every reasonable assumption and plain common sense indicate that it is precisely the present times that are propitious for the reform's push toward a free-market economy within a socialist political system, as postulated here.

At present, six years after the most recent social shock, we are living in a period of calm and ebb of the surge of mutiny, which of a certainty affords to the rulers an opportunity to institute controlled reforms "from the top" without risking the destabilization of the system entailed in the attempt to force reforms through turbulent public pressure during the 1980-1981 period.

That example of Hungarian reforms to which in this country we have been referring so often (although let us not exaggerate their success -- the Hungarians themselves, with Kornai in forefront, view them rather critically), and especially the example of China and the recently initiated "restructuring" in the USSR under Mikhail Gorbachev's leadership are creating a situation that is more than ever favorable to reforms in the socialist bloc. The more so considering that the prospects arising for an American-Soviet detente would make this situation even more favorable.

The only yet unexploited (even coal is becoming depleted) resource at Poland's disposal is its huge and continually growing store of the knowledge, educational level, initiative, and occupational and professional skills of Poles.

[Decree of 31 July 1981 on the Control of Publications and Entertainment, Article 2, Point 6, DZIENNIK POLSKI, Item 99, No 20; revised in DZIENNIK POLSKI, Item 204, No 44, 1983]] [censored] If this country is to grow instead of sinking into stagnation and drifting into successive shocks, these capabilities and aspirations must be continually vented and find room for themselves in a constructive manner that is of benefit to all, chiefly in that unlimited field for expression which should be represented by the economy. This concerns especially the rising generation of Poles which, like every generation newly entering into life, desires to cope with life on its own and in its own fashion; unless new and extremely broad fields for the manifestation of various initiatives by that generation arise, the social situation in Poland will rapidly begin to resemble a pressure cooker in which the pressure of steam lacking an outlet will rise unrestrainedly until it produces an effect that can be readily grasped.

And lastly, a cogent argument for common sense is the historical examples of fossilized systems impervious to reforms and therefore unavoidably pushed aside by life toward the margins of history.

Certainly, a couple of additional equally obvious arguments can be offered....

[Decree of 31 July 1981 on the Control of Publications and Entertainment, Article 2, Point 6, DZIENNIK POLSKI, Item 99, No 20; revised in DZIENNIK POLSKI, Item 204, No 44, 1983)] [censored]

That is why I view the chances for reforms skeptically, although how I would like to be proved wrong!

Common sense is not always exercised by the rulers, and what is worse it is not always listened to even when its voice is heard.

V

While I still used to be a working reporter, it had been hammered into me that constructive proposals should always be presented. Very well, although in principle everything has already been said.

First, a proposal that certain things should not be done. The late interred Agricultural Fund of the Episcopate is an example. It does not matter how many millions it had had -- whether as estimated by Jerzy Urban [Government press spokesman] or as indicated by the churchmen; every million in the hands of resourceful individuals, whether in agriculture or in any other field of the economy, could be a reviving factor. When, however, as turns out from the final communique, the bone of contention is the scope of competences of the minister of agriculture, this means that the Government negotiators are still confusing the economy with central control and are not ready for a dialogue on reform economics. In free-market competition, a government minister cannot issue any command to any economic organization (and not just to a foundation); all that is needed is to obey the laws and pay taxes. If we view the economy otherwise, let us stop talking about any "second stage," and instead let us discuss stagnation and its consequences, not only economic and social ones but also political ones.

What should be done? Not "What is being done?" because we have already before used the imperfect tense -- and failed every time. And hence: what can and should be done now, right away?

1. All economic dogmas should be thrown overboard and economics should be separated from politics on admitting on equal rights every kind of economic initiative -- state, self-government, cooperative, foreign, and private. At present persons wishing to found a cooperative must request approval by appropriate central authorities (what pure nonsense -- central authorities in a cooperative) and prove to officialdom the need for forming the new cooperative. Such a procedure, like the procedure in applying for permits to engage in private enterprise, cannot apply in a reformed economy, in which it would be sufficient to supervise hygiene and safety of labor as well as adherence to law and conscientious payment of taxes.

2. State enterprises organized on commercial principles should be capable of competitiveness, and if they are not, they should go under and into receivership. What counts alone is profits, dividends paid to the State Treasury, and taxes paid. A gradual withdrawal of all subsidies for enterprises concealing mismanagement is [advisable]; only in exceptional cases socially motivated subsidies of retail prices should be permitted.

3. Self-government is not a panacea. But it is indispensable in purely state-owned enterprises because there it represents a materially interested

surrogate for the owner or the joint-stock company board of directors; it should therefore be endowed with the right to appoint the director without any political conditions whatsoever. In addition to state enterprises there should be formed enterprises in which strategic management is exercised by a board of directors which appoints the CEO (e.g., enterprises of the mixed ownership [joint venture] type). It is also expedient to spread ownership among the public through the sale of shares to employees (consider the experience of certain United States and FRG companies).

4. A hard currency and hard financing. An end should be put to covering the budget deficit by printing more money. A central emission bank independent of the government and dependent only on the legislators [should be established]. The capital market should be reestablished by issuing shares and securities (in, and perhaps especially so, state enterprises as well), and it should also be based on a network of commercial banks, including foreign ones. Preparations for a major currency reform resembling Grabski's prewar reform with the object of making the zloty a convertible currency should be made; without that convertibility and opening to the world the stimulating effect of competition would be limited and cost effectiveness incomplete.

5. Free wage bargaining conducted between trade unions and employers following an interim suspension of wage demands, strikes, etc., concluded in the form of a social contract should be established.

6. The central agencies should be revamped. There should be a single Ministry of Industry. The competences of the Planning Commission should be exclusively strategic and it should not intervene in current economic life. Laws should be simplified and stable.

7. Foreign policy should explore an understanding with the West and avoid irritations harmful to economic matters (especially in view of Poland's extremely difficult situation as a debtor on the verge of bankruptcy). It should avoid -- as was justly observed recently by Andrzej Micewski -- "the language of satire." In addition, a new policy toward the Polonia should be adopted, such as had been proposed by Deputy Edmund Osmanczyk in the previous convocation of the Sejm.

Seen from precisely this perspective, the Act of 11 September 1986, formally internal as it is, should be viewed as a wise and foresighted step in the direction of exactly such a foreign policy -- a Polish policy serving Polish interests.

Of a certainty, a couple of other important points could be added to the above list of postulates, but let the experts attend to that. For the time being only the first step has been taken in the right direction. The economy is still at a crossroads.

After all, we are aware that it is not only the economy but also Poland that is at a crossroads.

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JANUARY-SEPTEMBER 1986 FINANCIAL REPORT DETAILED

Belgrade EKONOMSKA POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 8 Dec 86 pp 18-20

[Article by Tomislav Dumezic: "Balance Sheets and Illusions"]

[Text] Is a drastic drop in consumption and the standard of living possible without making essential changes in the system? The portion of income being left to the economy is shrinking steadily. Total inventories amount to the same as the social product for the first 9 months. The rise of real personal incomes has slowed down.

How realistic are the measures which are expected in the coming year to prevent the siphoning off of the property of the economy into income and consumption, to increase the ability of the economy to generate capital and to reinvest, to begin the application of harsh economic penalties against organizations operating at a loss, is shown by the figures of the Social Accounting Service of Yugoslavia on financial results of the economy's business operation over the period January-September of this year. However unrealistic the accounting system may be, however immense the losses to "own" working capital which are not indicated, and however much depreciation may be underestimated, accumulation has shrunk in real terms, and losses have grown. The gross profitability rate (the relationship between appropriations to expand plant and equipment plus reserves, on the one hand, and average business assets used on the other) has dropped from 4.3 to 3.8, and the net profitability rate has dropped from 3.2 to 2.6. The share of losses in gross accumulation rose from 25.1 percent to 29.9 percent.

It is not possible to estimate precisely the value that in the 'present accounting system is being siphoned off into income and consumption every year. The approximate estimate for this year is between 2,000 and 3,000 billion dinars. If this channel were blocked off in the coming year, then consumption should diminish by precisely that much (personal incomes and social service expenditure in enterprises, social service expenditure in the public services, and budget expenditure). Trends this year have been precisely the opposite--personal incomes have been rising in the economy, in noneconomic activities, and in sociopolitical communities and organizations, and this is also true of pensions and disability payments and other expenditures in the social services and in sociopolitical communities. Is it possible to have a more drastic drop in the standard of living of the employed labor force and a real reduction of

government and social service expenditure when no essential change is being made in the system: we still have a one-sector (government) economy, a closed market, subsidized exports, state money capital, inflation, and all of the entitlements for social service expenditure.

Favorable External Circumstances

Over the period January-September gross income has increased 80.6 percent in nominal terms over the same period of last year, expenditures rose 76.2 percent, and the growth of income has been extremely high, amounting to 100.5 percent. The conclusion can be drawn from this that the level of economic efficiency in the economy's conduct of its business has improved essentially, but also that there has been a differing rise of prices from sector to sector, with the prices of raw materials, supplies, and energy rising considerably slower than the prices of finished products. This latter reason has had a considerably greater impact on this kind of high growth of income. This is demonstrated by the following figures: the costs of raw materials and supplies have risen 68 percent, and energy costs 53.5 percent, which is considerably below the average growth not only of gross income, but also of total costs.

The high nominal growth of gross income is mainly keeping pace with inflation. Producers' prices of industrial products rose 71.6 percent in this period, prices of industrial products rose 84.9 percent in wholesale trade, and the overall retail price index was 86.3. The producer price index of industrial products have the greatest influence on the growth of gross income. Since in this period there was also a 4.6-percent growth of the physical volume of industrial output, it follows that the growth of output and the growth of the real social product did after all have some influence on the indicated growth of the economy's gross income.

The large growth of income is largely the result of favorable external circumstances and Yugoslavia's unfavorable relations in international trade. The drop in the prices of petroleum, the drop of interest rates on foreign credits, and the drop of prices of certain raw materials acted favorably toward reduction of the operating costs of the Yugoslav economy. A large influence was also exerted by foreign trade. Total exports over this period dropped 3.5 percent over the same period of the previous year. Since the gross volume of output increased, along with the growth of real personal incomes and of government and social service expenditure, there was an essential rise in domestic demand, so that retail sales in real terms were up 3.6 percent, and sales in wholesale trade were up all of 6.9 percent. Since considerably higher prices are obtained as a rule on the domestic market than the level of export prices, overall financial results were also more favorable. Of course, this circumstance has considerably more negative consequences, since it makes the payments-balance situation more difficult, contributes to reduced opportunities to import, which in turn reinforces the closed domestic market and results in a drop of quality, economic efficiency, and profitability of business operation.

Ratio of Indicated Current Losses to Earned Income, amounts in millions of dinars

Indicator	Current Loss		Index	Ratio of Indicated Losses to Earned Income	
	Jan-Sep 85	Jan-Sep 86		Jan-Sep 85	Jan-Sep 86
Economy, total	249,563	466,460	186.9	6.0	5.6
Industry and mining	196,072	384,313	196.0	9.2	9.4
Agriculture and fishing	23,595	19,996	84.7	14.0	5.5
Timber, lumber, and forestry	101	548	541.0	0.2	0.5
Water management	257	454	176.2	1.7	1.4
Construction	8,261	17,964	217.4	2.2	2.4
Transportation and communications	8,238	16,069	195.0	2.3	2.1
Trade	3,694	14,094	381.5	0.7	1.2
Hostelry and tourism	1,853	3,454	186.4	1.2	1.1
Crafts and trades	1,172	3,549	302.8	0.9	1.3
Housing and municipal services and utilities	5,539	3,548	64.0	7.4	2.1
Financial and other services	780	2,473	316.8	0.5	0.8

The social product grew considerably over this period. This resulted most of all from the larger industrial output and considerably larger volume of construction work. The increased volume of economic activity was not the consequence of higher profitability, increased competitiveness, or structural changes, but exclusively came about because of increased domestic demand, resulting primarily from the rise of personal incomes and of social service and government expenditure. The rise of depreciation and establishment of revaluation income, which have to make up the loss to the business fund resulting from inflation, could only have been achieved at the expense of domestic consumption. Is it logical to anticipate that every drastic drop in real personal incomes and real earnings from other sources will also bring about a drastic drop in production?

Inflationary Budgets

In spite of the obligation which the government has assumed in enacting the Resolution on Economic Policy for 1986, in which government and social service expenditure are supposed to increase five index points more slowly than the rise of the income of the economy, nothing has been done either with respect to bringing down inflation or with respect to strengthening the ability of the economy to generate capital and to reinvest. The government is working in precisely the opposite direction of what it itself is setting down as its own commitment and its own policy. This is demonstrated by the following figures: the economy's earned income rose 100.5 percent, and total appropriations from income and from net income for social service purposes increased 140.3 percent, while total appropriations from income and from net income for the budgets of sociopolitical communities rose 174.6 percent. Of course, sociopolitical communities realize only the smaller share of their revenues from the

economy directly through the income tax and the tax on personal incomes. However, other budget revenues, above all the turnover tax and customs duties, were also considerably increased, so that the total growth of all budget revenues exceeded the growth set down in the resolution by more than 20 index points. This is indicative of the real significance of resolutions and political commitments, even though they may take the form of a law.

It is a particular problem that the structure of budget revenues does not correspond to the proclaimed policy. The largest increases were in taxes on the income of the economy and on personal incomes of those employed in the socialized sector, all of which is inevitably built into the cost price of the product, contributes to the rise of inflation, and makes work in the socialized sector more expensive. Taxation of individuals, which ought to yield considerably larger quantitative results, has been left to one side. It was considerably simpler for the republics, provinces, and opstinas to meet their larger obligations to the federal budget out of the taxes of business organizations than out of taxes that would be paid by individuals directly, something which has negative consequences, both economic and social.

Average Net Monthly Personal Incomes Per Worker, in dinars

Indicator	Amount		Index	Index Number of Level	
	Jan-Sep 85	Jan-Sep 86		Jan-Sep 85	Jan-Sep 86
SFRY	35,998	72,937	202.6	100.0	100.0
Bosnia-Hercegovina	34,124	66,026	193.4	94.8	90.5
Montenegro	29,288	61,521	210.1	81.4	84.3
Croatia	37,706	77,006	204.2	104.7	105.6
Macedonia	25,994	50,644	194.8	72.2	69.4
Slovenia	46,641	102,090	218.9	129.6	140.0
Serbia proper	34,541	69,975	202.5	96.0	95.9
Kosovo	28,057	54,493	194.2	77.9	74.7
Vojvodina	36,427	69,945	192.0	101.2	95.9

Table 1. Distribution of Income

Indicator	Index	Breakdown, %	
		Jan-Sep 85	Jan-Sep 86
1. Share of income for social services	275.8	7.5	10.3
2. Share of net income for social service purposes	220.7	13.6	15.0
3. Total (1 + 2)	240.3	21.1	25.3
4. Share of income for government expenditures	285.2	1.4	2.0
5. Share of net income for government expenditures	257.7	0.9	1.2
6. Total (4 + 5)	274.6	2.3	3.2
7. Share of income for other specified purposes	180.1	10.7	9.6
8. Portion of income for participants outside OOUR	223.7	34.1	38.1
9. Share of income for OOUR	188.2	65.9	61.9
10. Distributed income	200.3	100.0	100.0

Under the impact of the ever more rapid rise of appropriations for government and social service expenditure, the portion of income remaining to the economy is shrinking steadily. Over the first 9 months of this year that portion dropped to 61.9 percent, that is, four percentage points less than over the same period of last year.

Other appropriations from income (interest on credits for fixed assets, insurance premiums, contributions and membership dues, outlays for nationwide defense and social self-protection) grew 20 index points more slowly than the growth of income. This growth is the consequence of the small rise of interest on credits for fixed assets, whose share in miscellaneous appropriations from income dropped from 44.8 to 41.9 percent. Other appropriations increased considerably more--expenditures for nationwide defense and social self-protection 113 percent and membership dues and contributions to economic chambers and associations 106.5 percent.

Interest on credits for fixed assets is mainly collected at very low rates, and the borrowers (economic organizations) realize considerable inflationary gains on that basis. Inflationary losses are nevertheless considerably larger, and they are mostly contained in the interest on credits for working capital. The interest paid on those credits over the period January-September of this year reached the sum of 2,416 billion dinars, which represents an increase of 110 percent over the same period of last year. If one is to get a realistic picture of the magnitude of that amount, it should be said that the net personal incomes of the entire employed labor force amounted to 3,413 billion dinars during that period. There are two reasons why interest on credits for working capital are so high: first, the economy does not possess even the minimum of its own resources to finance current business operation, and second, inventories of raw materials, supplies, work in process, and finished products are enormously large (total inventories as of 30 September amounted to 9,604 billion dinars, which corresponds approximately to the social product for the first 9 months). Unless these two problems are solved--the transfer of money resources from primary note issue credited to the economy and to stimulate business organizations to tie up their assets as short a time as possible, that is, to maintain the smallest possible inventories, the siphoning off of income and the accumulation of inefficiencies in the business operation of the economy will be all the greater.

Table 2. Interest on Credits for Working Capital, in billions of dinars

<u>Republics</u>	<u>Interest Paid</u>	<u>Income From Interest</u>	<u>Net Outflow</u>	<u>Share of Interest Col- lected in Interest Paid</u>	
				<u>Jan-Sep 85</u>	<u>Jan-Sep 86</u>
Yugoslavia	2,416	1,135	1,281	45.3	47.0
Bosnia-Hercegovina	292	125	167	48.9	42.8
Montenegro	49	20	29	34.8	40.8
Croatia	580	285	295	44.1	49.1
Macedonia	150	43	107	29.7	28.7
Slovenia	442	265	177	57.8	60.0

Table 2 (continued)

<u>Republics</u>	<u>Interest Paid</u>	<u>Income From Interest</u>	<u>Net Outflow</u>	<u>Share of Interest Col- lected in Interest Paid</u>	
				<u>Jan-Sep 85</u>	<u>Jan-Sep 86</u>
Serbia proper	577	272	305	45.2	47.1
Kosovo	44	15	29	31.6	34.1
Vojvodina	283	111	172	39.6	39.2

Revenues based on interest have also been experiencing considerable growth this year. In both absolute and relative terms the most advanced areas have been realizing the largest revenues. Another pattern is that enterprises in service activities, especially commercial organizations, have been realizing the largest earnings from interest, but not because of self-financing of inventories, but because they have been using the resources of production organizations on which they are not paying interest. It follows that there are two sources for the siphoning off of income: between the advanced and the underdeveloped and between the production activities and the service activities.

The Drop in Ability To Generate Capital

Even in this unrealistic accounting system, the economy has been generating a minimum amount of capital. If the actual values were indicated in the books, there would be no generation of capital at all. One would come to the conclusion that the entire economy is operating at a loss. This loss results from the high payments for government and social service expenditure, larger personal incomes than are made possible by the present level of labor productivity, and the markedly high siphoning of income within the economy, between the economy and the government, and to the advantage of exporters, and ultimately this largely comes down to a siphoning off of income out of the country and to other countries.

The average personal income per worker rose 102.6 percent, and the real personal income per worker rose 7.7 percent. Since the rise in the average real personal income was 11.5 percent in the first quarter and 10.7 percent in the first half of the year, it follows that the rise of real personal incomes has slowed down considerably.

The share of net personal incomes in the net income distributed rose 47.3 to 51.2 percent, while the share of gross personal incomes increased still more--from 65.8 to 72.2 percent (this is a consequence of the faster growth of taxes and contributions paid on personal incomes). Total appropriations for social services showed a 1-percent smaller share in the distributed net income, while appropriations for savings and reserves decreased considerably--their share dropped from 29 to 23.4 percent, that is, by 5.6 percentage points.

The tendencies displayed in the first half of the year (redistribution of income in favor of the budget, self-managed communities of interest in the social services, and internal redistribution to the advantage of personal expenditure and to the disadvantage of accumulation) have been continuing. Certainly there will be no essential changes up to the end of the year. Regional

differentiation is also continuing. In the Slovenian economy personal income per worker is more than 100 percent higher than the average personal income paid in the economy of Macedonia. The level of the ability to generate capital and the level of self-financing are also considerably higher in the Slovenian economy, so that there is real room for a further differentiation on that basis, which, along with differentiation of individual enterprises and within enterprises, is an essential precondition for a higher quality of economic activity.

7045

CSO: 2800/88

MINISTRY BOARD SURVEYS HOUSING, BENEFITS SITUATION

Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 18 Dec 86 pp 1,2

[Article by Waldemar Makowiecki: "From the Work of the Defense Ministry Social Welfare Council -- In Search of More Perfect Solutions"]

[Text] (Own information) Military health and social welfare benefits, realization of housing construction to meet military needs in 1986 and 1987, the preparation of troops for the fall-and-winter period, proposals for the creation and accumulation by the Defense Ministry of social and housing funds and the council's plans for 1987 were all topics discussed at the latest meeting of the Defense Ministry's Social Welfare Council which was chaired by the deputy minister for general affairs and vice-minister of national defense, General of Arms Antoni Jasinski.

The plenary meeting received information from the leadership of the Health Service and the Chief Directorate of the Union of Former Professional Soldiers [ZBZZ] on the subject of military health care and social welfare as well as ideas for needed improvements in these areas. Shortcomings were especially apparent in the area of stomatology where the waiting time for prosthetic service has considerably increased. The shortage of employees has led to disproportions in the availability of services and shortages at some larger garrisons.

Much attention was devoted to the care of lonely and handicapped people. At the present time, such care is provided at 9 garrisons that are the headquarters of military hospitals and special clinics. At the Warsaw and Bydgoszcz garrisons, services providing assistance for the severely ill have started operating. Next year, some more of these services will go into operation in urban centers with large populations of retired persons and their families. The ZBZZ proposal to organize in these cities social welfare services with the necessary means of transportation is worth noting.

The next point on the meeting agenda was realization of this year's housing construction tasks for the armed forces and plans for 1987. Despite certain fluctuations, the situation with military housing construction is not that bad. Nevertheless, there will still continue to be a difficult housing

situation in several garrisons.

Thanks to the modernization of quarters with central heating in old buildings, some improvement can be achieved. The standard in several hundred housing units has improved each year but there is still much to be done in this regard. Most of all, central heating systems must be built. Supposedly, the lack of manpower has limited the amount of repair work and maintenance that can be done. The construction of single-family dwellings has encountered considerable problems, especially with the supply of materials.

Winter units are being readied for winter in accordance with a previously-established schedule and many of the specified measures will assure the troops of proper living conditions and regular training. All of the quartermaster services are ready to provide supplies and services aimed at keeping the troops ready for combat during winter.

Information on social welfare and housing funds for civilian employees shows that in accordance with the law of 24 October 1986, these funds have been established by deducting a certain percent of the average monthly wages in state-owned enterprises in the preceding year. The Defense Ministry's method of creating and accumulating social welfare and housing funds and its principles for allotment and management of these funds will be determined in the first half of next year following extensive analysis of the specific conditions of the various military units.

The more important problems to be considered by the council in 1987 include preparations for summer service, the organization of vacations in military recreational centers, youth summer camps and foreign exchanges, the functioning of food collection points (mess rooms, buffets and cafeterias) and the quality of service in these establishments, the living and social conditions of young married couples, widows and orphans of professional soldiers and means of alleviating their difficulties, preschool needs, cultural and educational activities in garrison clubs and the prospects for developing a network of military business and service establishments through the year 1990.

Responding to the problems brought up during the course of this meeting, General of Arms Antoni Jasinski stated that some of them must be considered by the Defense Ministry and this is especially true of housing needs and military health care and social welfare. It will be necessary for all service organizations to take up extensive prophylactic activities to broaden health education and encourage better work, recreation and nutrition. The problems of care for lonely, handicapped and severely ill persons have become increasingly important. Garrison and unit commanders, the party political apparatus, the ZBZZ and the Military Dependents Organization should play a greater role in this than ever before. The possibilities for employing the help of military ZSMP [Union of Polish Socialist Youth] and scouting organizations should also be considered.

In reference to housing construction, the deputy minister for general affairs pointed out the complexity of problems associated with the allocation of the Defense Ministry's housing funds to civilian enterprises. He stressed that the amount of housing made available to personnel can be increased through the repair and modernization of old buildings as well as by increasing the work done by the army's own quartermaster and construction services. The present principles used to assign service quarters and especially those concerning payments for technical appliances should be thoroughly reviewed.

At the conclusion to the meeting, General Jasinski expressed his conviction that birth this year and next, we should be able to count on the active participation of all members of the council and military institutions in the resolution of these continually difficult social and welfare problems.

12261

CSO: 2600/233

MILITARY

POLAND

GENERAL STAFF BRIEFED ON PZPR PLENUM

Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 18 Dec 86 p 2

[Article by [T]: "Meeting at the Polish Army General Staff"]

[Text] (Own information) The problems addressed at the 3rd PZPR Central Committee Plenum were the subject of a meeting between a plenum participant and member of the Central Committee, Chief of the Polish Army General Staff General of Arms Jozef Uzycki and the party aktiv of the General Staff.

Informing the meeting on the course of the plenum, General Uzycki stressed that the plenum's decisions are a further development of the economic strategy outlined by the 10th PZPR Congress and more sharply define tasks for the second stage of economic reform. The Central Committee member described in great detail the considerable economic, social and political achievements of recent years and also pointed out some persistent problems and means of overcoming them. "The plenum," he said, "confirmed the fact that the party and government are consistently striving to accelerate qualitative changes in the realization of reform. The party aktiv has an important role to play in this. Much depends on its attitudes, commitment and activities".

In reference to the plenum's decisions, General Uzycki stressed that they will form a point of reference for many activities within the Polish armed forces. He then defined some of the tasks facing the party aktiv of the Polish Army General Staff.

12261

CSO: 2600/233

PRESS COVERS MAJOR ACADEMY ANNIVERSARIES

General Staff Academy Ceremonies

Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 15 Dec 86 p 5

[Article by J.H.: "39th Anniversary of the Polish Army General Staff Academy"]

[Text] (Own information) At the Polish Army's oldest commander and staff school, the K. Swierczewski General Staff Academy, the culminating moment in its 39th anniversary celebrations was a ceremonial parade of the academy student corps at the 30th Anniversary of the Polish People's Republic Square which was specially decorated for the event. The commandant of the academy, Division General Wladyslaw Mroz, and members of the commandant's staff, the academic council, the teaching and research staff and groups of student officers were present for the ceremony. Following the playing of the national anthem and a review of the troops, a special order of the commandant was read.

There were also meetings between the faculty and departments and reserve officers who once taught at the academy. Members of the commandant's staff met with groups of student officers from fraternal armies. During the meeting, the commandant spoke about the founding of the academy and describing its growth and development, he pointed out the role this institution has taken in the armed forces' training system and its present teaching and research tasks. He also spoke about the decrees of the 10th PZPR Congress and stressed that a special source of ideological, didactic and scientific inspiration has been provided by the congress's program and resolutions. "The congress decrees," said the commandant, "have set the party and service activities to be performed by all academic communities".

On the occasion of the school's anniversary, many cultural and educational events were organized in the officer's club. The commandant, commandant's staff, academic council, teachers, officer students, academy employees and their families attended an anniversary concert dedicated to people of exceptional service and work. One of the performers was the Granica ["Border"] Stage Ensemble of Border Defense Troops.

Political Academy Helps Build Stronger PZPR

Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 15 Dec 86 p 3

[Article by Division General Wladyslaw Polanski, commandant of the F. Dzierzynski Military Political Academy: "To Meet Tomorrow's Demands"]

[Text] Thirty-five years ago, in March 1951, a Sejm resolution called for the establishment of the Military Political Academy [WAP]. Several months after that, a special order by the chairman of the Council of Ministers named the new school after Feliks Dzierzynski, the famous leader of the Polish and international workers movement and a close associate of Vladimir Lenin.

The party military academic institution was founded to meet the needs of the dynamic growth and socialist transformation of Poland and her armed forces. International conditions also made it necessary to improve the military skills and ideological and educational qualifications of political officers. By the end of the 1940's, the members of the anti-Nazi coalition had already ceased cooperating with each other and there was proclaimed a so-called cold war inspired by the American doctrine of containing world communism. On the European continent, there was a gradual remilitarization of West Germany and the aggressive North Atlantic Treaty Organization was founded. In the Far East, American imperialism used the cloak of the UN to launch a war of aggression against the Korean Peoples Democratic Republic. Under this strained international situation, there was a real danger of the "cold" was becoming a "hot" one and a global thermonuclear conflict. External threats to the security of our country also increased.

In response to this situation, the party and government decided to hasten the modernization of the armed forces. The organization of subunits and tactical formations was improved, new weapons were introduced and training programs were instituted that better instructed troops in the use of these new weapons.

The dangerous developments in the international situation required commanders and political officers to acquire new and better military and ideological qualifications and the army gained a stronger role in integrating society and as a school of civil education. These new tasks could not be fulfilled by the WAP's predecessors, the Central School for Political and Educational Officers and the Higher School for Political and Educational Officers. However, these older institutions did give the new school its material and personnel basis and therefore gave it a much easier start.

The activities of WAP over the last 35 years can be seen from different perspectives such as its changes of organization, changes in its teaching programs and the social and pedagogical characteristics of successive generations of its students. All of these aspects are interesting as indicators of the different phases of the school's development. Generally speaking, changes at the academy have mirrored changes produced in the armed forces by scientific and technological progress and the growth of the country

and its increasing economic and cultural potential and changes in the socialist awareness of its citizens.

Without analyzing the matter any further, we can say that all of these processes have had an influence on the formation of a cohesive, harmonious system of education of officers and political officers. Within this system, an important place is taken by WAP and its basis is the higher officer schools and the individual subdivisions that train candidates to become political officers. The Political Officer Training Center is also very important in that it trains reserve officers and cadets for the political officer corps and also conducts prequalifications courses for the graduates of higher command officer schools. This is a permeable system with well-correlated teaching programs. It is open to the changes and innovations of our dynamically-growing armed forces.

In its present stage of growth, WAP consists of three departments and they are Pedagogical Sciences, Political Sciences and Economic Sciences. The academy also includes the Institute for Social Research and the Military Institute of Economics. Academy graduates receive titles corresponding to their chosen course of studies. The Political Sciences Department gives a masters degree in either political or historical sciences and the Economic Sciences Department awards a masters degree in economics for qualification as either a political officer or a military economist. The three-department structure of the academy presently covers 17 different faculties (the tactics faculty comes under general academics). This means that the academy is organized to teach all of the basic social and military sciences required for the training of highly-qualified political officers.

However, the existence of these three departments does not mean that further specialization is also being planned. The experiences of our armed forces and those of the other socialist countries have shown that this would be inappropriate. The leading groups of subjects (with an identical number of hours of instruction for all departments and courses of study) are Marxist-Leninist philosophy, political economics, scientific communism, the methodology of scientific research, foundations of automation and tactical and operational doctrine. A thorough knowledge of all of these basic fields comprises the basic "arsenal" of every political officer, regardless of the post he may hold. Other than these courses, the students take electives or courses related to their major field of study.

As we know, the actions and ideological attitudes of the teaching staff are what determine the results of a school's activities. The training of the teaching staff is a long-term process and for that very reason, in the beginning, other academic and teaching establishments come to the aid of the academy and sent many of their own outstanding specialists. At this point, it is worth mentioning the services of scholars such as Stanislaw Herbst, Janusz Wolinski, Wiktor Szczerba and many others thanks to whom in a relatively short amount of time, the academy was able to form a young, energetic and well-trained staff of academic teachers. Most of these have behind them many years

of work in military units as instructors or as deputy commanders for political affairs. Many of them have been elected as party committee secretaries.

At the present time, scores of military professors, doctors habilitatae and doctors of all necessary specializations work at WAP and this gives a high ideological and theoretical quality to the school's teaching and research work. This staff is also supplemented by graduates that have been included in the accelerated growth fund and who once they have served a term of practice in army units, take positions within the academy as teaching assistants. The school's station doctoral courses for officers interested and predisposed toward academia and teaching are the chief means of supplementing the staff. Some of these young officers have already gained some experience during their studies by teaching as voluntary assistants. Once they begin work at the academy, they must participate in the training organized there. Attendance of lessons presented by experienced educators and methodological work in the various faculties hasten the pedagogical maturation of the young instructors as much as their participation in symposia and academic conferences both at the school and at other academic establishments in Poland. This goal is also served by employment and practice at civilian schools in Poland and abroad and chiefly at the Vladimir Lenin Academy in Moscow. It is our belief that the present system for choosing an academic and teaching cadre, training and bringing it to academic fruition has had good results.

With great satisfaction, we can say that under the difficult conditions of the political struggle against the threat of counter-revolution, the teaching and research staff of the academy has been in the forefront of the fight. Combining their work at WAP with extensive social work and public writing, they have helped the party strengthen its ranks and more quickly bring the country out of its crisis. This activity has been an inspiring chapter in the history of our academy and confirms the ideological and moral strength of WAP's staff, its devotion to Marxism-Leninism and its well-developed ideological awareness. The academic instructors' identification with the functions and calling of political officers is enormously valuable and contributes much to the school's educational goals.

As at the other higher military schools, the methodological basis of the educational process at WAP is unity of its teaching and research work. Within this dialectical unity, the leading element is indoctrination because it gives the education and ideological direction. At the same time, teaching not only serves to instruct the students but also supports and enriches indoctrination. The research carried out by the academic and teaching staff and student participation in these activities encourage the passion to learn.

Education only indoctrinates when the students take an active part in the didactic process. Therefore, we attach much importance to student participation in social and party work and cultural activity at among factory workers, schools, academic institutions and youth organizations. A special role is played by social work among selected units of the Warsaw garrison. The varied social, party and cultural activities are aimed at strengthening

the unity of training, indoctrination and research work, creating an atmosphere of party principles and stubborn resistance against unacceptable attitudes and at cultivating among the teachers and students a feeling of responsibility for the results of education, discipline and the school's position among all other military training establishments.

The basic criteria for efficient training and indoctrination at WAP are the results of work achieved by academy graduates within army units. We judge efficiency not only by the competent and correct performance of service duties but also by the manifestation of a creative attitude in action, stamina and consistency in the realization of the party's policies and active participation in the modernization of the armed forces. Studies conducted by WAP have shown that the academy's graduates are well-prepared for practical activity within military units and institutions.

In our concern for the quality of education and training, we constantly search for modern and effective methods and forms of teaching and especially means of developing our didactic base. At the present time, we have 17 well-functioning laboratories and have also completed the construction of an educational television center which together with the computer center is becoming increasingly used in the didactic process. We have also worked out methods of recording and black and white images saving in the computer memory and reproducing them on television monitors. We also possess an auxiliary computer system that provides information about the school's own didactic materials as well as those of other schools. The introduction of electronic technology has made it possible to considerably broaden access to knowledge and this has made study much more interesting and attractive to individual students. The combination of modern didactic resources with traditional forms and methods has had great benefits.

Research work holds a place of honor in the academy's activities and has always very closely met the educational needs of the armed forces and the didactic process in military education. In the beginning, scientific research dealt mostly with causes and effects and often relied on a rather modest base of resources. When the academy has consolidated its three-department structure and added the Social Research Institute and Military Economics Institute, the scope of research broadened considerably from its four basic fields of pedagogy, history, economics and social sciences. Each of these fields of study have undergone extensive development.

At the present time, the academy is in the process of creating monographic works and undergoing the transition to synthetic works on portions of or sometimes even entire academic disciplines such as military economics. The military social sciences have grown and gained an identity of their own and are presently just as recognized as the other social sciences. WAP's research potential in terms of the number of independent employees, adjuncts and assistants, participants to doctoral seminars as well as its resources and especially its library, computer center and scientific information center promises further growth in the area of scientific research. At the present

time, the results of scientific and research work prove how active our community has become. About 800-900 publications appear each year and half of these are scientific works. Every year, scores of scientific and popular books appear along with textbooks, many of which have received awards from the defense minister. The WAP Academic Notes which appear four times each year have gained recognition.

The F. Dzierzynski Military Political Academy celebrated its 35th anniversary as a mature establishment with much teaching and research experience. Today, it has much ideological, political, scientific and educational potential that allows it to popularize its own achievements and help other such institutions, especially the higher officer schools. The best didactic, teaching and academic experiences have been carefully gathered and developed by the staff and that together with the school's constant concern for putting these experiences to good use has allowed WAP to meet the demands of the Resolution of the 10th PZPR Congress and the party's program for "the education of ideologically-minded citizens, highly-qualified specialists and people with broad horizons, keen-minded, ambitious and creative with a strong passion for innovation".

Political Academy Celebrations

Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 16 Dec 86 pp 1,2

[Article by Lt Col Tadeusz Filipek: "The Military Political Academy -- 35 Years of Service to the Party, National Defense and Strengthening of the Armed Forces"]

[Text] (Own information) The F. Dzierzynski Military Political Academy has undergone 35 years of creative growth. This is a meritorious establishment which is educating and training party-political officers and making a special contribution of its own to the ideological face of the armed forces. On the occasion of the school's 35th anniversary, there was on the 15th of this month a ceremonial meeting of the school's academic council and PZPR committee including Politburo Member and Central Committee Secretary General of Arms Jozef Baryla, Central Committee Member and Director of the Polish Army Political Directorate Division General Tadeusz Szacilo.

Also present for this meeting was the Warsaw Pact United Armed Forces Supreme Command's deputy representative to the Polish Army, Lt Gen Vladimir Sharygin and the commandants of higher military schools and representatives of institutes and research establishments, the directors of the political directorates for the various military districts and armed forces, WAP graduates, representatives of the authorities of the Ochota district, the teaching staff and others.

Division General Wladyslaw Polanski, the commandant of the Feliks Dzierzynski Military Political Academy, presented the history and present life of the academy. He also discussed the considerable achievements regions of an

academy which has trained thousands of political officers, many management and planning officers and commanders and graduates of master's, and doctoral studies.

Next, there spoke a member of WAP's first graduating class of 1956, General of Arms Jozef Baryla, who said: "I feel honored that we can all spend these important moments together.

"This is true for two reasons.

"First, this anniversary is being celebrated by a military political academy that has spent 35 years formulating the model military party activist, has educated and trained a large number of very ideologically-minded and devoted party and political apparatus workers for the armed forces.

"Second, this anniversary is a special one for the many persons assembled here. We have spent many busy days within the walls of this school. Today, we are still grateful for what we learned here and we will always remain the school's loyal students.

"This same calendar date," said General Baryla, "has been marked by many other historical events. It was 38 years ago on 15 December 1948 that the PPR [Polish Workers Party] and PPS [Polish Socialist Party] came together to form the United Polish Workers Party and therefore the leading force for all social changes in Poland. This is the party that has proclaimed the defensive mission of the Polish Peoples Army and whose theoretical ideas and creative experience has inspired the teaching and research of the F. Dzierzynski Military Political Academy.

"The academy has made it possible for officers of the Polish Army to enhance their abilities and talents, has turned them into self-sacrificing and well-trained spokesman for the party's ideas and programs and succeeded in creating a class of ideologically committed activists and officer-instructors of great ideological and political knowledge. This type of officer is marked by a thorough knowledge of Marxism-Leninism, an ability to analyze the class nature of social and political phenomena in Poland, a knowledge of the economic and military conditions of the present day and a profound mastery of the laws of the ideological struggle between socialism and capitalism".

Continuing with his presentation, the Central Committee secretary stated: "Time is moving inevitably forward and giving us new tasks and responsibilities. These tasks are dictated by the specific internal and external situation marked by the peace policy of the Soviet Union and the anachronistic and completely militaristic tendencies of the imperialist world and above all the USA. The tasks are also determined by the scale of changes being brought about in our country by the party. Therefore, this is a time of unsolved problems as well as one of progress, achievement and the normalization of life in Poland. This is a time of reform and increasing socialist democracy. You are part of this front and the last reports and

elections campaign in your school clearly defined all that your academic efforts must accomplish in this regard.

"A struggle is being waged for full and comprehensive realization of the 10th Congress's resolutions and to implement as fully as possible and at all levels of society the tasks set by that congress. This is a long-term task that must be fulfilled with iron discipline and the active participation of every party member. WAP has an important military and social tasks to perform under this program.

"The party's program has inspired the notion of 'acceleration'. This is a term of many different aspects and we all understand its sense as it also applies to the armed forces as well as this academy. Without going into details, I can say that this is a matter of further improvement of the quality of education and scientific research. Academic endeavor must be more effective, encompass more than ever before and better consider the needs of the present times. This term refers to strengthening ties with practice, establishing some sort of dialogue with the military community, finding new solutions in the choice of training material, new didactic methods and creating a proper educational, didactic, moral and social climate.

"The needs of the country have greatly raised our responsibilities and duties and we must not fail to meet them.

In conclusion, General Baryla said: "At the wish of the first secretary of our party's central committee, General of Army Wojciech Jaruzelski, I give you his most sincere congratulations as a party member and soldier on the occasion of this 35th anniversary and his best wishes for greater and more fruitful successes in the education and training of party and political personnel for the Polish People's Army".

The next speaker was a former employee of the academy, Division general Tadeusz Szacilo who said: "The Military Political Academy holds an important place in the history of the party and political apparatus of the armed forces". Speaking of the unforgettable achievements of WAP as an important center of Marxist-Leninist thought, he said that this achievement is the result of the shared efforts of several generations of both its military and civilian staff as well as thousands of its graduates. It is a moral and soldierly duty to piously cultivate, continue and propagate the most important values created by these rich achievements in order to serve the good of the party and the national defense and to strengthen the ideological and moral cohesion and the combat readiness of the armed forces.

The director of the Chief Political Directorate of the Polish Army read a letter of congratulations from the defense minister and in the name of the directorate, presented to the academy a painting by Jozef Mlynarski honoring the 1945 victory in Berlin.

On the occasion of this anniversary, congratulations and best wishes for WAP's scientific and educational activity were also submitted by the commandant of the Polish Army General Staff Academy, Division General Wladyslaw Mroz, the deputy commander for political affairs of the National Air Defense, Brigadier General Mieczyslaw Wlodarski, first secretary of the PZPR committee at the Stalowa Wola Steel Works, Andrzej Zymowski and a member of WAP's first graduating class, Janusz Sroka.

Those present at the meeting saw a documentary film about the history of the Military Political Academy and attended the opening of a new classroom prepared by the Silesian Military District.

On the day before the 35th anniversary of the Military Political Academy, there was a ceremonial parade of the academy's staff and students during which a special order of the chief of the Polish Army Political Directorate was read. The academy commandant presented distinguished members of the teaching staff the gold medal "For Service to the Nation's Defense" and the recipients were Col Romuald Falinski, Col Jan Gozdzik, Col Wlodzimierz Iwaniec, Col Kazimierz Lastawski and Lt Col Lech Wyszczelski. A group of academy scholars received the National Education Commission Medal and the Janek Krasicki Decoration and students were awarded the "For Services to the ZSMP" decoration. Many academy employees were presented the title of "Meritorious Military Party Activist".

Congratulatory Letter From Siwicki

Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 16 Dec 86 pp 1,2

[Letter from Defense Minister Army General Florian Siwicki to the Commandant of the Military Political Academy, Division General Wladyslaw Polanski, on the Occasion of the academy's 35th anniversary]

[Text] On the occasion of the 35th anniversary of the Feliks Dzierzynski Military Political Academy, I would like to send my best wishes and congratulations to the commandant, teaching staff, employees and students.

Over the past 35 years, the academy has become a vital center of Marxist, humanist and military thought. It has educated many devoted political officers of high professional and moral values that have made an important contribution to the ideological and political face of the Polish People's Army.

Fulfilling the role of a scientific-research center with many great achievements, the academy has well served the armed forces, party and nation.

This this unusually successful activity which will become a lasting part of the history of our army and of Polish science, I give warm soldierly thanks to all employees of the academy.

I would like to express my respect for all whose selfless service, scientific work and creative fervor have contributed to the academy's glorious achievements and high authority.

I hope that the commandant, teaching staff, army employees and students of the academy efficiently realize the tasks set for Polish science by the resolutions of the 10th PZPR Congress and many further successes in their work to strengthen the defenses of the socialist Fatherland, the Polish People's Republic.

Technical Academy Celebrations

Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 19 Dec 86 pp 1,7

[Article by Wojciech Chodzinski: "35 Years of the Military Technical Academy -- In Service to the Defense of the Nation"]

[Text] (Own information) This year, the Jaroslaw Dabrowski Military Technical Academy [WAT] in Warsaw will celebrate its 35th anniversary. The academy held a ceremony on 18 December in honor of this event. Present were: Deputy Politburo Member and First Secretary of the Warsaw PZPR Committee Jerzy Kubasiewicz, Chief Technical Inspector of the Polish Army and Vice-Minister of National Defense General of Arms Zbigniew Nowak and Chief Quartermaster of the Polish Army and Vice-Minister of National Defense General of Arms Wlodzimierz Oliwa.

Also present were the director of the PZPR Central Committee Department of Science, Education and Science and Technical Progress, Professor Boguslaw Kedzia, the vice-minister of metallurgy and machine industries, Division General Jerzy Modrzewski, and the vice-minister of materials and fuel management, Professor Michal Hebda. The rectors of the leading Warsaw institutions of higher learning came for the event as well as authorities from the Wola district, diplomatic representatives of allied and friendly countries and directors of economic organizations and research institutions cooperating with WAT.

Representatives of the central institutions of the Defense Ministry, of the army's regional commands and branches of service, service directorates, institutions of higher learning and of political and social organizations took part in the ceremony. Present also were members of WAT's Academic Council, veterans of service and work, academic teachers, the command and administrative staff, academy employees, students and graduates.

The academy's commandant, Brigadier General Edward Wlodarczyk, gave a speech in which he described the tasks that the academy has fulfilled and its achievements since it was founded. He also mentioned the importance of the tasks set for WAT by the resolutions of the 10th PZPR Congress and said that WAT's staff, faculty and students are deeply committed to their fulfillment.

During the ceremony, deserving members of the academic and teaching staff were given medals and received honorary titles. The gold Medal "For Service to the Nation's Defenses" was received by Col Marian Dacko, Col Stanislaw Rutkowski and Staff Ensigns Zygmunt Czajka and Helena Jarzombowska. The title "Meritorious Teacher of the Polish People's Republic" was received by Col Jerzy Frankiewicz, Col Jozef Misztal, Professor Stanislaw Paszkowski, Dr Zdzislaw Rojek and Col Czeslaw Rymarz.

Academic diplomas were also awarded. The degree of doctor habilitatus was awarded to Col Mirosław Glapski, Lt Col Wojciech Przetakiewicz and Maj Jerzy Choma. A degree of doctor of technical sciences was awarded to Lt Col Stanislaw Stanczuk, Cpt Boguslaw Swietlicki, Lt Adam Sowa and Lt Wieslaw Ciurapinski.

To the academy's meritorious teachers, medal-holders and doctors and all employees, congratulations on the occasion of the anniversary were given by General of Arms Zbigniew Nowak. He assessed the role that WAT has played since it was founded and described the factors that led to its creation. He also emphasized the contribution that the academy has made to the growth of Polish technology and science.

The chief technical inspector of the Polish Army also presented the tasks set for the academy by the resolutions of the 10th PZPR Congress as well as those created by the armed forces' organizational and technical growth. These tasks are also the product of trends in the growth of science and the present international situation.

"The anniversary of the Military Technical Academy," said General of Arms Zbigniew Nowak, "is also an important anniversary in the history of the armed forces of the Polish People's Republic. The school has grown with the armed forces and has also stimulated their scientific and technical progress. The academy has also educated a devoted and committed cadre working conscientiously to realize various service tasks". The general also read a letter of congratulations on the occasion of the anniversary to the commandant of WAT from the national defense minister.

General Zbigniew Nowak also stressed the chief directions for the academy's actions in the coming years. These tasks have been determined by the needs of the 21st century and by technical and military technical progress as well as by the necessity to combine teaching activity with scientific research.

On the occasion of the anniversary, many soldiers and academy employees were distinguished by the deputy chief of the Polish Army General Staff, the commander of the National Air Defenses, the chief of Chemical Troops and the Chief Directorate of the Association of Polish Electrical Engineers.

Siwicki Congratulates Wlodarczyk in Letter

Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 19 Dec 86 p 1

[Letter from Defense Minister Florian Siwicki to Commandant of the Military Technical Academy Brigadier General Edward Wlodarczyk on the occasion of that academy's 35th anniversary]

[Text] On the occasion of the 35th anniversary of the Military Technical Academy, I send my warmest greetings and congratulations to the commandant, teaching and academic staff, army employees and students of WAT.

This meritorious academy has become a vital center of scientific and technical thought and of culture and knowledge. It has given the armed forces a great number of engineers of high professional qualifications and moral values and has made an important contribution to technical progress in units of our armed forces and to strengthening the army's combat readiness.

As an important center of military scientific research which is working in many different areas of modern science and technology, the academy is well serving the armed forces and national economy.

I would like to express my respect for all whose selfless service, scientific work and creative fervor have made a lasting contribution to the success of our army, its organizational and technical growth, to Polish science and to the great achievements and scientific authority of this academy.

I wish the commandant, teaching staff, army employees and students of the academy further achievements in science and technology and success in fulfilling the tasks set for them by the resolutions of the 10th PZPR Congress as well as in their efforts to strengthen the defenses of our Fatherland, the Polish People's Republic.

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CSO: 2600/232

DECEMBER ISSUE OF MYSL WOJSKOWA REVIEWED

Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 16 Dec 86 p 3

[Article by [sza]: "MYSL WOJSKOWA -- Technology and the Development of Military Thought"]

[Text] Subjective and cognitive possibilities for determining the pace of changes in military life are an important part of the modern art of scientific and practical forecasting. These changes require some consideration of the theoretical principles behind technical progress because they determine not only the quality and quantity of modern weaponry but also the quality of military training. In turn, there is a very close relationship between weaponry and training because the level of training is what determines how well existing weapons are used. Scientific and technological achievements bring about substantial changes in the functioning of the armed forces. Not only does the armed forces' equipment change but so does the way troops train and function.

The influence of technology on the development of tactical concepts is the subject of an article in the December issue of MYSL WOJSKOWA, "Technology and the Development of Military Thought" by Lt Col J. Kunikowski.

"Changes in the organization, weaponry and equipment of the armed forces," states the author, "has an influence on the development of military thought. Rapid changes in weaponry and equipment make the subsequent growth of the armed forces dependent on modern science and technology, increase the importance of applied research and broaden the scope of basic military theoretical and practical research. For example, the modernization of command and management systems which has now become an important concern of military theory and practice should not only be adapted to the army's organizational structure but scientists should be more involved in this work and the achievements of sciences such as cybernetics, data-processing and ergonomics should also be incorporated into military research.

The military scientific and technical revolution makes it necessary to study trends in the development of combat methods. The same is true of the study of the use of entirely new forms of weapons.

Modern weapons and army equipment also require the introduction of changes to combat regulations, instructions, training textbooks and the teaching programs used at military schools. It places greater demands not only on the students but the teachers as well because it requires both groups to become more actively involved in seeking and introducing novel and efficient ideas for training processes.

In his discussion of new forms of training, the author tries to answer three questions, the first of which is why the modification of arms and equipment and modern requirements on military training make it necessary to study what the enemy is doing. The second question is whether the study of what trends the enemy is taking in the development of his own combat doctrine can have its basis in modern military practice and the third question concerns the role and importance of this type of research in indicating modern dialectic and military technology.

Out of the other articles in the general section of the issue, I would recommend "The Actions of Airborne Assault Units" by Col K. Compa, "The Defense of Water Barriers" by Maj Z. Scibiorek, "The Modern Art of Command" by Col A. Kowalski and "Commander and Staff Work Methods" by Col S. Piotrowski.

In the Organization and Data-Processing section, the reader can become acquainted with computer graphic systems (article by Capt L. Urbaniak) and methods of streamlining the command of air defense troops (Lt Col M. Kopczewski and Maj M. Kowalczewski).

In the Economics section, I would encourage readers to study the article "10 years of a Rational System of Management" by Col S. Haponiuk in which the author presents the achievements of the use of this system within the army. The fact that rational management is neither easy nor simple is demonstrated by the next article, "Difficulties in Efficient Management" by Col Z. Kloczewski which presents a synthesis of the results of a scientific conference at the Military Political Academy on methods of accounting in the army.

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CSO: 2600/233

BRIEFS

MEETING WITH CIVILIAN EMPLOYEE UNIONISTS—There was a meeting in Bydgoszcz between the commander of the Pomeranian Military District, Div Gen Zbigniew Blechman, and the district's union aktiv. The chairman of the district directorate of the Army Employees NSZZ [Independent Self-Governing Trade Union], Jerzy Szymczak, described the present situation in the district's union movement and with satisfaction stressed the growing strength and consolidation of the movement which is gaining ever-greater support and authority among the employees of army units, schools, factories and institutions. During the discussion, many problems important to the unionists of the district were discussed along with the committed attitudes of the aktiv which is everyday involved with important community issues. There were also raised several individual problems requiring intervention by the district commander. General Blechman spoke about several problems of vital interest to army employees and promised his help wherever it might be needed. The district commander outlined the coming tasks for the union organization in accordance with the decrees of the Congress of Restored Trade Unions. The second portion of the meeting was devoted to discussion of some current organizational issues and a working plan was specified for the coming months and all of 1987. [Text] [Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 9 Dec 86 p 5] 12261

TECHNICAL ACADEMY BRIEFING FOR JOURNALISTS—On the occasion of the coming 35th anniversary of Military Technical Academy [WAT], a large group of press, radio and television correspondents journalists the school on 9 December. During their visit, the journalists saw a film on the academy's history and toured its richly-equipped lecture halls and facilities such as the computer systems laboratory and the Cybernetics Department where they saw the newest achievements of the academy's students and staff. The group was led through the exemplary sports and recreational complex with its 25-meter swimming pool, sports rooms and exercise rooms by Brig Gen Henryk Antoszkiewicz, the commandant for line affairs and chairman of the WAT Military Sports Club who also allowed some of the journalists to fire a kbkAK and P-64 at the school's firing range. Following the tour of the school's facilities, the journalists met with the commandant, Brig Gen Edward Woldarczyk, who answered many questions from journalists who were vitally interested in the achievements and problems of the academy. [Text] [Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 10 Dec 86 p 5] 12261

CSO: 2600/233

STEFANI REVIEWS HOXHA BOOK ON 'VIGILANCE'

Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 30 Oct 86 p 2

[Article by Simon Stefani, Politburo member, secretary of the Central Committee of the AWP: "Revolutionary Vigilance--an Imperative and Permanent Requirement for All: Studying Comrade Enver Hoxha's Book, 'Gjithmone Vigjilence' (Vigilance Always).]

[Text] The work of Comrade Enver Hoxha is as great and comprehensive as the struggle, work, and life of the new Albania itself. All the political, ideological, moral, and material developments of our socialist society have their foundation and inspiration in the Marxist-Leninist ideas of Comrade Enver Hoxha, which, as Comrade Ramiz Alia has said, "are ideas which correctly provide orientation to new and higher development, ideas which look to the future, and help to leader directly to it in a sure manner."

The book, "Gjithmone Vigjilence," in two volumes, is another work with great theoretical and practical importance which has been given to the communists, cadres, and masses on the eve of the Ninth Congress of the AWP and the 45th anniversary of its founding. In this thematic summary, there is broad development of the problems of the fierce political and ideological struggle which have been developed for almost half a century by the party and our state of the dictatorship of the proletariat against the manifold hostile, espionage, and subversive activities of the capitalist and revisionist intelligence services and their tools within the country.

This work is penetrated by the fundamental idea that the liberation of the country and the establishment of the people's power, socialist construction and the defense of the fatherland are the product of understanding and development on the correct path of the class struggle, led by the party, while maintaining a constantly keen revolutionary vigilance. He who gave direction to the party and the people, who taught them how to struggle and win in this struggle was precisely our unforgettable leader, Enver Hoxha.

The creation of the Communist Party of Albania, its ideological and organizational strengthening and tempering, as well as its appearance at the head of the masses as the major leading force in the National Liberation Struggle, became possible by means of a decisive and principled struggle developed by

Comrade Enver against Trotskyite and deviationist elements. The revolutionary application of the party's Marxist-Leninist principles and norms, the construction of a correct line and the struggle for its execution and defense, the lack of accommodation to any opportunistic or sectarian manifestations, purging the ranks of vacillating and enemy elements, the steel-like unity and close links with the masses of the people have been and continue to be the law in the development and strengthening of our party.

Another historical victory--political union of the people in the organization of the Front, led by the party--was achieved by means of a resolute and uncompromising struggle against pseudo-democratic nationalists, against internal reaction and against the disruptive attempts of the invaders. Comrade Enver is to be praised primarily for the fact that he conceived and realized this union and also intelligently led the whole process of the class struggle during the National Liberation Struggle, by means of which a political differentiation was made between the people and the exploiting class, the new power was built and the liberation of the country was ensured. On the basis of his teachings, all the attempts of the internal and external reaction to impair and overthrow the people's power were defeated. Objectively, the class struggle operates everywhere continually. No one must think that this struggle has been won forever. Because this Marxist-Leninist thesis has not been understood and applied correctly, because the extinction of the class struggle has been preached and, instead, hymns to peace under any conditions are sung in the midst of socialism and capitalism, in the Soviet Union and in the former people's democracies capitalism has seized power from the hands of the working class. Drawing lessons from this and from the whole history of the development of the class struggle within the country, Comrade Enver emphasized that we must not forget for a moment our vigilant attitude toward the enemy.

As a great Marxist-Leninist, Comrade Enver viewed vigilance as an inseparable part of the class struggle and as an objective necessity, a permanent task. He stressed that the revolution, the building of socialism, and the defense of the fatherland are the work of the masses, led by the party, and therefore they, first and foremost, must be vigilant.

The working class, the cooperativist peasantry, our entire people, by means of their class struggle under the leadership of the party, have achieved great historic victories in all areas--political and ideological, economic and social--but the battle continues. As long as classes and the class struggle exist, as long as the imperialist and revisionist encirclement exists, the dangers of turning back will exist as well. For that reason, Comrade Enver emphasizes that the revolutionizing of life in all its manifestations and the strengthening of revolutionary vigilance must always be the order of the day. This idea has penetrated and continues to penetrate as a guideline the entire activity of the party and our state of the dictatorship of the proletariat, our whole socialist society.

Our party has never been taken by surprise. If the party had lacked vigilance in its attitude toward the Balli Kombetar [the National Front], Legaliteti [Legality], and other anti-popular political currents, and if the party had lack vigilance in its attitude toward the Anglo-Americans, then the struggle,

the sacrifices and the blood of the people would have been in vain. Our party has been controlled by its faithfulness to Marxism-Leninism and by the vigilance it has pursued and continues to pursue in the struggle between Marxism-Leninism and revisionism. Because our party knows well the strategy and tactics of imperialism, social imperialism, and other capitalist and revisionist states, because it follows, with revolutionary vigilance, all situations in international relations, it has been able to construct a correct policy and always maintain a principled attitude, without nourishing any illusions and without being duped by the propaganda of the superpowers and other bourgeois and revisionist states.

Comrade Enver emphasizes that the strategy of the capitalist, imperialist, social imperialist, and revisionist states has always been directed against Albania. Under such circumstances, struggle and vigilance are required on two fronts: against imperialism and revisionism, against internal enemies and external enemies. For that reason, special importance is given to preparedness and the strengthening of the country for defense, knowledge of the enemy, and timely discovery of its plans and aims--both open and concealed. An important section of the book, "Gjithmone Vigjilence," is devoted to this matter.

The bourgeois states, in order to subjugate and dominate other peoples and states, have utilized a hidden struggle alongside the open struggle. Espionage activity is a constituent part of the policy of imperialism and social imperialism. This is proved by the history of the struggle and development of our state of the dictatorship of the proletariat. For this reason, it was necessary to create during the war--along with increased vigilance on the part of the masses and other operations--organs of the secret intelligence service as the eyes and ears of the armed forces, as well as of the people's government. "...Without an organized intelligence service, it is impossible to conquer the enemy;" "the existence of the state depends upon the good functioning of this service," Comrade Enver stressed ever since the National Liberation Struggle.

Beginning with this evaluation, Comrade Enver Hoxha, in a number of documents, worked out in detail the fundamental principles, the structure and the object of this service, as well as the organization of the internal affairs organs. The establishment of a secret intelligence service, as part of our new apparatus, was carried out on an entirely new basis. The leading and controlling role of the party in this service, its support among the broad masses of the people, its party spirit and objectivity in the whole of its activity are the fundamental principles which distinguish our intelligence service from every intelligence service of the bourgeois and revisionist states. "Our intelligence service," writes Comrade Enver, "is not an apparatus to smother the people, but a faithful and silent guardian of the people; it is an observant eye which ensures that the normal and free development of the people is not hindered by dark anti-people forces.

The State Security Organs, the People's Police and the Border Forces are an important part and a weapon of the dictatorship of the proletariat; they are

among the most important sectors of the work of the party. This is the reason that Comrade Enver always had very close relations with them, continually assigned them tasks and gave them political and ideological directives. At the 11th plenum of the Central Committee and then at the 1st congress of the Communist Party of Albania, he drew his conclusions from the hostile activities of Koci Xoxe and Pandi Kristo, who, totally in the service of the Yugoslav Titoites, had introduced anti-Marxist concepts and practices in connection with the place and the role of the organs of the Sigurimi [state security]. Immediately after the discovery of this enemy group, Comrade Enver directed that these organs should be purged of every Titoite influence, while working out and deepening further theoretical thought regarding the organizational structure, the forms, and the methods of their work.

He devotes a special place to the question of ensuring the leadership and control of the party over these organs, as well as a correct understanding of the role and tasks of the Sigurimi. These organs, emphasizes Comrade Enver, like every other state organ, are directed by the party. They are organs charged with great tasks in the defense of the people's government from external and internal enemies. He stresses that the party, first of all, must be vigilant in order to ensure the execution of its line in the activities of all links in the dictatorship of the proletariat, and consequently in the organs of the Sigurimi as well. The leadership and control of the party over the internal affairs organs is vital; therefore, Comrade Enver emphasizes that continually better knowledge--in depth and breadth--of the party line, of its policy and norms, and their execution with high discipline, are imperative conditions for improving the activity of these organs.

Comrade Enver gave a great deal of importance to the understanding and execution of the line of the masses in the activities of the internal affairs organs. The basis for success of these organs, in their struggle against enemy and criminal activities, is their support among the masses of the people. For this reason, he drew attention to the need for close links between the workers of these organs and the people. This idea has its basis in the truth that in our country, it is the people who are in power, that every worker has an interest in defending the socialist state and its economic foundation. Vigilance, therefore, in our country, is not only the task of a few specialized organs, but of everyone.

The enemies of the party and the people, M. Shehu, K. Hazbiu, and F. Shehu, as well as K. Xoxe, in particular, who were connected with foreign intelligence services, attempted to separate the internal affairs organs from the leadership of the party. But they could not achieve their aims and they failed because they encountered the steel-like unity of the party and the people around it, they encountered the keen vigilance of the party and, personally, of Comrade Enver. It is to his credit that the activities of these enemies, as well as of other hostile groups, were uncovered and punished in time.

On the basis of Comrade Enver's teachings, the party takes political and organizational measures to eradicate any influence of enemy activity in the internal affairs organs and to place them in a more revolutionary position of

work and struggle. In executing tasks assigned by the party, they have improved and raised to a higher level the means, forms, and methods of their struggle against enemy and criminal activities. Above all, the party organizations have been strengthened and revitalized, and links with the masses have been made closer. Our condition is healthier now than ever before. The working masses, with the communists at their head, are achieving one victory after another in the political, economic, cultural, and military areas, as well as in all others. But Comrade Enver teaches us that we must never for a moment become elated with success, that we must not rest on our laurels, that we must always be vigilant, because the enemy does not forget--he operates and works in secrecy.

The enemy tries to strike at us and harm us. He tries to stimulate and nourish the liberal spirit, in order to spread chaos and the degeneration of our people. He instigates thefts, misuse, and damage of property, in order to weaken the economic foundation of our socialist order. Under these circumstances, the party and Comrade Ramiz Alia teach us that we must sharpen our revolutionary vigilance and take all practical political and organizational measures to oppose more strongly and in a timely manner these enemy activities.

Among the major measures here, there is a need to raise ideological and political work, as well as cultural work, with the people to a higher level. In addition, organizational measures take on special importance, particularly the establishment everywhere of the strict rule of discipline, the strengthening of control and the accountability. We have a great number of specialized organisms and cadres in the area of control; they must be better placed at the forefront of the task, but aside from them, the organs of the party and the government must further increase their work to execute laws, orders, and directives, and more effectively utilize all the forms of control. These have a direct influence not only on the blocking of paths to damage, misuse, and theft, but also on educating people to have a feeling of responsibility and revolutionary vigilance.

Vigilance has no limit and is not a characteristic that is engendered in people spontaneously. It is a matter of world-view. Whether or not you are vigilant depends, therefore, on political and ideological level, on understanding of the party line, and on the feeling of responsibility for the task assigned to you by the people and the party. Education in vigilance is part of the communist and patriotic education of the new man.

Being vigilant means having political, ideological, and professional maturity, so that you can sense, uncover, and strike in time every enemy and criminal activity; it means being correct and disciplined in the execution of rules for maintaining secrecy, not making concessions to indifferent attitudes and courageously combatting every manifestation that is negative for our order and society. Above all, being vigilant, Comrade Enver teaches us, means defending the party and our state of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The book, "Gjithmone Vigjilence," this new thematic collection of works by Comrade Enver Hoxha, gives communists, cadres, and all the working masses the opportunity to arm themselves with Marxist-Leninist ideas, with its theoretical and scientific thought on vigilance, the class struggle, and other matters that are connected with guaranteeing our continual advance along the path of building and defending our socialist fatherland.

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CSO: 2100/14

TANZANIAN DEFENSE MINISTER SALIM ARRIVES

Met by Mladenov

AU291922 Sofia BTA in English 1821 GMT 29 Dec 86

[Text] Sofia, 29 December (BTA)--Mr Salim Ahmed Salim, member of the Central Committee of the National Executive Committee of the Revolutionary Party of Tanzania, deputy prime minister and Minister of Defence of the United Republic of Tanzania arrived here today. At the Sofia Airport he was welcomed by Mr Petur Mladenov, member of the Politburo of the CC of the BCP and Minister of Foreign Affairs.

Then the Tanzanian guest started talks with Mr Georgi Karamanev, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers.

Mr Salim Ahmed Salim also met Army General Dobri Dzhurov, member of the Politburo of the CC of the BCP and Minister of National Defence, and Mr Khristo Khristov, Minister of Trade.

In a friendly atmosphere the meetings and talks discussed the possibilities for further promoting bilateral relations. They exchanged opinions on issues of mutual interest.

Atanasov Meets Salim

AU301834 Sofia BTA in English 1723 GMT 30 Dec 86

["Bulgaria, Tanzania Upgrade Cooperation"--BTA Headline]

[Text] Sofia, 30 December (BTA)--Today Mr Georgi Atanasov, Politburo member of the CC of the BCP and chairman of the Council of Ministers, received Mr Salim Ahmed Salim, member of the Central Committee of the National Executive of the CCM (Revolutionary Party) of Tanzania, deputy prime minister and Minister of Defence.

In a friendly talk they discussed the prospects of bilateral relations and the opportunities for the promotion of cooperation. Views were fruitfully exchanged on other matters of mutual interest, too.

Mr Salim Ahmed Salim met today with Mr Pencho Kubadinski, Politburo member of the CC of the BCP, chairman of the National Council of the Fatherland Front and co-chairman of the Bulgaro-Tanzanian Committee for Economic and Techno-Scientific Cooperation, with Mr Dimitur Stoyanov, alternate member of the Politburo of the CC of the BCP and Minister of Internal Affairs, and with Mr Dimitur Stanishev, secretary of the CC of the BCP.

In a friendly atmosphere the sides considered the opportunities for a diversification of relations between Bulgaria and Tanzania.

/12913

CSO: 2200/28

ZHIVKOV, ATANASOV GREET CAMBODIAN LEADERS

AU091318 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 7 Jan 86 pp 1, 8

[Text] Todor Zhivkov, general secretary of the BCP Central Committee and chairman of the State Council, and Georgi Atanasov, chairman of the Council of Ministers, sent the following telegram to Heng Samrin, general secretary of the Kampuchean People's Revolutionary Party [KPRP] and chairman of the Council of State of the People's Republic of Kampuchea, and to Hun Sen, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Kampuchea:

Dear Comrades:

On the occasion of the eighth anniversary of the proclamation of the People's Republic of Kampuchea--your country's national day--we convey most sincere congratulations and best wishes to the KPRP Central Committee, to the State Council, and Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Kampuchea, to the fraternal people of Kampuchea, and to you personally, on behalf of the BCP Central Committee, the State Council, and the Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Bulgaria.

Throughout the last eight years that have elapsed the people of Kampuchea, under the leadership of the KPRP, achieved considerable successes in consolidating the revolutionary achievements in the economic, social, and cultural revival of your country.

The selfless struggle for the construction of a new society waged by the people of Kampuchea under the complicated conditions of incessant hostile actions on part of imperialism and reaction, deserved the great respect of the Bulgarian people and of the entire progressive public throughout the world. We highly appreciate and support the constructive foreign policy of the People's Republic of Kampuchea for the normalization of the situation in Southeast Asia and for its transformation into a zone of peace, stability, and cooperation.

We note with satisfaction that the bilateral relations between our two countries are expanding and being intensified on the basis of the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, to the benefit of both the Bulgarian and Kampuchean peoples, in the interest of peace and socialism throughout the world.

On the occasion of your national holiday we wish all Kampuchean people and you, personally, dear comrades, new successes in implementing the plans of the KPRP, in protecting the freedom and independence of your country, as well as in its socialist construction.

ZHIVKOV ANNIVERSARY GREETINGS MESSAGE TO MPLA

AU170858 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 10 Dec 86 p 1, 8

[Text] Todor Zhivkov, general secretary of the BCP Central Committee and chairman of the State Council, sent the following telegram to Jose Eduardo dos Santos, chairman of the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola [MPLA]-Labor Party and president of the People's Republic of Angola:

Esteemed Comrade dos Santos:

It is a pleasure for me, on behalf of the Bulgarian party and state leadership, on behalf of the Bulgarian people, and on my own behalf, to convey to you, the party and state leadership of the People's Republic of Angola, and the Angolan working people our most sincere, comradely congratulations on the occasion of the 30th anniversary of the establishment of the MPLA.

Created by a group of Angolan patriots, under the leadership of Agostina Neto, the great one of Angola and Africa, the MPLA gathered thousands of fighters against the Portuguese colonial oppression in its ranks for independence and equal rights. It organized the national liberation struggle, which ended with the history victory of the people on 11 November 1975.

The MPLA, which in liberated Angola developed into a Labor Party, is worthily playing its role as a leading, political force in your country today and guarantees the reorganization of your society on the basis of Marxism-Leninism.

We highly appreciate the thorough revolutionary changes implemented in Angola in connection with the fulfillment of the program mapped out by the MPLA-Labor Party, which guarantee the expansion of a better life for the working people. We are convinced that neither the military aggressions of the racists from the Republic of South Africa, nor the terrorist and sabotage actions of the counterrevolution, supported by the most reactionary circles of imperialism, will divert Angola from its freely chosen path of progressive and independent development.

Your country is unrelentingly promoting a policy at the service of peace, disarmament, and international understanding. It is making an important contribution to the struggle against imperialism, colonialism, neocolonialism, and apartheid, it contributes to the intensification of the effectiveness of

the OAU and the Nonaligned Countries' Movement in the efforts for a democratic reorganization of contemporary, international relations.

In conforming our full support for the just cause of the Angolan people, we express our confidence that the friendship and cooperation between the BCP and the MPLA-Labor Party, which are based on the traditions of the epoch of your liberation struggle, as well as the friendship and cooperation between our two countries and peoples will continue to develop on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, for our common benefit, as well as in the interests of peace and social progress throughout the world.

Permit me, once more, to convey our cordial greetings and congratulations on the occasion of your glorious anniversary and to wish further successes to the MPLA-Labor Party, as well as prosperity and happiness to the fraternal Angolan people.

/12913

CSO: 2200/28

ZHIVKOV RECEIVES UK CP LEADER MCLENNAN

AU111540 Sofia BTA in English 1449 GMT 11 Dec 86

[Text] Sofia, 11 December (BTA)--Friendly talks were held today between Mr Todor Zhivkov, secretary general of the CC of the BCP, and Mr Gordon McLennan, general secretary of the CC of the Communist Party of Great Britain, who is visiting this country at the invitation of the CC of the BCP. The two leaders briefed each other on the activity of the two parties at present. Special attention was paid to the problems of the current international situation and the international communist and workers' movement.

Mr Todor Zhivkov and Mr Gordon McLennan stressed that the international situation remains tense due to the most reactionary imperialist circles. Concern is caused by the attempts of the United States for achieving military superiority, for forcing the arms race by its proliferation into space. The two sides condemned the violation of SALT-II by Washington and expressed concern over the aggressive actions of the U.S. Government in Central America, the Middle East and in other parts of the world.

The two party leaders stressed that the realities of the nuclear century require new political thinking, which would consider the interests and security of all peoples and states in the world. They voiced their support for the CPSU's programme for establishing a comprehensive system for international security, based on the peace initiatives of the Soviet Union of 15 January this year, directed toward liquidation of nuclear and other weapons for mass destruction by the end of the century. Mr Todor Zhivkov and Mr Gordon McLennan assessed highly the innovator Soviet proposals at the summit in Reykjavik.

The two party leaders emphasized that the realities of the world and the most important task of our times--aversion of nuclear catastrophe, objectively call for strengthening of the interaction of communists from all over the world and for constructive dialogue and cooperation between all progressive forces.

Readiness was also expressed for further development of the relations between the BCP and the Communist Party of Great Britain, of the friendship and cooperation between the peoples of Bulgaria and Great Britain in the name of peace and social progress.

The talks were attended by Mr Milko Balev, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CC of the BCP, Mr Dimitur Stanishev, secretary of the CC of the BCP, and Mr Jerry Pocock, member of the Political Committee of the Executive Committee of the Communist Party of Great Britain.

ZHIVKOV'S SPEECH AT SPORTSMEN'S MEETING 28 DECEMBER

AU032121 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 29 Dec pp 1, 8

[Speech by Comrade Todor Zhivkov, general secretary of the BCP Central Committee and chairman of the State Council, at the meeting of the BCP Central Committee Secretariat with outstanding sportsmen and trainers held at the Boyana Residence in Sofia on 28 December]

[Text] Dear Comrades:

It gives me joy to carry out the instruction of the Politburo and Secretariat of the BCP Central Committee and to most cordially congratulate you, the Bulgarian world and European champions, record holders, and holders of world cups and medals from the greatest sports competitions during the year 1986 which is ending.

In this notable year for all of us--the year of the 13th BCP Congress--you, together with your trainers, leaders, and specialists, achieved outstanding success in winning 39 gold, 39 silver, and 27 bronze medals and in once again placing socialist Bulgaria among the strongest sports nations in the world.

The party and people take pride in you.

Congratulations on the high awards!

Your sports successes are a natural, logical result of the general upsurge of our socialist native land. They are the result of unceasing concern to create conditions for developing man's physical and intellectual capacities.

In this connection, our country devotes particular attention to the following:

- radically improving the organization and content of the training-instruction process;
- studying leader sporting experience;
- utilizing the achievements of science;
- improving the sports base; and, particularly,

--introducing physical education and sport on an ever wider scale into the life of the people, and primarily youth.

It is no accident that our country established its own national schools for artistic gymnastics, weight lifting, and freestyle and classical wrestling. As these schools develop and expand, it is clear and quite natural that other Bulgarian national schools will be set up in our sport.

All this is permitting our sport to set new, higher goals--to raise the level of every type of sport and to strengthen and expand our positions among the strongest in the world. We have no right to accept other guidelines or criteria.

This task requires first and foremost a purposeful expansion of mass physical education. Now, more than ever, our entire work on achieving sports excellence must be placed on just such a basis. In this way, Bulgarian sport must move steadily ahead, in a well-organized way and at a fast rate, with new visions, new scope, new aspirations, and new decisions.

So you should not be intoxicated with your success. We still face new severe tests in the world, European, regional, and other championships and great competitions. You know better than I how much effort is required for you to prepare well for these events. Your competitors are training with no less perseverance and ambition. You are sending very keenly the increasing strength of the competition. New developments in methods, equipment, and tactics are quickly taken over by all. Trainers and competitors are preparing so as to amaze their competitors with the new, unknown, and extraordinary.

I would like to point out something else. More and more often we find competitors or entire teams facing one another in the sports arena with the same sporting and technical qualities and abilities. In such cases a decisive role is played by the preparation of one's will power and morale. The times in which we live show that high results and worthy achievements on and off the sports field are attainable only by men, women, and young people who are hardened ideologically, politically, and in their labor and will, who possess a high level of culture, and who are ardent patriots and internationalists.

Comrades:

Nowadays every success in the international sporting arena has a very strong public repercussion. All our victories, all our records are primarily a possession of our people and they raise our national self-esteem. At the same time, thanks to our successes, socialist Bulgaria is winning new friends and gaining respect and authority.

And you, like all our leading sportsmen and sportswomen, always display a high competitive spirit because you are aware that you represent your dear native land, the People's Republic of Bulgaria. And our people accept the records and victories you achieve as payment for the love and concern which surrounds you.

Permit me to express society's gratitude to those of you who have taken their leave, or who are doing so, from active competitive sports--Lili Ignatova, Asen Zlatev, Dilyana Georgieva, Petur Lesov, and Ivan Ginov. You, dear young people, are leaving sports in a worthy manner, leaving behind a Bulgarian path of gold.

I wish you good health, success in life, and personal happiness! I believe that you will continue to be an example for the young generation, wherever you may work.

I offer my good wishes for all of you present here, as well as your comrades, to be strong, healthy, and happy!

May you continue to be worthy of your people with new sporting successes, new records, and new medals!

I also wish you, dear comrades, a happy New Year in 1987, and wish you joy, happiness, and great new successes.

/12913

CSO: 2200/28

PARLIAMENT APPROVES LAW ON SCIENTIFIC DEGREES

AU292047 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 25 Dec 86 p 1

[Report: "Draft Law on Ratifying Decree No. 4114 on Amending the Law on Scientific Degrees and Titles"]

[Text] The proposer of the draft law, the State Council, did not present a report, but merely submitted the following arguments in support of the draft law:

Following the conclusion of the work of the second session of the National Assembly, the State Council of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, responding to immediate requirements, issued Decree No. 4114 on amending the Law on Scientific Degrees and Titles.

The amendment of the law is required because of the structural changes in the government carried out by the National Assembly at the beginning of the year in execution of the decisions of the February 1985 and January 1986 plenums of the BCP Central Committee and, more concretely, in order to reallocate the powers held by the abolished State Committee for Science and Technical Progress. In accordance with the decree, the issue of an order for postgraduate research work [aspirantura] and the declaration of competitions for scientific titles is entrusted to the chairman of the Committee for Science, by agreement with the State Committee for Research and Technologies and the Ministry of National Education, while the Higher Certification Commission is transferred to the Intellectual Development Council under the Council of Ministers.

The viewpoint of the Legislative Commission, as expressed by People's Deputy Khristo Stanev, was in support of the proposed draft law.

The draft law was put to the first vote and approved in principle. Since no other proposals were received for amending or supplementing the draft law, it was put to the second vote and adopted completely unanimously.

/12913

CSO: 2200/28

BRIEFS

BULGARIAN-MALTESE TU TALKS--Sofia, 12 December (BTA)--The Bulgarian Trade Unions and the General Workers' Union of Malta attach great importance to the small countries' contribution to detente and the guaranteeing of peace through the establishment of zones free of mass destruction weapons, reads an announcement on the talks which ended here today. The two trade unions call for the continuation of the positive process started at the Soviet-American summit in Reykjavik. The two trade union delegations centered their attention on the role of the trade unions in the solving of the basic problems of our age such as confrontation, the arms race and the negative economic processes. The two trade unions will continue to support the peoples' struggle for national and social independence, for the guaranteeing of their democratic rights. [Text] [Sofia BTA in English 1143 12 Dec 86 AU] /12913

BULGARIAN-FRG SCHOLARS' COOPERATION--Cooperation between the People's Republic of Bulgaria and the FRG ion scholarship and scientific research was the object of attention of the scientists and specialists who gathered yesterday in the Lyudmila Zhivkova People's Palace of Culture in Sofia. The two day symposium on this topic has been organized by the Bulgaristics Center attached to the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences and the Southeast Europe Society with its headquarters in Munich. In his greetings message delivered at the opening of the symposium, Academician Angel Balevskik chairman for the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences and corresponding member of the Southeast Europe Society, expressed satisfaction with the fruitful development of contacts, based on understanding and mutual respect. The participants were also welcomed by Dr Roland Schoenfeld, deputy chairman of the Southeast Europe Society. [Text] [Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 27 Nov 86 p 2 AU] /12913

IRANIAN ENVOY AWARDED--Petur Tanchev, first deputy chairman of the State Council, received yesterday Reza Seyid Zargabashi [name as transliterated], the charge d'affaires ad interim of the Iranian Embassy in Sofia, on the occasion of his forthcoming departure and presented him with the "Madara Horseman," Second Class, order. The ceremony was attended by Aleksandur Strezov, deputy minister of foreign affairs. [Text] [Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 12 Dec 86 p 8 AU] /12913

ZHIVKOV CONDOLES U.S. COMMUNISTS--Todor Zhivkov, general secretary of the BCP Central Committee, sent the following telegram to the Communist Party USA Central Committee: Dearest Comrades: I pray you to accept my most sincere and heartfelt condolences on the occasion of the death of Comrade Henry

Winston, chairman of the Communist Party USA, an outstanding patriot and internationalist, a great friend of socialist Bulgaria, and winner of the Dimitrov Prize for Peace, Democracy, and Social Progress. His name will always be remembered by Bulgarian Communists as an example of courageous and selfless struggle in protecting the interests of the American workers class, of all those who are exploited and oppressed, for the triumph of the great communist ideal. I take the liberty to ask you to convey our condolences and sympathy to the relatives of the deceased. [Text] [Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 16 Dec 86 p 1 AU] /12913

LUKANOV MEETS POLAND'S ZACHAJKIEWICZ--Andrey Lukanov, first deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, received Edward Zachajkiewicz, chairman of the State Economic Arbitration Office of Poland who is visiting our country, in Sofia yesterday. They discussed topical questions pertaining to the activities of the two countries' arbitration organs and the enhancement of their role in consolidating economic discipline. [Text] [Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 28 Nov 86 p 2 AU] /12913

DYULGEROV RETURNS FROM WARSAW--The delegation of the Central council of Bulgarian Trade Unions headed by Petur Dyulgerov, chairman of the Trade Unions Central Council and candidate member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo, returned from Warsaw yesterday. The delegation attended the First Congress of the Polish Renascent Trade Unions and participated in the work of the Congress. At Sofia Airport the delegation was welcomed by secretaries of the Trade Unions Central Council. [Text] [Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 29 Nov 86 p 2 AU] /12913

STANISHEV RECEIVES OFFICIAL--Sofia, 5 January (BTA)--Mr Dimiter Stanishev, secretary of the CC of the BCP, received today the member of the leadership of the National People's Party of Bangladesh Mr Pankaj Batacharia. [spelling as received] He briefed his guest on the BCP's activities in fulfillment of the decisions of the 13th Congress of the Bulgarian Communist Party and the constructive peaceloving foreign policy of Bulgaria. Mr Pankaj Batacharia spoke about the situation in Bangladesh, the preparations for the forthcoming congress of his party and the prospects for achieving unity of the country's national progressive forces. He expressed his admiration for the Bulgarian people's successes in the construction of the socialist society in this country. The two politicians discussed the possibilities for the further development of the relations between the two parties in the name of the struggle for peace, the elimination of all nuclear weapons and for social progress in the world. [Text] [Sofia BTA in English 1839 GMT 5 Jan 87 AU] /12913

INTELLECTUAL DEVELOPMENT COMMISSION CHAIRED--The Permanent Intellectual Development Commission of the National Assembly examined the draft laws for the uniform state plan for the Ninth 5-Year Plan period and for the state budget for 1987 at its session today. There is a substantial increase in the capital investments in the intellectual development sphere, in particular for science and scientific services, education, and culture. It was pointed out that in order to ensure the overall fulfillment of the decisions of the 13th BCP Congress and the demand for qualitatively new growth, it is necessary for the intellectual development sphere to look for additional capacities and

internal reserves, that is, reserves within the structure of the expenditures provided for in the draft laws in order to more fully satisfy the requirements and to develop science, education, culture, and the mass media. The session was chaired by Comrade Yordan Yotov, chairman of the Intellectual Development Commission. Comrade Stanko Todorov, chairman of the National Assembly, also took part in the commission's work. [Text] [Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1730 GMT 12 Dec 86 AU] /12913

CSO: 2200/28

WEST BERLIN YOUTH BROADCAST'S EFFECTIVENESS NOTED

Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 25 Nov 86 p 4

[Article by Ralf Georg Reuth: "Stephan From Jena Sends Greetings to All Peace Supporters--A Young People's Broadcast From RIAS"]

[Text] West Berlin, 24 Nov 86--"Frank sends many greetings from the Island of Ruegen to Sabine and little Fabian in Magdeburg," "Dirk greets Klaus, the Tin Can Bomber and the great diskjockey in Zwickau," "Stephan from Jena sends greetings to all peace supporters in East Berlin, the visitors at the little glee clubs and the old Devil's Fiddler." A year ago, this sound was only coming for 3 to 4 minutes every Saturday at 5 p.m. across the ether of RIAS (Radio in the American Sector), but now the producer of RIAS-II's "Treffpunkt" ("Meeting Place") program has to string two or even three listeners' greetings together as he reads them. They look at that on Kufsteiner Strasse with one smiling and one crying eye. "Sometimes, just one would be a fine addition to the program; on the other hand we are happy with the volume of mail and we know for a fact that every writer is waiting, longing for confirmation," commented "Treffpunkt" chief Richard Kitschigin on the constantly increasing volume of mail coming from the GDR and from East Berlin.

For the directors of the daily broadcast 3-hour program for young people, it represents something else entirely. That is because the greetings often come at the end of long letters. The directors often learn a lot about the daily life of young Germans by reading them. One student from Dresden complains about the increasing militarization of life, a young Christian from Schwerin points to the disadvantage he faces in gaining admission to college, or a young worker from Karl-Marx-Stadt, the former Chemnitz, reports about the privileges of party members in his work brigade. "You often get the feeling," says one director, "that these people simply have to write about everything in their souls."

The "Treffpunkt" editors find a lot of excitement coming from the continuous factual information about the GDR--a main point of the broadcast. This is especially true for the reporting on actual events and background information which is blocked out of the local publications. As can be read in their letters, the listeners in the GDR are always asking for more information about their daily lives. Just as popular and well received are "Features," tailored for young people, about historical themes such as the Hungarian Revolt or the

secret Hitler-Stalin Pact of 1939. Requests come in not only for general subjects, but also for concrete concerns. One listener from Dessau writes in, "I need printed material to which I can refer. Dates and facts on treaties and on human rights which the GDR has signed." He wants to know what rights he has.

Weekly Changing 'Help Addresses'

Letters like the one from the young man from Dessau cannot be sent directly to the Berlin radio station. Weekly changing "help addresses" give listeners in the other part of Germany the chance to correspond with "their radio station." Most of the letter writers sign with a pseudonym, because political law in the GDR has punishments for such contacts under the paragraphs "Illegal Communications." "Precisely for that reason, it is always amazing how openly the young people report about their situation," says Richard Kitschigin.

"Treffpunkt" also reports about society in the FRG, with all its advantages and disadvantages, with equal importance as their reporting on the GDR. The subjects range from German-American student exchanges to the situation with young independent people who have difficulties from getting into college to new trends in youth literature. With their reporting "over here and over there," the program directors hope to foster the feeling of unity between Germans in the East and West. They believe this is true because of letters such as the one from a youngster from East Berlin, who writes, "thank you for your connections to the listeners from the GDR. Your impression on the listener is strong and it should stay that way. Even if so many walls separate us."

With the programming reform last year, director Schiwy has made RIAS II the most popular station in Berlin, and a good distance away from it, too. But even before that, "Treffpunkt," which has been around for almost 20 years, has been one of the most successful broadcasts at the station. Within a brisk, modern magazine format, which expands the information variety of the program, the broadcast has found a central place with its concept of addressing the questions and concerns of young listeners in East and West.

The reaction of the GDR shows how seriously the program by the RIAS directors is taken in the other part of Germany. Just 2 years after RIAS introduced a youth program in 1962, the GDR answered with a "counterprogram." The GDR program, which was at that time named "TD 64," after a "Germany Meeting" of the Free German Youth (FDJ), has been expanded to a full youth radio station since the RIAS program change last year. As is confirmed by the increasing volume of listener mail, the success seems to belong less to the East Berlin national radio strategists, though, than to the young RIAS directors.

13071/8309
CSO: 2300/110

INTERVIEW DESCRIBES SITUATION OF WORKERS IN TENGIZ

AU021439 [Editorial Report] Budapest NEPSZAVA in Hungarian on 28 November on page 7 carries a 900-word interview given by Laszlo Bako, trade union representative of Hungarians in Tengiz, to correspondent Arpad Banki entitled: "The Base in Tengiz." The item describes the general living conditions at the camp, which is depicted on a photo at the top of the item.

Banki says that "on the top of the gate of a huge housing estate, there flutters the Hungarian flag. This is the home of several thousand Hungarians who volunteered to participate in creating an industrial base of mineral oil processing, which is being built within the framework of the Yamburg program." The interview focuses on trade union representation of workers "from several trade unions," and Bako says that "all the 1,400 people working there are trade union members." He describes the "democratic situation" in which the production manager suffers from a water shortage just as the workers do, and if "the lights go out, the director general cannot see anything either." He also notes that the people working there "have been around the world due to their profession" and are motivated to earn a lot of money. To the complaints that families of workers have only received payments after several months, a note of the editor in brackets says that "the state secretary of the Ministry of Industry made arrangements to transfer the money more quickly to the workers." Bako also notes that "quite a number of people suffered from cold" because due to erroneous weather forecasts "people had no rubber boots, and working uniforms got wet." To a question on recreation, Bako notes that people can have alcohol on Saturdays, but no drunken people can stay on the base, and "people are sent home if caught fighting." Postal workers are setting up short wave radio receivers to listen to home programs, and "workers can leave for vacation twice a year. For Christmas, almost 700 people will return home."

/9604

CSO: 2500/156

BRIEFS

SOVIET AWARDS TO VEGA PROGRAM RESEARCHERS--Budapest, 8 Dec (MTI)--The Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Soviet Union has awarded high state honours to Hungarian scholars and researchers who took part in the Vega space research programme. The Red Banner Order of Merit for labour has been awarded to Academician Lenard Pal, secretary of the HSWP Central Committee, and the Order of Merit for the Friendship of Nations to Academician Ferenc Szabo, general director of the Central Research Institute for Physics of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences. Other staff members of the Central Research Institute for Physics have also been awarded. The honours were presented by Boris Stukalin, Soviet ambassador to Hungary, in the embassy on Monday. [Text] [Budapest MTI in English 1330 GMT 8 Dec 86] /9604

CSO: 2500/155

WESTERN PRESS REPORTAGE ON POLAND REVIEWED, CRITICIZED

Warsaw SZPILKI in Polish No 44, 30 Oct 86 p 14

[Article by (Klakson): "Eau de Pologne"]

[Text] I enjoy acting like an eccentric and so I buy RZECZPOSPOLITA. This Government newspaper often prints reviews of articles on Poland appearing in the Western press. From these reviews it ensues that the West is enthused by the system of society and relations reigning in Poland and that it is in love with our leaders and the Western press is tongue-lashing the opponents of socialism. However, our Government newspaper also reports just as assiduously every word uttered by the Government Press Spokesman, but what he says is that the Western press is outrageously attacking our system of society and the relations reigning in Poland and that it hates our leaders. As for the opponents of socialism in Poland the Western press genuflects to them.

When on the same day a man learns completely conflicting news from what is essentially the same official source, he is at sea, that is, the desire to know the truth awakens. A friend of mine who has flown around half the world picked up for me some Western newspapers left on the seats by travelers during various legs of her flight. What then in reality is being written in the West about Poland?

The Swiss weekly DIE WELTWOCHTE published a long reportage about Zbigniew Bujak. Its author, a Mr. Neithart, asseverates that, following his release from prison, Bujak was offered a post with the "regime-controlled" new trade unions. There also are even greater revelations, namely, those pertaining to sports. We learn from the Swiss weekly that in Poland the political police run the most slowly, Zbigniew Bujak runs faster than they, and Mieczyslaw Rakowski runs fastest. Thus, according to DIE WELTWOCHTE, the SB [Security Service] had caught Bujak thrice while he was in hiding, "But Bujak succeeded in escaping each time, simply because he ran faster than the policemen. This did not prevent the then Deputy Prime Minister Rakowski from meeting with him in the spring of 1982," the weekly fantasizes.

Hence, the Swiss reader imagines street life in Warsaw to resemble climactic moments in adventure films. Everyone is running. The leader of the political conspiracy is running, the SB men are chasing him, but the deputy prime minister overtakes them and catches up with the ringleader of the underground

who is wearing a fake beard and a wig. For he desires to win the prize for capturing Bujak, a prize allegedly announced by the "police" and amounting to 200,000 zlotys. But Bujak rejected the flirtation with the deputy prime minister, the Western periodical continues, and instead married a woman in the underground and clandestinely assisted at her childbirth. At the same time as Bukak was reproducing himself, emigre Solidarity groupings demanded that, ugh Lech Walesa share his Nobel Prize with Wojciech Jaruzelski.

At first glance only one sentence appears to be true in that article, namely, that Poland borders on Russia. But persons who got an F in geography deny this too.

THE CHICAGO TRIBUNE embellishes its first page with the article "Glomp Guards the Faith of Poles" by James Yuenger. I quote: "'A couple weeks ago I was in Rome. Catholics there say that the church's situation is better than under the Russian tsars,' said Krzysztof Sliwinski, an oft-censored Catholic intellectual and journalist." The American newspaper describes in detail how it happened that the situation of the Church in Poland is better than under the tsar. Namely, the authorities in Warsaw prepared a plan for seizing and eliminating the Catholic Church in Poland in one day. This was to happen after the death of Cardinal Wyszynski in 1981. Hmm. On learning of this plan the Church people contrived a counterplan. I quote: "Macharski was too impetuous and Dabrowski too old. On considering the situation, the Church prepared a plan for preserving Polish Catholicism, as it intended to do, while the authorities in Warsaw desired nothing other than its elimination. Jozef Cardinal Glomp... was a key element in that plan." According to THE CHICAGO TRIBUNE, Glomp, instead of openly attacking the coup against the Church in Poland, deceived the authorities by pretending to cooperate with them. "Nevertheless, Glomp's abandonment of the policy of encouraging the aggression of the faithful against the authorities resulted in that many of them, especially youth, occupied themselves with amusements." And further, THE CHICAGO TRIBUNE states, "Another question is whether the Government will refuse guaranteeing the Church's legal status." The American reader will more or less have the impression that, if the authorities refuse, the Church will have to go underground to the conspiratorial niches vacated by Bujak. There is only one hitch: individuals wearing purple vestments do not know how to run rapidly, because their feet might get entangled in their cassocks.

In the next issue of THE CHICAGO TRIBUNE of 23 September the author discusses the persecution suffered by the Church in Poland. In his opinion, following the June events in 1956, eight bishops and 900 priests were imprisoned for announcing "that the government... will take measures against the demonstrators. Now that the Reverend Jan Uminski attacked the government press spokesman, he was accused of slander and forced to withdraw his statements from the pulpit." More even, I quote, "'At the Ministry of Internal Affairs there exists a special large department for religious affairs to which I applied for a special permit when I wanted to buy a stove,' the Reverend Piasecki said." However, the American newspaper does admit that not all priests are as oppressed as Uminski and Piasecki. "The Reverend H. Jankowski is widely known among Western correspondents as 'the Diamond Priest,' because of his gold chain, glittering cufflinks and a theatrical style of preaching."

DER TAGESSPIEGEL explains the decision to release [political] prisoners simply and in a different way than the remainder of the Western press. The motive was the shortage of industrial manpower. Thus, as we see, the [Western] sanctions forced emptying the jails: owing to the shortage of Western credit Poland could not automate its industry and had to release Michnik and Bielecki in order to base production on their powerful and industrious hands.

Thanks to my reading of complete and authentic texts in the Western press my doubts as to whether that press is writing about Poland positively or negatively could be resolved. It simply is writing ludicrously. Sometimes it seems that the articles on the East in the Western press are edited by the late Alfred Jarry, the author of "Le Roi Ubu," a play which "takes place in Poland, that is, nowhere."

For what picture of Poland is being formed by, say, the average American reader who readily confuses Poland with Holland, and to whom Poland is a country of Red military dictatorship ruled by a queen to the piano accompaniment of Paderewski, the rector of a musical academy in Krakow, a city located among semi-tulips from among which the first Dutch Catholic Pope had arisen? The picture is this: Glemp is galloping wildly astride Rakowski to catch Bujak who is giving birth to a baby in the underground of the church which just then Jaruzelski's men are blasting into smithereens by detonating a fuse.

One more thing: let me explain the title of this article. At present holy water is called Eau de Pologne in Hungarian.

1386
CSO:2600/201

VOIVODSHIP PZPR COMMITTEE STEPS UP IDEOLOGICAL TRAINING

Rzeszow NOWINY in Polish 9 Oct 86 p 2

[Article by Elzbieta Ciastoniowa: "Responsibility to the Nation: The Gauntlet is Picked Up"]

[Text] No topic is taboo. This attitude was full of determination and at the same time faith considering that it had been expressed in 1982 when the recently peaked political turmoil left the public mind greatly confused. On the elucidation of many issues hinged the elimination of the consequences of the terrible wave that had rolled across the country. It was simply necessary to resort to ARGUMENTS just as the gauntlet has to be picked up for a duel.

Who was to present these arguments? The party's pool of lecturers was scarce and sometimes missing and intimidated. Hence, the PZPR voivodship committee dispatched invitations to many academics -- consummate experts on their subjects, including lecturers at the Polish Army Officer Training Center, the Officer Training Center of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, and the Central Secular Personnel Center, in Warsaw, Lublin, Krakow, Czestochowa, and Kielce. The invitations were accepted.

Thus the lecturer drive could be successfully termed encounters with interesting people, which as a rule assured appropriate attendance. At these encounters an answer was provided to every question asked, and at times sharp verbal skirmishes were waged.

The Popular University

Such was the field of action in which the next initiative was raised: the Popular University in Tarnobrzeg. As Andrzej Galinski, director of the Department for Ideological Training under the Tarnobrzeg Voivodship PZPR Committee says, this name was perhaps too ambitious, especially for those times, but it is not the name that matters.

To put it briefly, the point was to propagate party policy -- political, ideological, and world-outlook issues -- among the public, to reach discrete worker and peasant communities and, above all, the youth, especially secondary school students. In this last case the lessons in civics in which the

leadership cadre of the voivodship PZPR committee headed by First Secretary Janusz Basiak took an active part, proved to be a good form.

Thus, the Popular University was to make the party's policy accessible to the society and introduce it, let me put it this way, under the roofs of factories, houses of culture, libraries, and secondary schools. This largely succeeded owing to, among others, the professors Kazimierz Doktor, Kazimierz Jaroszewski, Witold Tyloch, Edward Ciupak, Wieslaw Mystek, Docent Dr Bozena Krzywoblocka, and many others, who, in addition, as they themselves repeatedly stressed, derived personal satisfaction from talks with the audiences. At the same time, in cooperation as it were with the TKKS [Society for the Propagation of Secular Culture] and the Main Board of the Union of Polish Socialist Youth, series of meetings on Religions of the World began to be organized. This led to, upon the recommendation of the party organization, the establishment of the program in philosophy and comparative religion for workers and foremen at the SIARKOPOL Sulfur Mining and Processing Industry Plant and soon afterward of a similar program at the plant trade union organization in Stalowa Wola, followed by the rise of clubs of comparative religion in certain secondary schools. At the WUML [Evening University of Marxism-Leninism] one group specialized in these topics over the year. From there was only one step to establishing in Stalowa Wola and Tarnobrzeg a 2-year program in the study of religions for teachers. In connection with the so-called elective courses in secondary schools, it can be said that this will fit the needs.

These topics were the subject of several popular-scientific sessions co-organized by the Voivodship Center for Secular Culture and Secularization jointly with the Voivodship Board of the TKKS and the Voivodship Board of the ZSMP.

Spring Meetings With Socialist Culture

The measures taken and initiated by the Voivodship PZPR Committee composed a logical whole, without a trace of scurry, campaign fever, or search for cheap effects. Noteworthy is the current view of the implementation of the proposed measures, the constant enrichment of the forms and consistent adherence to the principles of openness and sincerity in exchange of views.

This view is especially reflected in "the Spring Meetings With Socialist Culture," organized last April for the second time, this time in Tarnobrzeg, Nowa Deba, and Baranow. Next year the main center of this project will be Sandomierz. The range of organizers inspired by the voivodship party committee has this time been much broader. Hence it can now be said that the project has "panned out," although it cannot be considered an easy, light, and pleasant one or one of the increasingly popular festivals or fairs. Its goals are primarily to enrich ideological-political awareness through, among other things, direct contact with eminent scholars, writers, and film directors, that is, with persons whose work has in the last 40 years contributed to markedly developing and enriching Polish culture.

It is thus not accidental that the program of these meetings includes so many lectures, talks, seminars, and discussions on a broad range of topics,

including sociology, economics, and the law, the whole being framed in interesting films, drama, fine arts, music, stage entertainment, exhibitions, and an entire cycle of sports and recreational activities.

These spring meetings also provided the time and place for popularizing secular ceremonies relating to, inter alia, long conjugal life, naming newborns, and presenting identity cards, that is, "commemorating" the transition to an adult citizen of the PRL [People's Republic of Poland]. These meetings planted a seed that is still growing. Children and youth were introduced to the 21st century by exhibitions of microcomputers and meetings with editors of BAJTEK and MLODY TECHNIK and representatives of the Polish Informatics Society.

Altogether, during these meetings 250 activities attended by 30,000 inhabitants of Tarnobrzeg, Nowa Deba, and Baranow Sandomierski were organized. Their initiators and organizers, namely, Andrzej Galinski, Marian Paruch, Bozena Baran, Stefan Kaluba, Marek Drozd, and Maria Czub, with whom Tadeusz Jarocki, secretary of the Voivodship PZPR Committee, had collaborated, received the TRYBUNA IUDU award for innovative forms of popularizing the secular world outlook.

The Effects Are Difficult to Measure

What have these several years of efforts produced? The answer is not easy. Processes occurring in consciousness are not visible to the naked eye, and neither can they be statistically comprised. The fact that it was precisely the industry of Tarnobrzeg Voivodship, as one of the first in this country, that has reattained its 1979 level can be of a certainly credited to that higher public awareness; factory self-governments in this voivodship also have resumed operating earlier than in the other regions.

Further, a forum for discussion was established, and the discussion itself was markedly enriched and based on arguments of philosophical and economic nature. "The Lecturer's Library," consisting of brochures prepared by the Department of Ideological Work at the Voivodship PZPR Committee also proved useful. Party membership has grown. The demand for political books was aroused. As recently as several years ago it was difficult to get together 10 or 15 persons for a meeting with a lecturer, whereas now party organizations are being asked for the date of the next lecture. The fact that the ideological training center shows fairy tales on a VCR for preschoolers also speaks of itself. Besides, this is not the end of the positive innovations -- several more are coming.

The Open Door

But mention should be made not only of activities enriching the awareness of broad strata of society, including education in economics. The work of the voivodship committee does not end with expansive ideological training based on the use of increasingly up-to-date technology. The voivodship committee also blazes the trail for computerization and technical progress in every field.

The Tarnobrzeg Voivodship PZPR Committee has introduced the "Open Door" policy. Anyone who wishes to offer suggestions or has a grievance can come

here. The first secretary of the voivodship committee alone has during the last term of office personally received about 1,000 persons.

A major source of knowledge about the public mood and about the performance of the state and economic administration has been "The Telephone to the Secretary," that is, officiating at the telephone by secretaries of the PZPR voivodship committee at the editorial offices of TYGODNIK NADWISLANSKI. Nearly 200 persons availed themselves of this form of contact and possibility of presenting problems of concern to them. A similar intent underlies "The Citizens' Tribune," recommended by the voivodship committee secretariat and consisting in meetings between representatives of the leadership of the voivodship administrative authorities and the inhabitants of various gminas and communities. The experience of the first ten "Tribunes" supports continuing this form of contact with the society. They provide an instructive lesson in co-proprietorship and co-responsibility

All this makes it possible to gain greater knowledge of the needs of the society, creates specific traditions, and serves to liberate INITIATIVE.

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PEOPLES COUNCIL MEETING FOCUSES ON CONTROVERSIAL SULFUR MINE

Rzeszow NOWINY in Polish 30 Oct 86 pp 1,2

[Article by (z.d.): "Sharp Controversy About Sulfur Mine in Osiek Continues" surtitled "Tarnobrzeg: Program for Small Industry and Crafts"]

[Text] (Own information) In Tarnobrzeg Voivodship retail store inventories of, especially, manufactured consumer goods continue to elicit many critical comments. One reason is the persisting market disequilibrium, felt here more keenly than in other regions of this country. The industry of Tarnobrzeg Voivodship pays higher-than-average wages (it ranks sixth in this respect in Poland), but it fills only minimally retail store shelves. Thus the surplus personal incomes are not offset by adequate market supplies. That is why the queues here are longer than elsewhere, purchases are more troublesome, and complaints are louder. A factor decisive to improving the supply of consumer goods is the rapidest possible development of small industry and services. Yesterday this problem was considered for the fifth time now by the Voivodship People's Council (WRN) in Tarnobrzeg.

During the session, chaired by WRN Chairman Eugeniusz Wianecki, a program for developing socialized and nonsocialized small industry and consumer services during 1986-1990 was voted and the related assumptions until 1995 were adopted.

The deliberations were also attended by deputies to PRL [People's Republic of Poland] Sejm, Deputy Minister of Internal Trade and Services Marcin Nurowski, and voivodship office executives headed by the Voivode Colonel Boguslaw Jazwiec.

The background of the discussion was the draft program for developing small industry and services and the address delivered by the Vice Voivode Jozef Jakubowicz.

The draft program, prepared by the Department of Small Industry and Services under the Voivodship Office, elicited mixed feelings. On the one hand, the assumed more than 64-percent increase in the sales volume of small-industry plants and the more than 50-percent increase in consumer service would appear to assure tangible progress in this field. But on the other hand, the awareness of the huge needs and the varying feasibility of the program

assumptions elicits reservations and apprehensions which were expressed in the assessment by the WRN's Commission for Local Industry, Small Producers and Crafts, presented by its chairman Jozef Bak.

Amendments and comments were also offered by the following persons representing caucuses of councilmen: Stanislaw Pawlik, on behalf of PZPR members and nonparty members; Stanislaw Dobek, on behalf of ZSL [United Peasant Party] members; and Marek Przystupa, on behalf of SD [Democratic Party] members. The proposed increase in the sales of products and services is the highest feasible increase anticipated.

The formation of three new local-industry enterprises is anticipated. Among others, a light tailoring establishment in Ozarow and a construction-repair and building materials plant in Radomysl Gmina are to be put into operation as soon as next year. Plans also exist to expand and modernize many plants. The principal projects include: department of oil-based binders at the ALFA Cooperative in Sztombergi, Aerated Waters Plant in Opatow, expansion and modernization of the MODILANA Opatow Cooperative, the Kruszywo Operation Plant in Brzostowa Gora, construction of the hide and textile cutting department at the ZRYW Cooperative of the Disabled in Stalowa Gora, and the construction of a plant for protected operation of that cooperative in Janow Lubelski.

The greatest increase (by nearly 130 percent) is assumed for the building materials industry based on local mineral raw materials. Unfortunately, in this field too there is much to be accomplished, because the quantity of the Krakowiecki clays in the dumps of the MACHOW Mine alone would suffice to build dwellings for... all the Poles waiting for them.

However, a more complete utilization of local raw materials and crops and the development of other domains of small industry are limited by the availability of funds and manpower and, above all, by the poor state of facilities and difficult access to machinery and equipment. These three factors constitute the main barriers to development, and they imperil success in implementing the program assumptions.

Similar constraints exist as regards services rendered by socialized establishments and craftsmen.

In the discussion, in which the councilpersons Jan Kosik and Alicja Braclawska-Rewera as well as the Representative of the Crafts Chamber in Kielce Jan Stepien and the Deputy Minister Marcin Nurowski took the floor, mention was made of, inter alia, the profitability of consumer services, the employment problem relating to the tax policy, and the needs and possibilities for the development of local vegetable and fruit processing plants.

A program for developing small industry and services until 1990 was passed.

Sharp controversy was also elicited by another topic discussed, namely, the report on the implementation of the resolution on environmental protection, with special consideration of the terms of the permit for the construction of the sulfur mine in Osiek. The councilmen voiced their anxiety because the mine was granted a permit to operate although the closed circulation of waters

promised by the investors was not implemented. The consent of the Chief Sanitary Inspector is not consonant with the resolution of the WRN on this matter. The following councilmen took the floor on this topic: Antoni Nakielski, Rajmund Aschenbrenner, Klemens Saramak, Jozef Sobala, Kazimierz Wojas, and Stanislaw Czaja.

During the session elections to the new term of office of 40 people's jurymen for the Labor and Social Welfare Court in Rzeszow, 110 people's jurymen for the Tarnobrzeg Voivodship Court in Sandomierz, and 60 members of the Minor Transgressions Court under the Tarnobrzeg Voivode also took place. In addition, the chairman and vicechairmen of the Small Transgressions Court, and the chairmen and vicechairmen of seven regional small transgressions courts under mayors and town managers and cities and gminas in Tarnobrzeg, Stalowa Wola, Sandomierz, Janow Lubelski, Nisko, Opatow, and Staszow, also were elected. Reports on the activities of the courts during 1983-1986, the activities of the Small Transgressions Court under the Tarnobrzeg Voivode, and the course of the campaign for elections to people's jurymen and members of small transgressions courts were presented.

Furthermore, resolutions were adopted concerning the schedule for implementing the decisions of the Council of State on the implementation of resolutions of the 10th PZPR Congress, the question of establishing the town of Ozarow, and authorizing the voivode to state on behalf of the WRN his position on the formation, disbanding or basic changes in activities of organizations of the socialized economy.

Interpellations were made by the councilmen Czeslaw Roka, Jacek Drezewski, and Rajmund Aschenbrenner.

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PARTY ACTIVITIES CALENDAR 13-26 OCTOBER 1986

Warsaw ZYCIE PARTII in Polish No 23, 5 Nov 86 p 21

[Unattributed report: "Party Chronicle, 13-26 Oct 86"]

[Text] Sessions of the Central Committee Politburo:

21 Oct

-- The Politburo discussed the policy of deepening the process of national reconciliation and enrichment of the forms of socialist democracy. It examined reports on the status of the consultation and work on the Public Advisory Council under the Chairman of the Council of State and the citizens' advisory councils under voivodship people's councils as well as on the voivodship socioeconomic councils and the institution of the spokesman for citizen's rights.

-- The draft of the overall longrange plan of work of the Politburo and Secretariat of the Central Committee was considered, as were proposals for the agenda of the plenary sessions of the Central Committee.

-- The Politburo listened to reports on the course and results of the official friendship visits to our country by Prime Minister of the Soviet Union Nikolay Ryzhkov and to the GDR by Prime Minister Zbigniew Messner.

Session of the Central Commission for Cooperation Among the PZPR, the ZSL [United Peasant Party] and the SD [Democratic Party]:

13 Oct

-- At the seat of the SD Central Committee was held a meeting of the Central Commission for Cooperation Among the PZPR, the ZSL, and the SD. It was attended on behalf of the PZPR by Wojciech Jaruzelski, Kazimierz Barcikowski, Jozef Baryla, Jozef Czyzek, and Tadeusz Porebski.

During the session the following issues were considered:

-- the status of the implementation of the Decree on the System of People's Councils and Local Self-Government;

-- the status of the implementation of suggestions by citizens offered during the campaign for elections to the Sejm;

-- the implementation of the Decree of July 1984 on Special Proceedings Regarding the Perpetrators of Certain Crimes;

-- in addition, reports on the visits of First Central Committee Secretary and Chairman of the Council of State Wojciech Jaruzelski to the Mongolian People's Republic, the Korean People's Democratic Republic, and the Chinese People's Republic were considered.

Conferences and Meetings:

13 Oct

-- First Central Committee Secretary and Chairman of the Council of State Wojciech Jaruzelski took part in the official inauguration of the new academic year combined with the 80th jubilee year of the Warsaw SGPiS [Main School of Planning and Statistics].

-- At the PZPR Academy of Social Sciences was inaugurated the Foreign Service Training Center. The inaugural address was delivered by Politburo Member and Minister of Foreign Affairs Marian Orzechowski.

14 Oct

-- First Central Committee Secretary and Chairman of the Council of State Wojciech Jaruzelski paid a working visit to Kielce, where he toured the ISKRA Factory, the Hanka Sawicka High School, the Combined Plastic Arts School, and the Specialized Motor Vehicle Factory.

-- On this day the following members of the Politburo and Secretariat of the Central Committee held working meetings with factory workforces and professional communities:

-- Jozef Baryla traveled to Skierniewice Voivodship, where he toured the new preschool in Radziejow and the elementary school in Korytow. While in Zyrardow, J. Baryla visited the workforces of the POLDRES and the 1905 Revolution garment factories, and he also met with the city's aktiv. Workers building the POLSKIE NAGRANIA Plant were visited by Jozef Czyrek, while Marian Wozniak met with the workforce of the POLNAR-AVIA Precision Machine Tools Plant. Janusz Kubasiewicz visited the construction site of Western Hospital in Grodzisko Mazowieckie. Gabriela Rembisz met with the aktiv of the Poznan Polytechnic. Henryk Bednarski toured the Belchatow Industrial District. Stanislaw Ciosek met with the workforce of the Siedlce Automotive Parts Plant of the FSO Car Factory.

15 Oct

-- First Central Committee Secretary and Chairman of the Council of State Wojciech Jaruzelski met with Member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central

Committee and Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers Nikolay Ryzhkov, who was paying an official friendship visit to Poland.

-- Candidate Member of the Politburo and First Secretary of the Warsaw Voivodship PZPR Committee Janusz Kubasiewicz took part in the inauguration of the new academic year at the Academy of Internal Affairs in Warsaw.

-- At the Party Training Center of the CPSU Central Committee was held a conference of chairmen, first secretaries of plant party committees, and directors of the personnel and training departments of central boards of cooperative unions. At the conference the status of preparations for reviews of organizational structures and personnel as well as for job certification was discussed. The conference was chaired by the Director of the Personnel Policy Department under the Central Committee Wladyslaw Honkisz.

17 Oct

-- First Central Committee Secretary Wojciech Jaruzelski received Politburo Member and Secretary of the SEPD Central Committee Kurt Hager who was visiting Warsaw for the Days of GDR Culture in Poland.

21 Oct

-- Central Committee Secretary Andrzej Wasilewski received the executives of the NASZA KSIEGARNIA Publishing Institute which is celebrating its 65th anniversary. The meeting was attended by Director of the Culture Department under the Central Committee Tadeusz Sawicz.

23 Oct

-- Politburo Member and Central Committee Secretary Jan Glowczyk received participants in the conference of directors of the party publishing houses of socialist countries.

-- Politburo Member and OPZZ [All-Polish Consensus of Trade Unions] Chairman Alfred Miodowicz received the chief officers of the International Association of the Trade Unions of Power Industry Employees headed by its Chairman Francois Duteil, the secretary of France's Confederation Generale du Travail (CGT).

-- The Politburo members and Central Committee secretaries Jozef Czyrek and Marian Wozniak as well as Zygmunt Muranski met with journalists from the socialist countries attending the Seminar on Poland After the 10th PZPR Congress.

24 Oct

-- The deliberations of the PZPR borough reports-elections conference at the Ministry of Internal Affairs were attended by the representatives of the party leadership Jozef Baryla, Czeslaw Kiszczak, Janusz Kubasiewicz, and Stanislaw Ciosek.

-- The PZPR reports-elections conference at the UNITRA-ELTRA Radio Works in Bydgoszcz was attended by Politburo Member and Central Committee Secretary Jozef Baryla, who is a member of the party organization at that plant.

25-26 Oct

-- First Central Committee Secretary Wojciech Jaruzelski chaired a conference of first secretaries of PZPR voivodship committees. The implementation of the resolution of the 10th PZPR Congress was discussed, the course of voivodship reports-elections campaign was evaluated, and tasks for the next stage of that campaign were outlined. The conference was attended by Central Committee secretaries, the chairman of the CKKR [Central Party Control and Audit Commission], and directors of Central Committee departments.

At Party Echelons and Organizations:

15 Oct

-- The Koszalin Voivodship PZPR Committee approved its bylaws and those of its executive board and issue commissions. It elected to the post of voivodship committee secretary Zbigniew Michta, editor-in-chief of the sociocultural monthly POBRZEZE. WKKR [Voivodship Party Control and Audit Commission] Chairman Ryszard Wisniewski was elected to membership in the Secretariat.

20 Oct

-- Politburo Member and Central Committee Secretary Jan Glowczyk took part in a session of the editorial board of GAZETA KRAKOWSKA. On the same day, Jan Glowczyk attended a panel discussion at KRAKOWSKA KUZNICA.

21 Oct

-- The Szczecin Voivodship PZPR Committee discussed tasks ensuing from the voivodship reports-elections conference and elected three members of its secretariat.

22 Oct

-- The Lenin Iron and Steel Combine was the site of a reports-elections conference of the more than 5,000 party members at the combine, attended by Politburo Member and OPZZ Chairman Alfred Miodowicz.

-- A plant party conference was held at the PIOMA Mining Machinery Factory in Piotrkow Trybunalski. It was attended by Politburo Member and Central Committee Secretary Jan Glowczyk.

-- In Wodzislaw was held a city party reports-elections conference attended by Politburo Member Zygmunt Muranski.

-- Politburo Member and CKKR Chairman Wlodzimierz Mokrzyyszczak took part in the deliberations of the Voivodship Defense Committee in Przemyśl. On the same

day W. Mokrzyszczak met with the voivodship committee secretariat and WKKR presidium members in Przemysl.

Interparty Cooperation:

16 Oct

-- Warsaw was visited by a delegation of the Prague City Committee of the Czechoslovak CP, headed by Central Committee Member and Member of the Prague City Committee of the Czechoslovak CP Karel Beranek. Candidate Member of the Politburo and First Secretary of the Warsaw Voivodship PZPR Committee Janusz Kubasiewicz met with members of the delegation.

22 Oct

-- In Warsaw ended a 2-day conference of rectors of the academies of social sciences and higher party schools of the communist and worker parties, devoted to analysis of problems of scientific, political, and ideological work. It was attended by Central Committee Secretary Henryk Bednarski.

20-22 Oct

-- Belgrade was visited by Director of the Foreign Affairs Department under the PZPR Central Committee Ernest Kucza with the object of discussing interparty cooperation between the PZPR and the Yugoslav CP. Toward the end of his visit Ernest Kucza was received by Member of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the Yugoslav CP Marko Orlandic.

25 Oct

-- In Moscow was held the PZPR reports-elections conference of Polish missions to the USSR. It was attended by Director of the Political-Organizational Department under the Central Committee Stanislaw Gabrielski and the PRL [People's Republic of Poland] Ambassador in the USSR Wlodzimierz Natorf. Jerzy Szukala was reelected secretary of the PZPR Committee in the USSR.

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POPPY BAN EFFECT ON TRADITIONAL FOODS NOTED, DECRIED

Poznan GAZETA POZNANSKA in Polish 30 Oct 86 p 5

[Article by (rog): "In My Opinion: A Farewell to the Poppy"]

[Text] In the coming Holiday Season we shall bid farewell to several dishes that have for centuries been traditional on the Christmas Eve tables. Perhaps on Christmas Eve poppyseed cakes or poppyseed strudels will still appear in some homes, but not in all and, who knows, this may be the last time.

The production of poppyseeds in Poland has been practically abandoned in consideration of several thousand drug addicts some of whom have been using poppyseed chaff to produce the so-called compote. Thus there are no homegrown poppyseeds, just as there is no money to import them.

Without wishing to detract from the importance of the phenomenon of drug addiction and the absolute necessity of declaring war against it, or more properly, war for the health and life of, mostly, young citizens, I believe that in the case of the poppy emotion has overwhelmed common sense. For I perceive dozens of other possibilities for accomplishing the planned objectives without resorting to the elimination of poppy growing, if only through a revision of penal laws so as to make the sale of chaff to drug addicts actually unprofitable.

The decisions taken on this matter follow, in my opinion, the line of least resistance. I would even say they are a classical example of throwing the baby out with the bathwater. If similar reasoning is followed, we should expect a prohibition against the production of denatured alcohol, autovidol, and barbershop lotions, because they are consumed even more often than the "compote." And what about alcohol-based medicines?

Has motor vehicle or train traffic been halted because people die under cars or trains? No, it simply was regulated.

I believe that this can also be done in the case of the poppy, because I have reason to believe that the cause of MONAR [Young People's Movement to Combat Drug Addiction] stands more to lose than to gain from the solutions adopted. I wish I were wrong, but it seems to me that we have quite hastily afforded an attractive commodity to smugglers and speculators, because people liked, like, and shall continue to like poppyseed cakes....

CEAUSESCU ADDRESSES AGRICULTURE COUNCIL PLENUM

AU041444 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 27 Dec 86 pp 1-3

[Speech by RCP Secretary General Nicolae Ceausescu to the plenary session of the National Council of Agriculture, Food Industry, Forestry, and Water Management, held in Bucharest on 26 December]

[Text] Dear Comrades: The enlarged plenary session of the National Council of Agriculture has examined this year's results in the area of agriculture and has established the necessary measures to optimally fulfill the 1987 plans and programs which will ensure the implementation of the 13th RCP Congress decisions in the area of agriculture and a new stage in the new agrarian revolution--a decisive factor for Romania's general development and for improving the material and cultural standard of living of our people. (Loud, prolonged applause)

We are at the end of the first year of the 1986-90 5-year plan. On the whole one can say that in the first year of the Eighth 5-Year Plan the national economy has attained important successes in all areas. Industrial production has registered a 7-percent increase compared with last year. Important progress has been achieved in the other areas as well.

On this basis it has been possible to achieve important increases in the national income, in economic efficiency, labor productivity, and an improvement in all activities.

Significant development has taken place in science and education--decisive factors in achieving the new scientific-technical revolution and in generally raising our homeland to the highest pinnacles of progress and civilization. (Loud, prolonged applause)

At the beginning of the current month we discussed at length questions regarding activity in industry and other areas, and we adopted appropriate measures--and therefore I do not want to refer to them now.

We have achieved great results in agriculture as well. More than 28 million metric tons of grains were harvested, which is the largest yield in our country's history. Important increases have also been achieved in all the other sectors of agriculture.

We can say that 1986 has marked a moment of the greatest importance in the development of our socialist agriculture and in achieving the new agrarian revolution. Through this year's achievements we have set a lasting basis for the implementation of the 13th RCP Congress targets for the current 5-year plan and of the targets included in the party program aimed at building the comprehensively developed socialist society and Romania's advance towards communism. (Loud, prolonged applause)

The results achieved this year made us decide to adopt a decision on instituting the high title of "Hero of the New Agrarian Revolution." This year this title has so far been awarded to 150 agricultural, state, and cooperative units and to the Fundulea Research Institute for Grains and Industrial Plants. As is known, 25 of those titles were awarded on "Harvest Day." Within this framework, too, I want to mention the awarding of the title of "Hero of the New Agrarian Revolution" to Olt County for its large yields of barley, corn, sunflower, and other crops. Today I awarded the title of "Hero of the New Agrarian Revolution" to 125 agricultural units and to the Fundulea Research Institute for Grains and Industrial Plants. The criteria for being awarded this title are known, as are the yields achieved by units which have been awarded this title this fall and today. They are yields which demonstrate the great possibilities in our socialist agriculture. We have units which have achieved more than 9,000 kg of barley per hectare, much more than 8,000 kg of wheat per hectare, more than 25 metric tons of corn cobs, and important yields of other crops.

The fact that a great number of agricultural units and a whole county have been awarded the title of "Hero of the New Agrarian Revolution" this year demonstrates the correctness of the 13th BCP Congress decisions for agriculture and for all the other socioeconomic development areas in our country.

As you can see, there are counties with a great number of units that have been awarded this title. I hope you have noted that most of the units which have been awarded this title today are located in Olt County; this demonstrates that in order to compete with other counties for the title of "Hero of the New Agrarian Revolution" it is necessary for a great number of units to exceed by far the given county's average outputs.

Several years ago I said that the old Romanian saying "One flower does not make a spring" has not lost its topicality. However, a flower, and therefore one title of "Hero," is a harbinger of spring. (loud applause) A large number of units which have been awarded this high title represent a bouquet of flowers and thus will ensure the spring of agriculture in the respective county. (Loud, prolonged applause)

We must strive so that next year the number of such units will considerably increase in each county. I would welcome it if next year all counties were to have units which had been awarded the high title of "Hero of the New Agrarian Revolution." (loud applause) and I also would welcome it and hope that an important number of counties will spare no efforts and will take action to win this high title next year.

From the bottom of my heart I want to extend warmest congratulations and wishes for fresh success in all areas to all units that have been awarded this high title of "Hero of the New Agrarian Revolution" today, to the units in counties which were awarded this title on harvest day, and to Oltenița County which was also awarded this title. (loud, prolonged applause; chants of "Ceausescu - RCP!" and "Ceausescu and the people!")

I also want to extend warmest congratulations to all working people in agriculture and to all peasantry for the results they achieved this year, and I want to urge them to do all they can next year so that our socialist agriculture will be raised to a new level of yields in all areas. (Loud, prolonged applause)

We have also achieved a number of important results in the food industry which has registered a 4-percent increase compared with last year. Important achievements have also been attained in forestry, water management, and all areas belonging to the National Council of Agriculture. On this occasion I want to extend congratulations to all working people in the food industry and the other areas and I wish them and the units in those areas to strive for the title of "Hero of Socialist Labor" next year and to achieve increasingly larger outputs in all areas. (Loud applause)

Esteemed Comrades, we are entitled to be satisfied with the results achieved this year. However, we must not forget that a number of failings continued to be obvious in some units which considerably diminished our great achievements. We must frankly state that, on the whole, this year's production cannot satisfy us. If all counties and units had worked with a greater sense of responsibility and had applied all necessary measures regarding agricultural activity, then we would have achieved even larger yields and crops. This simple calculation proves that: If all counties had achieved yields as high as the units with large crops, you can very well imagine what kind of crops we could have achieved and what crops we have to achieve in the future!

True, one can say that 1986 was characterized by unfavorable weather conditions. But even under these circumstances good yields and--as is known--even record yields were achieved where work was carried out optimally and upon schedule. Thus we should not blame negative states of affairs only on unfavorable weather conditions. All the more so since irrigated lands in many counties amount to 85 percent. Under such conditions the lack of rain does not really matter, because if we had not achieved even 1 kg of crop on nonirrigated lands, and we had achieved appropriate yields on those 85 percent of lands, the average crop in such counties would have been twice as much as that achieved this year.

I am stressing this because we have extended irrigated lands. Next year we plan to irrigate a further area of almost 300,000 hectares and in years to come we plan to continue to increase this irrigated area.

Thus, the failings that were obvious and the unsatisfactory yields can primarily be blamed on the way in which agricultural units, state and cooperative units, agricultural machinery units, specialists, and all cadres and working people in agriculture acted to ensure yields in keeping with the conditions created for agriculture on the basis of the great investments made by our state and by all our people in agriculture.

I hope I am not wrong in saying that the main cause for poor crops in a number of units and counties was the fact that the activity regarding the preparation of lands and everything this implies, together with the sowing and tending of crops were not carried out on schedule. This was also coupled with serious lags in organizing the harvesting activity and transportation of crops on time and under favorable conditions, and by lags in ensuring a proper storing of grains and agricultural produce. It is inadmissible to have counties where barley and wheat harvesting--which should be completed 10 days at most in the case of wheat, and 4 days in the case of barley--should be prolonged up to 30 days, and in some places beyond. You can imagine how great the losses in crops were under these circumstances! Nothing can explain this unsatisfactory situation except the serious lags in the proper organization of the activity by county party committees, people's councils, and agricultural bodies, party organizations, by the collective leadership in agricultural state and cooperative units and lags in the participation of all people in crop harvesting.

At the same time, this year there were many signs of waste and irrational consumption of agricultural produce because the norms and the country's contracts and laws were violated.

What can be said about counties which--no less, no more--have decided not to deliver almost 50 percent of sugar beet for the simple reason that the beet size is not very appropriate; thus they decrease our sugar production by tens of thousands of metric tons. What gave those counties--and they are quite a few--the right to act like that? What did the Ministry of Agriculture and the National Council of Agriculture do? What happened to the responsibility toward the interests of our people and toward the very interests of cooperative members and of state agricultural units? Sugar beet production, for instance, is primarily required for sugar but all of us know that after sugar production more than 80 percent of that beet is taken back to the units to be used as fodder for animals. The fact that part of the sugar beet was delivered directly for feeding purposes did not improve the question of fodder, on the contrary it caused great damage to units.

I want to call upon agricultural cooperatives to bring the managerial council and the chairmen to account for this serious violation of the laws and interests of cooperatives, and I also want to ask the workers to bring state enterprise leaders to account; in conformity with the law, the people's councils and the county party bodies will also be responsible for the way they have managed things and the way they protect the general interests of our nation, of our people. (Lively applause)

We are attending a working plenary session and we must discuss things frankly and clearly, comrades. We should not accept such situations, because they constitute violations, complacent actions, and an elementary disregard for the laws and interests of our people! What kind of leaders of economic units, of cooperatives, and what kind of agricultural and party leaders are those who act in such a way?

Numerous units have not delivered agricultural produce and foodstuffs to the central stocks in conformity with their yields; these include products for general consumption, products for animal feeding and for the state stocks, and products for our state's needs. Immediate measures are necessary--and I want to draw attention to this in a most serious way--to ensure that all agricultural produce and foodstuffs be delivered by all units and counties to the central stocks in conformity with what has been envisaged.

I have been informed that some of these negative situations have been discussed at length in sections, during the meetings of sectors belonging to the National Council of Agriculture, and within the plenary session. I deemed it necessary to refer to them because I view them as very serious--and we must firmly eliminate this kind of activity in all agricultural bodies and in the state and party bodies!

All necessary measures must be taken to completely eliminate such things, to strengthen responsibility, order, and discipline, and to ensure the strict observance of the country's laws, contracts, and agricultural working norms, and of the party's decisions!

There are also very serious lags in the area of the food industry. Through better activity we must achieve a much greater increase of some 7-8 percent--and this year the necessary conditions existed--in outputs of the food industry. A number of lags were obvious in the management of water and especially in forestry, in the tending of forests in conformity with the programs we have worked out for this area. I do not want to discuss this in detail.

I believe that more responsible action must be taken in all areas and sectors of the National Council of Agriculture to completely eliminate negative situations, so that 1987 will mark a radical improvement in all activities and that it will bring about a new attitude of great responsibility and exactingness in all agricultural units and bodies, including the Ministry of Agriculture, the other ministries, and in the activity of the National Council of Agriculture. We have everything needed--and I would like to express the conviction that all necessary conclusions will be drawn from negative situations and that action will be taken so that next year will bring a radical change in all our activities! (Loud, prolonged applause)

Dear comrades, the 1987 plan and programs for agriculture, food industry, and the other sectors ensure the unflinching implementation of the 13th RCP Congress decisions and an increased role for agriculture as a basic

branch of the national economy in the homeland's socioeconomic development and in improving the material and cultural standard of living of our people--the supreme goal of our communist party's overall activity and the essence of the comprehensively developed socialist society which we are successfully building in Romania. (Loud, prolonged applause)

Next year agricultural activity must also focus on vigorously increasing grain outputs. We must act so that in 1987 we will achieve yields of at least 32 million metric tons of grains. It is no accident that I said "of at least" because if all counties and units act appropriately we will be able to achieve much larger yields. The targets of the agrarian revolution aimed at large yields per county are known and so are the targets regarding the yields each county has to achieve in order to aspire to the title of "Hero of the New Agrarian Revolution." I do not want to refer to them now; however, if we achieved wheat and barley outputs in conformity with these requirements we would ensure a yield of almost 20 million metric tons of wheat and barley. The achievement of planned corn yields in all counties would amount to an output of more than 30 million metric tons of corn countrywide--and accordingly we would achieve much larger outputs of sunflower, potatoes, soybean, sugar beet, and other produce.

Proceeding from the results we have achieved in many units and Olt County this year and from the material-technical base--including seeds--we have available, one can say that we have everything needed to achieve at least the grain yields I have mentioned. Once again I want to stress: I hope that a much greater number of counties will be determined to act in such a way that by the end of next year they will be awarded the high title of "Hero of the New Agrarian Revolution." I want to draw attention to the counties whose irrigated areas exceeds 50 percent and urge them to achieve no less than 20 metric tons of corn cobs per hectare. Thus, all necessary work required for this must be carried out firmly and appropriately; and this is true for the other crops as well.

Greater attention has to be paid to vegetable growing. This has been discussed and we have a special program in this respect. The comrades from Giurgiu did not say anything about their intention to achieve 35,000 kg of tomatoes per hectare next year. Surely, that is a relatively satisfactory output; however, I do not think it is up to the requirements of the new agrarian revolution. All those who grow vegetables know very well that with a density of 60,000 plants which we are supposed to achieve per hectare and with only 2 kg of tomatoes per plant--which is a normal quantity if we work properly and achieve 3 and 4 kg--we should exceed 100,000 kg of metric tons per hectare. Thus, 35 metric tons are far below the quantity we have to achieve in the case of tomatoes. The same is true for the other crops.

It is impossible not to achieve 3-4 kg of tomatoes per plant in hotbeds and 4-5 kg of tomatoes per plant in greenhouses!

Thus, if the people active in vegetable growing aspire to the title of "Hero of the New Agrarian Revolution," then they must also propose to achieve the outputs required for this. What I have said now is not just theory; on the contrary, it represents the outputs achieved in some units and such outputs should be achieved by all units!

A very large area is sown to vegetables in our country. Were we to work properly, the area sown to vegetables could be reduced by 50 percent while large yields could be achieved; this, however, would require a better utilization of manpower, expenditures, and fertilizers and would actually permit us to achieve much larger yields. Concepts in the area of vegetable growing must be changed. I would not like to continue to hear at the plenary session of the National Council of Agriculture that an output of 35,000 kg of tomatoes is a good output--because these are not real facts and we should not proceed from them!

We must pay greater attention to questions regarding viticulture where production has to increase vigorously, grapes have to be tended appropriately, and vineyards have to be modernized. We must also radically improve fruit growing and the activity in all horticultural areas.

Special attention has to be paid to implementing the programs for larger livestock and animal products. These programs are known and therefore I do not want to refer to them any further.

Today I awarded the title of "Hero" to some units for their outputs of milk and animal products. I am sure that animal breeding also has all necessary conditions so that next year a much greater number of animal breeding units may aspire to this high title—I am thinking of both the area of cattle, pigs, sheep, and poultry—both for achievements in the area of livestock, and in milk, meat, egg, and wool production. This makes it necessary for all agricultural bodies, units, and all state bodies—I am including the people's councils—and all party organizations and bodies to act with greater responsibility to radically improve all activities in the animal breeding sector.

During the days preceding this plenary session we discussed the question of better organizing the production process and developing the fodder base. It is obvious for all of us that to implement the targets in animal breeding we must ensure a proper fodder base by primarily making use of all resources we have in our society today. In many counties even to this day one can find straw in the fields dating not only from this year but last year too. There are also corn cobs and a number of so-called by-products left which, however, represent basic products for feeding our animals.

We must take all necessary measures so that next year we will be able to solve the problem of the fodder base in general terms in order to ensure everything for a rational fodder base for our livestock. Next year we propose to grow fodder crops and various other crops on some 1,200,000 hectares, of which 1 million hectares of arable land and 200,000 hectares

of agricultural land. What I have in mind is that part of this area should be cultivated with concentrated feed designed mainly for cattle, sheep, and horses because, although no one talks about horses, the 800,000 horses have to be fed. (lively applause) And in fact they eat and sometimes they eat more than they should owing to various illegal deeds--this situation must be stopped! If we propose to have and to raise the necessary number of draught animals, including horses, then we must also include in our program how to ensure the necessary fodder to enable us to feed them properly. (Lively applause)

In 1988 we should prepare for cultivating fodder on more than 2 million hectares, of which 1 million is arable land and 1 million is pastures and grasslands; they should be cultivated and included in the plan for crops. A sufficiently large area remains--another 3 1/2 million hectares of pastures and grasslands--but these 3 1/2 million hectares must be included in the plan for fodder crops and plants in accordance with the decision. We have to look for good plants that will ensure both large fodder crops, more proteins, and better nutritive substances. If the 3 1/2 million hectares designed for pastures and grasslands are cultivated appropriately, we will be able to reap at least 100 million tons of green mass--and this is the minimum we have to achieve! I am discussing this problem because I want to ask you, as soon as you return home, to examine this question and establish measures to proceed to implementing the programs for cultivating all these fodder crops.

It is not permissible to reap from those 3 1/2 million hectares the fodder crops we could reap from 1 million of well-tended hectares! In this respect we have gained positive experience; we have activities--both in plains, mountains and, for many years, in numerous counties--which demonstrate that such crops can be achieved under favorable conditions.

Thus all programs regarding the fodder base must be revised--both the cultivated and the other ones--including all row-crops and fodder crops in order to harvest everything necessary to ensure proper fodder for animals. At the same time, let us appropriately use those 3 1/2 million hectares of forestry land which are annually designated for grazing--and let us take care that extra seeding is carried out on this area as well.

By bearing all this in mind and appropriately organizing fodder production, one can say that we have everything necessary to properly feed our animals and to even have a surplus.

However, I would also like to draw attention to a problem. Let us use the crop rotation system on the million hectares of pastures, too--and maybe even increase it to 2 million--so that we can periodically change some of the pastures, proceed to the cultivation of grains, industrial and other plants and so that we can leave part of the arable lands for grazing as in fact was done in the past--which plays a very important role--and so that lands can lie fallow for 2-3 years. It is not I who should tell you how important this is, because there are many specialists

present here. Let us formulate a new program and approach the question of how to utilize lands in such a new way, so that we are able to achieve the yields of grains and industrial plants we need and so that we will also ensure a proper fodder base in general.

Thus necessary steps have to be taken in all sectors of animal breeding so that next year this branch is able to hold a more important place in our socialist agriculture. (Loud applause)

Greater attention has to be paid to better utilizing lands and to carrying out more extensive fertilization operations. Lands represent the decisive and basic factor for agricultural outputs; they belong to all our people. We must love and take care of lands as we take care of our most precious asset which ensures the very existence and future of our nation and the victory of socialism and communism! (Loud applause) For thousands of years our homeland's soil has been cultivated and has yielded crops. Unfortunately, it was not always taken care of and tended appropriately. Many people thought that they may simply put their claims on the land and that it is enough to plow or just scratch its surface--as was done in the past--to sow seeds and wait for the land to yield crops, because "that is what land is for!" We must change that thinking and attitude towards lands! We must understand that in order to achieve yields, lands must be tended, must be tilled properly, and everything necessary must be ensured so that lands can reward man's work. We must first and foremost proceed from the fact that all lands must be cultivated and that not a single square meter should lie fallow! Irrespective of whose property lands actually are, they are the property of the nation, of the people! The owner of all our lands are all our people--and the people demand that lands be tilled! The fact that one person or another is the owner, in one or another form, of land does not entitle that person to fail to cultivate it or neglect to tend it or properly till it; this includes lands in yards, in all sectors.

Thus the first problem that is posed is to take all necessary steps so that there is not a single square meter that lies fallow! We must frankly say that there are counties and units which each year do not cultivate 10-15 and sometimes even 20 percent of their lands.

We have a national program for irrigation, drainage, and for combating soil erosion. Such programs have been formulated for each county. The activity was begun in some areas but stopped half way; I am especially referring to anti-soil erosion and drainage operations. Even in the county that set an example in this respect things have begun to deteriorate although it is in this county in which the Central Station for Combating Soil Erosion is located. Irrigation operations have been carried out on more than 3 million hectares. By 1990 such operations should be carried out on 5.5 million hectares. However, I must frankly state that irrigation facilities are not utilized appropriately. How can it be possible that a county like Constanta--where 90 percent of lands are irrigated and where this year irrigation facilities will amount to 95 percent, but also Braila County with a similar situation--ranks among the last counties in terms of agricultural outputs.

Let us act with great determination to implement the programs we have for irrigation. Let us do all we can in this area next year in order to bring about a radical change in this overall activity! Let us implement our programs for scarification, for soil liming, and for natural fertilizers. I have discussed things with the comrades in the management of the Ministry of Agriculture and they are to make it a rule that natural organic fertilizers should be used on a given area of land at least once in 4 years, so that through rotation every 4 years the whole area will receive such fertilizers. The program for soil overliming should be applied the same way.

We have to take all necessary steps to carry out agrochemical analyses in order to establish the structure and requirements of soil both regarding chemical fertilizers--which should not be used at random--the overliming of soil, and other operations. We must practice scientific agriculture! Increased soil fertility requires that we be aware of what the soil needs so that it can be given what it needs.

As has been envisaged, we must set up, as soon as possible, centers for such analyses in all counties and agroindustrial councils, including units; there are not particular problems. Each agronomist knows and should know how to make a soil analysis, so that we are really able to proceed from appropriate conditions for our soil and so that it can thus yield maximum outputs.

We must understand that the arable and even agriculture area available in Romania today is of such a nature that it requires us to do all we can to achieve maximum yields per hectare. We cannot claim further land for cultivation. The only way is to achieve a highly productive agriculture, so that we can achieve appropriate yields. What we have achieved in numerous units and what we have achieved in the current year demonstrates our great possibilities in agriculture.

I would like to draw attention to secondary crops, both grains, industrial plants, and vegetables and fodder crops. Every year we cultivate 1 1/2 million hectares of fodder crops. This, too, constitutes--and should constitute--a very important way to ensure an appropriate fodder base. Secondary crops of corn, vegetables, and other crops must also ensure an additional output, so that we are able to achieve the same outputs on the whole area of grains, industrial, and other plants. Let us use early ripening hybrids and plants; however, they must be tended and taken care of under the same conditions as first-stage crops. This year, too, has proved that where this was done very good crops were achieved amounting to no less than those from areas which were sown in the spring. Another problem to which we have to pay attention is to do all we can to ensure that sowing operations are carried out on schedule, according to the right density, and under the agrotechnical conditions envisaged in our programs and norms.

I want to draw attention to the activity in state agricultural enterprises. As you were able to note today, a number--not a very great number--of state

agricultural enterprises have been awarded the high title of "Hero of the New Agrarian Revolution." However, on the whole, yields in state agricultural units cannot be satisfactory. Many state agricultural enterprises have lower yields than their neighboring agricultural cooperatives although, as you know, some years ago--true, quite a long time ago--state units achieved the largest yields of grains, industrial, and other crops. We still have a great number of such units but, on the whole, we cannot be satisfied. It is a very good thing that agricultural production cooperatives have improved and surpass state agriculture. However, it is a negative thing that state enterprises were satisfied with what they achieved at a given time, declared that they were a higher form of agriculture, and yielded small outputs. A higher form of socialist agriculture is both state agriculture and the cooperative one; they rank equally; no one is inferior compared to the other because they belong to and are the property of the whole people. What makes them different from each other is the fact that there is a different work remuneration system in cooperatives; it differs a little but, in fact, it is also based on the results of work performed. Both these sectors must understand and demonstrate their potential and superiority on the basis of outputs. Next year I would like state agriculture to eliminate its lags and to be in the forefront by taking account of both lands and the material-technical base at its disposal.

The Agricultural Machinery Units made a big contribution to and played an important role in everything we have achieved in agriculture and in cooperative farms. As a matter of fact, today operations are mechanized throughout the country, except for small areas where it is difficult to use machinery. We have attained a number of good results. We can say that we could not have obtained the good results in Olt County and in the front ranking units without the agricultural machinery units and the workers in these units--the mechanizers--who carried out good quality work. Nevertheless, we have some shortfalls in this field, too. We must admit that some inappropriate ploughing had been carried out on many important lands this fall; but it is decisive to carry out appropriate ploughing, with everything it involves. We should take all the measures to improve the activity of the machinery units and increase their responsibility in order to conclude works appropriately and on schedule. Even if somewhere, in one agricultural unit or another the management of the respective unit neglects work, the Agricultural Machinery Units and their managers and mechanizers should not permit it; they should see to it that agricultural works are carried out on schedule.

Measures should be taken in order to improve the activity of the agricultural production cooperatives, of the managerial councils, and of the general meetings and thus carry out the works on schedule. Each unit and each agricultural production cooperative should establish the necessary measures for the next year in order to appropriately fulfill the established production plans and to compete for a front ranking place, including the title of "Hero of the New Agrarian Revolution."

All these things require increased responsibility by the managerial councils of the working people in state agricultural units and machinery units, increased activity by the councils of the agricultural production cooperatives, and an increased role on the part of the general meetings of the cooperative members and working people in state agricultural cooperatives and in agricultural machinery units. These things will have to be seriously discussed and examined during the general meetings that will be held this winter and--as I have said from the very beginning--the cooperative members and the workers in all the sectors should fulfill their mission as owners, producers, and end-users, that is, masters of everything that is being produced in our country--therefore masters of agriculture, too--and work appropriately, as real owners and producers, in order to make the management work properly. They should engage with all their energy and participate actively in the fulfillment of the objectives of the new agrarian revolution. This is the guarantee for the implementation of the next year's objectives! (Loud, prolonged applause)

Resolute measures are required in order to improve the activity of the National Union of the Agricultural Production Cooperatives and of the county unions. The plenary meeting of the National Union of the Agricultural Production Cooperatives was held 2 days ago. These issues were discussed during that meeting, therefore I do not want to refer to them anymore. However, I cannot help mentioning that the Union was hardly active in 1986. Therefore, we must bring about radical changes in the activity of this sector, both at the central department and in the county unions.

Likewise, proper attention should be paid to the noncooperativized farms and to the private farms of the cooperative members in tilling lands and the plots of land allotted to them. We have already discussed these issues; I would like just to mention here that each meter of land should be tilled properly in order to obtain maximum yields. Particular attention should be paid to livestock breeding, taking into consideration the broad pastures and grasslands, including the forests in these areas, which should be properly used.

There are many problems in the field of agriculture. We have programs and subprograms for each sector of activity. From the first days of the next year we must start implementing all the measures aimed at the appropriate fulfillment of these programs and the attainment of record yields in 1987.

Winter should not be a period of rest in agriculture; it should be a period of intensive activity and thorough preparations for all the work that has to be done. We must do all we can so that all the agricultural objectives should be achieved at the end of the next year and the high competence of the working people, of peasantry, and of specialists, as well as their determination to do everything in order to serve the cause of people, of socialism, and of communism should be proved! (Loud, prolonged applause and cheers; prolonged chants of "Ceausescu-RCP!" and "Ceausescu and the people!")

Dear Comrades, we should pay increased attention to the activity of a better water management and of regulating rivers and creeks. Water is a national property and should be kept as clean as possible and used with the greatest care. Ensuring drinking water and the needs of agriculture, irrigation, and industry has started to become a problem in our country also.

Decisive measures should be taken in all the counties--starting with the National Council for Water Administration--to fulfill the programs we have in this field in order to ensure the amount of water we need and to combat any kind of water pollution in every sector of activity. In this respect, I believe that the county bodies, including the agricultural bodies, particularly the county people's councils, should pay great attention to this problem. We must most resolutely start implementing the programs for regulating, preserving, and protecting water!

Likewise, greater attention should be paid to the implementation of the programs in the field of forestry--I am referring to rational felling, to reforestation of the entire area with the most valuable species, in accordance with the programs of ensuring the appropriate density, and to tending to the pastures and grassland in mountain areas, which are in the care of the silvicultural bodies.

I believe that all the people's councils, agricultural councils, and the county party committees should pay proper attention to and follow consistently the appropriate implementation of the plans and programs stipulated for this field of activity. I think I do not have to stress the importance of forests, not only from an economic and ecological point of view, but also their importance for preserving climate and for the development of life in general.

The plenum discussed the self-sufficiency program. I think you noted that actions should be taken in every county--in accordance with the stipulated norms and programs--in order to ensure an appropriate supply with all kinds of products, including meat and animal products.

We established that, as of next year, every county should observe rules on the number of animals to be slaughtered in accordance with the established norms and should ensure meat and other products from their own county's resources, and thus be responsible for the appropriate supply of the county, according to the number of cattle, pigs, and sheep, established for this purpose and observe the envisaged slaughtering weight. Every time the norms for slaughtering weight are not observed, the population receives less meat. No slaughtering exceeding the established number of animals for every county will be permitted; I am referring here to the envisaged amount for the centralized stock of agricultural products and foodstuffs. On each private farm, people should breed animals and ensure completely their own meat and animal products supply, according to the way they breed their animals, but at the same time they should ensure the animal and animal products delivery to the state in accordance with the contracts established with the state.

On this basis, proper self-sufficiency will be ensured in all the counties; nevertheless, I would like to draw attention to the fact that there are some counties which do not ensure the necessary number of cattle for the next year and there are some counties that do not ensure their own supply of pigs and some counties not even their own supply of sheep.

We envisage for the next year--as is stipulated by the programs, too--to find radical solutions to this problem and see to it that all counties will ensure cattle, pigs, and sheep breeding so that in 1988 they need not--and will not--receive anything from other counties.

I believe that every county, assisted by the Ministry of Agriculture, should establish the necessary measures in order to solve this problem during the next year. It is not enough to speak about self-sufficiency and then telephone Bucharest in order to receive agricultural products and foodstuffs. This is nonsense and a misinterpretation of the self-sufficiency issue. The law--which I hope you have not forgotten--says that nobody can consume more than he produces. But the law also says that first of all, all the units and counties, including the private producers, must ensure delivery to the state and must observe the contracts and commitments they have with the state. No county, under any circumstances, is allowed to slaughter animals for its own consumption, from the number designated for the centralized stock. The so-called emergency slaughtering will be included in the number of animals to be slaughtered in a given county. No excuses are permitted! We must put an end to waste and illegal actions that take place in this field of activity.

All units and counties are greatly responsible for delivering good quality products on schedule to the centralized stock of agricultural products and foodstuffs. The products earmarked for the general consumption of the population, animal fodder, and the state reserves are also included in the centralized stock of agricultural produce and foodstuffs in order to be able to control and follow up and at the same time ensure a most rational management in accordance with the requirements of the self-sufficiency program and other needs of industry and exports. The complete delivery on schedule of agricultural produce and foodstuffs is a high patriotic duty in the general interests of the whole nation.

I have referred in a critical way at the beginning to some very negative aspects and I do not wish to repeat them. Nevertheless, I hope that all the necessary conclusions have been drawn and such a state of affairs, such waste, counter to the interests of the people, of the state, and of the socialism, will never be repeated.

Esteemed Comrades, the implementation of the objectives for increasing agricultural production and developing the other sectors of activity requires perfecting and improving the whole activity of scientific research. The new agrarian revolution requires that science firmly embark upon developing new seeds and seedlings and new animal breeds with a higher productive potential. Likewise, new technologies for agricultural works and for animal feeding should be developed. A new concept should

be introduced in achieving the right densities and right amount of time required for accomplishing agricultural activities. You have seen the programs: In case of many crops we increased the density two- or even three-fold. We reduced the distance between rows, in case of wheat from 12 centimeters to 6 centimeters; flax from 12 centimeters to 4 centimeters, and accordingly with all the other plants. In the case of soy beans we will reduce the distance from 60 to 12 centimeters. I am speaking about the distance between the rows of plants and you know all the provisions and norms established in this respect. Resolute measures are required to implement the established norms! A complete stop should be put to the old theories and--I can express it more clearly--to everything that one learned in the university regarding density and regarding some technologies. The old saying that "sparse rows will fill up the chart" should be considered as an old, backward concept which could be applied to a certain situation when they used to scratch the land with a wooden plough and indeed, there were not proper conditions for the plant to grow.

But today, when we do scarification work at a depth of 70 centimeters, soil loosening operations at 45 centimeters depth, when we irrigate the land, do land improvement operations, and use fertilizers, this concept of the past does not apply to current conditions. We must not view today's agriculture, with its current requirements, the way we used to view it in the past.

We must also improve agricultural instruction but first of all we must improve agricultural operations, the formulation of agricultural technologies, and the activity of specialists, peasants, and all agricultural workers. We need new technologies and a new, revolutionary theory in agriculture! Seeds alone cannot solve problems. Certainly, seeds play an important role; but the same kind of seeds brought crops of 25 or 27 metric tons of corn per hectare in some units and 5,000 or 6,000 kg of corn in other units; while in still other units, the results were 3,000 kg of corn per hectare. Therefore, seeds alone do not solve problems, although they are very important and we need better seeds, early and frost-resistant seeds, which go deep down for water. We have discussed this problem many times with researchers and we must struggle to develop such seeds. However, without new technologies and a new theory regarding agricultural activity, we will not be able to achieve the great yields we want to achieve and we will not be able to accomplish the agrarian revolution! That is why, together with seeds, seedlings, and animals, we need completely new and revolutionary technologies! You must not expect everything to come from institutes! Every unit must start formulating, thinking, and trying! After all, what can go wrong if every state unit and agricultural cooperative farm starts experimenting with higher densities of wheat on 10 square meters of land and of corn on another 10 square meters of land! The yield will not be lost but you will be able to learn and see for yourselves, from your own experience, what can be achieved. I know that many units carried out such experiments and were convinced that it was right! Certainly, you saw these things done by others. But you know how people are; until they do not actually see things for themselves, they shake their heads and ask with surprise;

"Did you really achieve that?!" But yields themselves are the telling proof--they do not exist only on paper! The yields achieved by Olt County went into the state stock. The Olt County farmers did not stop at announcing that they had achieved great agricultural crops but properly delivered to the state stock and for the population's supply and accordingly distributed to the cooperative members. Therefore, we are not speaking about theories, comrades! The same thing can be said about the units which achieved big yields and were given awards here, today. Thus, we must start formulating new technologies in all the agricultural fields and in all the sectors, including animal feeding.

We must understand that all scientists, researchers, technicians, specialists in every unit, working people, and peasants should start together to bring about radical changes in agriculture because the new agrarian revolution can be achieved only on the basis of the latest scientific discoveries, agricultural technologies, and modern technologies in all fields of activity. I am convinced that all researchers, specialists, and all the working people in villages will work in such a way as to bring about radical changes in agriculture and in applying the discoveries of the agrarian revolution.

Likewise, we should also apply more firmly the principle of socialist remuneration according to the work carried out and the production achieved in all the sectors of activity. We have established clear norms for all sectors. The new norms regarding the allowance of some percent of the agricultural production for payment in kind create better conditions for each person to acquire a larger quantity of agricultural products. Therefore, increasing agricultural yields is the way to increase income and the way to acquire more grain and agricultural products for remuneration purposes. The new remuneration system we have established creates very good conditions and we must see to it that it is known and applied consistently in all the sectors of activity.

Dear Comrades, we have many problems to solve in agriculture. Therefore, further improvement in the way of managing and planning agriculture should be ensured. I am mostly thinking about properly applying the principles of managing and planning agriculture, increasing the responsibility of democratic bodies, of working people's councils, and of cooperatives, and ensuring the direct participation of working people and peasantry in the whole activity. Developing workers' revolutionary democracy and ensuring the people's participation--including working people in agriculture--in leading all the sectors of activity is the decisive factor for successfully implementing all the objectives for our homeland's development, including the objectives regarding the achievement of the new agrarian revolution. We must see to it that working people in agriculture and all the peasantry appropriately fulfill their role as owners and producers, masters of the whole agriculture. Let us make a greater contribution to the general development of our socialist homeland! (Loud, prolonged applause)

The activity of the Ministry of Agriculture, of the county agricultural bodies, and of the other ministries belonging to the National Council of Agriculture should be improved. These past few days we have talked about the need to increase the responsibility of the Ministry of Agriculture in all activity to achieve agricultural production and also to conclude contracts and make delivery of agricultural produce and foodstuffs to the state stock completely and on time. All county councils and county agricultural bodies are also responsible for working in accordance with this requirement.

The activity of the Ministry of Food Industry and of the other central departments in fulfilling production plans and programs and in ensuring a superior processing of agricultural products and proper supply to the population should also be improved.

Concurrently, the Ministry of Silviculture and the National Council of Water Management should also perfect their activity and better fulfill the role they pay in the respective sectors.

Generally speaking, the National Council of Agriculture--as a domestic body that manages the whole activity--should perfect and improve its activity. I would like to tell you frankly that the National Council--particularly the Bureau of the National Council--has not properly fulfilled its role in coordinating and organizing the implementation of the Agriculture Congress decisions, the observance of the country's laws, and the implementation of the RCP Central Committee decisions. We must achieve radical changes and an immediate improvement of the activity of the National Council of Agriculture.

As you can see, we have many bodies and a very broad democratic framework. Now, we should start working and see to it that these democratic bodies operate and fulfill their responsibilities and duties.

We should take more resolute steps in the field of raising the training level of cadres in order to promote them in accordance with their training and with the way they carry out their duties and the production they actually achieve in various fields of activity. We must see to it that the whole activity of professional training of those who work in agriculture should be carried out in accordance with the new requirements, new experiences gained, and new exigencies existing in this field. The courses in agriculture and animal breeding which take place from now until end of February should ensure a high level of knowledge for all the working people and all the peasantry because we cannot obtain big agricultural yields without high professional and technological training in all the fields of activity. I stress again the decisive role of people. Thus, we should be concerned with developing the people's professional and technological training and with increasing the activity of political training and of molding the new man, conscious builder of socialism and communism. Starting from the theory--which has fully proved its correctness--that socialism is built with people and for people, we should work so that we achieve the new agrarian revolution with the peasantry and for the

peasantry, with all the working people in agriculture, and with all people and for all people! (Loud, prolonged applause)

Appropriate conclusions should be drawn from the activity of the people's councils. I believe that we should examine their activity within the Committee for People's Councils because they do not appropriately fulfill their role in agriculture. We should see to it that the county, commune, and town people's councils appropriately fulfill the role they play in the proper development of work and of the whole agricultural activity, in accordance with the laws of the country.

Likewise, it is necessary to improve the activity of the party bodies and organizations. Shortcomings that can be seen in various units, localities, and counties are not separated from the activity of the party organizations and bodies. We cannot talk about the leading role of the party bodies and organizations without requesting that each organization and each party member be in the front ranks in implementing the programs, plans, and party decisions, and observing the laws of the country. To be a communist and a revolutionary means to be in the front line of the struggle waged for the implementation of the objectives of the new agrarian and the new scientific and technological revolution and for the fulfillment of the party program! We cannot achieve the revolutionary transformation of society without firm and resolute revolutionaries who should do all they can to devotedly serve the cause of the people, of socialism, and of communism! (Loud, prolonged applause)

Order, responsibility, and discipline must be strengthened in every field! Let us broadly develop the revolutionary spirit in the work of all the working people and all the peasantry and in all sectors of activity!

The great objectives we have for next year's agriculture, as well as for all the other sectors, require a new style and a new, revolutionary working method, starting from the uniform management of the whole socioeconomic activity.

In the spring of 1987 we celebrate the 25th anniversary of completing cooperativization. In this short historical period, the Romanian village and all of agriculture has changed radically. Life and realities prove with the power of irrefutable facts the correctness of our party policy to carry out cooperativization and ensure the socialist development of agriculture; they also prove the correctness of the general policy of our party, which creatively applies the general laws to our country's realities and needs, thus ensuring Romania's firm progress on the road of socialism and communism, the continuous rise in the country's material and cultural power, and the rise in our people's general well-being, while strengthening Romania's independence and sovereignty! (Loud and prolonged applause; chants of "Ceausescu-RCP!" and "Ceausescu and the people!")

In the 40 years that have elapsed since the victory of the antifascist and anti-imperialist revolution for social and national liberation, we have carried out two great revolutions in agriculture. Now, we stand before

the third great revolution--the new agrarian revolution. The first two revolutions had mostly a socioeconomic character; while the new agrarian revolution gives priority to the application of the scientific discoveries and the achievement of a new production and of a new agriculture, since we are talking about the people's ownership of the land, about socialist property in agriculture, and socialist property throughout the economy. Let us celebrate the 25th anniversary of the victory of one of the revolutions--the cooperativization--by achieving record yields next year and by opening up new prospects for the unflinching implementation of the 13th RCP Congress decisions in agriculture and by achieving the new agrarian revolution!

We have great programs and plans for the future and we have all we need to fulfill them. Let us do all we can to prove with all the activity we are going to carry out next year, the strong power of our peasantry and of all those who work in agriculture and the strong power of agricultural science which, under the leadership of the party, ensures the achievement of the most daring objectives and the implementation of the greatest agrarian revolution, which requires a new man and a superior agriculture, with great yields. (Loud, prolonged applause; chants of "Ceausescu-RCP!" and "Ceausescu and the people!")

Dear Comrades, I would like to mention only the fact that our programs for agriculture make a decisive contribution to the implementation of our party policy of peace, disarmament, and cooperation with all the countries of the world regardless of their social system. The more we raise our socialist society, develop production in industry and agriculture, ensure progress in science and technology in all the sectors, the more we raise the people's general material and cultural standard of living; and the more we strengthen the technical-material base of the society, the more we increase our contribution to the policy of peace and actively participate in the struggle for a more just world, a world without arms and without wars, contribute to increasing the prestige of socialism in the world! (Loud, prolonged applause; prolonged chants of "Ceausescu-Peace!")

Since our people embarked on the struggle for disarmament with the 23 November referendum, we should support this struggle with our activity and by appropriately fulfilling the plans and programs in all the fields of activity, thus in agriculture, too.

Our people--through their vote for disarmament--proved not only their desire for peace, but also their determination to live in friendship and cooperation with all the countries of the world, regardless of their social system. Our people reasserted their desire that interstate relations be based on the principles of equality, respect for independence and sovereignty, noninterference in domestic affairs, and complete elimination of the force and the threat of force. We will do all we can to make a contribution to the implementation of these principles in the world and to fulfill our people's will and request--since it is identical with the will of all the people of the world--to live in peace, freedom, and independence! (Loud, prolonged applause; prolonged chants of "Ceausescu-Romania, peace and friendship!")

In conclusion, I would like again to express my belief that all the participants in the expanded Agriculture Council plenum, all the working people in agriculture, and all the peasantry will proceed with all their determination to work in order to implement the objectives of the new agrarian revolution, in 1987, and to achieve record yields in all the sectors. (Loud applause; chants of "Ceausescu-RCP!" and "Ceausescu and the people!")

With this belief and because we are only a few days away from the new year, I would like to convey to all the participants in the plenum, all the working people in agriculture, and all the peasantry, ever greater successes in all the fields of activity, satisfaction in work and life! Much health and happiness! A new year with outstanding results in all the fields! A happy new year! (Prolonged applause and chants; prolonged chants of "Ceausescu-Happy New Year!")

This plenary meeting being the last one this year, I would like to take the opportunity to convey to all the working people in the other sectors and to all our people wishes for ever greater achievements in all their activity and a new year with ever better results, and the traditional "Happy New Year!" (Loud applause and chants; chants of "Ceausescu-RCP!", "Ceausescu and the people!", and "Ceausescu-Happy New Year!". In an atmosphere of great enthusiasm and close unity around the party, all those present at the plenary meeting stand up and cheer at length for the RCP and for the party secretary general, the president of the Republic, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu).

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CAREER OF TRANSYLVANIAN POET, TRANSLATOR REVIEWED

[Editorial Report] Bucharest LUCEAFARUL in Romanian No 51, 20 December 1986 prints on page 6 an 800-word article by Vasile Netea on the career of Transylvanian poet and translator Emil Giurgiuca on the eve of his 80th birthday.

Giurgiuca was born on 27 December 1906 in a small commune of Salaj county. After high school he attended the University of Bucharest receiving his degree in 1929. He embarked upon a teaching career thereafter and held posts in such cities as Sighisoara, Cluj and Bucharest. A contributor to many literary magazines of his day, he published his first volume of poetry "Anotimpuri" ("Seasons") in 1938. His literary output continued uninterrupted during the war years, which he spent in Bucharest. A book of poems titled "Semne pe scut" ("Marks on the Shield") appeared as recently as 1972. Giurgiuca has also published anthologies containing work by fellow Transylvanian poets.

According to Netea, Giurgiuca is one of the best translators of Hungarian literature into Romanian. In 1947 he published an anthology of Hungarian lyric poetry for which he was later awarded a Writers Union prize. He has also translated such Hungarian authors as Zsigmond Moricz, Gyula Ilies and Iossef Darvas.

Netea describes Giurgiuca as being "closer to Blaga than any other Transylvanian poet" and states that his "patriotic poetry embraces the Romanian soil with verve and tenderness, without chauvinism and violence" and that "a powerful folkloric pathos resounds in his verse."

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FRG WEEKLY ASSESSES LUTHERAN CHURCH'S ROLE, PROSPECTS

Bonn RHEINISCHER MERKUR/CHRIST UND WELT in German 21 Nov 86 p 26

[Article by Heinrich Stubbe: "No Challenge to Erich Honecker: the Churches in the GDR Between Independence and Cooperation with Non-Christians"]

[Text] The time now is one of peace and the churches of both Germanies have ushered in a decade of peace with the slogan "peace be with you." There are plans for numerous events in which to point out what is important in a world on the brink of a possible apocalypse. Both churches, the Protestant church in the FRG (EKD) and the League of Protestant Churches in the GDR, on the whole agree on their main objective; however, they are at odds over particulars. Problems of the previous year may serve as a reminder in this respect. It is above all the GDR's church that is reviewing--and has to review--its self-image as a church within the context of its actions for peace.

In a letter to the synod, Johannes Hempel, bishop of Saxony's Land Church, emphatically endorsed an independent engagement by the church in peace activities. He justified this independent work for peace by saying that pacifism must be seen as a spontaneous demonstration of faith and as an expression of the will of God. He wanted to make clear the church's independence from politically motivated peace actions. He said that the church in itself is not a peace movement, it rejects all temporal powers and trusts only in the might of moral persuasion.

The danger of political co-optation and dependence also worried former bishop, Albrecht Schoenherr. He spoke rather skeptically of joint actions between politically independent peace advocates in the GDR and the FRG. He said that such political actions carry quite a different weight in the GDR. In the FRG, words "get easily overlooked", while people in the GDR have become accustomed to reading between the lines.

The church under socialism faces a dilemma about how to give its independent testimony for peace. It has to live with the atheistic state, but at the same time it has to preserve its separate identity. The synodal conference of the GDR's League of Churches in Erfurt in September made it clear that the delegates were aware of their independence as well as of their obligation to cooperate with non-Christians. One resolution read: "We must not refuse such cooperation because we are too worried about our identity." As important as

this insight is, the cardinal question about the degree of cooperation before a loss of identity occurs remains unanswered.

What that means for the concrete situation in the GDR is that the SED-leadership is only waiting to make use and take advantage of the church's peace efforts for its own political purposes. The delegates were fully aware of the absence of rules and regulations that say "the buck stops here." This problematic issue reached a settlement of some kind with the remark that in the end everything depends on the way one looks at it, and since misinterpretations are unavoidable, the church too just might have to settle for a somewhat relative point of view.

Again, this is easier said than done. The church leadership of Berlin-Brandenburg has just declared in an open letter, signed by General Superintendent Guenter Krusche, that no "peace workshop" is planned for 1987. The "peace workshop" is a forum for independent, peace-oriented groups within the GDR. There, they discuss explosive and generally off-limits topics ranging from the discrimination against minorities to the neglect of ecological problems. State and party organs of the GDR have been quite displeased with the way the subject of the Chernobyl nuclear reactor catastrophe has been dealt with. To prevent any future displeasure, the church leadership has been talking about additional time for reflection for the "peace workshop" because of an obvious lack of theological content on such occasions and because there seem to exist massive communication problems. Despite a denial of any direct connection with the lay conference, planned for 1987, which has been intentionally ignored by the East-Berlin magistrate, there is an historical awareness of a "tense situation."

Even though it is easy to find substantial flaws with the church's independent stand, the fact remains that to be a Christian in the GDR means the attachment of a higher value to the survival of the church than to her martyrdom. Protestant Christians in the GDR have to struggle constantly for more breathing space. As long as the relationship between church and state remains determined by the summit talks with Erich Honecker that took place 6 March 1978 [original article gives 1987, but the summit was held in 1978], it is understandable that Protestant church leaders are aiming for a new encounter to clarify topical positions. Fresh areas of conflict such as the peace issue also need discussing. In an interview, though, the Bishop of Thuringia, Werner Leich, new chairman of the League of Churches in the GDR, made it quite clear that a second discussion about basic issues with Honecker is nowhere in sight.

There is a good bit of speculation about why the leader of the GDR is delaying such an important meeting. It could be that Moscow is opposed, or that the greater political picture does not warrant it, or for any other such reason. The fact is that a self-assured Honecker does not need support from a church that is quite peaceful in itself, since it is not joining ranks with the rebellious discontented and is busy with plenty of internal worries. Whoever expects a sworn solidarity among churches just because they are surrounded by atheism is mistaken. Churches in the GDR too have less than desirable attendance, and there are frustrated clerics and sectarian off-shoots instead of consolidated congregations. Guenter Krusche, the same general

superintendent who signed the open letter to the "peace workshop" said not too long ago that this kind of pluralism oftentimes renders the church incapable of presenting the united front that is indispensable when attempting negotiations with the state. The Protestant churches of the GDR certainly present no challenge to Erich Honecker, thus he can afford to let them wait as long as he pleases.

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