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JPRS-EER-87-029

27 FEBRUARY 1987

East Europe Report

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27 FEBRUARY 1987

EAST EUROPE REPORT

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READERS CRITICAL OF FINANCE MINISTRY POLICIES

Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 11 Nov 86 p 3

[Text] From the correspondence that arrived at the editorial office in connection with the "Law and Money" series, one can draw many conclusions. Two of them are particularly suggestive and probably most important. First, the unusually large number of letters and telephone calls proves that many people care about the subject; in other words, it pervades society. Second, it is typical that all the letter writers agree with what the author of "Law and Money" wrote and if they have any objection, it is to his excessive moderation. Besides numerous examples illustrating the way the actions of our finance apparatus bypass broadly perceived state and public interests and sometimes the law, the letter writers offered many general comments. B. Kowalczyk of Warsaw expressed public concerns and criticism in the most succinct way. He wrote that "one could place this banner over the Ministry of Finance: We do not care how much the country loses; for us the most important thing is that no citizen get rich."

As is evident from a letter from the Finance Ministry's press agent published in ZYCIE WARSZAWY, finance authorities evaluate their activity in a completely different way and see it in a much more favorable light. But as the old principles says, if three people in a row tell you you are drunk, then even if you are absolutely certain of your sobriety, go home and go to sleep. There must be something to this if people say so universally and even write to the newspaper that in their opinion our finance apparatus, particularly during the years of our hardest economic difficulties, acts like the farmer who slaughters his sheep instead of shearing them. Some write openly about "self-annihilation by taxation," having in mind not only private trade, crafts and industry, but also numerous branches of state industry, where the finance and tax system is clipping wings. Particularly aggravating, says the employees of such branches of industry as electronics, automation or motor transport, is the tax system's taking away of opportunities for growth in these fields, which are universally acknowledged all over the world as crucial to the progress and modernization of the entire economy, while it closes its eyes to the enormous deficits in other fields, i.e., certain metallurgical plants that collect billions in state subsidies. Provincial governors, city and gmina managers and national council members agree that the practice of the finance department's operations completely ignores the political trend toward .pa development of territorial self-management. The center takes almost all the

earnings of territorial units, then distributes them magnanimously through the budget and subsidies.

In addition, it is really time to think seriously about how to get out of the vicious circle of low productivity and the low standard of living. For the purely fiscal approach to this problem, apparent in the practice and philosophy of the finance department's operations, is not only disadvantageous, in many areas it is flagrantly harmful. Because, as one reader wrote, "no one knows how to do it so that people do not rich but still have the desire to work."

Many readers called attention to the almost universal principle in the operation of our finance apparatus of the dissimilar treatment of similar facts depending on whether it means profit for the treasury or the citizens. One example could be the matter of Polish Security Bank dollar coupons. If a craftsman or owner of a small private factory buys some material or machine for coupons at PEWEX, then in calculating his costs according to the finance authorities, he can count those outlays at the official exchange rate, currently 200 zloty per dollar. If the same craftsman or anyone else sells coupons, they will be calculated at the free market rate, over 800 zloty pr dollar. Another absurdity is counting a wife's earnings in the family's income if she works outside the home, but if she and her husband operate a service station, for example, her income is not counted, although she is officially employed, since the Social Security Agency collects insurance premiums calculated according to incomes of 25,000 zloty per month. And again, when it comes to taking money, the wife works and earns money, but when it comes to calculating extra taxes, e.g., the so-called surtax, the wife's earnings do not exist and the husband's earnings alone are not enough to account for earnings after expenses (i.e., trips to the sanatorium in Bulgaria, as happened to Szczepan Dynarski of Walbrzych who, having had enough of such practices, gave up his service business).

In a long telephone conversation with J.M. (an economist), he said that he has observed the workings of our finance apparatus with great sadness and concern, not only because in recent years they have often been illegal (something like a recurrence of the practices of that apparatus in the mid-1950s) but also, or perhaps most of all, because they are harmful to the economy and produce long term bad effects. Then he enumerated a series of taxation policy errors, among them the destruction, in many cases beyond recall, of thousands of mills, brickyards, tile works, smithies and other village crafts, and now the visible destruction of Polish fruit farming, about which Prof Szczepan Pieniazek wrote recently, and one can certainly rely on his opinion. Recently, because of the mill shortage, we shipped grain for grinding to Czechoslovakia and there is still no place to make ground meal, especially buckwheat. As far as brickyards and tile works are concerned, it is probably worth recalling that even rural brick kilns which were created, for example, under the celebrated "Nowy Sacz experiment" in the 1960s, were quickly eliminated because of the taxes imposed on them. So there too the principle operated that it is better that new houses and barns were not built, while roofs leaked because of the tile shortage, than that someone in a poor neighboring village should get a little richer. In any case, there was no likelihood of getting richer there because the bricks and tiles manufactured were not enough to satisfy even their own needs.

These preventive measures, designed so that one cannot get rich, even if the country and the public were to derive great benefits therefrom, lay at the foundations of well known rules on taxation of exchanges and sales of residences. Most of the letters were on this subject, but the issue is already "being dealt with"; a bill of new laws has even been published and perhaps as a result of government efforts on one hand and public discussion on the other, something will change for the better. Helena Zajackowska of Warsaw, who lives on a modest pension and wants to exchange her larger apartment for a smaller one (whereby some family would gain and the public interest would be satisfied) write, "I was literally flabbergasted after reading that sentence in the letter from the Finance Ministry's press agent about the millions in income obtained through exchanges of residences." Further, "I am in the midst of efforts to exchange a large apartment for a smaller one, which should arouse the vigilance of the Finance Ministry." H. Zajackowska also writes that she is vacillating and backing out of numerous exchange offers so it would not turn out that she would gain something from it.

Employees of the finance apparatus object strongly when there is loud talk of their treating the public as swindlers and crooks. But under other circumstances it happens that this can be verified in writing. Tadeusz Zbierski of Warsaw wrote to the State Insurance Bureau [PZU] for a credit on his auto insurance regardless of whether or not he cancelled his supplementary insurance. He felt that basing a credit for accident-free driving on whether or not one pays for supposedly voluntary coverage is yet another means of extorting premiums for this insurance, which by law is voluntary. He received a response from PZU in which it was written that such a credit would increase the deficit in transportation insurance and that literally "in this situation, introducing a credit would elicit criminogenic events, since such a credit would be a reward for leaving the scene of an accident." And so, writes Zbierski, "one who does not pay for that coverage (voluntary, according to insurance laws) is a potential criminal leaving the scene of accident, according to PZU." Well, if a PZU department head expresses such an attitude in a letter to a customer, this is most likely not merely an expression of his own attitudes, Especially since this is an institution that is directly subordinate to the Finance Ministry and carries out its policies with its methods.

But on the other hand, citizens also sometimes use methods far removed from honesty and loyalty toward the state. We will try to write about this too.

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CSO: 2600/204

MINISTRY REPORT ON PRICE HIKE REGULATIONS

LD090000 Warsaw PAP in English 2123 GMT 8 Jan 87

[Text] Warsaw, Jan. 8 -- Following is a summary of a report by the Finance Ministry on the instruments of the price policy in 1987, which points out that fully application of the economic reform programme requires giving the prices the character of genuine economic parameter.

This is to facilitated by:

-- departure from the cost-plus formula of prices in favour of more closely tying the domestic prices to world market prices (this chiefly applies to materials and components) and wider use of contractual prices which take account of the conditions on the domestic market.

-- curtail subsidizing of goods production and services.

-- reduction state influence on contractual prices and changed forms of that influence to curb tying price level and changes to the level and changes of costs of an individual producer.

-- increase of such elements of state influence on prices, which seeks to stimulate better product quality, stability of contractual links between suppliers and buyers, better use of recycled materials, and so on.

Close relations of the domestic to world prices is best facilitated by wider use of foreign trade prices (expressed in zloty at the official rate of exchange) in import and export of goods.

The list of goods and services to have official prices, passed by the parliament, has been amended for 1987 to open the way for still wider use of foreign trade prices in imports of basic materials and components.

Deletions from the list include synthetic fibres, imported wool, cotton, rubber, phosphorites and apatites, metal ores (except iron ore), and imported iron and steel products as well as imported non-ferrous metal products, which means that settlement for imports into Poland of those items will be done according to foreign trade prices.

A number of Polish-made materials and components have also been dropped from the list: sulphur and sulphuric acid, cement, sawmill timber and sawn timber will all be priced with contractual prices this year.

But this is not to say that in the above mentioned instances prices would be set quite freely with no state influence at all, since indices of maximum permissible increases of contractual prices in 1987 have been set for all the Polish-made materials and components dropped from the list of goods to have official prices.

However, contractual prices cause considerable changes in the working of the companies. It can be best seen on the example of cement production.

Production costs vary considerably in different cement plants and some 94 per cent of all cement manufacture in Poland are estimated to be profitable at contractual prices staying within the 1987 official price rise index.

But the cost of the remaining six per cent cannot be squeezed inside this index, which means that rigorous application of the price hike index to these producers would push them soon into bankruptcy.

So it has been proposed to let them sell their produce at higher prices than indicated by the price rise index for as long as they find buyers willing to pay more. If they cease to have demand for more expensive production, the market mechanism will naturally eliminate the ineffective producers.

The list of foods placed on the official prices table has also been curtailed, though in a lesser measure than materials and components.

Prices of pluck have been changed from official to contractual ones (following the lifting of their rationing) as were the prices of cream, lump, powdered and refined sugar (that is, all kinds of sugar except for white granulated sugar which is the basic kind in market supply), rice, imported cheese, tea of the "Assam" brand, matches and imported spirits and tobacco.

These goods are not of basic significance for household maintenance costs and the share of money spent for their purchase is not large in the general family budget. The transfer of prices for pluck products produced by meat plants from officially regulated to contractual ones increases interest in expanding production and improving its quality. State meat plants must take into account the competition from other economic units and private plants producing meat.

Retail prices for edible potatoes have been changed from official prices to contractual ones but official prices are still used in their procurement. This means that these prices should be determined with consideration given to market conditions. There is full equilibrium between the supply and demand on the potato market and this should lower the costs of commodity turnover and force prices to be determined on competitive levels.

The procurement price of potatoes is an important element of profit accounting in pig rearing. That is why the use of contractual prices in the procurement of potatoes should be tied with the use of the same kind of prices in the procurement of pigs, but conditions are not yet ripe for this.

Contractual prices are set under the regulations of the law on prices through agreement reached between suppliers and buyers, between producers and commercial organizations.

Prices for some foodstuffs, namely barley groats, noodles, and canned baby food as well as prices for dressing products and notebooks have been changed from official to officially regulated prices. These are highly subsidized goods. The transfer of their prices to regulated prices will allow subsidies to remain on the same level as in 1986. This means, however, that the rise in production costs in 1987 must be covered by an increase in prices. This will make it possible to check the growth of budget subsidies.

The state's influence on price shaping for supply and investment goods will be retained in 1987. The resolution on the ban on contractual price hikes for supply and investment goods serves this end above all.

The basic principles of banning price hikes will be retained, specifically in (1) transferring only a portion of the effects of price hikes for raw materials, and power and transportation fares onto prices of goods, (2) the possibility to raise prices for a specific good above the level justified by an allowable rise in costs, provided that prices for other goods will be raised by a respectively lower margin (that is, balancing the effects of price changes and the effects of cost changes at the level of enterprises).

Regulations on banning price hikes do not refer to spare parts. This is aimed at creating conditions for the profitability of their production and as a result for the development of spare parts production and their better supply.

Like last year the regulations on banning price rises are not binding in relation to products which were granted the state "Q" and "I" quality marks as well as goods produced in at least 30 per cent from scrap raw materials and materials and co-production good if their supplier signs a contract for long-term co-production supplies.

The following are the basic instruments of protecting buyers of marketables from excessive price hikes: determining indices of maximum hikes of these prices and obliging producers by the Minister of Finance to inform the Treasury Department about planned price hikes. The Treasury Department has the right to postpone the date of the introduction of price hikes for a period of up to three months.

Special solutions have been applied to contractual prices for children's clothes, hosiery and stocking products. In recent years enterprises have become notably less interested in the manufacture of these products.

In connection with this the limits in determining contractual prices for children's goods have been relaxed in 1987. At present the most important thing is to stir production and the supply of these products.

A maximum index of price hikes has been set but only for clothing, hosiery and stocking products for children under the age of 2. Indices for products for children above this age have been foregone.

With a view to countering excessive price rises for children's products and the consolidation of the profitability of their production, the Minister of Finance will introduce a deduction in income taxes for producers of these products at a level of 2 per cent of the value of sold goods.

Price influence on the quality of goods is to be strengthened so as to facilitate the introduction of relevant price falls in cases of poorer quality of production.

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CSO: 2020/52

JARUZELSKI MEETS WITH FIAT PRESIDENT

AU141351 Rome ANSA in English 1055 GMT 14 Jan 87

[Excerpts] Rome, January 14--Poland's leader, General Wojciech Jaruzelski today begins his third and last day of a state visit to Italy, his first to a Western nation since taking power in 1981.

Tuesday afternoon Jaruzelski went to the Capitoline hill to be received by Mayor Signorello and Italian industrialists. In his pocket he had a list of 120 Polish companies ready to undertake joint ventures with Italian firms.

He announced that in coming years, however, Italy could not expect coal supplies in exchange for exports because Poland had no way of increasing its present extractive capacities.

Later in the day, the general met with the Fiat president who was visibly satisfied with the way things were going. At the end of their talk, Agnelli said that only the signature was lacking to an agreement that would see Fiat providing around 1,700 million dollars worth of machinery to two Fiat plants in Poland by the end of the century. In exchange, the Italian company pledged to repurchase 1,500 million dollars worth of automobiles within the same period.

Trade between Italy and Poland dropped last year to around 600 million dollars with a deficit for Italy of around 100 million dollars.

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CSO: 2020/52

MESSNER BELGRADE INTERVIEW ON ECONOMIC REFORM

LD230001 Warsaw PAP in English 2125 GMT 22 Dec 86

[Text] Belgrade, Dec. 22--The Belgrade-based weekly NIN published the text of an interview granted by Polish Prime Minister Zbigniew Messner to Radio Belgrade and emitted two weeks ago. The interview dealt with an array of issues including Poland's socio-economic situation and its activity on the international arena and prospects for the development of Polish-Yugoslav relations which were assessed by the head of the Polish Government as very good.

Messner said that the current phase of the economic reform in Poland was of a very wide scope and encompassed all the realms of the country's socio-economic life. He emphasized that worker self-management was one of the principal premises of the reform.

The prime minister said that some Western countries, especially the United States, were incessantly trying to exert pressure on Poland, they employed discriminatory measures or simply interfered with Poland's internal affairs.

Messner evaluated at 15 billion dollars the losses sustained by Poland as a result of the economic restrictions imposed by the U.S. over the past four years. We do not want to improve our relations with the U.S. at any cost, said Poland's prime minister. However, some realism has been evident in the stance of the U.S. ruling circles of late, he noted.

Messner pointed to the support and assistance for Poland on the part of the Soviet Union. In this context he emphasized the importance of the new agreements concerning the development of the fraternal, mutually beneficial Polish-Soviet cooperation, concluded during the recent visit to Poland by Soviet Prime Minister Nikolay Ryzhkov.

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CSO: 2020/52

MESSNER ASSESSES ECONOMIC PERFORMANCE IN 1986

LD032202 Warsaw PAP in English 1749 GMT 3 Jan 87

[Text] Warsaw, Jan. 3--Sizing up 1986, Premier Zbigniew Messner told the government daily RZECZPOSPOLITA:

"To the government, this was primarily the year of intensive implementation of the line of action, mapped out by the 10th PUWP Congress. The adoption of the national socio-economic plan by the year 1990 is of key significance. The Third PUWP CC Plenum approved methods of initiating the second stage of the economic reform, proposed by the government: Departing from subsidies, the effectiveness-oriented restructuring of the system of wages and prices, and active policy of the currencies' exchange rates. In other words, these methods consisted in making parameters of controlling the economy for the necessary growth of its effectiveness real.

"The national income rose, Poland's economic potential strengthened, industrial and agricultural output grew and the supplies of marketables improved. The movement of prices was kept within the announced limits. In foreign trade, consistent re-orientation of cooperation towards socialist states progressed.

"These are attainments of entire society gained under difficult conditions," Messner underlined.

"The most important issue now is universal understanding that 'the second stage' is not a change of the reform's concept but, on the contrary, the accelerated attainment of its model solutions," Messner said.

"The spreading of real economic parameters and their objectivization will require to essentially change public thinking about economy," the prime minister went on.

"As for bilateral relations within socialist countries, we deepened many initiatives to broaden various forms of industrial, scientific and technological cooperation. This process is advanced most in contacts with Soviet partner. The number of joint Polish-Soviet enterprises will rise from the 5 already existing by the next 12 ones. We strive to broaden similar forms of cooperation in our relations with other CMEA members.

"Within the CMEA itself, we come out for stepping up and deepening many-sided forms of cooperation. We think the possibilities of solely quantitative growth of turnover got exhausted and qualitative progress is necessary: To make rational, effective and joint use of combined scientific and production potentials."

Discussing Poland's foreign policy Messner said:

"Poland's regaining of her position worldwide enabled her to considerably step up our activeness to promote peace."

"We invariably support the USSR's peace proposals and take consistent steps within the entire socialist community to consolidate peace worldwide and international security," Messner added stressing that the right to safe and peaceful life is considered in Poland as the most fundamental human right.

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CSO: 2020/52

SOVIET TRANSSHIPMENTS MONITORED BY COMPUTER

Lublin SZTANDAR LUDU in Polish 28 Oct 86 p 3

[Text] SITOS is an acronym for wide gauge track information system. Its main component is a computer that "knows" everything about what is going on with the cars and freight shipped by Soviet railmen to Polish railmen and vice versa.

The computer was installed several months ago in the transshipment border region in Kobylany. It does the work of those who up to now had to literally watch over a railcar's every movement, for it was necessary to note what and where it was reloaded, how it was done, when the freight was sent on and when the cars--those just loaded as well as the empty ones--were moved to a siding or to the other partner. In the event of delays of railcars, large penalties are paid. So the installation of a computer was not just a step toward modernity but above all a necessity.

A computer like the one in Kobylany was also installed on the other side of the border in the USSR, since such a solution was provided for by the agreement between the Central Administration of the State Railroad and the management of the Bialorussian Iron Railroad in Minsk.

The creation of a modern information system at border stations is designed to contribute to improving the quality and promptness of mutual services, reducing the time for transshipping freight and railcar delays as well as rapid dispatching of freight destined for consignees all over Europe or going to the Far East.

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CSO: 2600 /204

DOMESTIC COMPUTERS PRODUCED FOR WROCLAW INSTITUTE

Warsaw KURIER POLSKI in Polish 28 Oct 86 p 1

[Text] The pricing policy of companies dealing in sales of Western computer equipment to Polish institutions has brought an unanticipated result. The Wroclaw Polytechnic has itself begun production of machines much cheaper and not at all worse than the IBM PC. And it was possible thanks to a sawmill.

Computerizing the school was a necessity, explained Prof Tomasz Winnicki, deputy rector of the polytechnic. "But we were forced to buy IBM products through Bomis or similar firms. In 1984, when the notion of creating our own firm was born, computer prices were such that we had to pay 10 million zloty for equipment costing \$2,000 in the West, which came to 5,000 zloty a dollar. The school could not afford that. And of course we are not allowed to equip ourselves from private suppliers. No one would accept their bills."

Since they could neither pay the black market prices of the agents nor give up buying computers, the Wroclawians decided to manufacture them themselves. Thus the Kowary firm in Kowary came into being, with 80 percent of the shares belonging to the schools and 20 percent to Austrian businessman Wolfgang Knap. It was still necessary to obtain foreign currency. The school leases a sawmill in Myslakowice gmina where one can produce simply products from scrap wood. It was decided to make pallets for foreign customers. Fifty percent of the foreign currency earned goes to the state treasury and 50 percent is used for sub-assemblies for computers assembled in Kowary. So far 10 units have been produced and in the future 100 microcomputers are to be made annually, mainly for our schools. They will cost half as much as they have up to now.

One can already say now that the products of Kowary and similar firms, especially Polonia firms, will sooner or later lead to collapse of the monopolistic position of the potentates who extract profits merely by producing an official bill.

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CSO: 2600/204

'SORTARG' COMPUTER SOFTWARE FAIR PLANNED

Warsaw ZYCIE GOSPODARCZE in Polish No 46, 16 Nov 86 p 11

[Text] The Polish Programming Fair, Softarg '86, will take place at the Center for Technological Development in Katowice from 17 to 21 November. It will be the largest show of its kind to be organized in Poland. It ties in with a similar software fair--on a much more modest scale--held in 1979. The scope and range of this fair permit the opinion that in the near future it will become a serial international event.

For this year's fair several renowned foreign firms, including Italy's Olivetti and Anderle from Austria, have announced they will participate.

Among the goals of the fair are presentation of programming products--systems, hardware and applications; establishing trade contacts; promotion of exceptional software; exchange of experience; presentation of growth plans for firms producing programming products, an attempt to catalog software than can be copied and contacts for user clubs of various kinds of computers and software. But the basic purpose of the fair is to present software accessible to trade for the computers most often encountered in Poland.

It is expected that several concurrent shows will be organized during the fair. There will be a three-day seminar designed to be a forum for exchanging information among representatives of various centers and branches of data processing. Besides the plenary session, meetings are scheduled in specific thematic sections, including basic programming, computer-assisted design, teletransmission and computer networks, computer augmentation of management and data bases.

Scholars and manufacturing representatives will discuss specific issues at the seminar.

Fair organizers also anticipate working sessions at computer plants in Katowice province, Mera-Elzab in Zabrze and Meraster in Katowice. There will also be sessions during which software manufacturers will present their development plans and users will have the opportunity to pass on to producers their comments on the usability and operation of the software offered.

Meetings for user clubs of particular kinds of computers will also be organized. It is also expected that films devoted to computer subjects will be shown.

AGREEMENTS SIGNED IN MOSCOW ON GAS SUPPLIES

LD300005 Warsaw PAP in English 2125 GMT 29 Jan 87

[Text] Moscow, Jan. 29--An agreement on Poland's participation in the construction of a gas pipeline from Yamburg to the Soviet western border and additional deliveries of natural gas to Poland connected with it was signed here today between the Polish and Soviet governments.

About 80 per cent of total capacity of this gigantic pipeline, that is about 20 billion cubic metres of natural gas per year, will be directed to meet the needs of CMEA member states: Poland, Czechoslovakia, the GDR, Hungary, Bulgaria and Romania.

The document signed today is another step in the development of cooperation and economic integration within the CMEA.

Under the agreement, the Polish side will build in the Soviet Union, in the years 1987-90, a number of gas industry installations, including a 360-kilometre stretch of the Yamburg pipeline as well as other objects worth a total of 650 million rubles. Furthermore, the Polish industry will deliver to the construction site of the "2000" rolling mill in Magnitogorsk--machine and plant worth about 300 million rubles.

As a result of Poland's participation in the venture, Poland achieved guarantees to obtain from the Soviet Union, during a time stretch of 20 years, starting from 1989, about 45 billion cubic metres of gas, that is about 2.5 billion cubic metres per year. Poland's participation in the construction of the pipeline will be implemented on credit conditions granted to the Soviet Union, to be repaid with interest in the form of gas deliveries to Poland.

The agreement was signed on behalf of the Polish side by Minister of Foreign Trade Andrzej Wojcik and on behalf of the Soviet side by Minister of Foreign Trade Boris Aristov and by Chairman of the Soviet State Committee for Foreign Economic Relations Konstantin Katushev.

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CSO: 2020/52

BRIEFS

TRADE PROTOCOLS SIGNED IN MOSCOW--Moscow, Jan. 8--Implementing the decisions of the Polish-Soviet governmental agreement of last October 15 on the development of mutual exchange of articles of common use between internal trade enterprises and organizations, Poland's Minister of Internal Trade and Services Jerzy Jozwiak and Soviet Minister of Trade Kondrat Terekh signed a protocol here today on implementing direct cooperation between internal trade organizations of both countries. The sides also signed a protocol on scientific-technological cooperation and a protocol on exchange of marketables in 1987. The latter provides for an exchange of marketables worth eighty million rubles which means a 100 percent rise on the 1986 figure. Minister Jozwiak was received by member of the CPSU CC Political Bureau, First Deputy Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers Geydar Aliyev. [Text] [Warsaw PAP in English 2143 GMT 8 Jan 87 LD] /6091

MESSNER INTERVIEWED--Tokyo, Jan. 14--The mass-circulation Japanese ASAHI SHIMBUN daily today carries an exclusive interview granted by Polish Chairman of the Council of Ministers Zbigniew Messner. The premier spoke about, among other things, Poland's expectations as concerns the development of economic cooperation with Japan. He expressed a conviction that the current state of this cooperation does not satisfy either side and stressed the need to normalize financial and credit relations between both countries. The premier accentuated that Poland wants the development of mutually advantageous, partner-like cooperation with Japan and other countries. He also supplied information on the economic and socio-political situation in Poland. Zbigniew Messner also spoke about the growing importance of Asia in international politics and matters of peace, disarmament and detente. [Text] [Warsaw PAP in English 1552 GMT 14 Jan 87 LD] /6091

CSO: 2020/52

EFFECTS OF NEW FEDERAL ECONOMIC MEASURES IN MACEDONIA

Belgrade PRIVREDNI PREGLED in Serbo-Croatian 20 Jan 87 p 2

[Excerpt] Under the existing conditions of low reproductive ability and the weak financial potential of banks, the economy of Macedonia accepts with measured optimism the new systemic measures. Gligorie Gogovski, president of the Executive Council of Macedonia, says that application of these measures will result in reducing income and especially capital accumulation by about 30 percent. In two-thirds of the OURs [organizations of associated labor] employees will receive reduced, or guaranteed personal incomes, while about 100 OURs will have to initiate liquidation proceedings.

There are OURs such as the "Tito" Metal Institute, "Teteks," "Ohis," "Emo," and others which awaited the new systemic measures as the normal continuation of their own stabilization efforts. There are enterprises which in earlier years, not waiting for government "packages," based their development and operation on the use of internal reserves and quality financial sources.

The "Skopje" mines and ironworks, with about 11,000 employees, in the past few years has attained outstanding results in economic operation. They were previously operating with losses, but now production and final indicators have improved (capital accumulation has doubled). For the first time in its history, this metallurgical giant has funds to invest in development.

In regard to the "Skopje" ironworks, assistant director general Mino Damjanovski says the new measures are aimed toward solving the country's economic problems at the expense of basic industry. With the enormous increase in the cost of energy and transport, the income of the ironworks will be reduced even more; and a similar result is expected from the new measures on amortization and interest payments. "The question arises as to whether we will have anything to distribute,"

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CSO: 2800/120

VOJVODINA ASSESSES EFFECT ON ECONOMIC MEASURES

Belgrade PRIVREDNI PREGLED in Serbo-Croatian 23 Jan 87 p 3

[Excerpts] Although the estimated effect of the Law on Total Revenue and Income on the Vojvodina economy will contribute toward increasing funds available for reproduction by about 30 percent, it can be said that one-third of the branches of the economy will be in a more difficult situation with more complicated conditions of operation as a result of the law. According to initial calculations, higher income can be expected in only one-fifth of the economic branches.

In all 50 Vojvodina opstinas one should begin to acquire a perception of every OUR and to take measures to alleviate the anticipated negative effects, through better use of capacities, reduction of inventories, and increase in labor productivity, it was said at a meeting of the presidents of all opstinas held in Vojvodina Assembly.

We are, at the start, faced with the fact that last year industrial production rose only 2.3 percent, while exports have been stagnating for years, and even fell for the convertible-currency areas. Vojvodina is seriously lagging, Jon Srbovan, president of the Executive Council, said. In 1979 we imported \$290 million worth of equipment, while last year we imported only \$50 million worth and Vojvodina's share in Yugoslav equipment imports has fallen from 9 percent to 3 percent.

At the same time we are unjustifiably increasing imports of agro-industrial products which we can produce ourselves. Also, the oil-chemical complex accounts for 70 percent of total Vojvodina imports and only 21 percent of exports.

Srbovan stressed that there also changes in the price relations this year. In 1987 direct control of prices encompassed about 80 percent of the value of industrial products but these prices were about 20 percent higher than the country average. The latest changes in the price regime reduce the percentage of Vojvodina products under direct control to about 67 percent of these prices continue to be 23.2 percent above the country average for 43.8 percent of our products, which leads to a considerable weakening of the Vojvodina economy and reduces its share in the social product of the country from over 11 percent to 10 percent.

The final accounts for 1986 show the economy of Vojvodina will have losses amounting to 50-60 billion dinars, or 57 percent more than in 1985, and 25-30 billion dinars of this cannot be covered.

The Federal Executive Council measures, especially the interest and subsidy policies, have stopped the deepening disparity in prices but only for the short term and in relation to some agricultural producer goods. The subsidizing of such goods has eliminated only part of the losses in agriculture, 15 to 16 percent. The way out of the situation in which agriculture finds itself is seen not only in increasing prices but in developing a complex stimulus for food production, Srbovan said.

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CSO: 2800/120

NEW ECONOMIC MEASURES EXPECTED TO LOWER ENTERPRISE INCOME

[Editorial Report] According to an article in Belgrade PRIVREDNI PREGLED of 22 January 1987, page 2, the large "Minel" industrial construction OUR [composite organization of associated labor] in Belgrade expects its income to be reduced as a result of the new law on revenue and income. According to Dusan Cudanov, vice president of the business council of "Minel," the new accounting system evaluates social resources in all forms more realistically. "The result, some say, will be a reduction of income. Thus, one work organization [within "Minel"] which has operated positively up to now will have 9 percent less revenue and 40 percent less income. Another work organization which has been on the edge of profitability will have 4 percent higher total revenue and 13 percent higher income," according to initial estimates. While the amount of income reduction will vary, depending on conditions in each organization, Cudanov said that the part of capital accumulation that comes from net income will probably be reduced, but total accumulation will be increased, along with a more realistic calculation of amortization which will be made quarterly instead of annually.

Use will also be made of the new possibilities for increasing total revenue, i.e., leasing finished products or giving them over for use in one of its own organizations at market prices, it said.

This enterprise expects income distribution to continue normally depending on capital accumulation "at least in the first half of this year"; and to pay monthly the basic part of the new two-part salary system.

Another article in the same issue of this paper, page 3, reported that the new federal measures are expected to worsen the income of work organizations in the mining and non-metals industry, and that there will be more losses and closing of unprofitable plants, according to Lazar Djakonovic, secretary of the Association of Mines and the Non-Metals Industry. This pertains especially to producers of asbestos, feldspar, glass, and ceramics.

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CSO: 2800/120

EFFECT ON NEW ECONOMIC MEASURES ON AGRICULTURAL COMBINE

Belgrade PRIVREDNI PREGLED in Serbo-Croatian 21 Jan 87 p 2

[Excerpt] According to initial assessments, the new systemic measures will not create much upheaval in the "Beograd" PKB [Belgrade Agricultural Combine]. The new regulations on the accounting system, amortization, calculation of personal incomes and other measures will push the PKB to self-management and business reorganization and more effective operation, says Milojko Veljovic, president of the PKB's business council. This does not mean that there will not be organizations [within the combine] which will feel the whiplash of the new measures. There are illiquid organizations (and a loss-producing one, the sugar mill) and this is very dangerous, according to the new law, because the procedure for rehabilitating for liquidating is quite simplified and shortened. Thus, consideration is already being given to the potential rehabilitation of these organizations.

The PKB noted the negative effect of price disparities between industrial and agricultural products, as well as costs in primary agricultural products and the food industry. [Prices of] basic agricultural products are under state control, while others are under the liberal price regimes. This, along with the holding of reserves (because of the seasonal character of production), considerably burdens the position of the basic activities of field crop farming and livestock raising. Thus, the possibility exists for proposing new solutions to the creators of economic policy.

Not much disruption is expected in the distribution of personal incomes, which are higher than the republic average, for the PKB's 44,000 workers and specialists. But Veljovic says the present trends in salaries must be maintained at any cost.

A list of necessary measures is being made in the PKB so that introduction of the new conditions of economic operation will be as painless as possible. For instance, all work organizations within the PKB will have to establish how many contracts they have which call for changeable interest which, according to present conditions, will increase considerably. The aim is to pay off such credits as soon as possible, or to reschedule them, if it is economically justified, of course. Under the new conditions, one must operate with as few credits as possible.

One of the important steps is also that of reducing inventories wherever possible. According to the new regulations, the holding of reserves is a real stone around the enterprise's neck. No less important is establishing the volume and level of utilization of installed capacities,

The plans for this year will have to be re-balanced, i.e., property will have to be revalued. Judging from everything, more realistic conditions of economic operation will also lead to eliminating inefficient OURS, the forming of unified work organizations, and reducing the number of work communities and the employees in them. A special concern in the enterprise will be to see that the recently adopted measures will not threaten investment, which is estimated to be about 20 billion dinars this year.

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CSO: 2800/120

BRIEFS

JOINT IMPORT-EXPORT DEAL--Zagreb, 16 January (TANJUG)--The Yugoslav "INA Commerce" and the French "Copechim Trading" have contracted a joint import-export deal valued at around three billion dollars. Under the several-year contract, the exchange for 1987 alone is to reach 530 million dollars, as "INA Commerce" representatives reported at a news conference today. Two French, two Swiss and one Belgian firm and 14 Yugoslav are participating in the realization of the deal. Under the contract, Yugoslav firms will be supplied with raw materials, which they will process into manufactures and semi-manufactures for exports. Crude oil, various additives, spare parts and other goods will be imported and petro-chemical, chemical and other finished products exported. The first deliveries will begin at the end of this month. The contract is not the first of its kind "INA Commerce" has signed. It has similar contracts with an Italian petro-chemical firm and a firm from the Federal Republic of Germany. [Text] [Belgrade TANJUG in English 2253 GMT 16 Jan 87 LD] /12858

CUSTOMS ZONE--Bar, 17 January (TANJUG)--The Yugoslav Government has decided to set up a customs zone in Yugoslavia's southernmost Adriatic port, Bar. This will create major opportunities for an expansion of ports and additional employment, as well as for the rational use of industrial facilities in the republic of Montenegro, above all the port installations and the Belgrade-Bar railway line. The zone will include a number of export-oriented production units which do not pollute environment, in view of the great care being taken for its protection in this predominantly tourist area. Units in electronics, metal manufacturing, production of mechanical engineering and transport equipment, precision mechanics, plastic goods, publishing and printing activities are believed to meet best these criteria. An area of 10 hectares has already been prepared for building industrial facilities. There is enough space and opportunities, and the conclusion of contracts with interested domestic and foreign firms is expected to start soon. [Text] [Belgrade TANJUG in English 0029 GMT 17 Jan 87 LD] /12858

PHARMACEUTICAL EXPORTS TO USSR--Skopje, 21 January (TANJUG)--The Yugoslav chemical, pharmaceutical and cosmetic products factory "Alkaloid" of Skopje will deliver Soviet partners 1.5 million dollars worth of drugs by the end of March 1987. The Skopje producer plans to export around 6 million dollars worth of medical supplies to the Soviet Union this year. The Yugoslav pharmaceutical industry annually exports around 80 million dollars worth of drugs, raw materials, and medical equipment to the Soviet Union--over one-third of its total exports. [Excerpts] [Belgrade TANJUG in English 0942 GMT 21 Jan 87 LD] /12858

BOSNIAN FOREIGN TRADE--Bosnia-Hercegovina showed record exports last year, delivering \$1.669 billion worth of goods to foreign partners, or 11.2 percent more than in 1985. More than \$1 billion went to the convertible currency area, or 11.7 percent more than in 1985; \$659 million worth of goods went to the clearing-account area, or an increase of 10.3 percent over 1985. Imports were reduced 2.9 percent and amounted to \$1.598 billion. Impors from the convertible currency area amounted to \$987 million, while the trade surplus with this area was \$21 million and total trade surplus was \$71 million. [Text] [Belgrade PRIVREDNI PREGLED in Serbo-Croatian 20 Jan 87 p 1] /9274

DISCRIMINATION AGAINST PRIVATE BUSINESS--Despite the fact that the activity of private artisans, farmers, and independent artists is guaranteed by the constitution, and they have the same rights and obligations as working people in associated labor, an analysis of daily practice made by the Constitutional Court of Serbia shows that regulations of opstina assemblies regarding "private workers" often overstep the legal authority of the assemblies. This pertains largely to the use of business space where opstinas, by setting discriminatory conditions, make it virtually impossible to carry on independent business. The court intervened also in regard to the tax law on the basis of which opstinas...have closed down private businesses temporarily until they pay their taxes from the previous year. The court declares that such authority represents a limitation of one's constitutional rights. It also said that certain regulations of SIZs (self-management interest communities) for health protection in Serbia have established rights and obligations for private artisans and farmers in contradiction to the Constitution and the law. [Excerpt] [Belgrade PRIVREDNI PREGLED in Serbo-Croatian 22 Jan 87 p 3] /9274

CSO: 2800/120

HUNGARIAN MINORITY DENIED CONSTITUTIONAL RIGHTS IN ROMANIA

Munich SUDOSTEUROPA in English No 9, 1986 pp 475-490

[Article by Bennett Kovrig, Dean of the Political Science Faculty, University of Toronto: "The Magyars in Rumania: Problems of a 'Coinhabiting' Nationality"]

[Text]

The Ceaușescu era has achieved the "total triumph of patriotism," proclaimed the front-page article in a Rumanian Writers' Union weekly a month before the opening of the party congress in November 1984.¹ In his address to that congress, Nicolae Ceaușescu warned that "it is necessary to combat any manifestation of nationalism, chauvinism, anti-Semitism, and other forms of humiliation of man." He called for firm rejection of "all attempts by certain reactionary imperialist circles to slander our people's great achievements as well as the correct nationality policy or our revolutionary workers' party and state."² A month later, the party leader assured the joint plenum of the Councils of Working People of Magyar and German Nationalities that the national problem had been "fully resolved" in Rumania on the basis of full equality of rights for all citizens.³

Despite such extravagant protestations, Rumania's national minorities, officially known as the "coinhabiting nationalities" (a term that suggests their subordination to the Rumanian founding nation, or Staatsvolk), remain a problem that has not only domestic but also regional and international dimensions. This survey aims to outline the historical context and current scope of the difficulties arising from the status of the Magyar minority in Rumania.

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¹ Corneliu Vadim Tudor in *Luceafarul*, 13 October 1984

² Foreign Broadcast Information Service (FBIS), Washington, 20 November 1984

³ *Scinteia*, 28 December 1984

Background

The Magyar minority in contemporary Rumania is identified with the name of Transylvania. That historic province was ruled by Hungarians since the ninth century and enjoyed varying degrees of autonomy until its annexation by the Kingdom of Rumania following Hungary's defeat in World War I. Since the award to Rumania by the Treaty of Trianon (1920) of Transylvania as well as the Banat, the Crişana (the historic Partium), and the Maramureş, the entire region has come to be known as Transylvania.

Possession of part of the territory changed hands twice thereafter. In 1940, after Rumania ceded Bessarabia to the Soviet Union, Hungarian revisionism received some satisfaction in the Vienna Award; by Italo-German arbitration some two-fifths of the region (with a Magyar majority) was reannexed to Hungary. When Rumania abandoned the Axis in August 1944, the armistice terms drafted in Moscow provided for the return of all or the major part of Transylvania subject to confirmation at the peace settlement. Rumanian reprisals against the Magyar population induced the Soviet Union to put Transylvania under military rule aided by a pro-Communist Magyar organization, the MADOSZ. In March 1945 the Soviet Union handed over administration of the territory to the new Communist-dominated government of Petru Groza on condition that the equal rights of all minorities be guaranteed.

The postwar Hungarian government laid claim to part of Transylvania, and the United States favored some fractional concession on both ethnic grounds and because that government remained relatively democratic. The Soviet Union, however, preferred to reward the Communist regime in Bucharest and to compensate Rumania for giving up Northern Bukovina and Bessarabia to the USSR. The Paris Peace Treaty of 1947 thus reaffirmed the Trianon territorial settlement.⁴

The ethnic composition of Transylvania has always been mixed, although fierce historical debates go on between Hungarians who assert that Magyars settled a largely unpopulated region in the ninth century and Rumanians who advance the theory of Daco-Roman continuity. The essential facts are that until 1918 Hungarians ruled over a population that included Saxons, Rumanians, and numerous smaller ethnic groups. Long before that time the Rumanians had become the largest single ethnic group, although certain areas, mostly in the eastern reaches of Transylvania (the Szekler lands) had solid Magyar majorities. The ethnic mosaic did not allow for simple application of the Wilsonian principle of national self-determination, and only some improbable federal structure could have provided equitable safeguards. The realistic choice lay between rule by one or the other unitary state, and the decision of the victors in two world wars favoured Rumania.

Transylvania plays a central role in the national histories and myths of the two peoples, although the nationalist emphasis was largely eliminated from

⁴ See Stephen D. Kertesz, *Between Russia and the West: Hungary and the Illusions of Peacemaking, 1945-1947* (Notre Dame, 1984), pp. 113-33, 206-11

official Hungarian historiography after 1944. On the other hand, the Daco-Roman theory of national origins and the historically Rumanian essence of Transylvania have become integral elements in the Bucharest regime's ultra-nationalistic, legitimizing ideology.⁵ In recent years there has been a revival of scholarly and publicistic debates between the two countries over the early and modern history of the region. For the Rumanians, their version of history justifies possession of the territory and confirms their primacy as the indigenous inhabitants. For the Hungarians, even if territorial revision is no longer sought, the historic rights of the Transylvanian Magyars are reinforced by evidence that the Rumanians were later arrivals in a region that was linked to the Hungarian crown for a thousand years.

Minority rights were enshrined in the Rumanian constitutions of 1948 and 1952 (including language use in education and local administration) in accordance with the official Marxist-Leninist ideology, which held that nationalism was a bourgeois phenomenon that was superseded by socialist equality. Initially the Magyar minority had benefited from Groza's good will and from the presence of a strong Magyar contingent in the ruling party. The Stalinist regime of Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej adopted more repressive policies that hit the minorities particularly hard. Leading Magyar "muscovite" Communists such as Vasile Luca were purged from the party and the Hungarian People's Alliance was dissolved. The creation in 1952 of a Hungarian Autonomous Province encompassing the compact Szekler lands brought no tangible autonomy to its inhabitants, while elsewhere in Transylvania the Magyars' cultural facilities and contacts with Hungary were progressively reduced.

The Hungarian revolution of 1956 reinforced Gheorghiu-Dej's disposition to Rumanianize the party and its ideology and to integrate the minorities into a national state. Indeed, the revolution had aroused sympathy among the Magyar minority, and arrests and executions followed.⁶ The assimilation of minority intellectuals and students became a high priority of the regime after 1956, ostensibly to overcome "national isolation and remnants of national hostility".⁷ Separate Hungarian schools were gradually replaced by Magyar sections in Rumanian schools. In 1957 the Magyar Bolyai University in Cluj was forcibly merged (with young Nicolae Ceaușescu's active involvement) with the Rumanian Babeș University. The Magyar rector and several professors committed suicide in protest, but the process of Rumanianization was only beginning.

In 1960 the Magyar character of the autonomous region was altered both symbolically, by changing its name to "Mureș Autonomous Hungarian Region", and ethnically, by boundary modifications that reduced the Magyar proportion of its population. Ceaușescu succeeded Gheorghiu-Dej as party leader in 1965 and pursued his predecessor's nationalistic line. Within three years the autonomous region was abolished, and in the new county system two predominantly Magyar counties were formed (Covasna and Harghita) which included, however, only one-fifth of Transylvania's Magyar population.

⁵ See Andrew Ludányi, "Ideology and Political Culture in Rumania" in John F. Cadzow et al., eds., *Transylvania: The Roots of Ethnic Conflict* (Kent, Ohio, 1983), pp. 229-41

⁶ See Robert R. King, *Minorities under Communism* (Cambridge, Mass., 1973), pp. 82-85

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 153

In the wake of the Czechoslovakian crisis of 1968 the Ceaușescu regime made some concessions to the restive Magyars, possibly out of fear that the Soviet Union might exploit ethnic discontent to punish Rumania for its voluntaristic approach to the CMEA and other international Communist issues. A Council of Working People of Hungarian Nationality was created and more Magyar-language publications, radio programs, and educational facilities were provided. The concessions were short-lived, however, for the rights of the minority would suffer steady erosion over the next decade and a half.

Population

According to official sources, the Magyar population has been growing at a slower rate than the Rumanian majority. In 1985 it numbered 1,770,000, or 7.8 percent of the country's 22,700,000 people. For 1977, the date of the last reported census, the corresponding figures were 1,707,000, or 7.9 percent; for 1966, 1,620,000, or 8.5 percent; and for 1956, 1,588,000, or 9 percent.⁸ Since emigration is seldom permitted, the decline in the proportion of Magyars theoretically could be the result of a below average natural increase, of changes in the reporting of nationality by the respondents, or of statistical manipulation.

In all likelihood, all three factors played a part. The birth rate in neighbouring Hungary generally has been lower than that in Rumania. Nationality and mother tongue are recorded separately by census-takers, and there is evidence of official pressure and manipulation to reduce the declared or recorded entry for Magyar nationality.⁹ Moreover, there are sizeable Magyar communities outside of Transylvania that are automatically counted as Rumanian, notably the Csángós around Bacău in Eastern Moldavia. The Rumanianization of the latter has progressed to the point where less than half of the estimated 200,000 retain Magyar language and customs.¹⁰ The unreliability of Rumanian statistics has stimulated numerous alternative calculations, and the more plausible estimates place the real number of Magyars well above two million.¹¹

⁸ Radio Free Europe Research (RFER), 14 November 1985; Elemér Illyés, *National Minorities in Romania; Change in Transylvania* (New York, 1982), pp. 33-55

⁹ Bulcsu Veress, "The Status of Minority Rights in Transylvania" in Cadzow, op. cit., p. 274

¹⁰ Elemér Illyés, "Education and National Minorities in Contemporary Rumania" in Cadzow, op. cit., p. 265

¹¹ See the estimates in Illyés, op. cit., pp. 33, 49; George Schöpflin, *The Hungarians of Rumania* (London, Minority Rights Group, 1978), p. 6; the citation of the *Handbuch der Europäischen Volksgruppen* in Anne Fay Sanborn and Géza Wass de Czege, *Transylvania and the Hungarian-Rumanian Problem* (Astor, Fla., 1979), p. 21; G. D. Satmarescu, "The Changing Demographic Structure of the Population of Transylvania", *East European Quarterly*, vol. 8, no. 4 (January 1975), pp. 425-49. In the 1977 census the authorities apparently made an attempt to split the Magyar count by introducing a distinction between Magyars and Szeklers (the oldest-settled Magyar group in Transylvania). Only some 1600 of those enumerated fell for the ploy by declaring Szekler nationality.

The rapid process of urbanization since the mid-1950s has facilitated both voluntary and directed redistribution of national groups. The increase in Transylvania's urban population has been generated mainly by the resettlement of rural Rumanians, whereas rural Magyars have been induced to resettle in cities outside of Transylvania. By 1956, the last date for which data is available on the ethnic composition of urban populations, Magyars made up half or less of the population of such formerly predominantly Hungarian cities as Cluj, Oradea, and Arad, and remained a strong majority only in the old Szekler capital of Tirgu Mures.¹² The proportion of Magyars in Transylvania's urban areas undoubtedly has declined further since that time.

There are solid concentrations of Magyar population in both the eastern and western reaches of Transylvania, but the restructuring of regional administration in 1968 purposely reduced to a minimum the number of counties with a Magyar majority. The counties with the largest proportion of Magyars (in 1966) were, in the east, Harghita (88.1 percent), Covasna (79.4 percent), and Mures (44.5 percent); and, in the west, Satu Mare (41.1 percent), Salaj (24.3 percent), Bihor (32.9 percent), and Arad (15.7 percent). In the central Cluj county 26.1 percent of the population is Magyar.¹³

Legal and Political Status

In Rumania, as was noted earlier, Leninist theory and constitutional law provide ostensibly adequate safeguards for the rights of ethnic minorities. The constitution's Article 17 guarantees equal rights in all fields of economic, political, juridical, social and cultural life to all citizens irrespective of their nationality. Article 22 assures the coinhabiting nationalities free use of their mother tongue and cultural, educational, and public services in their own language. The proportion of minority deputies in the Grand National Assembly and minority language use in judicial administration are among the other legal guarantees.

In theory, then, the interests of the Magyar minority are protected by law, by its representatives in local, regional, and central government and in the party, and by the Council established in 1968. The latter's stated purpose is "to assist the Party and the state, on both the central and local levels, in mobilizing the nationalities to assume their responsibilities in the building of socialism, in researching particular questions concerning the respective populations and in implementing the nationality policies of the Party."¹⁴ The evident emphasis on mobilization suggested that from the outset the Council would have little latitude to advance minority interests.

That in practice these provisions are insufficient owes to two factors: the dictatorial and arbitrary nature of political rule in Ceaușescu's Rumania, and the regime's aggressively nationalistic determination to create a "homogeneous" nation, to "make it possible for national differences to diminish and gradually to disappear under communism."¹⁵ The minorities are considered equal beneficia-

¹² Illyés, *op. cit.*, pp. 58-63

¹³ Schöpflin, *op. cit.*, pp. 3-4

¹⁴ *Scinteia*, 16 November 1968

¹⁵ Quoted in Schöpflin, *op. cit.*, p. 9

ries of an industrializing socialist economy and are expected to be absorbed into the dominant national - Rumanian - culture. Legal protection of minority rights is thus superseded by politically-defined priorities that are in turn executed in extra-legal fashion, notably by the device of secret "internal regulations".¹⁶

Rumania is a unitary state, and local and regional autonomy is minimal, with the party exercising the decisive power at all levels. The Magyars are represented more or less proportionately in the principal political institutions such as the Grand National Assembly and the party's Central Committee. However, they have been progressively excluded from the real sources of power, be it the Politburo or the local party bureaus, as well as from the key ministries, the foreign service, the officer corps, and the police.¹⁷ The few that remain have to demonstrate their full cultural assimilation.

According to Károly Király, a former vice-president of the Council, "extreme methods of intimidation are employed against those who dare ask for permission to speak in the interest of having the nationality question handled legally and in accordance with the Constitution."¹⁸

The interest-representing function of the Council is illusory. Its work is sporadic and formalistic, it lacks an organizational framework and headquarters, and its deliberations normally are conducted in Rumanian. Although some minority problems are occasionally alluded to by speakers, the Council's plenary sessions are ritualistic affairs marked by praise of the party leadership, glowing reports of economic and cultural achievements, and denunciations of foreign critics.¹⁹ Moreover, as Király reported in 1977, "the replacement of Hungarian officials (where there still are any) with Rumanians is being carried out with incredible persistence. This applies equally to the politico-administrative apparatus and to the various economic and industrial enterprises."²⁰

In Rumania, as in other East European states, general elections are essentially symbolic exercises designed to mobilize a display of support for the regime. Voters have only the option of voting for or against candidates of the Socialist Democracy and Unity Front. Tremendous pressure is exerted by the authorities to generate a large turnout and a positive vote, and the statistical authenticity of the published results is suspect. The rise in the proportion of negative votes from 0.2 percent in 1969 to 2.3 percent in 1985 therefore defies easy explanation. At the last election, the official record shows that the percentage of dissenting votes was above the national average in counties with large national minorities such as Sibiu, Braşov, Mureş, and Harghita. This may suggest both greater discontent among the minorities and the regime's disposition to galvanize Rumanian opinion against the latter by publishing such results.²¹ The presence in the Grand National Assembly of a proportionate number of minority deputies (39 Magyars out of 349 in 1984) is purely symbolic, for that institution functions not as an independent legislature but as an occasional and obedient audience for the leadership.

¹⁶ Ibid., p. 9

¹⁷ Ibid., p. 14

¹⁸ *Witness to Cultural Genocide: First-Hand Reports on Rumania's Minority Policies Today* (New York, American Transylvanian Federation, 1979), p. 171

¹⁹ See *Hungarians and Germans in Romania Today* (Bucharest, Meridiane, 1978)

²⁰ *Witness*, p. 175

²¹ RFER, 9 April 1985

Socioeconomic Status

Even in East European terms, the state of Rumania's economy and standard of living is dismal. The Magyar minority, living mainly in an area that historically had a much higher standard of living than the Regat, shares in this equality of penury. The government has pursued industrial development projects in Transylvania, notably in the less developed counties of Harghita and Covasna. This process of industrialization, however, has been conducted with a view to diluting the ethnic concentration of Magyars by dispersing them to predominantly Rumanian regions, to keeping the Magyars out of leading positions, and to eliminating the use of minority language in the workplace.

A secret internal regulation issued in 1974 aimed at reducing the presence of national minority members in economic and public positions of responsibility.²² Preference is given to Rumanians in filling managerial posts, and incentives are provided for their relocation to jobs in minority areas. Magyar professionals and skilled workers are directed or induced to take employment in predominantly Rumanian-inhabited districts. Dispersal of Magyar workers was also facilitated by decrees in 1976 providing for the compulsory allocation of manpower to high-priority construction projects.²³ This policy of dispersal aroused so much minority discontent that at the 1978 session of the Councils Ceaușescu promised to take remedial steps.²⁴ In the event, the practice was only intensified.

The net result of these measures has been a progressive physical separation of the Magyar professional intelligentsia from its ethnic community, a process that is calculated to have a negative effect on the national consciousness of the minority. For both workers and intellectuals, therefore, upward mobility comes at the price of various forms of assimilation into the Rumanian environment and culture. The occupational distribution by nationality shows only moderate differentiation: in 1966, 48.86 percent of Magyars were workers and 11.6 percent intelligentsia versus 38.86 percent and 12.33 percent for the Rumanians.²⁵ The regime's discriminatory policies in manpower allocation have nevertheless significantly affected the Magyar minority's cohesiveness and ethnic identity.

Education

In the early postwar period, the Hungarian People's Alliance was instrumental in the rapid expansion of the Magyar-language educational system from kindergarten to university. The 1948 education reform created a standard Stalinist

²² Illyés, *op. cit.*, p. 286, note 39

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 187, note 60

²⁴ *Hungarians and Germans*, p. 18

²⁵ Trond Gilberg, *Modernization in Rumania since World War II* (New York, 1975), p. 224

replica, and teaching staffs were purged of their religious and otherwise unreliable elements. The teaching of Rumanian was introduced in all Magyar-language institutions and the rewriting of history texts began in earnest, minimizing the role of the Magyars and of Hungary both in relation to Transylvania and with respect to the officially-glorified progressive movements.

From 1958 onwards, the relative autonomy of Magyar education was gradually eliminated, officially in order to overcome "nationality isolation" and to establish "closer ties between the national minorities and the majority people".²⁶ Minority and Rumanian schools were merged in a process of "parallelization" and "unification", and Magyar-language instruction was offered in sections of the new institutions. A 1973 decree specified that Magyar sections were to be retained only when requested by a minimum of 25 pupils, and the latter were pressured to join Rumanian classes. The creation of Rumanian classes, on the other hand, was not subject to such requirements. The result was the closing down of numerous Magyar classes and the redundancy of Magyar teachers.

The same law aimed to expand technical and vocational education at the expense of the classical academic schools. This reform - justified by the needs of an industrializing economy - was implemented almost entirely by Rumanian-language schools and classes. The purposeful Rumanianization of primary and secondary education is estimated to have prevented anywhere from one-fifth to one-half of Magyar pupils from receiving instruction in their mother tongue. A particular grievance is the teaching of minority history, which suffers from official bias and the shortage of suitable textbooks. Complaints were voiced at the 1978 Council meeting that despite an earlier promise by Ceaușescu there had been no improvement in either the quality or quantity of these texts.²⁷

Beyond the confines of Transylvania the change was even more dramatic. Up to 1958 the Csángós of Moldavia had 72 Magyar-language schools; all were closed.²⁸ Only one Magyar school survives in the Regat, serving the large Magyar colony in Bucharest.

Rumanianization has also downgraded and degraded higher education and research in the Magyar language. After the abrupt merger of the Bolyai and Babeș universities in Cluj in 1959, the Magyar teaching staff was gradually reduced from a roughly equal number at the time of the fusion to 210 versus 900 Rumanian professors in 1976-77. Moreover, most of the remaining Magyar staff teach in Rumanian-language departments.²⁹ The proportion of Magyar-language courses has declined drastically, as has the number of Magyar students, all in consequence of internal directives. The latest reports indicate that

²⁶ Illyés, op. cit., p. 173

²⁷ Schöpflin, op. cit., pp. 11-12; Illyés, op. cit., pp. 167 ff.; *Hungarians and Germans*, pp. 155, 174, 75

²⁸ Illyés, op. cit., p. 201

²⁹ See Lajos Für, "Kisebbségi tudományművelés Erdélyben", *Alföld*, 1983, no. 3, p. 42; and Lajos Takács in *Witness*, pp. 151-52

Magyar admissions to the Babeş-Bolyai University are limited to 5 percent of enrolment, and in all technical universities to 3 percent.³⁰ A Magyar-language Medical and Pharmacological Faculty survives in Tîrgu Mureş. In that same city, the Magyar Dramatic Arts College was recently reconstituted as the Hungarian section of a Rumanian institution. Magyar students are seldom if ever allowed to pursue their studies in Hungary.

The impact of Rumanianization is severe for a community that historically enjoyed a high level of education and an active intellectual life in the Magyar tongue. A related phenomenon is the generally lamentable state of scholarly work in Magyar in all the disciplines because of the absence of institutional support and the declining number of young scholars.³¹ This, together with the officially-induced dilution of cultural services, has depleted and dispersed the Magyar intelligentsia. To be sure, the constitution guaranteed minority language instruction, not institutions. Periodic promises and short-lived concessions notwithstanding, the practical and calculated result of Rumanianization has been the precipitous downgrading of individual and community rights and services.

Culture

The Magyar minority's access to information and cultural services is governed both by the generally restrictive practices of a highly centralized, dictatorial, Marxist-Leninist system and by the regime's nation-building strategy. The Magyar-language press is strictly controlled in content, serves as a mobilising tool rather than as a source of information, and makes no pretense at reflecting minority views and interests. The state television network broadcasts at the most two hours of Magyar-language programs a week. Regional radio broadcast staffs and facilities were eliminated not long ago. Listening to foreign, including Hungarian broadcasts is actively discouraged by the police, as are attempts to receive Hungarian television broadcasts in border areas. Shortages of energy and materials are the excuses for periodic cutbacks in media services, but Magyar services are rarely restored.

In a political system where police permission is required even to own a typewriter, cultural freedom is not likely to flourish. Several publishing houses produce Magyar works, and the regime likes to cite statistics of their large output. In fact, much of what is published consists of unreadable and unread political tracts, censorship imposes narrow limits on scholarly and creative writing, and there are shortages of technical and scientific texts in the Hungarian language. The receipt of "hundreds of letters" complaining about the acute shortage of Magyar books and records was mentioned at the 1978 plenum of the Council.³²

³⁰ *The Times* (London), 6 June 1984; *Bécsi Naplo* (Vienna), 1985, no. 1

³¹ See Für, loc. cit., passim, and *Hungarians and Germans*, pp. 173-74

³² *Hungarians and Germans*, p. 103

The Hungarian Writers' Association was abolished in 1957 and its members were incorporated into the Rumanian Writers' Union, the meetings of which are conducted in Rumanian. Rumanians are frequently appointed to head Magyar cultural institutions. Meanwhile, cultural exchanges with Hungary are kept to a minimum, and Hungarian books and newspapers are virtually unobtainable in Transylvania. On a more mundane level, the visibility of the Magyar presence in Transylvania has been reduced by the virtual elimination of bilingual signs and by the neglect or destruction of Hungarian historical memorials, buildings, and graves. A 1974 decree on tourism prohibited visitors other than the closest relatives from staying in private residences, a measure that principally affected visitors from Hungary.

The historical heritage residing in archives was nationalized by legislation, passed in 1974, which provided for the acquisition by the state of all archival material in private or institutional hands. The measure was ostensibly designed to secure and protect the "national cultural patrimony", but in its application it resulted in the seizure and partial destruction of archives held by Magyar churches, and in their inaccessible storage under Ministry of the Interior auspices.³³

Rumanianization has also imposed constraints on organized religion that go beyond normal East European practice. Transylvania was historically a haven of religious tolerance, and the Magyar minority adheres principally to the Roman Catholic (850,000), the Reformed (Calvinist; 850,000), and Unitarian (75,000) churches.³⁴ The Rumanians are predominantly Orthodox, and that state church is a servant of the regime and its nationalistic policy. Conversion to Orthodoxy is therefore a mechanism of Rumanianization that has been utilized most aggressively in remoter minority areas, notably among the Csángós.

Dissent and Repression

That resentment seldom manifests itself in open acts of defiance is attributable largely to the regime's effective security apparatus. A notable exception, a strike by mostly Magyar miners in the Jiu Valley in August 1977, was brutally suppressed. Over the past ten years, the growing repressiveness of the regime's nationality policies has nevertheless provoked repeated protests by Magyar notables. Of those that became known in the West, the letters sent in 1977 by Károly Király to the party leadership are the most noteworthy in that they came from a former Central Committee member and Council official. Király protested at the impotence of the Council, at the assimilative reforms in education, and at discrimination in employment.³⁵ A former rector of the Babeş-Bolyai University, the international law professor Lajos Takács, also addressed a plea

³³ Schöpflin, *op. cit.*, pp. 12-13; Illyés, *op. cit.*, pp. 44-44

³⁴ Illyés, *op. cit.*, pp. 228-37

³⁵ *Witness*, pp. 163-72

to higher authority in 1977.³⁶ In 1978, sixty-two Magyar intellectuals made an open appeal to the Rumanian intelligentsia to recognize that it was in their mutual interest to alleviate the grievances of the minority.³⁷

In the early 1980s a Magyar samizdat appeared, *Ellenpontok* (Counterpoints), and the contributing intellectuals drafted a memorandum and "program proposal" to the Madrid conference reviewing in 1982 the application of the Helsinki Final Act.³⁸ Noting that the "forced Rumanianization of Transylvania and the suppression of our culture are being carried out with unprecedented vehemence" and that the minority was treated as "the enemies within", the memorandum appealed for the right to contact with other Hungarians, for the preservation of the Magyar identity, and for an independent representative organization; it also called for an international commission to investigate the minority's situation. The program proposal listed a series of demands for autonomy, educational facilities, and other rights and protections.

The regime's responses have been both repressive and self-exculpatory. Magyar dissenters are harshly dealt with by the Securitate, with numerous reported cases of torture and mysterious accident, sometimes fatal, as well as of such investigative and punitive measures as house searches and confiscations, frequent interrogations, house arrest, and loss of employment. Several intellectuals (including the poet Géza Szöcs) accused of publishing *Ellenpontok* were brutally beaten by police intent on extracting a confession that they had received assistance from Hungarian authorities.³⁹

Propaganda pamphlets destined mainly for Western audiences try to depict in favorable terms the circumstances of the Magyar national group.⁴⁰ At plenums of the Council, speakers are required to denounce ritualistically foreign slander and interference in the "climate of full understanding between Rumanian and Hungarian working people".⁴¹ In other publications, notably Ion Lăncrăjan's *Cuvînt despre Transilvania* (A word about Transylvania, published in 1982), the official ultra-nationalist ideology is regularly reiterated, affirming the historical precedence of the Rumanians in Transylvania and dismissing the Magyars as an alien element. The Lăncrăjan treatise prompted a protest by Magyar intellectuals as well as critical commentaries in Hungary.

Far from generating dialogue and concessions, the minority's protests have only accentuated the repressive and defensive disposition of the regime. However, they succeeded in drawing international attention to the problems of Europe's largest national minority.

³⁶ Ibid., pp. 146-61

³⁷ Ibid., pp. 184-209

³⁸ Committee for Human Rights in Rumania (New York), Memorandum and Program Proposal to Participants of the Madrid Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, 1982

³⁹ *Magyar Füzetek* (Paris), 1983, no. 12, pp. 131-46

⁴⁰ See, for instance, Institute of Political Sciences and of Studying the National Question, *The Hungarian Nationality in Romania* (Bucharest, 1976), and *The Truth about the National Question in Romania* (Bucharest, Agerpress, 1982)

⁴¹ *Hungarians and Germans*, pp. 113, 123, 130, 148, 168, 186, 189-90

Rumanian-Hungarian Relations

After the Communist seizure of power in 1947–48, the issue of Magyar minorities disappeared from Hungarian foreign policy and was excluded from public debate. According to the official dogma, proletarian internationalism would naturally resolve all nationality problems. Only during the 1956 revolution was some concern expressed publicly regarding the fate of the minorities.

As Rumania began to adopt a more independent foreign policy while pursuing repressive minority policies in the 1960s, the Hungarian regime became less reticent. There is reason to believe that it received some tactical encouragement from Moscow to raise the minority question in proper ideological terms, presumably as an expression by proxy of the Soviet Union's displeasure at Ceaușescu's nationalistic and pro-Chinese orientation. The minority issue surfaced in 1971, when a Hungarian Politburo member's public expression of interest in the fate of the Magyars brought a prompt rebuttal from Ceaușescu. The latter insisted that the national question had been solved in the spirit of Marxism-Leninism and railed against nationalism and "chauvinism-mongering".⁴²

At a meeting with Ceaușescu in the Hungarian city of Debrecen in June 1977, the Hungarian party leader, János Kádár, presented what became the standard Hungarian perspective: that ethnic minorities should serve as bridges of friendship between neighbouring countries (the Rumanian minority in Hungary numbers some 25,000). The resulting agreement provided for the opening of consulates in Cluj and Debrecen and for a small extension of "little frontier zones" to ease border traffic. Rumanian compliance with the terms of the agreement was dilatory, and the consulate was opened in Debrecen in 1980, only to be closed in December 1984 ostensibly for reasons of economy.

In the meantime, the worsening circumstances of the minority precipitated an intensified war of words between the two countries. Two articles by Hungary's most distinguished writer, Gyula Illyés, addressed in general terms the problems of national minorities.⁴³ Sharp exchanges resulted in the form of scholarly articles, while historians on both sides engaged in disputes over the Daco-Roman continuity theory.⁴⁴ In 1982 the Hungarian party daily published a scarcely-veiled satire on Ceaușescu's personality cult and historical myth-making.⁴⁵ The Lăncrănjan book prompted a series of critical rejoinders.⁴⁶ In allowing the minority issue to surface the Hungarian regime was trying to accommodate growing popular concern. The arrest of Magyar intellectuals in Transylvania in November 1982 led seventy-one Hungarian intellectuals to address an open appeal to Prime minister György Lázár. The latter had paid an

⁴² *Népszabadság*, 25 June 1971; King, op. cit., pp. 167–68; Schöpflin, op. cit., p. 15

⁴³ *Magyar Nemzet*, 25 December 1977, 1 January 1978

⁴⁴ Illyés, op. cit., p. 153

⁴⁵ *Népszabadság*, 24 April 1982

⁴⁶ *Élet és Irodalom*, 13 May 1983; *Tiszatáj*, September 1982; *Valóság*, October 1982

unproductive visit to Bucharest the previous summer, and subsequent reciprocal visits by party and government officials did not alleviate the discord. The Hungarian media thereupon deplored the unfulfilled promise of the 1977 summit meeting and referred to "open and unsolved questions".⁴⁷

In 1983, on the occasion of the 65th anniversary of Transylvania's annexation, Ceaușescu asserted more stridently than ever Rumania's historical entitlement to the territory.⁴⁸ The following year, at a rally on Rumania's national day, the Hungarian deputy prime minister Lajos Faluvégi invoked Lenin on the need to accommodate the cultural and other interests of national minorities and cited the positive record of mutual cultural enrichment.⁴⁹ The official greeting to the Rumanian party congress called for an improvement in bilateral relations in the spirit of proletarian internationalism and asserted the desirability of facilitating the minority's contacts with Hungary.⁵⁰ Ceaușescu subsequently accused foreign reactionaries and "revanchists" of resorting to disinformation in seeking to overturn the postwar territorial settlement and denied any persecution of the Magyars.⁵¹

The Kádár regime steadfastly denies any interest in territorial revision, but it has multiplied its diplomatic and intra-party demarches on behalf of the minority. It has also permitted research and publication on the cultural and linguistic aspects of the problem and on the relative merits of Rumanian nationality policies in the Groza era.⁵² When in 1985 Hungarian television paid tribute to Groza's memory, Rumania reacted the next day by refusing visas to seventy Hungarian visitors.⁵³ The ultimate manifestation of official concern came in 1985 on the occasion of the Hungarian party's 13th congress. The congressional guidelines referred to the "justified demands" of Magyar minorities for language and cultural rights.⁵⁴ At the congress itself, the Central Committee's report denounced "bourgeois nationalism" but reaffirmed the rights of minorities in Hungary and other countries; the trade union leader Sándor Gáspár deplored nationalistic tendencies in certain countries with respect to national minorities and called for the application of Leninist principles; and Kádár himself, in his traditional informal closing speech, cited as an objective the language rights of Magyars abroad.⁵⁵

At both the European Cultural Forum, held in Budapest 15 October-25 November 1985, and a counter-conference organized by dissident intellectuals, the problems of national minorities and the cultural oppression of Magyar minorities

⁴⁷ *Magyar Hirlap*, 1 March 1983

⁴⁸ FBIS, 6 December 1983

⁴⁹ *Népszava*, 23 August 1984

⁵⁰ *Népszabadság*, 20 November 1984

⁵¹ *Scinteia*, 28 December 1984

⁵² See Rudolf Joó and János Demeter, *A nemzetiségek egyenjogúsításának útján* (Budapest, 1983), and *Magyar Hirlap*, 22 November 1984

⁵³ RFER, 21 February 1986

⁵⁴ *Népszabadság*, 1 December 1984

⁵⁵ *Népszabadság*, 25-27 March 1985

in particular were addressed by Hungarian and Western participants.⁵⁶ Hungary, East Germany, Poland, and the Soviet Union sponsored a draft proposal for "guarantees of the exercise of cultural rights by national minorities". In the event, the conference ended in deadlock on all proposals, and even an anodyne concluding statement drafted by Hungary was vetoed by Rumania.

In sum, the minority problem has led to a state of cold war between the two countries. Following more official visits between Budapest and Bucharest the Hungarian party's foreign affairs spokesman, Mátyás Szűrös, admitted that "serious concerns and tensions" persisted.⁵⁷ Later in 1985 he reported that no significant change had occurred in bilateral relations, the greatest difficulties being in "direct human contacts and their cultivation".⁵⁸

Western Reactions

The standard line taken by the Ceaușescu regime is to reject all foreign criticism of the treatment of minorities (and religious groups) as unwarranted interference in Rumania's internal affairs and to maintain that the nationality problem has been resolved to the satisfaction of all concerned. Thus, in a document elaborating Rumania's view of the Helsinki process, it is claimed that with regard to the "cohabiting nationalities" Rumania has "registered remarkable successes in the period which passed since the signing of the Final Act ensuring these nationalities a broad field of expression and action in the field of cultural-scientific life." Their right to education in the mother tongue is said to be "rigorously observed".⁵⁹

Such assertions meet with growing disbelief in the West as evidence mounts of ethnic and religious discrimination. One Helsinki monitoring group found Rumania to be "one of the most egregious offenders in human rights in Eastern Europe."⁶⁰ American threats to withdraw most-favored-nation tariff status impelled the Rumanian regime to drop its notorious "education tax" on emigrants in 1983. The harassment of would-be emigrants continues, and for the Magyars emigration is virtually impossible. According to one report, in the first half of 1985 some three thousand Magyars applied unsuccessfully for permission to emigrate.⁶¹ Legislation introduced in 1985 to rescind Rumania's most-favored-nation status was not passed before Congress recessed, allowing the President to extend the privilege for another year, but the U.S. Congress's Helsinki Commission intends to "pursue the full range of human rights problems in Romania."⁶²

⁵⁶ RFER, 27 November 1985

⁵⁷ Radio Budapest, 13 February 1985; RFER, 16 May 1985

⁵⁸ Radio Budapest, 14 November 1985; RFER, 27 November 1985

⁵⁹ *Romania and the Final Act* (Bucharest, "Stefan Gheorghiu" Academy, 1980), pp. 163, 239

⁶⁰ Helsinki Watch Committee, *Human Rights in Romania, A Report Prepared for the Most Favored Nation Hearings in the U.S. Congress* (New York, August 1984)

⁶¹ *Neue Zürcher Zeitung*, 21-22 July 1985

⁶² United States Congress, Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe, *CSCE Digest*, October 1985

In Western Europe as well there has been mounting concern with human rights in Rumania. In May 1984 the European Parliament adopted a resolution paying tribute to a Magyar priest in Transylvania, the Rev. Géza Pálfi, who had been tortured to death for protesting at the declaration of December 25 to be a working day.⁶³ Later that year the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe called upon Rumania to abandon its discriminatory measures and to guarantee effectively the rights of national minorities.⁶⁴ In May 1985 a resolution was introduced in the European Parliament calling for action on human rights and proposing abrogation of the trade agreement between Rumania and the European Community. The motion, introduced by Mr. Newton Dunn, cited the brutal reprisals against Károly Király (who had failed to report to police a meeting in October 1984 with Western visitors), the arrests of other Magyar intellectuals, and the intensified persecution of the minority.⁶⁵ A curious counter-resolution was introduced on 13 September 1984 dismissing the "unfounded" demands and "vindictive and unjustified attitude" of the Magyar minority. The sponsor was a former Rumanian diplomat and naturalized French citizen who had been elected to the Parliament on the list of the extreme right-wing Front National Party. His candidacy was reportedly bought for FFr 4 million by the Rumanian intelligence service.⁶⁶

Polyethnic societies are probably best served by federal or confederal structures that provide substantial autonomy to regionally concentrated ethnocultural minorities. However, even in unitary states polyethnicity can be accommodated if there is official tolerance of multiple loyalties and mutual respect between ethnic communities. A degree of functional integration is of course essential if all nationalities are to perform their civic duty, and the state can legitimately demand fluency in the majority language. A characteristic of modern civilized societies is their ability to peacefully reconcile diversity with unity and to accept polyethnicity as a normal and lasting circumstance. The alternatives are physical elimination of the ethnic minority, its expulsion or induced emigration, and forcible assimilation. The historical precedents scarcely justify recourse to such "final solutions" in the civilized world.

In Rumania, the historically delayed development of the state and cultural discontinuities have led to a political culture in which the citizens are unprepared for genuine political participation. The familial oligarchy that rules over them offers the emotional compensation of nationalism for their powerlessness. The symbols, myths, and abstractions of Rumanian nationalism propagated by the regime find a receptive audience among the majority national group. The party thus functions less as the vanguard of the proletariat than as the vanguard

⁶³ *Carpathian Observer* (Rochester, N. Y.), June 1984

⁶⁴ *Neue Zürcher Zeitung*, 3 October 1984

⁶⁵ *Carpathian Observer*, August 1985

⁶⁶ *The Sunday Times* (London), 29 December 1985

of the Rumanian nation. Nationalism and communism reinforce each other in suppressing diversity and pluralism. Citizenship is identified with nationhood, and ethnic homogeneity is set as the condition of full national development.

Nationalism in a polyethnic society necessarily creates an ethnically-defined hierarchy with the majority in a privileged position. That the minority once enjoyed similar privileges reinforces the Rumanians' fear and suspicion of the Magyars and lends spurious justification to the present subordination and induced assimilation of the latter. When nationalism became the dominant ideology, the earlier policies of "de-nationalization" and Russification could be conveniently blamed on the strong Magyar contingent in the small postwar party. Similarly, the ethnic enemy within is a handy scapegoat for the failures of economic planning.

There is ample evidence that the Magyar minority in Rumania does not enjoy full constitutional rights. The regime's deliberate policies to homogenize society by political, cultural, and linguistic means impose on the ethnic minorities burdens additional to those they share with the majority. Repressive measures may produce superficial docility and a degree of cultural assimilation, but they also exacerbate national antagonisms and are on balance counterproductive. Such discrimination is not consistent with Marxist-Leninist dogma, let alone with liberal democratic principles. It is, however, an essential component of the regime's nation-building and self-legitimizing ideology. Resort to nationalism as the primary legitimating device in a polyethnic society is clearly a prescription for injustice, social tension, and international opprobrium. Functional integration rather than integral assimilation remains the alternative and enlightened response of modern states to the presence of national minorities.

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CSO: 2020/51

BALEV ARTICLE HAILS GORBACHEV DECLARATION

AU171600 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 15 Jan 87 pp 1, 4

[Article by Milko Balev, member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and secretary of the BCP Central Committee: "Manifesto for a World Without Weapons, Wars, or Force"--passages between slantlines printed in boldface]

[Text] /Scientists have found out that only 300 years of the last 4 millenia have been really peaceful. We still cannot imagine how entire civilizations and nations, whose names we can only read on stone or earthen plates, have disappeared from the earth.

Once upon a time, in the distant stone age, our ancestors discovered fire and it became the basis of human civilization. Now, in the contemporary scientific era, nuclear fire has been discovered and not only our own civilization, but even man--the greatest creation on earth--could be extinguished forever in the last nuclear conflagrations./

Gigantic mountains of weapons are being accumulated on the continents and it has been established exactly how many times over they could transform our globe into a desert planet. Approximately 60,000 nuclear warheads have been accumulated which are capable of destroying mankind several times over. Fortunately, however, there are state and political leaders who reject the diktat of weapons and are making plans for our rescue.

The world began 1986, which was declared the International Year of Peace by the United Nations, with the historic declaration issued by Mikhail Gorbachev, CPSU Central Committee general secretary, on the elimination of nuclear and all other mass destruction weapons by the end of this century. On the anniversary of the day on which this universal humanitarian document was published we are fully justified in stating that the declaration on a nuclear-free world shows us the only way out and the only sensible strategy--namely, the strategy of rescue and survival, of preserving the human race on our sunny planet which is threatened by explosion. This strategy is the basis for the further development of international relations.

The first Soviet leader's declaration is a /remarkable political document, a true contemporary manifesto of peace, and of a revolutionary, Leninist initiative./ This declaration is permeated by the understanding that in this

age of anxiety, which is a cause of concern for millions of people, the chief goal, the task of all tasks facing the peoples is to join together our will and actions in order to avert the nuclear madness. How should this be done? The most prompt and efficient way is to destroy once and for all the instruments of mass annihilation, by eliminating deadly weapons once and for all. At the same time the manifesto of a world without weapons and wars represents a reliable basis for the manifestation of a new political thought.

Moscow's appeal addressed to all peoples, naturally, has /specific, military aspects./ If its proposals should become reality, the military arsenals will be deprived of warheads with multi-megaton destructive force--such as the strategic ICBM, as well as medium-range and short-range missiles deployed on land, under water, or in the air. One of the most important and irrevocable components of the declaration is the proposal to prevent the militarization of outer space, and to make sure that the threat for mankind on land, sea, and air is not further exacerbated by a terrifying new military base deployed in outer space. Naturally, all this does not imply that the danger of war as an antithesis to peaceful communication among the peoples will be fully banned. Nevertheless from a purely military point of view, the elimination of nuclear arsenals and the prevention of space militarization will mark the beginning of the elimination of conventional weapons arsenals as well. This, however is undoubtedly one of the most inspiring human goals, the goal that communism has had written on its banners since the very beginning of its existence.

The demand to free ourselves once and for all from nuclear danger is of a /tremendous economic and social importance./ Why? Because with the enormous amounts saved from the budgets envisaged for nuclear armament, it would be possible to solve many of the global problems of mankind, such as: starvation, poverty, and disease, backwardness, shortage of raw materials and energy resources, as well as the destruction of the environment.

The world today is spending thousands of billions of dollars annually for war preparations. This amount corresponds to the national incomes of most developing countries, including the most densely populated ones. The amount spent on the U.S.'s notorious MX missiles would be sufficient to feed all 575 million people who, according to FAO data, are starving on earth today. It is true that the billions of dollars saved by disarmament could eliminate a great number of chronic human ills.

The first year that has elapsed since the publication of the Soviet declaration confirmed the /chief factor/, namely that the program contained in the declaration is perfectly feasible and that the historic schedules are realistic. The program is in accordance with the interests of all peoples--great and small, without exception. It is accompanied by proposals for strict control on the spot, which makes it efficient. All this reveals the /universal and global character/ of the declaration. Despite the opposition manifested by imperialism against the very idea of a nuclear-free world, our ideological enemies are hard put to deny the truth that not only the final goal, but each of its individual stages lead toward the implementation of the

declaration, and that it fully conforms to the interests and aspirations of all peoples.

Thus, at the very beginning of the Year of Peace the Soviet Union once more responded with the diplomacy of political realism and of the /new way of thinking in politics/, with the diplomacy of strict observation of the principle of equal rights and equal security for all states, to the diplomacy of force and of the threat of use force.

The January document which appeared as a response to the urgent historical necessity was preceded by the vitally important peace initiatives of the Soviet Union and of the Warsaw Pact member-states. Moreover, even before declaring the idea of a nuclear-free world as a universal humanitarian goal, the Soviet Union unilaterally adopted the first /decisive action/ for the transformation of this idea into a powerful material force--namely the moratorium on all nuclear tests. No one can deny today that the appeal for a nuclear-free world, as well as the halting of Soviet nuclear tests is inspiring the expansion of a powerful peace fighters' movement.

We are gratified in pointing out that important trends toward the revival of detente and toward a positive change in international affairs were revealed here in our country, in the capital of our motherland. At the Sofia conference of the Warsaw Pact Political Consultative Committee held in October 1985 it was unmistakably pointed out which path should be followed in order to save the peoples from progress toward nuclear destruction. As a matter of fact, Comrade Mikhail Gorbachev's historic proposals, later submitted in Reykjavik, were mapped out in Sofia. It was precisely in our capital that he declared:

"We propose very simple and obvious things: to reduce by half the nuclear weapons belonging to the Soviet Union and the United States respectively; to firmly close our door to the deployment of weapons in outer space; to stop the accumulation of nuclear missiles in Europe and to adopt steps toward their full elimination."

At the historic 27th CPSU Congress, the proposals contained in the January declaration became an inseparable part of the program for the /establishment of a comprehensive international security system./ This new universal goal represents the essence and meaning of the foreign policy conducted by the other allied socialist states and adopted at their party congresses which took place in 1986. Comrade Todor Zhivkov declared as follows from the rostrum of the 13th BCP Congress when he spoke about the new peace program of the socialist world:

"This program is a brilliant manifestation of humanitarianism and revolutionary thought, an expression of the full unanimity of words and deeds, a model of political realism. This program is a continuation of V. I. Lenin's famous Peace Decree adapted to our conditions, it is the only sensible method of preserving peace, civilization, and life on our planet."

At the Budapest meeting, the Warsaw pact organization's supreme organ endowed the preliminary initiatives and proposals of the Soviet Union and of the other allied, European, socialist countries with a uniform and comprehensive character, by encompassing all nuclear, chemical, land and space weapons, as well as all mass destruction arms and conventional weapons into one whole. The peace program which the allied European socialist states proposed to all peoples was justifiably evaluated as a remarkable contribution to the achievement of the all-humanitarian goals of the International Year of Peace.

A great beginning in creating a nuclear-free world could have been marked in October 1986 in Reykjavik, the capital of Iceland, half-way between Europe and America, so to speak. The historic agreements for the rescue of the earth from the burden of nuclear weapons by 1996 were discussed at that meeting. Regardless of the fact that these agreements were not confirmed by bilateral treaties owing to the fault of the North American partner, their expression [formulirane] is already part of mankind's /greatest achievements/ during the International Year of Peace.

The Delhi declaration on the principles of a nuclear-free world, of a world without force, signed in November 1986 by Mikhail Gorbachev and Rajiv Gandhi, is a new confirmation and further development of the ideas and proposals contained in the January declaration.

Along with the global initiatives adopted by the world of socialism, the regional initiatives of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, of the Socialist Republic of Romania, of the CSSR, the GDR, and of other European countries for the establishment of zones free of nuclear and chemical weapons in the Balkans, in the central, northern, and other areas of our continent, as well as our initiative to sign a treaty on the ecological defense of the Balkan peninsula, and so forth were received with wide international recognition.

Naturally, even the best proposals on the consolidation of world peace and security cannot produce a prompt result as long as the United States continues to be the captive of its own strategy of the first strike, of the doctrine of achieving full military superiority, of the preparations for "star wars," and unless the United States halts its nuclear arms tests, as long as it continues to violate the military strategic parity that has been achieved. Unfortunately, people in the United States are still not listening to the appeal for the new way of thinking in politics. Despite all this, the doors remain open for constructive negotiations. In his recently dispatched message to the UN secretary general, Mikhail Gorbachev once more unmistakably declared: "We are ready to proceed in all directions, leading toward the implementation of realistic measures for limiting and halting the arms race."

As a socialist state, which in its Constitution assumed the commitment to conduct a policy of peace, our country worthily contributed to the International Year of Peace.

As early as the beginning of the year, a special National Program was adopted to mark the International Year of Peace and this program was successfully

implemented. In March 1986 the National Assembly issued a declaration on this great political initiative of the United Nations.

As an active member of the socialist community and of the Warsaw Pact, a member enjoying equal rights, Bulgaria supports all collective actions aimed at a nuclear-free world. At the same time, within the limits of its political, socioeconomic, and intellectual capacities, our country personally contributed to the worthy defense of the International Year of Peace as a symbol of peace. At the United Nations the People's Republic of Bulgaria, by also submitting constructive proposals on the consolidation of universal peace, was the co-author of numerous resolutions adopted at the initiative of the socialist countries.

The International Year of Peace coincided with the first year of Bulgaria's present participation in the work of the UN Security Council as its permanent member. In this international organ, socialist Bulgaria resolutely opposes the aggressive actions and plans of imperialism and neocolonialism, speaking for the consolidation of peace and international cooperation as an obligatory and irrevocable rule in contemporary relations between states and peoples.

During the year that has elapsed, every state or government level official visit paid by leading Bulgarian officials abroad, as well as the visits of state or government leaders from other countries to Bulgaria, invariably proceeded in the spirit of the supreme concern for protection of peace against the attempts of the warmongers, in the spirit of our will to consolidate forever the peaceful future of mankind.

The Declaration on Friendship, Good Neighborly Relations, and Cooperation signed last year between the People's Republic of Bulgaria and the Republic of Greece was justifiably evaluated by the international community as an unprecedented event in the post-war world, as an international document signed by two Balkan neighbor countries with different social systems, members of two different military blocs.

This year again, our country was host to remarkable international events which were permeated by the spirit of the UN appeal for peace and peaceful cooperation, such as the International Meeting of Representatives of Agrarian and Other Democratic Parties and Movements, organized by the Bulgarian National Agrarian Union [BZNS], the session of the WPC, the 10th Congress of the International Organization of Journalists, the Sixth Writers World Meeting under the slogan: "Peace--Hope for our Planet," and the international conference on "Preservation of the Environment and Defense of World Peace," the international symposium "For Nuclear-Free Zones in Europe," the exhibition and international meeting "Children and Peace," and others.

Our party and country developed broad international and domestic activity in conformity with the special programs on measures and initiatives in support of the unilateral Soviet moratorium on nuclear tests and in support of the historic Soviet proposals submitted in Reykjavik.

We consider the new philosophy on international relations which Comrade Todor Zhivkov developed in a number of his speeches and statements in 1986 as an exceptionally important, Bulgarian contribution to the cause of peace. Based on a thorough analysis of the new realities existing in the world, Todor Zhivkov's speeches and statements contain an important theoretical synthesis and comprehensive conclusions drawn on the question of a new approach to the problems of peace and war. They contain a practical new approach to international issues. The April plenum's foreign policy based on peace was raised to a new stage of development. Our people, as well as the entire international public, through state, government, and party leaders, expressed the most enthusiastic recognition for the inspired efforts of our first party and state leader in defense of the most lofty, universally human asset, for the consolidation of peace, security, and cooperation among peoples in the Balkans, in Europe, and the world. These efforts unmistakably and eloquently reveal the ancient traditional love of peace which is characteristic of the Bulgarian, of his strong and unshakable will to live in peace, understanding, and mutual confidence with his neighbors, and with all nations on our small and increasingly indivisible planet.

We have been living for an entire year under the impression of the broad peace initiatives adopted by the Soviet Union. Despite all this, in reading the message sent by Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, to Javier Perez de Cuellar, secretary general of the United Nations, on 10 January 1987, we become more than ever acutely aware of the fact that there is no other state, no other people like the Soviet people and the Soviet Union, who during the International Year of Peace have so greatly contributed to the cause of peace, to the rescue of mankind from the path of a nuclear holocaust.

Even the simple enumeration of the meetings, conferences, agreements, declarations, and treaties which were signed in 1986, reveals the role played by the January appeal of the CPSU Central Committee general secretary as a powerful motivating factor in international, political processes. Today, in assessing achievements and failures, hopes and disappointments, we cannot fail to point out our own and all mankind's gratitude for the personal contribution and the undeniable, historic credit earned by Mikhail Gorbachev, the leader and communist, whom the peoples can justifiably describe as the number one political figure of the International Year of Peace. In this connection I would like to recall Comrade Todor Zhivkov's profoundly moving words, which he addressed from the rostrum of the National Assembly 2 weeks after the publication of the 15 January declaration:

"We, the citizens of socialist Bulgaria, are proud that this inspired program was designed by a comrade of ours, by a communist, that this program once more powerfully demonstrates the greatness of Leninism, the humanitarian character of our communist ideas and ethics, as well as the communist unity of words and deeds."

The International Year of Peace has ended. The struggle for peace, however, continues with new strength. The year which is beginning now, in 1987, marks

the 70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution. We are fully justified in stating that the Year of Peace and the year of the Great October are driving toward lofty, humanitarian goals of mankind, they are devoted to the greatest assets of man--namely to peace and progress.

It is more than obvious: the remaining 14 years until the end of our century will pass under the sign of the appeal to enter the third millenium as builders of the future, not as destroyers of everything that has been created by man and by human genius. Let this appeal be and remain our common banner of mankind, the victorious banner of peace, freedom, democracy, and socialism.

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CSO: 2200/44

PAPER ASSESSES HUNGARIAN ECONOMIC DIFFICULTIES, SUCCESSES

AU152151 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 14 Jan 87 p 6

[Article by Stanislav Drumeshki, Budapest correspondent: "Successful Beginning"]

[Text] The beginning of 1987 was a success for the working people in Hungary. During the first 10 days of January the workers of the metallurgical, mining, aluminum, and food industry branches overfulfilled their plans. The machine building industry is also developing with success. The trade sector, which achieved a very high turnover at the end of 1986 and the beginning of 1987, marked good achievements as well.

According to the 1987 national economic plan that has been adopted, industrial production in Hungary is expected to increase by 2-2.5 percent in 1987 as compared with 1986. Agricultural production is expected to increase by 4.5-5 percent for the same period. The national income is expected to double. This means that the present living standard of the population will be maintained, a standard which has increased considerably in recent years. How can we describe the methods through which the Hungarian economy will achieve the goals it set itself in 1987?

In the first place, it is expected that serious measures will organize the economy in this country so as to achieve a more flexible adaptation to the existing changes on international markets. This means that new structures of production must be introduced, the role of scientific-technical progress is to be enhanced, and new technologies are to be introduced.

According to Central Statistical Office data and economic analysis, it is obvious that the beginning of the current 5-year plan period produced good results in cooperation with the CEMA member-countries. Moreover, as regards the turnover of goods with socialist states, Hungary achieved an active year-end balance at the end of 1986. This is why in 1987 the Hungarian People's Republic will expand even more its cooperation with the Soviet Union, which is its greatest foreign trade partner, as well as with the other socialist community member-countries. Economic experts consider this cooperation and the mutual assistance with the fraternal countries as the most correct paths for overcoming difficulties.

At the November and December plenums of the MSZMP Central Committee, as well as at the December session of the Hungarian National Assembly, it was stressed that negative trends exist in the country's economic balance. The complicated international situation and the restricted possibilities of selling one's production imposed by the developed capitalist countries were pointed out as the reasons for the difficulties facing Hungary. The prices of numerous important Hungarian goods, such as wheat, corn, meat, meat products, vegetable oil, aluminum, various types of oil products, and others dropped by 35-50 percent on the international market in recent years. The difficulties experienced by the Hungarian People's Republic were further aggravated by a 4-year period of drought. As a result of all this, some of the indexes envisaged by the plan for the economic development of the country were not achieved in 1986, which was the first year of the current 5-year plan period. This is why the working people in towns and villages, as well as the entire population, are devoting their efforts to increasing labor productivity and economic efficiency and are trying to improve the country's foreign trade and financial balance. The acceleration of the rates of technical progress represents the first step in this respect. This task was already discussed at the MSZMP plenum held at the end of December 1986.

Hungary is entering the new year with the firm resolve to overcome the shortcomings and weaknesses that were allowed to occur, and to coordinate its progress with the demands of our epoch. The first results of the work accomplished in January 1987 show that Hungarian society has mobilized all its efforts.

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CSO: 2200/44

VARNA-ILICHOVSK FERRY SHORTCOMINGS REPORTED

AU151720 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 13 Jan 87 pp 1, 3

[Article by Veselka Marinova and Krasimir Tsigularov: "Bitter Pills at the Beginning of the Year"--passages between slantlines printed in boldface]

[Excerpts] There are shortcomings, and many people should see their own failures in them. Why does the efficiency of the Varna-Ilichovsk ferryboat complex sometimes depend on...coincidence?

/The old proverb says that one does not judge victors. Viewed in this light, the Varna-Ilichovsk ferryboat complex should only be praised. The first transportation system of this kind, jointly established by two CEMA member-countries and commissioned on 14 November 1978, promptly asserted itself and has already become the most important means of implementing our foreign trade exchange with the Soviet Union. It is sufficient to say that 40 percent of the efforts from the People's Republic of Bulgaria to the USSR take place through the ferryboat complex./

The wise saying that one does not judge victors, however, is outdated. If we make our evaluations on the basis of the new criteria and tasks set by our two countries and by the party congresses, there is much to be desired. This was already the subject of items that appeared in the daily RABOTNICHESKO DELO on several occasions. A PRAVDA correspondent's report of 22 December 1986 was also devoted to this problem.

/Positive results, but unused opportunities as well/--this is how we can sum up the stand of the Ministry of Transportation of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, expressed by Emil Zakhariev, deputy minister: /"It would be unjust to assert that the ferryboat's operations are not going well. Our evaluation is that the complex has achieved its planned capacity. The exchange of goods accomplished through it is increasing at accelerated rates. Regardless of this, however, many things should be further improved!"/

Shortly after 1100 local time on 8 January, the "Heroes of Odessa" ferryboat left Varna-West port with 50 empty freight cars, which represent 50 percent of its capacity! This was a bitter new addition to the logbook of Georgi Georgiev, manager of the ferryboat complex. The number of empty freight cars

since the beginning of 1987 amounts to hundreds. Within only 8 days the complex actually exhausted one-fourth of its annual limit of empty freight cars.

With the help of Yordan Mirchev, manager of the General Directorate "Export and Import Ferryboat and Transit Transports" under the "Bulgarian State Railways" Economic Trust, we are trying to /identify/ those of our organizations which are obstructing the work of the Varna-Illichovsk ferryboat complex. There is a long list of them and we cannot say that everything about their work is normal, starting with production enterprises and ending with foreign trade organizations.

There is also a second compromise that, to a certain extent, is convenient for those who work at the complex, but which is in contradiction with national economic efficiency, namely, that /the ferryboat is transporting cargoes which are not intended for this kind of transportation./

/The hitherto accumulated statistical data show quite unhappy facts which can be described as follows:

/During the first quarter of 1986, only 21.9 percent of the cargoes were dispatched from the People's Republic of Bulgaria to the USSR, during the last quarter of 1986 only 26.7 percent of the freight was transported to the USSR. The situation is almost the same in the opposite direction.

The monthly lack of balance is even more drastic. While a quarter of the goods are transported in the first 10 days of the month this reaches 45 percent in the last 10 days of the month/. One fact is certain: /a number of economic managers have much to think about--this applies to the Devnya Chemical Plant, as well as to many others, including exporters of agricultural goods./

The question of the simplification and standardization of the necessary documentation is also unresolved, and this applies to both the Bulgarian and the Soviet sides. More than 8 documents for each freight car have to be filled out for each freight car and this, naturally, makes work more difficult.

/It is envisaged to hold a session of the ferryboat complex managers council at the deputy ministerial level from 17 to 20 February 1987. It will discuss all problems of the further efficient work of the ferryboat complex. If decisions which will eliminate the present shortcomings are adopted, we have every reason not only to assert that operations here are improving from year to year, but also to confirm that the desired national economic effect for both countries has been achieved, and does not depend upon coincidence, as sometimes happens today./

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CSO: 2200/44

ATANASOV, DOYNOV MEET INDIAN COMPUTER SPECIALIST

AU202046 Sofia BTA in English 1906 GMT 20 Jan 87

[Text] Sofia, 20 Jan (BTA)--An agreement for delivery of Bulgarian personal computers "Pravets" to India this year, was signed between Bulgaria and India. The agreement was reached during the visit of the delegation headed by Mr Adil Shahriar, chairman of the Institute on Computer Knowledge "Indira Gandhi" in New Delhi. Business meetings were also held with the management of the "Elektronika" association, at which the two sides discussed the prospects for cooperation in the field of computer technology. Special attention was paid to the possibilities for application of the Bulgarian personal computers "Pravets" in India's educational system.

The delegation visited the works of the economic association "Microprocessor Systems" in Pravets.

The leader of the delegation was received by Mr Ognyan Doynov, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers and chairman of the Economic Council.

Mr Adil Shahriar was received by Mr Georgi Atanassov, chairman of the Council of Ministers.

They discussed the opportunities for further broadening and deepening of the cooperation between the two countries in the sphere of computer technology.

Mr Ognyan Doynov, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers and chairman of the Economic Council also attended the meeting.

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CSO: 2200/44

PLO REPRESENTATIVE'S DEPARTURE ANNOUNCED

Syrian Cocktail Reception

AU151740 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 13 Jan 87 p 2

[Text] Taha al-Khayrat, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Syrian Arab Republic in our country and doyen of the diplomatic corps in Sofia, gave a cocktail reception last night on the occasion of the forthcoming final departure of Abdul Salekh al-Khalkhili [name as transliterated], permanent representative of the PLO in Bulgaria.

Receives Medal

JN192012 Sanaa Voice of Palestine in Arabic 1600 GMT 19 Jan 87

[Text] On behalf of the Bulgarian State Council chairman, Comrade Mitko Grigorov, deputy chairman of the Bulgarian State Council, has decorated Brother 'Abd al-Fattah al-Qalqili, PLO representative in Sofia, with the (Faris Madarah) medal, which is one of the highest medals bestowed on friends, in appreciation for his efforts to promote and bolster Palestinian-Bulgarian relations.

The decoration ceremony was held at the State Council headquarters the day before yesterday following a decision by the State Council and the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] on the end of the PLO representative's term in the Bulgarian capital.

Attending the ceremony were Ivan Ganev, BCP Central Committee member and deputy foreign minister, and (Kiryat Stov), chief of the Middle East and Arab countries department at the Bulgarian Foreign Affairs Ministry [title as heard]. Speeches were exchanged on the occasion. Comrade Grigorov reiterated the support of Bulgaria--party, government, and people--for the Palestinian people's just and legitimate struggle under the leadership of the PLO, their sole, legitimate representative, to regain their national rights and establish an independent state.

For his part, Brother Abu Na'il ['Abd al-Fattah al-Qalqili] hailed the stand of friendly Bulgaria--party, government, and people--which supports the march of Palestinian struggle under the PLO. He pointed out that his honor reflects the strong relations between our two friendly peoples and is also an honor for the PLO.

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CSO: 2200/44

BRIEFS

ZHIVKOV RECEIVES VOLKSWAGEN CHAIRMAN--Todor Zhivkov, chairman of the State Council, received Carl Horst Hahn, chairman of the Volkswagen Industrial Group Executive Board. They discussed questions pertaining to bilateral economic relations, and in particular concerning the opportunities of developing cooperation between the newly established association for transport machine building and other specialized Bulgarian enterprises and the West German industrial group. The meeting was attended by Ognyan Doynov, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers and chairman of the Economic Council. [Text] [Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 16 Jan 87] /9599

TANCHEV RECEIVES RPR NATIONAL SECRETARY--Sofia, 19 Jan (BTA)--Mr Petur Tanchev, secretary of the Bulgarian Agrarian Party and first vice president of the State Council, received today Mr Jacques Kosciusko-Morizet, national secretary of the Rassemblement Pour la Republique (RPR) of France. The two politicians examined the possibilities for broadening the contacts between the Bulgarian Agrarian Party (BZNS) and RPR which could also help develop the political, economic and cultural relations between Bulgaria and France. The French guest commended Bulgaria's contribution to detente, good-neighbor relations and cooperation on the Balkan peninsula, in Europe and worldwide. The two politicians emphasized the significance of the Reykjavik summit which elevated the Soviet-American and the East-West dialogues to a new and higher level. The Bulgarian Agrarian Party and the Rassemblement Pour la Republique favor the holding of constructive negotiations and the finding of mutually acceptable solutions of the problems on the basis of equality and equal security. The two parties support the further continuation of the European process started in Helsinki. [Text] [Sofia BTA in English 1854 GMT 19 Jan 87] /9599

CSO: 2200/44

AUTHOR LEAVES WRITERS' ASSOCIATION, CHARGES IT UNDERMINES SOCIALISM

Budapest ELET ES IRODALOM in Hungarian 16 Jan 86 p 5

[Resignation statement of Sandor Fekete, editor of the journal UJ TUKOR;
introductory note by Imre Bata]

[Text] A number of writers and critics of note had quit the Hungarian Writers' Association following its Nov 29-30, 1986 General Meeting. As far as I know, Ferenc Juhasz, Magda Szabo, Janos Foldeak, Geza Molnar, Laszlo Gyurko, Szilvester Ordogh, Gyorgy Moldova, Istvan Nemeskurty, Pal Pandi, Antal Vegh, Csaba Sik, Istvan Szerdahelyi, myself, as well as many others have reached, or supposedly are about to reach a decision to quit. It would be difficult to pinpoint what exactly motivated each of these individuals in their respective decisions to quit. There must be some common catalysts, nevertheless. I did have an opportunity to read Sandor Fekete's resignation letter. I sought his permission to publicize the letter because in certain aspects it characterizes the general situation--the situation that caused writers to resign one after another.

Budapest, Dec 31, 1986

The Steering Committee
Hungarian Writers' Association
Budapest

Dear Members of the Steering Committee:

As of today, I am resigning from the Hungarian Writers' Association. As a long-time member who began his work in 1951 as the Secretary of the Association's Review Division, I consider it as appropriate to explain the reasons for my decision.

The tone adopted by the keynote speakers at the previous General Meeting provided an inkling of the strategy to be used by the Association's real organizing forces. The subsequent vote demonstrated and confirmed [the viability of] that strategy virtually with mathematical precision. Together with a number of writers, literary historians and critics, a great figure of

contemporary Hungarian poetry was dumped from the Steering Committee. Their places were taken by other members whose merit lay in being members of the opposition, and whose literary accomplishments have so far failed to convincingly demonstrate leadership qualities.

Communist writers, or let's be more specific, writers who are members of the Party, supported the leading contenders with due respect to whatever merits there may be in dialogue, unity and in literary values. But it did not even cross the minds of the contenders to return that gesture. Their sole criterion was political strategy, embellished by moralistic and nationalistic slogans.

They did not have a hard time in accomplishing their aims.

Indifference, disgust for conflicts within the Association, other preoccupations, illness, etc. kept almost one third of the membership away from the Meeting. It so happened that the vote of less than half the total membership sufficed to guarantee a seat on the Steering Committee. This fact naturally favored the more active, better organized, and ultimately victorious faction.

There were expectations at the time that the majority of the Steering Committee would not provide a forum for advocates of confrontation, and the election of officers would restore the partnership between the political leadership and the Association, or as one colleague so eloquently stated at the meeting, "galvanize dialogue back to new life." This optimism was justified by the reports of several reliable witnesses who were present at the first, ad hoc meeting of the Steering Committee. According to these witnesses, the winning faction readily acknowledged that its members had gained more than what they expected. Also, some plans for co-optation had emerged for the obvious purpose of softening the predictable reaction by the political leadership. During the actual balloting, however, the exclusionary, autocratic trend once again prevailed. [The known outlook of] a significant number of officials and members of the Executive Committee suggests that a majority of the Steering Committee will not seek to restore partnership [with the political leadership], but will choose a path toward irrational political adventure instead.

An Association member with no rank bears no influence whatsoever on the Association's elected officers. He can express indignation once every two and a half years, at most. Accordingly, [under the circumstances,] I have no reason to continue my membership in the Association. My role as a member would be diminished to that of an extra, observing some predictable political theatrics.

My departure must not be viewed as a threatening bluff. It is unlike the past departure of one of the present Executive Committee members who, after broadcasting his resignation world-wide, nevertheless stayed with the Association. I am resigning without any international fanfare. I am actually quitting the Association--I am not merely saying that I am quitting. At times when I felt that my principles would not permit continued membership, I have left other, more important organizations. A substantive change would have to be made within the leadership of the Writers' Association for me to seek readmission as a member.

As a farewell note, let me discuss something that is more or less a private affair. During the past several years, most members of the outgoing Steering Committee ("most": frequently a minority, of course--the ones who remained following arguments that lasted throughout the day) more than once protested injuries suffered by various writers. The nature of these injuries varies and their merits must not be measured on the same scale. This fact notwithstanding, I do recognize that the right to protest is a human right.

It had occurred to me quite frequently that in my case, or to be precise, in my cases, these daring contenders have never bothered to protest. Yet, the opportunity to protest was there.

I am not referring to some ancient incidents, nor do I think of "incidents" that took place in 1966 or in 1970, which I revealed so as to provide an opportunity to take a stand. I do understand of course that in those days today's opposition was less inclined to protest. Then they were rather silent. I did not lobby for a redress of my injuries, I was not vocal about them. And so it is quite possible that most of today's contenders have not even heard of my injuries.

But during the Spring of 1974, when "for technical reasons they postponed," or more plainly, they banned my comedy "The Secret of Lilla-Villa," and not merely by coincidence, at the same time that Gyorgy Aczel was transferred to another job, the matter raised a bit of a storm. Notwithstanding, the Steering Committee, the Executive Committee, not to mention the Drama Division, failed to lodge any kind of protest, or even a mild query to those having "jurisdiction." For ten years, they quietly tolerated the shelving of a play that saw 120 performances since 1984.

The experience of recent years suggests that the failure to act with respect to injuries suffered by me may be attributed to the fact that my injuries were not of the kind condoned by the organizers of protests. I wonder why the injuries of others are more dear to them?

At this point I will revert to the present day. Today's planners and organizers argue that their actions merely responded to political provocation. Let me restate what I have said at the General Meeting. So far as I am concerned, "I do not approve of the mandatory silencing of Istvan Csurka. I would like to see Csurka do his writing here in Hungary, rather than sending messages to Hungary through Radio Free Europe [RFE] or through NEMZETOR." Also, anyone who knows me will realize that I did not look favorably upon the administrative measures taken against TISZATAJ. I did not discuss this issue, however.

But as long as there is talk about provocations, those who talk should look at themselves and ask who began the provocations? I will respond instead of them. They are the ones who started the provocations, the ones who courted emigres, calling them "our diplomatic corps that has grown to gigantic proportions." They are the ones who refused to reject the obtrusiveness of those lunatics who would "scorch out of Hungary" "every Communist, every foreign wretch." They are the ones who started it, the ones who provoked the political leadership for years, the ones who sent messages through the anti-socialist

[publication] NEMZETOR and through RFE whose function is to subvert socialist nations. They are the ones, who were honored by Richard Allen's August, 1982 statement in which he called them the "silent allies" of the United States of America. For my part, I do not believe in socialism that has been "reformed" pursuant to the interests and ideals of American capitalists. I did not believe in that kind of socialism in December, 1956 either, as attested to by one of my illegal, nevertheless domestically propagated pamphlets. In it I turned against emigres who tried to do penance for their years of enthusiastic service to Rakosi & Co., by declaring themselves as supporters of Eisenhower & Co. My views have remained unchanged in this respect. I would like to see a kind of socialism that is fully assimilated to the features and characteristics of the Hungarian nation, one that embodies the interests of the Hungarian people. Only incurable dreamers could believe, and only the most desperate demagogues could declare that Reagan, Haig, Schultz and Richard Allen indeed envision democratic socialism in Hungary. The truth of the matter is that they need their "silent allies" to support their struggle against socialist systems.

I have consistently repeated this statement over the years. Some of our fellow writers nevertheless stubbornly stuck to their most extreme anti-Communist ideas. And once a majority of the Steering Committee [found it appropriate] to include among the Association's officers some writers who profess this kind of strategy, that majority has also also espoused the cause of defending the status of being a "silent ally." So far as I am concerned, I am no longer able to espouse as my own a Steering Committee of this sort, nor can call my own a Writers' Association which entrusted its management to a Steering Committee that is guided by a majority of this sort. If in the past I was willing to take some risks by speaking out against the obedient tools of Stalinist policies--against the Rakosis and the Geros--at present I am not in a mood to support the silent allies of Reagan.

A majority of today's opposition writers of my age did not take substantive risks in 1955-56. And for years following 1956 they manifested [a kind of] wise caution. Nevertheless, at this point they are trying to systematically imitate the strategies of the writers' opposition of 1955. But decadent successors are not known as creators of values, neither in literature, nor in historic action.

The members of the writers' opposition of the past, headed by Gyula Illyes, Tibor Dery and Laszlo Benjamin, openly declared themselves as socialists and as Communists, moreover, some of them, at least until 1956, declared themselves as "Marxist-Leninists." That opposition never agitated through the airwaves of RFE. That opposition represented a totally bankrupt nation, a deprived people against a criminal leadership. It rightfully demanded a revision of the model that had been copied in a servile manner, the removal of doctrines that led to bankruptcy, and the impeachment of those culpable for their application. [In contrast,] today's sober politicians throughout the world recognize that through decades of struggle Hungary has built its own national path, and that through reforms, Hungary had an invigorating impact on all responsible politicians, writers and scientists within the socialist community.

Any propagandist who suggests that we should now be satisfied is divorced from reality. The more we achieve, the bigger our appetite. We want to see more consistent progress in the area of human rights also. We just smile when tourists from friendly socialist nations look stunned in front of our shop windows, or express amazement about our press. We know that we are still far from our goal. We know that reform cannot stop, in fact it is now that reform must truly evolve. It must evolve, but not with the participation of RFE or NEMZETOR!

The reform movement may now be assisted by Soviet policies that were finally renewed, and by a critical sense that has mobilized other allied or friendly nations. [We should note, however,] that every socialist nation has its anti-reform forces, and we are no exception. We too have our incompetent bureaucrats, those who protect privileges, some of which may have been obtained by unfair means, our last Mohicans who stand for failed doctrines. They are the ones who join forces to reject further reform developments. One of their chief arguments is that this kind of change in the system provides free rein to anti-socialist forces, and that such anti-socialist forces may render the nation impossible to govern.

By now my message must be obvious. However painful it may seem to the various contenders, the chief argument, the chief pretext for the conservative anti-reform movement is provided by those who evoke some retrograde ideals while talking about reform. Those, who spread some ethnic gobbledygook that has been criminally compromised. (Incidentally, it is this kind of talk that prompts recognition by extremist emigrants who prepare for scorching the "foreign wretch.") Those, who instead of advocating democratic socialism increasingly call for bourgeois democracy, and on occasion openly act as spokesmen for right-wing programs. They do so on the pages of szamizdat literature, through the media of the emigre right-wing, and on occasion within the Writers' Association.

Reform is not a disguise for me. It is my personal goal in life. It is for this reason that I cannot join those who talk about reform, but intentionally or unintentionally endanger reform by reintroducing some antiquated ideals and by making irrationally exaggerated demands. I am sorry to say that in the process the Writers' Association surrenders a historic opportunity. Responsible debates and criticism conducted in the socialist spirit within the Writers' Association could be one of the spiritual stimulants for social renewal. Instead, it seems, the Association is becoming a forum for externally supported, indeed, externally guided practices.

In 1956 I was present at the general meeting of the Writers' Association of another nation. By then the 20th Congress was history--a new breeze began to make itself felt in neighboring countries. Our colleagues in those countries sought answers to questions from their respective leadership, even though with less force than our literary opposition of 1955. The Chairman opened his remarks by saying that honoraria for writers would be increased by such and such percentage (quite a lot). This Chairman was a noted writer who has since become a classic novelist. All doubts had vanished instantly from the writers' souls--applause followed promptly--and our colleagues over there continued to write poems whose spiritual and linguistic standards may be characterized by a [contemporary] writing of an otherwise talented Hungarian poet: "Gather grapes, fill the wine press--long live Gheorghe Gheorgiu-Dej!"

A meeting of this nature disgraced socialism and betrayed the writers' profession, especially in the years following the 20th Congress. Somehow, between the two unfortunate extremes of servile submission on the one hand, and manifestations that brag about anti-socialist allies on the other, one can and must find the appropriate avenue that is commensurate with the attendant historic task. If in today's Hungary there is room for [political] criticism by writers, and even for protest, then let us use the existing framework, and expand it whenever possible. But we should do so in an intelligent manner, with responsible courage, and without destroying the opportunities of Hungarian writers in public life.

The ranks of the Steering Committee include quite a few writers who fought hard for the right to project a critical view of the system. Presentations of this nature are deeper than any superficial szamizdat gripings, and are more effective because they render findings about our social problems, about the stubborn obstacles to progress--findings that have artistic validity and reach hundreds of thousands. These writers find it impossible to support those few colleagues who substitute politics for [professional] work--politics that rely upon RFE and on NEMZETOR.

But let the events run their course, if that is still possible. There, let the prophets organize a new contest in brazenness, let them ignite passions, let them stigmatize as immoral, as not Hungarian those who do not submit to their will, let them force the government to take new authoritarian measures, as they hope that if they hold out a little longer, they will also receive a forgiving telephone call from Someone... But those who know history and know the difference between the writers of a small nation and the renowned nuclear physicist of a world power, also know that unlike the Soviet Association which is only now experiencing a renewal after decades of stagnation, today's Hungary can look back on a completely new reform era [cf. 19th century 'reform era'], and that the nation will not allow the achievements of that era to be frittered away. Instead it wants to follow a gradualist strategy proven correct by history. One who knows this, must not become an accomplice of those who prefer to follow wrong tracks.

I know that an exodus has begun. The names of a dozen or so individuals have been mentioned, names with whom I can associate myself--people who think like I do and others who have been guided by other considerations. In any event, the Steering Committee should pause to consider the fact that people from different sides are distancing themselves from it because an aggressive group is destroying the Association's previous unity. In this respect I am speaking for myself only. I express solidarity with those who have been forced to quit by virtue of an election campaign and a ballot that defies the decency of writers and of human beings. I stand with them, regretfully and unenthusiastically, because I would prefer that the strengthening of the fighting defenders of a democratic and Hungarian socialism in the leadership of the Writers Association should put an end to this conflict. But not seeing a chance for such a change, using my modest example, I wish to warn those responsible, so that no one should say later that they have not been forewarned.

I pay my respects to the worthy literary work of the new President. I value the literary work of the poet-Executive Secretary and that of the majority of the officers, but I cannot engage in imitation politicking. I think in terms of a Reform Hungary, not in those of an irresponsible Hungary of Adventure.

Respectfully:

Sandor Fekete

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CSO: 2500/160

U.S. BLOCKS POLITICAL SOLUTION TO DRA PROBLEM

LD062102 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1830 GMT 6 Jan 87

[Commentary by Jerzy Bockowski, TV commentator, identified by screen caption; no video available]

[Text] The talks in Kabul of the leaders of Soviet foreign policy constitute yet another important event concerning Afghanistan. A month ago, Satter, secretary of state at the Pakistani Ministry of Foreign Affairs visited Moscow for the first time in 4 years. In mid-December the new Afghan leader Najib stayed on his first visit in Moscow. Mikhail Gorbachev stated then that the Soviet Union will not desert Afghanistan in its hour of need, however, it counts on the resolution of the problems in this country by political means. Let me recall that in fall six Soviet regiments were withdrawn from Afghanistan.

Najib, since assuming the leadership, has been acting to broaden the social base of the government. On Saturday a declaration was issued in Kabul on national reconciliation. It proclaimed, among other things, the unilateral ceasefire by the government forces and universal amnesty. Najib also confirmed that he is ready to form a coalition government. Taking advantage of this chance and the cessation of external interference would accelerate the return of the Soviet contingents back home.

The Pakistani Government has described the Kabul declaration as a step forward and the insurgents, who operate from bases in Pakistan have rejected the declaration on national reconciliation -- and this is understandable since they are paid to attack Najib's government. The Washington administration, on the other hand, is blocking all initiatives on the Afghan question as it knows that they prove not the weakness but the strength of the government and the Army in Afghanistan. And this testifies to the defeat of the American policy of intervention also in this region of the world.

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CSO: 2600/322

COMMENTARY CALLS JARUZELSKI VISIT 'POLISH EVENT'

AU151142 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 13 Jan 87 pp 1, 2

[Commentary by Wlodzimierz Lozinski, TRYBUNA LUDU special emissary in Rome': "A Polish Event"]

[Text] Rome has greeted the Polish leader with warm weather and a hospitable atmosphere. The sun shines through the rain clouds from time to time at the military airfield of Ciampino where State Council Chairman Wojciech Jaruzelski has landed. It shines when the orchestra of carabinieri plays the Polish anthem and when the Italian flag flutters in the wind.

The atmosphere surrounding the Polish leader's welcome by Prime Minister Bettino craxi provides the first historical reflection. The Italian flag emerged during the same period when General Jozef Wybicki wrote the words of the Polish anthem, at the same time and in the same place, Reggio Emilia, which still possesses many monuments from the time of the joint battles "for your freedom and ours." Wojciech Jaruzelski will recall this history when, during an evening reception held by the Italian prime minister, he gave a speech mainly on the subject of the chances and possibilities of cooperation between the two countries for the good of all Europe.

However, let us return to the welcome, which reflects the high level of expectations accorded to Polish-Italian dialogue. There are not only senior representatives of the Italian ruling coalition at the airfield, but also representatives of the Vatican -- Archbishop Francesco Colasuonno, head of the team responsible for permanent working contacts between the Apostolic See and PPR Government; and Monsignore Domenico de Luca, chief of protocol of the Apostolic See. The first direct talk between Wojciech Jaruzelski and Bettino Craxi takes place.

Then there is a ride along the Via Appiaca Antica and through the old streets of the "Eternal City," and a first glimpse of the Colossium, the palace of the Roman emperors, and the small church of Quo Vadis. This church was visited by Henryk Sienkiewicz and its name gave him the idea and title for his most famous work.

However, the top-level visit does not permit too much time for recalling historical details. The tempo of events calls for a program involving

international and Polish-Italian affairs. Wojciech Jaruzelski discusses these with Italian President Francesco Cossiga during a visit to the Quirinal Palace and a breakfast there. The remainder of the first day of the visit is taken up by political talks with Premier Bettino Craxi. This talk lengthened from the originally-planned 1 and 1/2 hours to over 2 hours. Just as long and specific were the meetings held by members of the Polish delegation on the subject of political, economic, and cultural problems.

The content and tone of these talks is best illustrated by the speeches made during the evening reception in honor of the Polish guest. Prime Minister Craxi spoke about the role of European states in shaping peaceful cooperation throughout the continent, a role "which we should give to no one." He also spoke about his own activity, saying: "I am more convinced than ever before that the chosen way of maintaining contacts and cooperation is the right one."

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CSO: 2600/322

JARUZELSKI ATTENDS CEREMONY AT ITALIAN CEMETERY

LD141211 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1105 GMT 14 Jan 87

[Zbigniew Targosz report from Monte Cassino]

[Text] Today a lofty ceremony has taken place at Monte Cassino, a very moving Polish ceremony. General Wojciech Jaruzelski and other members of the delegation arrived at the famous hill where a Polish war cemetery is located. This is one of four Polish cemeteries in Italy. Here there are over 1,100 graves of Polish soldiers fallen in the battle for the hill and the famous monastery. Chairman of the Council of State Wojciech Jaruzelski toured the cemetery and read names of Polish soldiers fallen in the battles for the liberation of Italy. Often they were young boys, 20 or 22 years old. General Jaruzelski laid a wreath on the grave of one of the commanders, General Duch, and later spoke to the Poles who gathered there. There were many war veterans present, including participants in the Monte Cassino battle. Mr Hofman, an inhabitant of Ancona who knew General Duch and other fallen soldiers well, was also present.

Wojciech Jaruzelski also discussed the visit that will come to an end tonight. He said that he is satisfied with talks held there. He had numerous contacts with politicians and industrialists. He had detailed discussion with the Italian politicians on the international situation and our Polish-Italian cooperation. We are in agreement on a great majority of issues and we believe that our contacts can be raised to a considerable higher level. It will be favorable not only for us, but also for the solution of European problems.

Today Wojciech Jaruzelski will meet representatives of the Italian trade unions and later a press conference will be held. It is awaited with great interest. Initially the news conference was to be held in a small hall, but because almost 1,000 journalists from all over the world wanted to participate, a bigger hall was sought. The conference will be held in the afternoon followed by the departure for the airport and the return to Warsaw.

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CSO: 2600/322

JARUZELSKI MEETS WITH DIPLOMATIC CORPS

LD092307 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2105 GMT 9 Jan 87

[Speech by Wojciech Jeruzelski, chairman of the Council of State, at a new year meeting with the diplomatic corps in Warsaw on 9 January -- recorded]

[Text] Sir [addressing Horst Neubauer of the GDR, doyen of the diplomatic corps], Your Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen, thank you for the gracious words, the expressions of esteem and goodwill, which His Excellency [Neubauer] was kind enough to address to our nation and to the authorities of the PPR. I am glad of the opportunity to meet with you, Ladies and Gentlemen, at the beginning of the new year, for, despite the things that divide many of those gathered here in this hall, one thing is certainly shared by us all: a deep certainty about the need to defend peace and make it lasting. And even though opinions concerning the ways and means to achieve this goal may differ, the goal itself is not subject to discussion.

Perhaps this is not much, but it is not a small thing. For many centuries war, seeking solutions to conflicts and disputes in armed intervention, was considered to be an acceptable, not to say essential, factor in international relations. Today, despite progressive changes, it is still not possible for all nations to live in peace, in a feeling of lasting security. Mankind is growing up too slowly to face its new historical situation, in which confrontation becomes but an invitation to collective suicide.

The realities of our contemporary world are complicated. Despite many differences and deep divides we wish to save it, improve it, and make it safer for the generations that will follow us. This we can only do together, East and West, north and south. It is with this in mind that we give full support to the bold, far-reaching initiatives of the Soviet Union. We shall continue to participate actively in searching for all accessible means and ways which -- without infringing the principle of equal security -- would help halt the arms race, aid the passage of disarmament, and help build an infrastructure of dialogue and mutual trust.

Therefore, we are consistently in favor of complete and balanced implementation of the decisions of the CSCE final act and expanding them in practice. With this in mind we have recently come up with a proposal to extend the mandate of the second stage of the Stockholm conference.

The world is constantly developing and changing; science and technology are transforming the face of the world. Poles are particularly open to their surrounding. We do not turn our backs on problems of the contemporary world. We feel a link with nations from all continents. We are not indifferent to the fate of people who still must struggle for their right to self-determination and political and economic sovereignty. History, geography, a common civilization, above all, our national interest cause Poland to see the development of European cooperation as one of the most important factors of stabilization on the global scale. The Yalta and Potsdam territorial and political order in Europe, in contrast to the treaty of Versailles, has already passed the test of time. Its inviolability lies at the foundation of the basis for peace, peace that has lasted for more than four decades. Any calculation undermining this peace is contrary to elementary political responsibility and peaceful existence of virtually all nations of our continent.

Poland's place in the world is firmly and irrevocably determined by the class nature of the state and the system of our alliances. This is the fundamental guarantee of national security.

The socialist community is entering a new, qualitatively higher stage of development. The content and forms of integration are being enriched. This is a great opportunity for Poland. Closer cooperation with the socialist states and firm establishment in the CEMA system consolidate our economic credibility and strengthen our position with other partners. The development and mutually beneficial relations with all states, regardless of their social system or their geographical position, is our sincere and lasting intention.

Ladies and Gentlemen, there are still numerous difficulties and concerns in our country; but, after all, contemporary Poland is not made up chiefly or only of them. In the course of the past year our country achieved a great deal. We took another step forward. The 10th PZPR Congress approved a long-term program. It laid down the directions of development, qualitative transformations in the economy, consolidation of socialist democracy, and broadening the process of national accord. The favorable transformations taking place in the country increase our confidence in our own strength, in Poland's good future.

We welcome every successive step toward full normalization of relations with the states of the West; not only those who are absent, but those who are late or are not right on principle. Those foreign circles and groups which still have not given up their attempts to interfere in our internal affairs will meet with a disappointment this year. Poland is too large a country and values its dignity too much to be a tool in anybody's hands. I repeat once again: We and we alone will decide on our affairs.

Your Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen, I wish you, representing the countries of Europe and Asia, North and South America, Africa and Oceania, the measure of personal and professional satisfaction which can be given

to a diplomat by objectivity of vision, far-sightedness, and the gift of foresight. I want to express recognition to all those here who contributed to last year's reconstruction or improvement of other countries' relations with Poland, if they were bad; and further successful development, where they were good.

I express, I think, our joint desire and conviction that the coming year may bring a revitalization of the climate of trust, progress in international cooperation. Poland will make her own active, creative contribution to this cause.

I would like, Sir, [Addressing Neubauer] And all ladies and gentlemen present, to accept from the supreme authorities of the PPR sincere wishes for success in the new year, 1987. May your stay in our country be a successful part of your experience, a period of fruitful activity for the good of our states and people, and for the cause of peace in Europe and the world. [applause]

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CSO: 2600/322

PARTY LEADERS VISIT WORK SITES AROUND COUNTRY

LD140546 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 13 Jan 87

[Excerpts] Members of the party leadership, the Politburo and the Secretariat of the Central Committee, have visited the work forces of many work enterprises and institutions in various regions of the country. The meetings, especially the direct conversations, served, above all, to familiarize them with the work in the difficult winter conditions and to allow them to seek opinions on the most important matters worrying working people.

Jozef Baryla visited the Unitra-Polcolor enterprise in Piaseczno and Jan Glowczyk was the guest of the Lodz textile workers in the Julian Marchlewski enterprise.

Wlodzimierz Mokrzyszczak was at the Skierniewice Voivodship; Zygmunt Muranski at the lead foundry in Maisteczko Slaskie; and Tadeusz Porebski visited the automatic lathe production plant and the (Poltegor) central open-cast mining research and planning center in Wroclaw. Zofia Stepien visited the (Meszana) enterprise in Myszkow; Bogumil Ferensztajn was in the Bumar-Fablok foundry in Chrzanow. On the other hand, Zbigniew Michalek visited the Opole food concentrates enterprise. Janusz Kubasiewicz visited the work force of the high Melting Point Foundry Materials Enterprise in the capital, and Gabriela Rembisz the work force of the (Bukowianka) cooperative in (Buk). Stanislaw Bejger visited the Wisla shipyard in Gdansk. Henryk Bednarski was in Lomza. Kazimierz Cypryniak was in the (Przemar) plant in Kielce, and Andrzej Wasilewski visited the building site of the dramatic theater in Lublin.

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CSO: 2600/322

MESSNER MEETS, ADDRESSES RZECZPOSPOLITA STAFFERS

AU201330 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 15 Jan 87 pp 1, 5

[Report signed S.g. ': "A Working Meeting at RZECZPOSPOLITA"]

[Excerpts] The 5th anniversary of the appearance of RZECZPOSPOLITA, which was set up as a PPR Government organ, was on 14 January. To mark this occasion, General Wojciech Jaruzelski, PZPR Central Committee first secretary, conveyed a letter of congratulations to the staff.

Professor Zbigniew Messner, chairman of the Council of Ministers, and General Michal Janiszewski, head of the Office of the Council of Ministers, came to a meeting with staff leaders and representatives of the RZECZPOSPOLITA party committee, trade union, and journalists' association.

During a direct conversation with the journalists, Premier Zbigniew Messner conveyed congratulations on the 5th anniversary and pointed out that the newspaper's traditions go back further than the past 5 years, and that the conditions under which it was born and later gained social status permit one to speak of an achievement which cannot be measured by a mere 5 years.

RZECZPOSPOLITA, Z. Messner continued, has earned the right to citizenship during this period, developed its own profile, and achieved status and prestige among society. Opinions about the paper are positive, not only among government circles but also among the broad readership. I wish to add to these opinions.

As a government paper it possesses certain specific features, he said. It presents the government's stance toward basic state issues. However, this does not mean that it is biased. Its duty is to present various views that are not always partial to the authorities, but at the same time explain the authorities' stance and the interests guiding the government when it makes important decisions.

Wishing the paper future success, the premier stressed that all these positive opinions should be upheld during further years of work. He urged the paper to continue to be serious, honest, solid, and multifaceted. He said it should be even more polemical and should defend the government's interests more firmly, and support this government's difficult business by means of explanations and honest arguments. And finally, he urged the paper to support by means of its articles the government's consistent and constructive work in restructuring our economy and implementing the second stage of the economic reform.

KUBASIEWICZ INTERVIEWED ON WARSAW PROBLEMS

AU210816 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 14 Jan 87 pp 1, 2

[Interview given by Janusz Kubasiewicz, PZPR Politburo candidate member and first secretary of the Warsaw PZPR Committee, to PAP reporter Jan Rozdzynski: "We Must Stay on the Ground"]

[Excerpts] [Rozdzynski] Is the vision of Warsaw as a city with an efficient transportation system and a city free of power-station breakdowns, with well-functioning trade, and considerably more apartments realistic this century?

[Kubasiewicz] It is absolutely realistic, but let us say straightaway: Everyone knows that during the present situation, progress by the "great leap" method is impossible. The reason is not only material shortages. What other reasons are there? Here is an example. Immediately after the liberation I, as a very young man, was as pleased as everyone else about the clearing of yet more streets, and later about the construction of the east-west expressway, escalators, and the MDM Hotel. And today? Was the average Varsovian put in a good mood on hearing about the completion of the Northern Water Pipeline that is so important for the capital? Or on hearing that an additional boiler of the Kaweczyn power plant had been made operational on a trial basis? Do these facts encourage harder work as they did years ago, to say nothing of the "Warsaw tempo" and the enthusiasm of those times? Please understand me, I am not accusing anyone. I only wish to illustrate how a part of society reacts.

[Kubasiewicz] It is difficult to expect enthusiasm when many Varsovians have a temperature of 15 degrees Centigrade in their apartment, despite news of this or that achievement. How is the work of the Warsaw party committee influenced by the general criticism about improper work by municipal services and institutions or by visible signs thereof?

[Kubasiewicz] This is indeed a great burden which cannot be justified. Unfortunately, my apartment and place of work also have such a low temperature. However, I think every critic ought to realize that the breakdowns are caused mainly by old pipes from before the war or bad quality pipes which have recently been installed. About 500 km of the pipe network requires overhaul right now. How much can be done in 1 year? It is only possible to overhaul about 70 km. That is the 1986 figure. However, we must remember that in 1983 only 12 km were overhauled, and it was the same in previous years.

What is the Warsaw PZPR Committee doing in a situation like this? It might sound banal, but I will recall once more the following basic principle: to be among people, react to every sign of discrepancy, overcome large and small problems of the conurbation, create conditions for the conurbation's development, and pay attention to this development. However, I wish to firmly stress that social criticism has not only been recorded in the documents of the recent Warsaw PZPR accountability and election campaign, but has also set an additional control mechanism in motion. And signals flow along many channels; party comrades man telephones in the party committee and city hall, the Worker-Peasant Inspectorate is active, various kinds of commissions are working, we carefully read press reaction, and so on. The role of our party committee is not limited to mere reaction toward discrepancies, but also to the removal thereof. This has lain at the basis of my joint work with the chairman of the Warsaw people's council and city mayor. We are seeking the best model for the everyday work of the authorities.

[Rozdzyński] In view of all this, has the statement come true that you made 1 year ago -- when you were elected first secretary of the Warsaw PZPR Committee -- about the Warsaw committee being able to afford to tackle the conurbation's problems effectively?

[Kubasiewicz] I believe that life itself confirms my statements. One may observe increasing social support for the Warsaw party committee's actions. But one would like even greater support, after all there are many who blame everything on the authorities. Whenever a streetcar is late, or a window in an office is closed, or the heating in an apartment is out of order, "they" are at fault. One forgets too often about personal involvement in solving the daily problems of a collective of over 2 million people. Let us be realistic: The results of Warsaw industry and its productivity and quality permit the cautious optimism that is necessary in order to implement the resolution of the Third Central Committee Plenum.

The Warsaw party committee and, more broadly, the people responsible to Varsovians for the functioning of the city and voivodship have worked out paths of action which have been confirmed by practical activity. These involve, for example, new road junctions, plans for heat pipelines that have already been approved, and work on the subway. The face of our streets is improving, although it is still far from satisfactory. The first winds of change for the better are visible in the shops, as the Christmas and New Year period showed. Many Varsovians personally feel an improvement in the telephone network.

We are closely monitoring the work of enterprises, institutions, and persons responsible for broadly-conceived services toward the population. We honestly praise and reward those who do not wait for better times with their arms folded. And those who failed to learn anything from criticism of their work last year have been given until the end of March to improve. But let this not sound like a threat, but merely like a forecast of consistent activity serving the capital and its inhabitants, so that this year they may have less reason to complain about the authorities and -- themselves.

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CSO: 2600/322

MINISTRY OFFICIAL ON AMNESTY, 'PUBLIC ORDER'

AU301526 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 20-21 Dec 86 pp 1, 1

[Interview with Brigade General Zbigniew Pudysz, deputy minister of internal affairs, by an unidentified PAP journalist: "There Is Not Much Time Left for a Decision of This Kind..." -- date and place not given]

[Excerpts] [Question] Have the authorities' intentions been understood correctly?

[Pudysz] A decisive majority in our society received the decision with understanding and approval. It was noted that the decision met with a similar response abroad. The reaction of the enemies of our socialist state was varied. I have already spoken about those who emerged from hiding or broke with illegal activity. A group comprising mainly extremists, almost professional political troublemakers, received the decision with surprise and nervousness. Attempts were made to undermine the authorities' real intentions. Efforts were made to show that the West, the church, and the opposition had forced the authorities into making the decision. Seen in the broadest terms, it boils down to undertaking initiatives and activities that would enable the political extremists to return to the arena of public life in a sort of legal way. It has been noted that activities have taken place on the basis of faits accomplis, that is, attempts to reactivate the various structures of the former trade union Solidarity.

A small group of extremists of the former trade union Solidarity (people who are known by name) are endeavoring to provide these actions with the appearance of mass support. They are trying to furnish Solidarity with a new image whatever the price, a Solidarity that is ready to act positively. However, they are trying to reply to the open approach of the PPR authorities by adopting a feigned candor and issuing declarations of a readiness to work for the good of the country. It must be stressed most forcefully that this false loyalty cannot be disregarded. For all these professions of openness, conspiratorial structures are still being maintained. One can see from this that the facts belie intentions. Can one believe these people? In politics, naivety is the gravest sin.

[Question] Nevertheless, you did say a moment ago that underground activity has ceased to be a serious problem?

[Pudysz] From the political viewpoint that is true. But for the Ministry of National Affairs it continues to represent a problem. From our point of view the activities of various conspirational groups present more a danger the more they tend in the direction of intelligence-oriented links with centers in the West. Activities of this kind harm Poland's interests regardless of the motives of those who direct them and regardless of their consequences.

[Question] This prompts the question: Who benefits from such activity and in what way?

[Pudysz] To a large extent, conspirational activity cannot be verified, and it is particularly difficult for Western sponsors to verify its existence. This always makes it possible to suggest that such activity is being conducted vigorously and that it is extensive.

The existence of an underground makes it possible to flexibly satisfy Western needs in the form of declarations and resolutions. In many instances, the West wants a "Polish argument" about a lack of stability. A not insignificant motive is that alleged conduct of such activity is the best pretext for demanding and receiving financial assistance and support from the West. It stems from this that arguments are exclusively for the West.

[Question] In view of these facts and events, what is the ministry doing to enhance the security of the state?

[Pudysz] We will concentrate on learning the plans and intentions of the enemies of the socialist state and on controlling people who are trying to conduct antistate activity. In performing its statutory tasks in the field of safeguarding security and public order, the ministry prefers to work on learning about, forestalling, and uncovering events that violate the law. The ministry is also concentrating its efforts on exposing and eradicating negative phenomena in the national economy, for it is clear that not only the material, but also the social losses caused by economic abuses, waste, and poor quality output give rise to understandable public dissatisfaction, and the enemy attempts to exploit and foment such feelings in various ways.

To put it figuratively, the bulk of the ministry's tasks has shifted from treatment to prevention. This has found expression in, for example, policy on the use of repressive measures, especially vis-a-vis noncriminal offenders. Repressive measures remain an essential instrument, but one that must be applied in appropriate proportion to the level of danger, and then only as a supplement to sociopolitical activities undertaken by the authorities. This serves to complement the necessary conditions for ensuring state security.

A tangible improvement in the state of security and public order has made it possible to relax certain legal rigors vis-a-vis the perpetrators of some acts. The misdemeanor code has been revised and many matters previously dealt with by criminal courts will now be settled by misdemeanor courts.

However, if preventive measures fail to influence people who pose a real threat to public order or the fundamental interests of the socialist state, we will not hesitate to apply repressive measures. But let us hope that this will not be necessary.

MINISTRY PRESS CONFERENCE ON MILITARY SERVICE

AU201654 Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 17-18 Jan 87 pp 1, 7

[Report on press conference given by Brigade General L. Wojtasik, press spokesman of the Ministry of National defense, and Colonel J. Beilecki, a representative of the General Staff of the Polish Armed Forces, on 16 January -- place not given]

[Excerpt] On 16 January Brigade General Leslaw Wojtasik, press spokesman for the Ministry of National Defense, met with press, radio, and television journalists. The conference was devoted to the subject of compulsory military service for young people.

There are at least two reasons why this subject is of importance at the present time, began General L. Wojtasik. The first of these -- as is evident from the letters that the Ministry of National Defense press spokesman and various editors receive -- is that the level of public knowledge about this subject is unsatisfactory. Thus, there is an urgent need to explain these matters in a clear-cut manner. The second reason is the subversive activity being conducted by the ideological enemy. The ideological enemy is trying to spread various anarcho-pacifist ideas among young people.

The ministry spokesman went on to make some general observations about national security and defense.

Security is not a constant value; it must be continually enriched. Let us do this bearing in mind the historical lessons of the war years and the occupation. By drawing the appropriate conclusions, we have learned to be vigilant, to maintain the highest possible level of concern about the security of the fatherland, and to continually improve the national defense system.

In People's Poland the defense of the fatherland and its socialist achievements has been elevated to the rank of the highest civil obligation. Article 92 of the Constitution of the Polish People's Republic: "The defense of the fatherland is the most sacred duty of every citizen. Military service is an honorable duty for citizens of the Polish People's Republic." I would like to point out that the words "sacred," "honorable," and "patriotic" are not used in describing the other civic duties contained in the PPR Constitution. These words are only used in relation to the defense of the fatherland and the performance of military service.

The defense of the fatherland has, so to speak, two dimensions. One of these is the civic dimension, set out in the PPR constitution and in the Sejm law "On the Universal Duty of the Defense of the PPR" of 21 November 1967 along with the amendments introduced on 28 June 1979 and 21 November 1983. The second imposes the task of defense on the state and all its organs of power, on institutions, on state enterprises, and on all social organizations. The activities of the Armed Forces, which are particularly geared toward the accomplishment of defense tasks, are part of this second dimension.

By generalizing the achievements of theoretical defense thinking, the law "On the Universal Duty of the Defense of the PPR" provides a legal basis for the comprehensive development of the state defense system in its political, economic, and military aspects. The regulations stemming from it cover the entire range of issues concerning the preparation of the state for defense and they also standardize principles for the universal obligation of performing military service. This covers the duty of applying for registration; the duty of presenting oneself for enlistment; the duty of performing military service, and the duty of reporting every change in one's place of residence when the period of residence exceeds 2 months.

The obligation of performing military service generates the greatest emotional reaction among young people. Influenced by emotion, some young people begin to question the need for military service. This need has existed and will always exist as long as there are fears about national security and the last nature of peace.

The thesis that it is the current international situation that primarily determines the need for military service and defines its substantive meaning requires no special justification. The characteristic features of this situation are the intensive arms buildup being pursued by leading NATO member-states, particularly the United States; the steady growth in the military strength of the West German Bundeswehr; and the propagation of the idea of superiority and the economic exhaustion of socialist state. The disarmament negotiations being conducted between the United States and the Soviet Union have not produced the awaited results thus far and they remain in a deadlock for which the West is to blame. All this complicates the international situation and creates a real threat to world peace and Poland's security.

The independence of the fatherland and its socialist achievements are the highest national good. That is why defense cannot remain purely a matter of moral or ethical obligation. The fulfillment of defense obligations cannot depend on good will, a moral stance, or the ideological viewpoints of citizens. This is because the obligation to defend the state is a legal obligation.

Universal military service is not a matter of such great importance in states that maintain armies of a professional kind. There is no need for me to explain the professional armies use up vast quantities of material resources. Universality and equality are of great importance for states that supplement the size of their armies by way of conscription. Poland has

an army in which the majority of junior commanding posts and posts connected with the use of modern weapons and equipment are filled by young people who change every 2 years. Thus, Poland must take particular care to ensure that military service is performed by all draftees who are deemed fit to perform military service.

During the course of a history that goes back more than 40 years, the soldier of the Polish People's Armed Forces has always evinced patriotism and loyalty to the nation. Every successive generation of young Poles has made its own contribution to the sum of the socialist achievements of the fatherland by serving the country in a manner that is appropriate to the needs of the time. Speaking at an officers' graduation ceremony in Wroclaw, Army General Wojciech Jaruzelski said: "Our Army has grown up with the nation and it serves the nation. It has not and cannot have any other aims. There is a need for military service and for vigilance in performing duties so that the nation may work in peace, increase its achievements, and live and sleep in peace."

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CSO: 2600/322

MIODOWICZ COMMENTS ON GOVERNMENT PENSIONS BILL

LD222343 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1900 GMT 22 Jan 87

[Text] Justifying the government old-age and disability pensions bill, minister of labor, wages and social affairs, Stanislaw Gebala, recalled that it is a result of the guidelines of the 10th PZPR Congress, which indicated the vital need to eliminate the so-called old [pensions] portfolio and to guarantee, in this 5-year period, an increase in pensions' real value. It is also a duty to immediately counteract abuses in awarding benefits. The government is currently proposing the urgent amendments and it will present a comprehensive program of changes after broad consultations, particularly with the trade unions, at the second national conference of PZPR delegates. The bill, the minister said, takes into account, to a great extent, the recommendations from the Trades Union Congress, concerning linking the index-linking of old-age and disability pensions with pay increases, despite a different solution in the national socioeconomic plan, and in speeding up [word indistinct] increases in benefits from the old portfolio without curtailing funds for current index-linking.

Arguing with the accusation that the bill had been presented before the Sejm without the trade unions' knowledge, Minister Gebala recalled the contacts with trade union activists on this matter, as a result of which some comments by trade unionists were taken into account in the bill.

The index-linked increases, Alfred Miodowicz stressed, only alleviate the problem of the old portfolio, but do not solve it. System changes are needed for this. Other proposals for ad hoc solutions are unacceptable: For example, aimed at eliminating pension spirals [kominy emertalne]. One cannot, after all, while curtailing high benefits in the conditions of the economic reform, which assumes wage differentials, which have the precise consequence of differentiating old-age and disability pensions. [as heard]

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CSO: 2600/322

RAKOWSKI INTERVIEWED ON SOCIOECONOMIC COUNCIL

PM210945 Katowice TRYBUNA ROBOTNICZA in Polish 12 Dec 86 p 3

[Interview with Sejm Deputy Speaker and Socioeconomic Council Chairman Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski by TRYBUNA ROBOTNICZA correspondent Jerzy Miemiec; date, place not given]

[Text] [Miemiec] I remember that when the Eighth Sejm created the Socio-economic Council in March 1982, there was no unanimity among the deputies. They feared the new body. They expressed this openly at plenary sessions and commission meetings and, more often, quietly in conversations behind the scenes. And what they feared was not just... competition. They were also afraid that the Council -- which would not, after all, be an elected body -- might disturb established Sejm procedures, that waiting for its opinions might protract the already lengthy process of legislation, that its opinions might be too hasty, and so on. Gradually these attitudes began to change. The council passed the test with flying colors and proved its great usefulness. The Ninth Sejm set the council up again and decreed that its term of office would last as long as that of the Sejm itself. Citizen Speaker, could you tell us how the present council differs from its predecessor?

[Rakowski] I did not interest myself sufficiently in the work of the previous council to be competent to answer a question formulated in this way. I can only say that the present council comprises 250 members, whereas that under the chairmanship of Jan Szczepanski and, after him, Zbigniew Gertych, had 120 members. One can, of course, ask whether this quantitative change has in any way influenced the council's work. I think that to a certain extent it has. Not because there is strength in numbers, but because we are simply dealing with a wider representation of public opinion. Because in this council, as in the previous one, we rely in our operation on working groups set up to deal with every matter on the agenda, it is obviously not only easier to select their members from a body of 250 people but it also guarantees a better choice.

[Miemiec] Is it true that there has been a significant change in the council's powers of influence as the Sejm's consultative and advisory organ? It was, we recall, members of the previous council who unequivocally demanded -- particularly toward the end of the Eighth Sejm -- that the council's opinions be presented in a better and more comprehensive way at the Sejm's plenary sessions and commission meetings...

[Rakowski] I do not think that these powers have been altered in any significant way. The relevant Sejm resolution sets out very precise tasks facing the council and equally precise limits to its brief. The position of the present council, like that of its predecessor, should be considered in the context of both the more general and the currently prevailing socioeconomic situation in the country. The first council was created in very different circumstances from those in which, under my chairmanship, the present council operates. The existing political situation and the attitudes of the general public were at that time determined by the state of martial law and its consequences. In these extraordinary circumstances the creation of the Socioeconomic Council was above all a manifestation of the will to continue along the political line mapped out at the Extraordinary Ninth PZPR Congress. That line pointed the way to a democratization of social relations. I do not know how members of that council felt at that time, but I think we can safely assume that they were uneasy since -- as we remember -- it was the period when the term "inner emigration" appeared and people spoke of collaboration. Under conditions of organized pressure, threats ("your winter, our spring"), and so on, it took a lot of moral courage -- combined, naturally, with deep conviction that it is a worthwhile involvement. The present council operates in a completely different political climate.

It is an unquestionable fact that the council has gained public approval and commands considerable authority. However, it is widely believed that its opinions, suggestions and recommendations are not put to the best use, to say the least, by deputies...

[Rakowski] Our task is to prepare an opinion which we pass on to the Sejm Presidium, which in turn decides who should receive it. Some weeks ago the Sejm Presidium decided that one of the council's opinions should be delivered to all deputies. We have no say in how the deputies will use it, but I should like to stress that the decision was made in response to an explicit request made by the deputies. This would suggest that they want and intend to make use of that opinion.

Whether or not someone refers to the council's opinion at a Sejm session and whether or not this is done frequently are not, in my view, the most important considerations. I believe that the most important thing is that contrasting arguments can be exchanged in the halls of the building in Wiejska Street and that a variety of views and opinions is presented there, all of which doubtless exerts an influence on the Sejm's legislative activities and its controlling functions.

[Miemiec] As I observe the council's sessions I get the impression that the debates which precede the formulation of an opinion are as a rule critical, even very sharply critical. Here are several examples of the titles of press reports from just a few sessions: "Housing Program in Need of Corrections," "Health Care System Under Criticism," "Low Exports Are Cause of Debt," "Intentions Do Not Count -- Concrete Solutions Do." Would this indicate that matters on which you are asked to formulate an opinion have been prepared in a slapdash, incompetent manner?

[Rakowski] It is true that some of the bills presented to the Sejm cannot be said to err on the side of meticulousness. They give the impression of having been written in some haste. This is rather a chronic complaint which also plagued previous governments.

The increased role played by the Sejm in the political life of the country, which in turn has made deputies feel more responsible for the course of events, means that bills are analyzed very scrupulously indeed. While entertaining every respect for the lawyers, deputies consider it their duty to carry out a critical analysis of every bill presented to the Sejm. This does not mean that they practice "Sejmocracy" or that they have any desire to demonstrate their superiority over and condescension toward the state administration.

In my opinion the Sejm still has a lot to do before it is generally acknowledged as the institution of highest authority in a socialist state. I have not been authorized to speak for members of the Socioeconomic Council, but I think I can say that they see cooperation with deputies in their efforts toward strengthening the role of the Sejm as one of their principal tasks.

That, however, is only one side of the coin. There is another side too. The point is that the critical attitudes are at the same time generated by the current socioeconomic situation. Behind those titles you quoted lies an awareness of enormous needs and a sense of vexation in the face of the endless difficulties. Our council members know full well what is possible and what is not, but knowledge is one thing and the natural human urge to move away from the vexatious and the bothersome is another.

And one more thing which requires comment. The council is not critical on principle, nor because it wants to win public applause. It is critical when a bill presented to it for assessment deserves to be criticized.

[Miemieć] Deputies today indeed have a broad range of advisory and consultative facilities at their disposal. In addition to the council they can use the services of the Sejm advisory group, comprising several score members, all of them distinguished academics or eminent practitioners in their fields. Sejm commissions can take the advice of the 100 or so experts they have at their disposal. They also invite representatives of the Patriotic Movement for National Revival, the trade unions, and various social organizations to their sessions. They cooperate with the Supreme Chamber of Control on an almost daily basis. They have, therefore, ample sources from which they can draw both knowledge and arguments. When the council was created, it was expected not so much to offer expert evaluations and opinions as to represent common sense judgment. In other words, to present an ordinary citizen's view of the state's affairs. However, the very composition of the council (which embraces virtually all social, production, and vocational strata) and, most importantly, the quality of its carefully prepared and well executed debates and opinions prove that its comments and recommendations are thoroughly professional and mature. This applies in particular to economic matters...

[Rakowski] I think that the right to possess the quality of common sense is not necessarily a privilege reserved for so-called ordinary citizens. Would anyone insist that directors, managers, chairmen, and others of similar rank can have no claim to common sense?

Seriously, though, we live in an age of ever-growing respect for knowledge and expertise. If the opinions formulated by the council are to contribute anything to the process of working out the most advantageous solutions in the state's social and economic policy, they must be steeped in expert knowledge. And at this point it becomes obvious that the participation of people who are well versed in the ins and outs of economy, or social policy, is essential here. This does not, of course, mean that I minimize the contribution to the work of the council of those who are neither directors nor chairmen. Very often their views on the affairs of our country, formed from the perspective of, say, a worker who operates a single machine, are surprisingly fresh and sound. I think I may be permitted to assume that what they say about any given matter is not just their own view but that of a wider circle of their workmates, or even the whole work force.

Thus, sound expertise and all-around knowledge of the given fields combined with the so-called ordinary citizens' view allows us to arrive at the most objective truth. In my opinion the composition of the council is correct.

[Miemiec] Citizen Speaker, are you -- as an experienced party activist and statesman who is now presiding over the Socioeconomic Council attached to the Sejm -- satisfied with the council's achievements to date? What hopes do you place in that body, which is generally considered a "forum for an exchange of opinions and formulation of assessments"? Perhaps there are things which worry you?

[Rakowski] Things could always be better, but I believe after nearly 1 year in office that the work of the council gives reason for satisfaction. The council is not peopled by extras with walk-on parts only. It is a living organism with a sense of its own identity and its members know that Poland needs them.

In my opinion the council is an important link in a process that has been continuing in our country for a few years now, prompted by the initiative put forward by the PZPR and its allies. The essence of that process consists in modernizing those political structures which should provide the framework for realizing the role of society as a nonsubordinate entity in our socioeconomic system. It is a goal which we should patiently strive to attain, following the path mapped out by the Socioeconomic Council attached to the Sejm.

I am certainly not worried about the existence or the activities of the council. On the contrary, I find personal satisfaction in the fact that I can work with people who I believe are inspired by the same ideals as myself and whose goals are the same as mine: the good and the prosperity of people's Poland.

[Miemiec] Thank you for talking to me.

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CSO: 2600/322

MESSNER RECEIVES MEDAL IN ACADEMY CEREMONY

LD110255 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 10 Jan 87

[Text] A ceremonious session of the senate and departmental councils took place today at the Karol Adamiecki Economic Academy in Katowice. It was organized as part of the 50th anniversary of this college. Taking part in the session were Prime Minister Zbigniew Messner and the first secretary of the party's voivodship committee in Katowice, Bogumil Ferensztajn. During the session Premier Messner received the first copy of a medal released on the occasion of the college's anniversary.

[Begin recording] [Messner] This is my original place of work, where I gained my first experience. Then, for many, many years I worked here toward the development of this college, where I held various positions. How to assess my work -- that is not for me to say, but if by giving me this medal someone is trying to emphasize my services, then (?I thank him very kindly).

[Correspondent] Prime minister, this anniversary is not just an occasion for celebration -- is it not a workers' anniversary?

[Messner] Yes, indeed, I do believe that this anniversary is not just for celebrating; it also serves to underline the role of the college, which came into being in the years between the two world wars -- here in the Katowice voivodship, one that is very underprivileged. [passage indistinct] [end recording]

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CSO: 2600/322

POLISH-SOVIET MOSCOW SEMINAR PLANS BLOCK MEDIA

AU161919 Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish 10 Jan 87 p 11

[Mirosław Glogowski Moscow dispatch: "Russians [Rosjanie] and Poles Discuss Their Countries' Propaganda -- They Do Not Always Believe Us"]

[Text] Students get all kinds of ideas. Polish students in the USSR have had a brainstorm in that they decided to have a discussion and hold a seminar on the role of the mass media in the struggle to preserve peace and promote disarmament and detente... The title of this seminar smacked of old times, but the new winds that have been blowing in the USSR for some time now entitled one to assume that the results of this student idea would not include merely a few pleasing platitudes and stereotyped assurances that, say, we will be eternally attached to the most vital ideas and so on and so forth. What happened at that seminar not only confirmed but even outstripped our assumptions.

The so-called round table was the central point of the seminar's program. The organizers decided to invite theoretical and practical propaganda experts. They asked Włodzimierz Natorf, Polish ambassador in Moscow, to act as patron of the seminar and invited a group of Soviet scientists who specialize in the mass media, and a number of Polish journalists. In a room in the Polish Embassy in Moscow almost 100 Polish and Soviet students, mainly those in journalism and international affairs, gathered for the seminar. This melting pot of various viewpoints, experiences, and even national temperaments was expected to produce a clear diagnosis of the propaganda reality in our countries -- a diagnosis of the propaganda reality in our countries -- a diagnosis that, as Robert Smolen, who chaired the discussion as a representative of young people, proposed, should be formulated in the courageous spirit of the most recent party forums.

The seminar began with a not very optimistic assertion that, unfortunately, our propaganda is not faring well because it is ineffective and often lacks credibility. Krzysztof Paturej, chairman of the club of the Polish students studying journalism in the USSR, made this assertion with dramatic emotionalism, adding that although we have the right arguments, facts, and truth on our side, it is we who are afraid of Western propaganda and not vice versa. We continue to ponder, he said, how to counter U.S. television programs coming to us via satellite, and to introduce various prohibitions and bans.

But perhaps it would be better to ponder what should be done in order to place our sputniks over the United States. Let the Americans take fright at the Soviet "Orbit." Let them ponder what to do to counter socialist ideas streaming down on them from the skies above.

Professor Yassen Zassurskiy, dean of the Journalism Faculty at Moscow University, stressed that the West's media activities are very skillful and intelligent and that the Western media people beat us hands down in the speed with which they respond to world events, in the standards of mass media technology, and in the militancy with which individual journalists search for news. On the other hand, we still cling to hackneyed propaganda ideas, are always late, and always wait for directives from above, which usually take a long time to come down. Our reaction to the catastrophic sinking of the "Admiral Nakhimov" in the Black Sea was actually our first correct reaction to a major event, and that is why we are able to deprive the Western mass media of many arguments.

It is not only the form in which we circulate information that compounds our defeat, said Wlodzimierz Piotrowski, deputy chief editor of the INTERPRESS press agency. In my private list of journalistic sins I would give the pride of place to what I call "socialist positive monotony," meaning that what we write about our affairs must always please the readers, that we must write without any vigor, and that we must avoid controversial topics. If what we write in Poland could at times be classed as more or less full-blooded journalistic products, what comes from the fraternal socialist countries is just tepid and without character and is at best boring, even though things do happen in every socialist country.

It is no use talking about the fact that, compared with the Western press, we are for various reasons slower, even though such talking gives us a chance to point out that our techniques are obsolete. Actually they are to a great extent what we make them. We are our own censors. Years and years of writing under the compulsion to remember that certain subjects are taboo have taught us to almost automatically avoid many issues that it is now possible to write about.

Ambassador W. Natorf spoke about something else. For years, he said, I continued to help draw up communiques of Warsaw Pact meetings. Perhaps I am guilty of disclosing diplomatic and political secrets, but let me say that we always had trouble with the size of these communiques. We often pondered why NATO communiques ran to just three or four pages and that we could not manage to squeeze ours in fewer than 15 pages. Perhaps it is easier to throw dust into people's eyes than speak the truth or perhaps we have simply still not managed to learn the right language of propaganda, that is the language of the press and of communiques. One way or another, we must ponder how to reach the people with what we have to tell them because as things are now we do not, to say the least, always succeed in this.

History knows of many cases when even good ideas were defeated because those who tried to sell them had little skill for doing it, Professor Alexandr Borysov, dean of the Faculty of Journalism of the International Relations Institute of the Soviet Foreign Ministry, said when winding up this line of discussion. However, he added, I think that we will win. Why do I think so? My answer is simple. We the people of the USSR are aware of the fact that the pressure toward changing all our life is intensive and universal. This means that propaganda will also have to change.

Our primary weakness is that people do not always believe in what we say, said Professor Yuriy Kolosov, deputy head of the Humanitarian and Cultural Cooperation Department of the Soviet Foreign Ministry. People do not believe us because neither dailies nor television-radio present varying viewpoints frequently enough. [The mass media think that] there must be only one truth, which must be binding on everyone, but such an approach means nothing in view of the basic law of psychology that he who continues to be always bombarded by the same interpretation of events becomes resistant to it and begins to look for solutions somewhere else entirely. Seeing the solemn face of a television news reader who recites official communiques for the umpteenth time, the bombarded person says to himself: Even this news reader does not believe in what he is reading!

The secret of propaganda successes, Professor Kolosov continued, does not mean constantly writing about the struggle between socialism and capitalism and of painting the world only in black or white. Nor does it mean jamming foreign radio stations and sealing up all the other sources of information. Rather, propaganda success means making it possible for people to get to know varying interpretations of the same event, even if they contradict one another. If we get that far we will have fewer dissidents and samizdats and fewer worries about the people's lack of trust.

Illustrating his arguments, Y. Kolosov cited two examples and said that it is necessary to watch how other media do their work. Let us take THE NEW YORK TIMES, for example, which, following the Raykjavik meeting, published in the same column two texts side by side -- one text was of what Gorbachev said and the other what Reagan said. These texts were accompanied by the times commentary that expressed the daily's view on which of the two statemen avoided the truth. This very thing makes a newspaper credible, even if it actually practiced deceit! And we? Not only are we unable to influence public opinion, but are always behind the leaders. Let us take the new, very liberal law on foreign trips. Its text was published on 27 August 1986, but only in THE OFFICIAL GAZETTE. No other daily published it! In the meantime NOVOSTI informed the West of this law, and this information returned to us via the VOA and Radio Liberty in a suitably garnished shape. The Russians [Rosjanie] actually knew nothing official about this law right up to last November, but what they did know was tinged with antisocialist interpretation. And yet it is obvious that even if we do publish this or that information, the VOA, for example, can score propaganda points if it is able to broadcast that information ahead of us.

We have to face again the issue of professionalism, Professor Borysov observed. Our journalists must still learn many things, including the fact that when Western mass media have no weapon at hand they resort to the weapon of humor, which they use not only vis-a-vis socialist countries, but also vis-a-vis themselves. We should also understand that a crucial reason for the success of the Western press is, for one thing, its criticism of those in power and its presentation of varying evaluations of the situation. Of course, what matters is how individual dailies and the entire press are run, but there is more to it. In the USSR the training of first-class reporters is not too good. Things are even worse with producing the specialists in interpreting events who would be able immediately and without directives from above to comment on a specific situation in a language that has nothing in common with the official language (no one uses such language in everyday life!) and that is the normal language of normal people.

These statements were augmented by the demands made from the floor by a Soviet student. If the West is able to present its politicians not only in Sunday suits, but also when they are criticized or behave like private citizens or even find themselves in very personal situations, why is it that we do not do this? And why is it that we write only positive things about socialist countries, although it is common knowledge that many things deserve no praise and that sharp criticism would in many cases be the right thing to do, for example in the case of the personality cult? This is what a young journalist-to-be asked in a single breath.

However, let us not forget about technology, insisted Waldemar Siwinski, deputy editor of SZTANDAR MŁODYCH. We will not be able to produce the key to propaganda success without new technology, because only technology will enable us to promote an individualized approach to people. In addition, new technology may become an alternative to what already exists or is irresistibly coming -- video equipment, satellite television, cable television, and computer networks.

In Poland, for example, aside from concepts for legal restrictions, we still do not know what to do in order to counter the Western offensive with the help of new technologies. But restrictions lead nowhere. People in Czechoslovakia, the GDR, and Hungary are able to watch Western television and nothing happens to them. No counterrevolution is in the offing. At the most, watching Western television can result in the higher standards of domestic television. The restrictions and bans must disintegrate (no such restrictions and bans formally exist in the USSR, as Professor Zassurskiy observed). The only way to solve this problem is to devise alternative programs, even if this were to cost us really a lot of money.

The issue of the so-called telebridge programs was linked to the demands for open propaganda instead of hiding behind double protective screens. This issue was put forward by Professor Yassen Zassruskiy during exchanges of views about the propaganda activities that help to bring nations together or at least help them to understand one another. In our

propaganda, he said, much is being changed. For example, we have organized several telebridges programs in the form of direct discussions via satellites between the Moscow or Leningrad studios and the studios in Washington or San Francisco. On both sides discussions are supported by experienced journalists, and the studio audience can join in these discussions and ask questions. Questions can also be telephoned into the studios. Each such discussion would be watched by about 100 million Soviet people and by about 40 million American people.

These telebridges show that the White House controls the formally independent television network, Professor Borysov said. When the telebridge organized after the 27th CPSU Congress on the subject of disarmament was decisively won by Soviet Journalist Vladimir Pozner, the next day Ronald Reagan said officially that Soviet television engages in subversive activities in the United States and the head of the NBC network had to prostrate himself by publicly apologizing for beaming that program.

Of course, the idea of telebridges, Professor Zassurskiy added, does not and with Soviet-American contacts. We will soon have a telebridge between Moscow and Prague and later on between the USSR and Japan. We also think it necessary to promote the reception of the programs beamed by other socialist countries, also in order to counter the American Sky Channel, which beams its programs almost over our heads.

On the evening of the seminars the Polish visitors were able to watch a telebridge program themselves. Program one of Moscow television screened at 2240 a 50-minute discussion between the people gathered in the Moscow studio and the Houston studio. The chief heroes in the Soviet studio were the Lokshinor family (U.S. citizens who asked for political asylum in the USSR in the fall) and in the American studio Phil Donahue, a famous political commentator of CBS.

The public in Houston who, judging by their appearance and statements, represented average U.S. citizens, were not so much interested in the reasons why their countrymen had defected from the United States as in the issue whether they realized that they came to live in a country in which "there is a multitude of political prisoners and in which cruel repression vis-a-vis the dissidents is rife."

The Houston public reacted with laughter and shouts of "traitor" to Lokshin's story of how, on the day after his visit to the Soviet Embassy, he was fired, how the results of his long scientific research were destroyed, and how all the animals he used for his experiments were killed. Lokshin was an activist in the peace movement. As for Phil Donahue, his behavior was more gentlemanly, but his statements generated criticism of the level of political freedoms and he kept asking about specific prisoners. The telebridges program produced no decision, and the sides agreed to hold another discussion in a year's time.

Before that, as a Polish student in Moscow told us, there will be five or six other telebridge programs, which will certainly be more interesting than the Lokshin one, because more general subjects will be discussed, including Soviet-American relations, "Star Wars", and so on. But every program is watched eagerly, is it not?

PROPAGANDA IN EAST-WEST CONFRONTATION

AU312001 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 22 Dec 86 p 3

[Jerzy Wisnioski article: "The Role of Propaganda in the Confrontation Between the Two Systems -- Challenge and Response"]

[Text] For a few days I was able to watch a scientific conference on the role of propaganda in the confrontation between the two sociopolitical systems.

The conference, which was organized by the Center of Political Studies and Propaganda of the Polish Academy of Sciences, was attended by representatives of the Science Academies in the Fraternal socialist countries. The Polish Academy of Sciences was represented by Professor Henryk Cholaj.

In the historical confrontation between the two systems, imperialism -- mainly American imperialism -- has always regarded propaganda as an important weapon in the struggle against the world forces of socialism and progress. However, ever since Ronald Reagan became president, propaganda has been promoted to the status of the main weapon in the imperialist arsenals. This is because of the fact that under the conditions of military balance between the two blocs, the hope that socialism can be militarily annihilated has been dashed. This hope had been entertained by the leading advocates of world imperialism at various past periods.

"It is obvious," W. Jaruzelski said at the Warsaw preconference, "That imperialism is unable to physically attack us under conditions of peace, except for sanctions, embargoes, and so on. But man's awareness presents imperialism with all the room there is for aggression...."

It is a fact that this awareness continues to be attacked on all sides without any secrecy. Bestial anticommunism, which includes open hostility not only toward the countries of real socialism, but also toward the national liberation movements, trade unions, antiwar organizations, and even certain activities of certain churches and religions, has become an official state doctrine in the United States. This has been attested to not only by what President Reagan and his closest aides say, but also by what is being done. In 1983, as Dr. A. Kosecki said in his report, the White House became the center of decisions about influence abroad and indoctrination. The Special Planning Group, which is attached to the National Security Council and which was set up in 1983, is responsible for programming U.S. domestic and foreign propaganda.

The NATO Information Department, which is dominated by the United States, is responsible for coordinating ideological-propaganda activities within NATO. These and other facts attest to the progressive internationalization of imperialist propaganda activities, as Dr Janusz Kolczynski observed.

Professor G. Arbatov, Soviet political expert, said that U.S. propaganda seeks to reduce the information that the U.S. Government does not like and to fabricate spurious information or even spurious events to generate such information. Our Polish experience of the past few years fully confirms the correctness of the Soviet expert's findings.

It is significant that the progressively militant nature of imperialist propaganda activities continues not only to attract the attention of the socialist countries, but also to cause increasing concern among Third World countries. The 1976 nonaligned summit conference recognized that the struggle for independence from propaganda is as important as the struggle for political and economic independence. Let us recall that 80-90 percent of circulating information originates in capitalist countries. Two-thirds of this information originates in the United States.

It should also be stated that people in the developed Western countries and even segments of society that have no liking for socialism continue to display increasing aversion toward the propaganda aims formulated by the White House and the Pentagon.

Not everyone in the West is for direct interference in the internal affairs of other countries and for the internationally illegal propaganda activities seeking to overthrow legal governments and social and states institutions in other countries. It can be assumed that this stance is dictated by the fear that lies, provocations, blackmail, and the omnipresence of U.S. propaganda abroad may become normal practice in the United States itself. The continuing "Irangate" affair only justifies this fear.

The speech made at the conference by Professor A. Granov of the Soviet Academy of Sciences seems an interesting contribution in this connection. He said that the consistent peace policy of the USSR and other socialist countries is responsible for the growth in Western societies of friendly interest in the life of the countries of real socialism. This is natural if we consider that most of these societies are for peaceful coexistence and against nuclear confrontation and want to have a more realistic idea of the countries with which they are "condemned" to coexist.

That is why the Western propaganda centers continue to be pressurized to expand and objectify the information about socialist countries. These centers cannot completely ignore this pressure lest sections of the public turn away from them. That is why speeches and statements made by Soviet leaders and other socialists statesmen are published in so many copies and that is why PRAVDA continues to be published in native languages in the West. This is the reason why the excellent Soviet-American television program called

"The Bridge" has been such a success in the USSR and the United States. This is the reason why 10 million Americans watched the televised Moscow Games of Good Will. There have been many more such events for this reason.

The appearance of these events must not make us blind to the fact that imperialist propaganda may increase its threat to man's awareness. This propaganda is a real force possessing considerable materials and technical resources, which continue to be used with increasing lavishness in the struggle against socialism. Bosses in charge of information warfare have great hopes of satellite television and of an entire series of new mass media such as cable television, teletexts, microcomputers, and so on.

We continue to consider these resources in earnest, but without any complexes. Who says that modern communications means, that is, the means of getting to know each other and of communicating with each other, should exclusively benefit the forces that are hostile to mutual understanding and communication? Why should this not be the other way round?

While expecting answers to these questions, we will not remain passive. We are aware of the shortcomings of the technical base of socialist propaganda, a base that we must intensively develop and modernize with the help of the cooperation among socialist countries. Above all, we will continue to promote to the best of our ability the process of progressive changes in all spheres of life. This process, which has already begun, attests to the strength and vitality of socialism and shows where the truth is in the confrontation between the two sociopolitical systems.

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CSO: 2600/322

ZSL PRESIDENT VIEWS AGRICULTURAL SUPPLY PROBLEMS

AU52135 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 13 Jan 87 p 6

[Interview with Roman Malinkowski, PPR Sejm marshal and president of the ZSL presidium, conducted by Ewa Fiala: "Some Peasant Stubbornness Would Not Go Amiss" -- date and place not given; first paragraph is paper's introduction]

[Excerpts] Since the Ninth ZSL Congress 2 and 1/2 years have passed. Can we try to assess what has been done since then, and assess what remains to be done? In doing so, we are assuming -- what is otherwise obvious -- that the issues raised by the party, the matters placed on the agenda by ZSL members are not hermetically isolated, internal party questions, and, even if they are, they nevertheless possess a broader significance. We are assuming that the importance of these questions extends beyond the confines of the country lane, that today the affairs of the countryside, farmers, agriculture, and the food economy are the focus of universal public interest. We have asked Roman Nalinowski, PPR Sejm marshal and president of the ZSL presidium, to discuss these matters with us.

[Malinowski] I think that a lot of good, sound work has been performed since the ninth congress. Agriculture, more broadly, the agro-food complex, has strengthened its position and this has produced positive results for society and for the national economy as a whole. Agriculture's strengthened position is the product of the common agricultural policy and a committed approach to work on the part of food economy employees farmers in all sectors of agriculture. However, if we view the subject from the perspective of needs and possibilities, then we are only at the beginning of the road. We have a great many problems ahead of us, and the resolution of these problems calls for a consistent approach to implementation and greater support for agriculture from the economy as a whole.

[Fiala] However, ensuring supplies of coal, feeds, and building materials is not something that farmers can do for themselves....

[Malinowski] Agriculture cannot develop without continually better support from outside. We are fully aware of the fact that the farmer, the producer, the rural inhabitant is still struggling with a great many problems. In addition, it is not possible to attribute every failure to keep a promise

to objective factors. Some people charge that in practice the 30 percent allotment index for outlay on the food economy established at the ninth joint plenum fluctuated around the 23-26 percent mark. But this was because painful and difficult choices, and the level of needs did not make it possible to provide more. And it should be added that part of these resources were not utilized because of poor investment project preparation.

There are also many subjective reasons for a slackening of the rate of progress, reasons that can be attributed to concrete people. This compounds our difficulties and problems. There are still too many people around who seek to justify their inefficient work and, on occasion, irresponsibility by citing objective causes.

The lack of responsibility displayed in the introduction of new prices for cream, and certain ready foods was at least one very telling example that fully confirms what I have said. There was a dearth of imagination and responsibility, but not lack of bureaucratism and an uncaring attitude. It is essential to raise requirements and standards of responsibility and discipline.

[Fiala] However, these are not the sole instances of irresponsibility. The same could be said of the way in which farmers' coal and feed needs are treated.

[Malinowski] Of course. We discussed this at the joint Government Presidium and ZSL Secretariat Meeting. It was decided to increase supplies of coal to the countryside during the first quarter of 1987 to a level of 750,000 tons. However, thus far, contrary to this decision, communal consumers have been the main recipients of coal for agricultural production, including nonexistent animal delivery rooms, and in amounts that are twice as high as needs and norms. Yet farmers do not have coal to heat feed for their livestock. And the Supreme Control Chamber estimates the confusion in fuel record cards to be of the order of 1,500,000 tons. The feed situation is in a similar state. Farmers were guaranteed appropriate norms but this obligation has not been met. Particular people took too long to begin importing feed constituents, just as particular people are responsible for the delays in the contracting and production of feeds from domestic albuminous primary commodities. As a result of feed shortages, among other things, we are experiencing the deepest slump in the cow stock level in 30 years.

Protecting the interests of agriculture, keeping promises, whether by way of making purchases abroad, by producing things at home, or by providing farmers with production means -- is essentially a way of protecting the entire economy.

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CSO: 2600/322

PUBLIC OPINION RESEARCH CENTER POLLS

AU210635 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 16 Jan 87 p 4

[Report signed '(DJ)': "Truth and Stereotype"]

[Text] The Public Opinion Research Center has been polling citizens on various subjects for many years and in this way has gained a lot of valuable knowledge that is useful for various purposes. From 1983 to 1986, the Center also investigated the way our party functions in the minds of society. It tried to establish what citizens think about the work of party organizations within their workplaces and about party members. It is worth considering these opinions.

For example, positive views include the one whereby party organizations are functioning properly, are necessary, stand up in defense of workers, assist people in their personal affairs, and encourage work forces to work better. Statements like this may be regarded as the most general criterion for assessing these organizations. Criticism may be summarized as follows: Not enough people belong to party organizations, they occupy themselves only with their own domestic affairs, and there is a lot of talk but little work.

Summing up these opinions, the authors draw the conclusion that often the work of a party organization within a workplace is quite simply not visible, too little is known about it, and it is imperceptible to that part of the work force that is socially or politically passive. Someone might say it is their own fault that they are not more active, and that is why they know nothing. However, let us put it differently: What are we in party organizations doing to make nonparty people notice our role, influence, and activity? At meetings of primary party bodies, do we consider how nonparty people view our activity and presence?

The Center also held polls on the subject of party members. The positive views may be summarized thus: I like a good worker who is socially active; one can count on him. The criticism, however, boils down to this: He says a lot, does little, thinks mainly about his own career, and is no different from anyone else. And something that is typical -- when people were asked to give a general view, the above criticism was repeated, but when they were asked to describe someone they knew, the opinions were positive. This also provides much food for thought.

POREBSKI ADDRESSES WROCLAW FACTORY WORKERS

AU161107 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 14 Jan 87 p 3

[Czeslaw Kubasik report: "We Want Our Work To Be Appreciated"]

[Text] Speaking at a meeting of employees of the automatic lathe plant in Wroclaw on 13 January, PZPR Politburo member and Central Committee secretary Tadeusz Porebski shared the opinion of the workers that automation, development of electronics, and the introduction of new technologies is the most important way of accelerating the nation's economic development. We want to reduce inflation to 3-4 percent by 1990, he said. The government will take greater care to prevent unjustified price rises. In accordance with the Third Central Committee Plenum resolution, all subsidies for production with the exception of food should be abolished during this 5-year period. Adjustments to the so-called old portfolio of pensions will also be moved forward by 1 year. This will be the topic of a Sejm debate.

We would like to gain the approval of work forces and society in accelerating the second stage of the economic reform because this will permit more rapid stabilization and the elimination of inflation. One must also seek radical ways of increasing housing construction. First we must fulfill all the plans in this regard so that in the next 5-year period we can start thinking about a considerable increase in the construction of apartments, T. Porebski concluded.

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CSO: 2600/322

ARMY POLITICAL ACADEMY PROFESSOR NOTES GROWING 'ANTI-COMMUNISM'

Katowice TRYBUNA ROBOTNICZA in Polish 8 Nov 86 p 3

[Interview with Prof Jerzy Muszynski, political scientist, Army Political Academy, by Hanna Swieszczakowska]

[Text] [Question] Professor, the triumph of the October Revolution threatened the position of the capitalist world. Therefore the struggle against communism as an idea, a movement and since then as a political practice has had to grow more intense. The main argument of the world bourgeoisie was the contention that the eruption and successful progress of the revolution was possible only because of a fortuitous historical coincidence. It was predicted that the Bolshevik government would not last long and that early political and economic disaster awaited Soviet Russia. Practice has negated these predictions. In particular, the course of World War II demonstrated the vast economic and above all moral strength of the first socialist state, which effectively resisted Hitler, In spite of these obvious facts, anti-communism continues to develop in theory and practice. How does one explain this vitality?

[Answer] Since the October Revolution the strategic goal of anti-communism was to impair socialism so that it would cease to exist as a political system. Only the methods for that struggle change with historical circumstances.

The theory of the revolution's coincidence which you noted continues to be expanded and justified by Sovietologists. In their opinion the events of 1917 in Russia were a kind of historical miracle. Some of them estimate that the Bolsheviks had one chance in a hundred to take power at that time. They explain that if the Kerensky government had operated vigorously and had not made so many mistakes, it might have survived. They do not remember that those "mistakes" were based on class conflicts in Russia at the time and followed from the bourgeoisie's position, whose interests that government represented.

Counter-revolution, armed intervention from the outside, a long term economic blockade and a policy of discrimination in international relations--all these methods applied against the first socialist state did not bring their advocates desired results. Practical considerations and everyday life simply forced capitalism to maintain contact with the USSR. By the end of the 1920s, 80 percent of countries had entered into diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union.

The Soviet government, albeit with difficult and not without setbacks, gradually resolved its most urgent social and economic problems. This progress was obvious to all observers and anti-communists could not ignore it. It was in that interwar period that the theory, well known to us today, of communism's natural aggressiveness began to be disseminated. It was asserted that the Soviet Union was expanding its economic and military potential in order to attack the West and impose on it its own political system at the appropriate time.

After World War II, in connection with the emergence of a system of socialist states, the celebrated theory of the export of the revolution originated. New anti-communist doctrines arose to justify the unfriendly policy of the US and Western Europe toward countries "behind the iron curtain." In the late 1940s and early 1950s the quarrels between the two systems took on the character of a cold war. The goal of anti-communism bred in those times is still valid today--combine all the forces of capitalism to destroy the alliance of socialist states, detach them from the Soviet Union and set them against each other in order to dissolve socialism from within.

Well known events in Hungary, Czechoslovakia and Poland confirmed the effectiveness of this policy in some sense and became an incentive to intensify it in later periods. Recently, especially in relation to Poland, it has taken on the dimension of direct intervention in our internal affairs.

Yet the experience of anti-communism so far has revealed the principle that its theoretical and practical efforts hurt the socialist system only for the short term, but they harm the entire world much more--they antagonize the world and bring the threat of nuclear conflict. At the same time resistance to this policy is growing in socialist countries; moreover, the ties among them are getting closer. Objectively then, the policy of anti-communism, contrary to its authors' expectations, is not disturbing the global balance of power.

[Question] It seems that today more than ever capitalism feels threatened by the possibility of an outbreak of new revolutions or an evolutionary transition to socialism by some countries. It must therefore enhance and diversify the forms of its struggle against communism. Socialist countries, on the other hand, guided by the interests of all people, offer peaceful coexistence. Can this class of intentions be overcome?

[Answer] The situation is not as obvious as it might have seemed to us not long ago. I would call it a draw because neither capitalism nor socialism has a majority of followers in the world. The post-colonial countries hold the balance and much depends on the state of consciousness of their societies. But for now economic considerations decide--the poor lean toward those who can offer them more, thus to the highly developed capitalist countries.

Yet relations between capitalism and socialism are being affected to an ever greater degree by other heretofore unknown phenomena. Problems common to all people are increasing--military, ecological, demographic and food problems, in the face of which political and ideological conflicts recede into the background. The need to develop universalist concepts, on the basis of which

it would be possible to combine forces to protect against threats to all of humanity, is being discussed more and more commonly.

[Question] Does this mean that the ideological struggle is losing its meaning?

[Answer] On the contrary. The West is moving away from assertions about the twilight of ideology so popular in the 1970s. Socialism is being opposed by numerous ideologies--religious, conservative, neo-liberal, neo-technocratic--even if they declare ideological neutrality like the recently created concept of a temperate society.

And in the socialist countries not as much weight is given to the struggle against bourgeois doctrines as was the case not only ago. The need to resolve our own problems of socialism and global problems is discussed first. Marxists concede--and this is also something new--that they are not in a position to give satisfactory answers to all the questions generated by our civilization.

[Question] May this speak not so much to weakness of Marxism as to that of Marxists?

[Answer] Today no ideology is in a better situation. Of course one could charge that Marxists have not given sufficient attention to the matters most important to the present time for many years. Great challenges and tasks stand before Marxist social teachings. But they will not be resolved in isolation; an opening for other ideas, dialog and cooperation is necessary. But this does not rule out ideological confrontation because the main goal of every ideology is still growth and protection of its own vision of human development.

[Question] Thank you for the interview.

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CSO: 2600/250

SELF-MANAGEMENT, RELATED ISSUES SPUR CRITICAL DISCUSSIONS

Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 31 Oct-1 Nov 86 p 6

[Text] Stanislaw Podemski writes in POLITYKA:

I feel that the continuity between what has been introduced in the area of self-management, government consultation or protection of individual rights and the most recent proposals for the creation of citizen conventions, rights advocates and Consulting Councils is noticeable.

What is desired is to let people known for their critical yet sober positions speak and at the same time to enclose the voice of critics within legal, useful forms, steering thought and energy toward resolving existing conflicts, disputes and differences. So far we do not know much of by whom and how these government offers have been received, but one could suppose that optimism and hope are not misplaced here.

This could lead to interesting and enriching cooperation on both sides. The government gains an open, loyal and honest critic, a collection of new evaluations and opinions, unfiltered by anyone, and finally an ally with public support who takes onto his shoulders part of the toil and responsibility for the course of national affairs. The people who enter into these new groups in turn will have the right to a public, open, audible voice and, one can presume, some influence on everyday, current and far-reaching policy.

Establishing national unity has always been fiction but that unity on fundamental issues is still the most important requirement of our difficult time. Can it be achieved? More than we all imagine depends on an affirmative answer.

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CSO: 2600/250

SOVIET FRIENDSHIP SOCIETY PROMOTES MORE COOPERATIVE CONTACTS

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 31 Oct-2 Nov 86 p 2

[Article by Ryszard Altynski]

[Text] Recently the PZPR Politburo recommended consistent execution of resolutions from 1982 on fortifying Polish-Soviet friendship and enriching it with the goals arising from the PZPR's 10th Congress and the 27th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. These recommendations also concern the Society for Polish-Soviet Friendship [TPPR].

Our organization, in accordance with the programs approved at our 11th Congress, said Stefan Nawrot, secretary general of TPPR's Main Board, "has greatly stimulated work in all circles. Within the limits of our mass information and propaganda work, we have introduced informational and lecture campaigns entitled "Who is Impairing Polish-Soviet Friendship and Why," "The Significance of the Soviet Alliance for the Security of Polish Borders" and "40 Years of Victory Over Fascism, 40 Years of Polish-Soviet Brotherhood in Arms." About 250,000 people, mainly young people, have participated directly in each of them. With the Ministry of Education and Upbringing we initiated a series of seminars for about 6,000 history teachers in schools of all kinds, including "The History of Polish-Soviet Relations in the Light of Facts and Documents."

With the Polish Academy of Sciences we instituted "postgraduate studies on knowledge of the USSR and Polish-Soviet relations" designed for lecture personnel.

We see as an important factor popularization of the issues associated with matters of peace and the world's future. In this context, to disseminate the USSR's peace program.

The annual celebration of the anniversary of the October Revolution is an opportunity for many initiatives. Included in our plan is a nationwide competition for the best exhibit on the subject of "friendship, brotherhood in arms, brotherhood in work" and the 13th edition of the academic tournament on knowledge of the Russian language and the Soviet Union.

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BRIEFS

AGREEMENT WITH ROMANIA--Gas cookers, pots and pans, tents and optical glass -- all this will be imported from Romania next year. This is envisaged by next year's Polish-Romanian trade protocol, signed 2 hours ago in Warsaw. We will also import railroad cars, coal cars, drilling equipment and equipment for the pharmaceutical industry. In exchange, we will provide our Romanian partners with building machines, technological know-how and compression-ignition engines. [Text] [Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1300 GMT 20 Dec 86 LD] /12624

VISIT TO BULGARIA--Andrzej Wasilewski, secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, has paid a working visit to Bulgaria at the invitation of the Bulgarian Communist Party Central Committee. During his 4-day stay in Sofia he met members of the highest party authorities of Bulgaria. Andrzej Wasilewski also had talks with representatives of Sofia creative and artistic milieux and associations. Bulgarian-Polish cultural cooperation was positively assessed and possibilities for its development, through the implementation of the resolutions of the congresses of both fraternal parties, were discussed. [Text] [Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 20 Dec 86 LD] /12624

JARUZELSKI MEETS AWARD-WINNING STUDENTS--Wojciech Jaruzelski met a group of the best students, winners of the Mikolaj Kopernik science and social work competition in the Belvedere Palace. The competition, which has a dozen-or-so-year tradition, organized by the Association of Polish Students, aims to stimulate student activity in the spheres of science and social work. During the last term of office, over 900 students were distinguished from over 50 education establishments throughout the country. Two hundred and eight of them earned the title primus inter pares, the first amongst equals. [Text] [Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1300 GMT 21 Jan 87 LD] /12624

MESSNER, OFFICIALS VISIT ENTERPRISES--Members of the party leadership, the Politburo and the Secretariat of the PZPR Central Committee visited work forces today in many work enterprises and institutions in various regions of Poland. The meetings and especially the direct conversations enabled them above all to acquaint themselves with work conditions in the difficult winter conditions and to obtain opinions on the most important matters concerning working people. Premier Zbigniew Messner, together with Vice Premier Jozef Koziol, spent time with farmers in Gora Kalwaria Parish in Warsaw Metropolitan Voivodship. Stanislaw Bejger spent time at Gdansk's Wisla Shipyard, the smallest Polish shipyard producing seagoing ships. [Text] [Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1700 GMT 13 Jan 87 LD] /12624

MESSNER MEETS SEMINAR PARTICIPANTS--A seminar took place in the Office of the Council of Ministers for newly appointed deputy ministers and voivodas. The subject was the tasks of the state administration as a result of the socio-economic plan and the annual plan and also increasing the quality of the work of administrative bodies. Zbigniew Messner received the participants of the seminar. [Text] [Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1830 GMT 7 Jan 87 LD] /12624

MESSNER, KOZIOL VISIT AGRICULTURAL COOP--Premier Zbigniew Messner, accompanied by Deputy Premier Jozef Koziol, paid a visit to farmers of Gora Kalwaria in Warsaw voivodship today. At the (?Baniosze) Agricultural Producer Cooperative, the premier expressed appreciation for cooperative members for their efforts to ensure the proper pace of production and supplies of farming products to the market under difficult winter conditions. Zbigniew Messner has used the opportunity of his visit to the parish cooperative shops to acquaint himself with the situation concerning the supplies of fuel and basic foodstuffs to the local population. [Text] [Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1300 GMT 13 Jan 87 LD] /12624

JARUZELSKI, MESSNER AT ARTISTS MEETING--With the participation of Wojciech Jaruzelski and Zbigniew Messner there took place in the Palace of the Council of Ministers in Warsaw the annual meeting of representatives of the artistic circles. Some 700 people were present. Actor Jerry Trela spoke in the name of the invited guests. Informal conversations began later at the traditional reception. The crowd was especially thick around Wojciech Jaruzelski. The creative artists wished him the very best and good health. They also thanked him for the superb visit to the Vatican. [Excerpts] [Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 19 Jan 87 LD] /12624

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