

006051

JPRS-EPS-85-109

6 November 1985

19981028 096

# East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

DTIC QUALITY INSPECTED 4

**FBIS**

FOREIGN BROADCAST INFORMATION SERVICE

REPRODUCED BY  
NATIONAL TECHNICAL  
INFORMATION SERVICE  
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE  
SPRINGFIELD, VA. 22161

6  
103  
A06

#### NOTE

JPRS publications contain information primarily from foreign newspapers, periodicals and books, but also from news agency transmissions and broadcasts. Materials from foreign-language sources are translated; those from English-language sources are transcribed or reprinted, with the original phrasing and other characteristics retained.

Headlines, editorial reports, and material enclosed in brackets [ ] are supplied by JPRS. Processing indicators such as [Text] or [Excerpt] in the first line of each item, or following the last line of a brief, indicate how the original information was processed. Where no processing indicator is given, the information was summarized or extracted.

Unfamiliar names rendered phonetically or transliterated are enclosed in parentheses. Words or names preceded by a question mark and enclosed in parentheses were not clear in the original but have been supplied as appropriate in context. Other unattributed parenthetical notes within the body of an item originate with the source. Times within items are as given by source.

The contents of this publication in no way represent the policies, views or attitudes of the U.S. Government.

#### PROCUREMENT OF PUBLICATIONS

JPRS publications may be ordered from the National Technical Information Service, Springfield, Virginia 22161. In ordering, it is recommended that the JPRS number, title, date and author, if applicable, of publication be cited.

Current JPRS publications are announced in Government Reports Announcements issued semi-monthly by the National Technical Information Service, and are listed in the Monthly Catalog of U.S. Government Publications issued by the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402.

Correspondence pertaining to matters other than procurement may be addressed to Joint Publications Research Service, 1000 North Glebe Road, Arlington, Virginia 22201.

6 November 1985

EAST EUROPE REPORT  
POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

CONTENTS

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

|                                                                                                                                |   |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---|
| Denmark's Defense Minister: Polish, GDR Troops in Danish Uniforms<br>(Nils Eric Boesgaard; BERLINGSKE TIDENDE, 15 Sep 85)..... | 1 |
| Some Irresoluteness on USSR-Hungarian Trade Terms<br>(Jozsef Marjai; MAGYAR NEMZET, Sep 85).....                               | 4 |

BULGARIA

|                                                                                                          |    |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----|
| Zhivkov Greets Kil Il-song on Party Anniversary<br>(RABOTNICHESKO DELO, 10 Oct 85).....                  | 6  |
| BCP CC Greets South Yemeni Socialist Party Congress<br>(RABOTNICHESKO DELO, 12 Oct 85).....              | 8  |
| Zhivkov, Filipov Greet Castro on Anniversary<br>(RABOTNICHESKO DELO, 14 Oct 85).....                     | 10 |
| BCP CC Greeting Message to Cambodian Party Congress<br>(Sv. Terziev; RABOTNICHESKO DELO, 16 Oct 85)..... | 12 |
| Briefs                                                                                                   |    |
| Tanchev Receives Panama Politician                                                                       | 14 |
| Cape Verde Delegation's Visit Ends                                                                       | 14 |
| Zhivkov Receives Indian Minister Rao                                                                     | 14 |
| Stoph, Zhivkov Condemn U.S., NATO                                                                        | 15 |
| Condolences to Soviets on Earthquake                                                                     | 15 |

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

|                                                                       |    |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------|----|
| Party Says Young People Are Important<br>(RUDE PRAVO, 20 Sep 85)..... | 16 |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------|----|

## HUNGARY

|                                                                                                                              |    |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----|
| Doctor Urges More Government Involvement in Anti-Drug Efforts<br>(Istvan Cserne Interview; ELET ES IRODALOM, 27 Sep 85)..... | 19 |
| Controversial Rock Opera Toned Down Into Psycho-Drama<br>(various sources, various dates).....                               | 24 |
| Istvan--In Good Spirit, Abundance, by Miklos Almasi                                                                          | 24 |
| Imre Kerenyi, Imre Kerenyi Interview                                                                                         | 27 |
| Drama of Decision, by Istvan Takacs                                                                                          | 28 |
| Growing Interest in Public Affairs Noted<br>(NEPSZAVA, 17 Sep 85).....                                                       | 31 |

## POLAND

|                                                                                                                                          |    |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----|
| PZPR Control Commission Intensifies Its Efforts<br>(ZYCIE WARSZAWY, 26 Jul 85).....                                                      | 33 |
| Council of Ministers Set Program for Rest of 1985<br>(TRYBUNA LUDU, 30 Jul 85).....                                                      | 35 |
| Video Issue Related to TV Propaganda, Claims Author<br>(Tadeusz Pikulski; KULTURA, No 17, 24 Sep 85).....                                | 38 |
| SD Role in Sociopolitical Structure Detailed<br>(Tadeusz Witold Mlynczak Interview; ZYCIE WARSZAWY,<br>31 Aug-1 Sep 85).....             | 40 |
| Political Scientists Calls for More Self-Criticism<br>(Jan Baszkiewicz Interview; TRYBUNA LUDU, 12 Sep 85).....                          | 47 |
| Osmanczyk Protests Paper's Presentation of His Views<br>(TRYBUNA OPOLSKA, 21-22 Sep 85).....                                             | 52 |
| Catholic Candidate's 'Neutral State' Comment Clarified<br>(ZYCIE WARSZAWY, 23 Sep 85).....                                               | 53 |
| Rakowski Interview on Propaganda, Government Power, Credibility<br>(Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski Interview; RZECZPOSPOLITA,<br>17 Sep 85)..... | 55 |
| Presidium Meeting Includes Reports on Taxes, Wages<br>(ZYCIE WARSZAWY, 24 Sep 85).....                                                   | 61 |
| Meeting of Socialist Scientific Academies<br>(RZECZPOSPOLITA, 24 Sep 85).....                                                            | 63 |
| State Electoral Commission Inspectors Assess Election Schedule<br>(Jerzy Breitkopf Interview; RZECZPOSPOLITA, 25 Sep 85)....             | 65 |

|                                                                                                                     |    |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----|
| Editor Challenges Osmanczyk's View of New Sejm<br>(Wlodzimierz Kosinski; TRYBUNA OPOLSKA, 25 Sep 85).....           | 67 |
| Council of State on International Agreements, Higher Education<br>(RZECZPOSPOLITA, 27 Sep 85).....                  | 70 |
| Different Approaches to Sunday Grocery Shopping Issue<br>(ZYCIE WARSZAWY, 10-11 Aug 85; RZECZPOSPOLITA, 12 Aug 85). | 71 |
| Gdansk Initiative 'Anarchistic'                                                                                     | 71 |
| Warsaw Spolem Begins Sunday Schedule                                                                                | 71 |
| Briefs                                                                                                              |    |
| Activist Pinior Arrested                                                                                            | 73 |
| Urban Defends Pinior's Arrest                                                                                       | 73 |
| Czechoslovakian Foreign Affairs Talks                                                                               | 73 |
| Warsaw Inter-Party Meeting                                                                                          | 73 |
| 10th Party Congress Program Prepared                                                                                | 73 |
| Banach's Retirement Set                                                                                             | 74 |
| PZPR CC Study Group in France                                                                                       | 74 |
| Soviets Join Anti-War Demonstration                                                                                 | 74 |
| ZSL Provincial Committees Meeting                                                                                   | 74 |
| NOWE DROGI Invites Hungarian Editors                                                                                | 74 |
| Siwak at Kielce PZPR Meeting                                                                                        | 75 |
| Rakowski, Printing Industry Confer                                                                                  | 75 |
| Talks With International Atomic Agency                                                                              | 75 |
| PRON Talks With GDR Representative                                                                                  | 75 |
| PZPR CC, USSR Friendship Committee Meet                                                                             | 75 |
| ZSL Ideological, Political Meeting                                                                                  | 75 |
| New Pilsudski Book                                                                                                  | 76 |
| PRON, Warsaw University Rector Meet                                                                                 | 76 |
| PRON's Philosophy in Official's Work                                                                                | 76 |
| PZPR, ZSL Lecturers Meet                                                                                            | 76 |
| PRON Official Meets Retirees                                                                                        | 76 |
| Cuban Youth, OPZZ, Metal Workers Meet                                                                               | 77 |
| Pre-Election Disturbances Planned                                                                                   | 77 |
| New Wajda Movie Completed                                                                                           | 77 |
| Prosecutor-General Cooperates With Bulgaria                                                                         | 77 |
| Chinese Collective Reps Visit                                                                                       | 77 |
| KiszczaK at Warsaw ZSL Meeting                                                                                      | 78 |
| White-Russian Minority Problems                                                                                     | 78 |
| Szalajda Meets Chinese, Austrian Officials                                                                          | 78 |
| Nicaraguan Trade Talks Close Tour                                                                                   | 78 |
| PRON Meeting on 'National Understanding'                                                                            | 79 |
| Workers Cited in Industrial Fire                                                                                    | 79 |
| Socialist Art Critics Meet                                                                                          | 79 |
| Gdansk Defense Committee                                                                                            | 79 |
| Gdansk Activists Pass Appeal Date                                                                                   | 79 |
| Features From CC Ideological Journal                                                                                | 80 |
| Voting Registration Check Extended                                                                                  | 80 |
| Olszowski Interview in Soviet Daily                                                                                 | 80 |

## ROMANIA

|                                                                             |    |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------|----|
| Decree on Increasing Responsibility of Workers<br>(SCINTEIA, 5 Sep 85)..... | 81 |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------|----|

## YUGOSLAVIA

|                                                                                                       |    |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----|
| Cardinal Kuharic's Statements in Vatican Press Criticized<br>(Nenad Ivankovic; DANAS, 20 Aug 85)..... | 83 |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----|

|                                                                         |    |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------|----|
| 'Informal Power Centers' in LCY Discussed<br>(BORBA, 23-25 Sep 85)..... | 88 |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------|----|

|                                                                                                |    |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----|
| Soviet General Describes Visit to Yugoslavia<br>(V. Balakirev; KRASNAYA ZVEZDA, 9 Oct 85)..... | 92 |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----|

|                                                                                    |    |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----|
| Serbian Science Committee Discusses Controversial Book<br>(TANJUG, 14 Oct 85)..... | 94 |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----|

### Briefs

|                                   |    |
|-----------------------------------|----|
| Telekeri Book Banned              | 96 |
| Ulcinj Resignations               | 96 |
| Prizren History Teacher Sentenced | 96 |
| Envoy to Botswana, Zambia         | 97 |
| New Kosovo Officials              | 97 |

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

DENMARK'S DEFENSE MINISTER: POLISH, GDR TROOPS IN DANISH UNIFORMS

Copenhagen BERLINGSKE TIDENDE in Danish 15 Sep 85 p 10

[Article by Nils Eric Boesgaard: "Warsaw Pact Has Troops in Danish Uniforms"]

[Text] Danish-speaking and locally informed Soviet Spetnaz commandos are ready for duty in Denmark. Their duties are, among other things, to murder politicians and sabotage society in case of an international crisis or war.

The Warsaw pact countries' espionage activity in Denmark has the clear goal of paving the way for a military takeover of the country in connection with a serious crisis or a direct outbreak of war between NATO and the Warsaw pact.

This appears clear from among other things the fact that commando forces in Poland as well as East Germany are in possession of stocks of Danish military uniforms that are to be used by infiltration forces.

"We know that such a threat exists and have taken precautions," says Defense Minister Hans Engell, who cannot, however, either elaborate on the extent of the threat or on the nature of the precautions.

The British defenses recently wound up the largest military maneuvers on home ground since 1945, under which in particular were tested the regular forces, the territorial army and the newly reestablished home guard's abilities to counter Warsaw pact commando forces and fifth column group's abilities to damage society. There is talk on the British side of groups that must realistically be counted on as already in place in the western countries, including Denmark, or as specially trained to be set into quite definite, limited areas so that they, for example, can speak the local language with the local dialect perfectly.

Primarily it is a question of Soviet Spetnaz forces, whose existence the western information services had confirmed back when the Soviet General Viktor Suvorov defected.

D-Day minus 14

Sources in Denmark inform BERLINGSKE TIDENDE that Spetnaz forces are expected to become active in small groups at the point that in military terminology is called D-Day minus 14 or fourteen days before an attack is launched. The forces' task will be to destroy vital facilities, murder highly placed politicians and officials, put the military staff out of action, and try to sabotage the NATO countries nuclear capacity--both military and civil.

It is thought that in the Baltic area alone there are at least 15 Spetnaz training and command centers with special ties to the Baltic fleet and with special objectives in Denmark, Sweden and West Germany. Swedish reports connect the Spetnaz forces directly with the many Soviet submarine sightings in the Swedish archipelago, which culminated with "Whiskey on the Rocks" in the Karlskrona fjord.

German sources state that East German soldiers are in possession of, among other things, West German military police uniforms that are to be used during an infiltration phase, and that both the East Germans and the Poles have Danish uniforms for similar purposes.

It is taken for granted that already in peacetime Spetnaz has placed local agents in target areas and secured local contacts, primarily from the extreme left wing, to take care of minor acts of sabotage and arrange safe houses.

At the same time they add that the Spetnaz forces' most important peacetime means of investigation and communications are trucks sealed to pass through customs which in reality are advanced electronic communications stations.

#### Terror and Murder

Spetnaz is a specially trained unit directly under the military information agency GRU whose training resembles in many ways the British SAS or our own Jaegerkorps. The unit's task in time of war or crisis is to cripple the western societies through sabotage, terror and murder.

The West German daily FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE has recently reported that the Russians now have over 800 Spetnaz commandos. The total force is given as somewhere between 15,000 and 30,000 men divided into subunits of 600 men each.

According to the Pentagon, all members of Spetnaz are trained in infiltration and sabotage techniques, including the use of explosives, incendiary bombs and acid, airborne landings, secret communications, hand-to-hand combat and silent murder techniques, psychological operations, the target country's language and customs as well as survival skills.

The commando forces are recruited from among large sports clubs and seamen, among others. Both are groups which frequently travel to foreign countries without causing suspicion. Victor Suvorov has earlier revealed that the Spetnaz forces include leading Soviet athletes, including members of the Soviet Olympic team, as well as both the ZSKA sports club and the Dynamo soccer club, both of which are purely Spetnaz and KGB enterprises.

## Aware of the Threat

"We are naturally very aware of the threat to Danish security and Danish society and that the threat can also include fifth column activities and commando raids similar to what is described in the reports about the Spetnaz groups," says Defense Minister Hans Engell to BERLINGSKE TIDENDE.

"This threat has of course not lessened as our society has steadily become more vulnerable and complicated. Just think about the administration, the supplying of energy, business life in general and the production that is also necessary in time of crisis or in a state of war. All these elements in a highly advanced technological society are naturally tremendously exposed.

Of course, in a crisis or state of war there will be a number of key people who have a deciding influence on the decisions that must be made and who therefore are obvious targets for terrorist actions.

It is obvious that the Danish defense forces have plans to counter such actions, and it is just as obvious that these plans are highly classified," the minister says. Moreover, he says that the defense forces have not yet held exercises where special attention has been placed on the enemy's use of Spetnaz forces but that the damages and obstacles that result from fifth column activities are routinely accounted for.

12819

CSO: 3613/210

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

SOME IRRESOLUTENESS ON USSR-HUNGARIAN TRADE TERMS

Budapest MAGYAR NEMZET in Hungarian Sep 85 p 3

[Speech by Jozsef Marjai: "The Expansion of Soviet Import is Essential to Our Country"]

[Text] The speech given by Jozsef Marjai, deputy minister and co-president of the committee on Hungarian-Soviet science and technology and economic governmental cooperation, on Monday in Kiev, the capital of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, officially opened the Hungarian economic and technical days. Deputy President of the Ukrainian Council of Ministers, Stanislav Gurenko, greeted the guests in the name of the hosts.

Speaking of our country, the deputy president of the government pointed out that in the course of building socialism Hungary, too, has accumulated significant experiences over the past decades. Analyzing these we find that with further improvements in planning, management, regulation and organizational systems we will be able to reach resources not tapped yet. We need to strengthen independence, responsibility and financial interest both at companies and in our expectations of workers.

Emphasizing the importance of Hungarian-Soviet economic ties Jozsef Marjai mentioned that in the spring of this year in Moscow the long range program of science and technology and economic cooperation until the year of 2000 between Hungary and the Soviet Union was signed by the two heads of government.

Goals of the long-range program do not remain without specific content. We consider the objectives and tasks defined in it when coordinating the main directions of economic and science and technology policy, five year and longer range plans, and when working out branch sub-programs until the year 2000 and the measures to implement them. The same aspects are considered when working out agreements on science and technology and production cooperation and production specialization, product exchange and foreign trade contracts.

The deputy president of the government specifically emphasized how important it is for both countries to coordinate plans for 1986-1990. According to the principle agreement the Soviet Union took it upon itself to continue supplying energy and raw materials during the next plan period at the level of 1985. In exchange our country is going to deliver quality products: we made a commitment to make some modifications--in response to the Soviet partner's request--

to increase our foodstuff industry export, light industry and metallurgical products export. We mutually place increasing importance on expanding the ratio of superior quality products in our exchange of goods.

The coordination of plans for 1986-1990 has not been finished yet. So far we have coordinated trade in the amount of 50 billion rubles for the next 5 years. In the remaining closing phase of plan coordination we have to do everything in our power to define any possible mutual increase in trade. In our opinion, said the orator, there is a possibility to increase the import from the Soviet Union to Hungary in the amount of an annual 2-3 percent which is essential for the planned growth rate of the Hungarian economy. We also find this necessary to strengthen the position of the Hungarian People's Republic on the world market, to enable us to join the international division of labor more successfully and fruitfully, and to increase our share in the world economy and trade.

According to the agreements between the Hungarian and Soviet governments the Ukraine is one of four republics with which our country can develop direct economic and science and technology ties. This new form of cooperation is at its beginning stages. Direct ties between Hungarian and Ukrainian ministries, companies, scientific institutions and chambers of commerce have been characterized primarily by science and technology cooperation, and they serve the task of finding new opportunities for wider cooperation. We hope that more and more science and technology achievements and mutual exchanges of goods will result from the intentions and plans -- concluded Jozsef Marjai.

During the day Jozsef Marjai conducted talks with Boris Kachura, Secretary of the Central Committee of the Ukrainian Communist Party, and with Aleksander Lyashko, president of the Ukrainian Council of Ministers. Preceding the talks the deputy president of the government laid a wreath at the Lenin memorial as well as the Kiev grave of the unknown soldier.

In the evening Jozsef Marjai gave a reception at the Hungarian Consulate in Kiev on the occasion of the Hungarian economic days. The reception was attended by high ranking Ukrainian party and government leaders. Also present were Sandor Rajnai, our country's ambassador to Moscow, and Istvan Monori, general consul to Kiev.

12366

CSO: 2500/575

BULGARIA

ZHIVKOV GREETES KIM IL-SONG ON PARTY ANNIVERSARY

AU112043 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 10 Oct 85 pp 1, 6

[Text] Todor Zhivkov, general secretary of the BCP Central Committee and chairman of the State Council, has sent the following telegram to Kim Il-song, general secretary of the Korean Workers Party [WPK] Central Committee and president of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea:

Dear Comrade Kim Il-song,

In the name of the BCP Central Committee, Bulgarian communists, and the whole Bulgarian people, and also in my own name personally, I send cordial greetings to the WPK Central Committee, Korean communists, the fraternal Korean people, and to you personally on the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the founding of the WPK.

The party of the Korean communists grew up and was tempered in the arduous struggle for freedom, national independence, and socialism. Now it is an acknowledged leader of the Korean people and its fighting vanguard.

Under the leadership of the WPK and in fraternal cooperation with the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, the Korean people in a brief period of history has achieved great successes in the building of socialism, in the development of science and culture, and in the raising of the living standard of the workers. Over the past 40 years Korea has been transformed into an industrial state with a developed industry and agriculture.

Bulgarian communists and all the Bulgarian people sincerely rejoice in these successes of the fraternal Korean people. We support the just struggle of the Korean people for withdrawal of the American occupation forces from South Korea. Their presence is a hindrance to the unification of your divided native land and threatens the peace and security of the peoples in this region of Asia.

The BCP and the WPK, and the peoples of our countries, are linked by deep friendship and close cooperation, which are expressed in the common struggle against imperialism and in the building of socialism. I am convinced that these relations will continue to develop on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism and in the spirit of the treaty for

friendship and cooperation between the People's Republic of Bulgaria and the DPRK, and will serve the interests of the Bulgarian and Korean peoples, of unity of the socialist countries and of the world communist movement, and of peace in Asia and throughout the world.

On the day of the memorable anniversary of the WPK, I wish you and, in your person, all Korean communists yet greater victories in the struggle to implement in real life the immediate pressing tasks set by the Sixth Congress of the WPK in the building of socialism.

Long live fraternal friendship between the BCP and the WPK!

CSO: 2200/19

BULGARIA

BCP CC GREETES SOUTH YEMENI SOCIALIST PARTY CONGRESS

AU151203 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 12 Oct 85 pp 1, 2

[Text] The BCP Central Committee has sent the following message to the Third Congress of the Yemeni Socialist Party:

The BCP Central Committee and the working people of the People's Republic of Bulgaria are sending you most cordial greetings and wishes for success in the work of the Third Congress of the Yemeni Socialist Party.

Your congress is taking place in a complex and tense international situation, created because of the most aggressive force of imperialism and most of all the United States. In its striving toward world domination, Washington continues to conduct an obstructionist policy in solving such cardinal problems as stopping the arms race and removing the threat of a nuclear war, which hovers over mankind. Simultaneously, imperialism is making efforts to maintain hotbeds of tension in various geographic regions. In the Middle East, Israel, constantly supported by the United States, is continuing its aggressive policy. All initiatives of the peaceloving forces, aimed at reaching a just and lasting peace in this region, encounter the resistance of imperialism, Zionism, and reaction, which are trying to replace the comprehensive solution of the Middle East problem with new variants of the separate deals such as the Camp David agreement and the Reagan plan.

We note with satisfaction the important achievements of the PDRY during the period since your party's second congress. Your party is constantly increasing its leading role as a revolutionary vanguard of the struggle of the people of South Yemen for implementing the tasks of the national democratic revolution.

We are convinced that the decisions of the Third Congress of the Yemeni Socialist Party will contribute to strengthening the process of social-economic measures for reaching further success in constructing the new society, based on the principles of socialism, as well as successes in the struggle for foiling the plans of imperialism and Zionism in the Middle East and for protecting and strengthening world peace.

We confirm our steady solidarity with the struggle conducted by the friendly PDRY people under the leadership of the Yemeni Socialist Party against the forces of imperialism and reaction and we express again our confidence that cooperation between the BCP and the Yemeni Socialist Party and between the People's Republic of Bulgaria and the PDRY will further strengthen and develop on the basis of the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, for the benefit of the two countries' peoples and in the interest of the cause of peace and cooperation among the world peoples.

Long live the Yemeni Socialist Party!

Let the friendship of the peoples of the People's Republic of Bulgaria and the PDRY strengthen and develop!

CSO: 2200/19

BULGARIA

ZHIVKOV, FILIPOV GREET CASTRO ON ANNIVERSARY

AU161401 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 14 Oct 85 pp 1, 2

[Text] Todor Zhivkov, general secretary of the BCP Central Committee and chairman of the State Council, and Grisha Filipov, chairman of the Council of Ministers, have sent the following telegram to Fidel Castro Ruz, first secretary of the Cuban Communist Party and chairman of the Councils of State and Ministers of the Republic of Cuba:

Dear Comrade Fidel Castro,

On the occasion of the 25th anniversary of the establishment of diplomatic relations between the People's Republic of Bulgaria and the Republic of Cuba, in the name of the party and state leadership, of the whole Bulgarian people, and personally in our own names, we send most cordial greetings to you, the Central Committee of the Cuban Communist Party, the Council of State, and the government and the people of fraternal Cuba.

This memorable event in the history of Bulgarian-Cuban relations became possible thanks to the internationalism of our two peoples and their striving for mutual cooperation in the building of the socialist society.

We note with particular satisfaction that during the last quarter century our mutual relations have undergone a dynamic and ascending development in all fields of social-political, economic and cultural life, and that they are continually deepening in the interest of our countries and the socialist community. On the basis of their universal flourishing, there exists indestructible unity and fraternity between the Bulgarian Communist Party and the Cuban Communist Party, built up on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and socialist internationalism. The Bulgarian Communist Party and the People's Republic of Bulgaria will continue in the future to make their contribution to the further expansion and consolidation of the fruitful interaction with Cuba and its heroic people on the path to the realization of our common aims and ideals.

In the present international situation, made complex and tense due to the fault of imperialism, Bulgaria and Cuba, together with the Soviet Union and the other fraternal socialist countries, stand in the front ranks in the struggle to halt the arms race and prevent the militarization of space, to

eliminate the threat of nuclear conflict, and to preserve peace on the planet.

As we mark this memorable anniversary together with you, we express our confidence that the fraternal friendship and cooperation between our two countries will continue to expand and strengthen for the good of the Bulgarian and Cuban peoples and in the name of peace and social progress in the world. We wish you new, still greater successes in the socialist construction of your beautiful native land.

CSO: 2200/19

BULGARIA

BCP CC GREETING MESSAGE TO CAMBODIAN PARTY CONGRESS

AU171249 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 16 Oct 85 page not given

[Article by BTA correspondent Sv. Terziev]

[Text] Hanoi, 15 October (BTA correspondent Sv. Terziev)--The Fifth Congress of the People's Revolutionary Party of Kampuchea [PRPK] has been going on for 3 days. The delegates continue to discuss the political report delivered by Heng Samrin, general secretary of the PRPK Central Committee, to the congress. They expressed their full support for the conclusions of the report about the state and future prospects of development of Cambodian society and confirmed their readiness to devote all their efforts to the achievement of their chief goal--the construction of socialism.

Peko Takov, member of the BCP Central Committee, yesterday read the greeting message of the BCP Central Committee to the congress. The message points out that in the more than 6 years which have elapsed, the people of Cambodia, under the leadership of the PRPK, with the fraternal and selfless assistance of the Soviet Union, of the other socialist community member countries and the entire progressive, peace-loving mankind, achieved remarkable successes in protecting the revolutionary achievements, in restoring and developing economic and cultural life, in the normalization of social life, as a whole.

The greetings message stresses that the People's Republic of Bulgaria fully supports the policy of the People's Republic of Kampuchea [PRK] aimed at the intensification and expansion of its relations with the Soviet Union and with the other socialist community member countries, aimed at consolidating the militant solidarity among the three Indochinese countries, as well as their coordinated actions in opposing the hostile actions of imperialism and of international reaction, which are undermining peace and security in Asia.

The constructive proposals submitted by the summit conference of the three Indochinese states, held in Vientiane in February 1983, as well as the periodic consultations of these countries' foreign affairs ministers, represent a solid basis for the normalization of the situation in the area, for the transformation of this region into a zone of peace, stability, good neighborliness and cooperation. The BCP greetings message stresses as follows: We support the readiness expressed by the PRK Government for direct or indirect negotiations with opposition groups, excluding Pol Pot.

The BCP greeting message further describes the tasks which the working people in the People's Republic of Bulgaria, headed by the BCP, their tested political leader, are accomplishing in connection with their worthy preparation for the forthcoming 13th BCP Congress and for the celebration of the 30th anniversary of the historic April plenum.

In order to accomplish the constructive tasks facing the peoples, both Bulgaria and Cambodia need a world without wars, a world of cooperation, mutual understanding, and confidence among all states on our planet. The world situation, however, four decades following the defeat of German fascism and Japanese militarism, owing to the fault of imperialism and of the reactionary forces, is still complicated and tense. The policy of the present U.S. administration, aimed at accelerating the armaments race and at transferring this race to outer space, the striving for worldwide domination, the gross interference in the domestic affairs of sovereign states, and the establishment of obstacles to the peaceful settlement of conflicts is leading to a drastic increase of the danger of nuclear war, the greeting message points out.

The People's Republic of Bulgaria is conducting a consistent and peace-loving foreign policy and is contributing to the disarmament struggle, to the consolidation of peace and security in the Balkans, in Europe and throughout the world, to the liquidation of the danger of nuclear war.

Our two countries are situated at a great distance from each other, our peoples are living and working on different continents. However, this is not an obstacle to development and expansion, to the intensification of comprehensive relations between the BCP and the PRPK, between the People's Republic of Bulgaria and the PRK, on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. We are rejoicing at the constant expansion and intensification of political and economic relations between our two countries. Our cooperation is successfully developing in the field of culture, education, and health protection. The summit meetings between the comrades Todor Zhivkov and Heng Samrin, our party and state leaders, which took place in October 1979 in Phnom Penh and in November 1980 in Sofia, gave a strong impetus to the further development and enrichment of the mutual relations of friendship and cooperation between our two countries. We are convinced that these relations will be further developed and strengthened also in the future, the BCP Central Committee greetings message states in conclusion.

CSO: 2200/19

BULGARIA

BRIEFS

TANCHEV RECEIVES PANAMA POLITICIAN--Sofia, October 9 (BTA)--Mr. Petur Tanchev, secretary of the Bulgarian Agrarian Party and first vice president of the State Council, received today Mr. Julio Bermudes, secretary of the National Confederation of Agrarian Cooperatives (CANAC) in Panama, who is currently on a visit to Bulgaria at the invitation of the Standing Committee of the Bulgarian Agrarian Party. Mr. Petur Tanchev briefed the guest on Bulgaria's achievements in her socio-economic development, the new stage of the country's agrarian policy and the program for techno-scientific progress in agriculture. The guest from Panama pointed to the fact that Bulgaria's experience in the socialist construction and in the solving of the agricultural problem is of great interest to the whole world and especially to the Latin American and developing countries. The two leaders discussed the possibilities for a future development of the relations between the Bulgarian Agrarian Party and CONAC [as received], which will contribute to the broadening of the relations between the two countries. They greeted the new Soviet proposals, announced by Mr. Mikhail Gorbachev, the aim of which is to halt the arms race on earth and to prevent it from proliferating into space. The two politicians commended the great significance of the proposals made by the Contadora Group for a peaceful solution to the problems of Central America. [Text] [Sofia BTA in English 1944 GMT 9 Oct 85 AU]

CAPE VERDE DELEGATION'S VISIT ENDS--At the invitation of the BCP Central Committee a delegation of the African Party for the Independence of Cape Verde led by (Jose Aayuso), member of the Political Commission and secretary of the party's National Council, visited Bulgaria. The delegation was briefed on the Bulgarian experience in party organizational and ideological work. It was received by Comrades Milko Balev and Dimitur Stanishev, and had talks at the BCP Central Committee "Organizational" and "Ideological Policy" Departments, the BCP Khaskovo Okrug Committee, BCP Sofia Iskur District Committee, the Central Council of the Bulgarian Trade Union and the Komsomol Central Committee. [Text] [Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 2030 GMT 9 Oct 85 AU]

ZHIVKOV RECEIVES INDIAN MINISTER RAO--Sofia, October 11 (BTA)--Today State Council President Todor Zhivkov received Mr. P. V. Narasimha Rao, India's minister of human resources [title as received] and head of the Indian delegation to the 23rd session of the UNESCO General Conference. The meeting discussed issues of bilateral cooperation and stressed the traditionally

good state of the relations between the two countries in various spheres.  
[Text] [Sofia BTA in English 1237 GMT 11 Oct 85 AU]

STOPH, ZHIVKOV CONDEMN U.S., NATO--Sofia, 15 Oct (ADN)--The imperialist course of confrontation and arms drive, which had led to a dangerous escalation of the international situation and to an increase in the danger of war, was condemned by Todor Zhivkov, general secretary of the BCP Central Committee, chairman of the Bulgarian State Council, and by GDR Premier Willi Stoph in their talks held in Sofia today. They spoke of the immense dangers resulting from U.S. plans to militarize space. Both politicians expressed the conviction that through cooperation by all forces of reason and realism, the danger of a nuclear catastrophe can be banned and the situation improved. In this connection they emphasized the support of their countries for the Soviet initiatives, particularly the peace and disarmament proposals made by Mikhail Gorbachev in Paris. They also noted that a positive response from the United States and its allies would contribute to containing the arms race on earth and to reducing the danger of its spreading into space. [Text] [East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1601 GMT 15 Oct 85 LD]

CONDOLENCES TO SOVIETS ON EARTHQUAKE--To Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee; To Andrey Ivanovich Ryzhkov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers: Dear Comrades: On behalf of the BCP Central Committee, the State Council, and the Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, as well as on our own behalf, we express the most sincere condolences on the occasion of the severe earthquake which affected the territory of the Tadzhik SSR and caused destruction and the loss of human lives. We ask you to convey our most sincere condolences to the families and friends of the deceased. Signed: Todor Zhivkov, general secretary of the BCP Central Committee, and Grisha Filipov, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Bulgaria. [Text] [Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 16 Oct 85 p 1 AU]

CSO: 2200/19

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

PARTY SAYS YOUNG PEOPLE ARE IMPORTANT

Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 20 Sep 85 p 1

[Excerpt] If we are to raise the level of management and organizational activity, the effectiveness of ideological and political work, reinforce discipline and order, and strengthen the call for quality work everywhere, then it is important that an especially important task falls on our young people. This is precisely true when the young individual is in the process of forming his social views, is becoming aware of his social responsibility, and thus is in a position to form and understand this responsibility in a novel way.

Our party and our socialist state systematically create prerequisites for the harmonious development of our young people. We wish our young people to be healthy, educated, and well prepared for life. We also wish that they learn everything which is wise, noble, honorable, and beautiful in our society. We wish our young people to orient themselves to all progressive values created by mankind. These are the wishes expressed at the 16th Congress. Our society does everything to fulfill these highest humane goals.

At the same time, we are immediately aware that our young people are predisposed, because of their lack of experience and scant ability to make comparisons, to succumb to demagoguery because the impatience of young people goes hand in glove with unwarranted haste. And from there it is only a small step to extreme eccentricity motivated by reactionary right-wing forces, but occasionally also by the ultra-left forces, as we can see in the West where young people who are forced into blind alleys sometimes opt for individual terrorism and other forms of escapism from social life.

On the other hand, it is also the young people who are close to new production methods, technology, and the use of the most recent technical innovations. We can see this, for example, in their interest in microprocessing technology and technology in general. Thus the application of scientific and technological progress is intimately linked to the keen interest of our young people in schooling and in production.

Youth is not a period of carefree leisure and frivolous concerns. It involves emotional confusion which is a necessary part of everybody's entry into the

until then unfocused life. For this reason, it is imperative for our young people to correctly see and understand the specific ideals that will mark their future place in society and their activity. One characteristic of childhood is complete identification with the family. Later, the child becomes more independent and a major role is played by the school in this respect. It is necessary for the growing child not to be exposed to discrepancies between what he hears in school and at home. The understanding of collectivism can only occur under conditions of such essential harmony as the adolescent forms his attitude toward other people, toward work and society. It is absolutely necessary to understand that a young individual needs harmony between words and deeds more than anything else.

The adolescent is characterized by a desire and effort to be independent, to stand on his own legs, to live his own life. Those of us, who can still remember how it was when we were young, recall that we had the same desires. Naturally, we all know some young people who are old before their time. In the same way, we can also find some young people who are unable to grow up, who are loafers and parasites. They were not born like that but developed into such creatures. Possibly the blame for that belongs to their family and environment. Educating and orienting our young people requires our utmost planned attention everywhere, not only in schools.

Young people are also very sensitive to manifestations of formalism. In addition, they are able to face unpleasant and harsh truths. However, they hate or cannot have respect for those who are unwilling to accept facts, look for an easy way out, or cover their shortcomings by sweet talk.

Socialist society really has the life of its people at heart. Hence, it cares about the education and training of the new generation. And there is no single individual in our country who, from the very beginning of his career, would have to face the tragic prospect of possible failure, unemployment, or superfluosness. We are not talking at all about some kind of unemployment compensation paid, after all, only for a while and perhaps not at all to young people. We are talking about the feelings of belonging versus superfluosness as such. In the end, we are talking about basic material concerns because young people think about their future, family, and progress of their own lives.

The generational struggle never had and does not have anything in common with a socialist style of life and the Marxist-Leninist world view. However, the lack of experience is a fact which must be coped with. Consequently, he who bends a young tree through the "tested wisdom" of selfishness or opportunism; he who spreads "wise talk" about the shirt being closer than the jacket; he who corrupts the enthusiasm of young people by skepticism stemming from his own powerlessness, bitterness or lack of success comes close to committing a social crime.

The need for more and better ideological and political education in each sector of activity is growing steadily. It is certainly before us as far as our young generation is concerned. After all, we are aware that more than 15 years have passed since the crisis period. By way of comparison, the entire

pre-Munich bourgeois republic lasted just about as long. The crisis in the late 1960's, not to speak of the events of February 1948 and the period of the struggle for freedom and victory 40 years ago, is now nothing but history for millions of our citizens. One cannot stop time. However, a historical lesson cannot be learned just spontaneously. One cannot leave that only to the schools. Here, all those who lived through that period have a duty to speak up.

Young people do not need ingratiating sympathy. On the contrary, they insist on values, values with which they can identify. When young people accept authority, it is a commitment stronger than anything else. However, only those who themselves live in accordance with what they preach can have authority. Sensitivity of our young people to deceit and hypocrisy is part of their courage and youth.

All of us, the entire society, are responsible for educating our young people and guiding them correctly. The question is whether we are able to approach the task sincerely and openly.

1277

CSO: 2400/609

HUNGARY

DOCTOR URGES MORE GOVERNMENT INVOLVEMENT IN ANTI-DRUG EFFORTS

Budapest ELET ES IRODALOM in Hungarian 27 Sep 85 p 7

[Interview with Dr Istvan Cserne by Gabor Kurti: "Cold Turkey and the KEKSZ; Discussion on Drug Use in Hungary"]

[Text] Until the spring of 1984 the information media was almost completely silent concerning the use of narcotics in Hungary. This silence was justified at every level by the warning: "Let's not give our youth any ideas!" Then it came to light that the phenomenon still existed, regardless of the official attitudes. According to the preliminary report prepared for the XIIIth Congress of the HSWP, each year 30,000 people come in contact with narcotics, mostly of the milder types, and most of these are youngsters. Dr Istvan Cserne, adjunct physician assigned to the alcoholic ward at the Robert Karoly Boulevard Hospital, is talking to us about addiction, prevention and cure.

[Question] There seems to be some confusion among the public, and even among the experts, so I ask you: What is the drug phenomenon? Is it a disease, an aberration in socialization, a crime, or all of the above?

[Answer] The various experts, the physician, the sociologist or the policeman, have their own opinions. For my part, I certainly consider it an illness. In a certain number of the cases there is some basic health problem which could be considered an underlying reason, the treatment of which could bring about the end of drug-consumption and addiction. However, in most cases addiction becomes an independent illness. In any case, even the so-called socialization aberrations are in fact psychiatric in nature. Drug users can be characterized as borderline cases whose diagnoses are located somewhere between neuroses and psychoses, that is, between nervous disorders and mental illnesses.

[Question] In other words, are there certain types of individuals who are "more likely" to become narcotic addicts?

[Answer] There have been studies comparing the personality development of addicts with that of their contemporaries. It came to light, for example, that they encounter many problems during their school years. It has been proposed that the potential addicts behave more impulsively and are more likely to be influenced by enticement than their peers. Another type of personality disorder is a peculiar state of depression, not always manifested in behavior, but likely to remain hidden. And the onset of drug addiction is

frequently connected to alienation from family, perhaps the severe illness or death of a family member, or even a forceful and crude reaction to the addict's behavior by those around him.

[Question] The preliminary report prepared for the Party Congress discusses narcotic consumption together with alcoholism, under the collective term "difficulties in fitting into society." What are the similarities and differences between the two phenomena?

[Answer] Frequently, personality development is disturbed at an early age in both cases, and the dependency on alcohol or drugs serves as the temporary substitute for human contact. What I consider the major difference is that drugs are much more addictive than alcohol. Due to biological reasons, the dependency is more severe, and therefore the symptoms of withdrawal are also more torturous. While drugs become part of the body's metabolic system, they also "respond" to certain psychological needs.

[Question] Does this apply to those sniffing glue as well as to those who use "hard drugs?"

[Answer] Only to those who use opium derivatives. In the case of glues, a bodily dependence does not develop, but after a certain time a process of degeneration begins. The individual avoids studying or working, and his human relationships are increasingly defined by the obtaining and enjoying of the substance.

[Question] There have to be specific reasons for the development of this phenomenon in our time. After all, drug consumption itself is probably as old as humanity.

[Answer] Socio-historical factors are interconnected with the problems of personality development. The parents of today's teenagers were harmed in many ways during the 1940's, and their chances for becoming healthy and harmonious human beings were slim. In today's world, many things have become items of mass production and consumption, including the bearing and raising of children, education and cultural life. There have also been sharp changes in values. Let's just remember the various ideological waves! First there was Hungarian soccer; later, people expected the Institute of Meteorology to predict the future; then, soccer took over again, followed by the efficiency of production. Nowadays the favorite topics are individual steadfastness and initiative, mixed with a heavy dose of guilt, because one can get into trouble. According to many people, the family is in a crisis, there are a great many divorces. Among members of a certain children's group, suicide is the second leading cause of death, preceded only by leukemia. Enjoyment is becoming impersonal and canned, exemplified by TV, video and the discos. There is a shortage of genuine communities; only healthy people can become positive members of communities, and people like that can only be raised by stable, healthy and well-adjusted individuals.

[Question] I have read in Western press reports about Hungary that our high suicide rate shows that we Hungarians are more vulnerable psychologically, and

that for this reason the drug phenomenon presents an increased threat to us.

[Answer] This is not a scientific statement, and it should not be accepted as such. In a number of countries, for example, suicide statistics are influenced by the interests of insurance companies. But quite aside from that, the suicide rate is high in all of the lands formerly belonging to the [Habsburg] Monarchy, including Austria. Whether or not Hungarians are more psychologically vulnerable than other nationalities could be determined by a scientific study, but this would require strict and uniform application of internationally accepted standards, which do not exist. In any event, psychiatric distress has become more frequent in every country in which the appearance of opportunities has increased while there has been a relative decline in actual achievements. This kind of confusion of values exists in today's Hungary; for example, there have been disproportionate changes in money-making possibilities.

[Question] Last spring the press devoted extensive coverage to the fact that the Robert Karoly Boulevard Hospital began the separate treatment of young drug addicts.

[Answer] Every psychiatric unit treats drug addicts. We introduced an innovation only in emptying an 18-bed ward for two months and experimenting with group withdrawal there. We wanted to keep our patients isolated and removed from their familiar drugs, applying the radical so-called "cold turkey" method of treatment, while we also provided psychiatric counseling. The withdrawal symptoms of those addicted to morphine-derivatives can only be eased by the use of similar types of substances, and we did not provide any of these. We found that the withdrawal symptoms were too serious for us to counter them with psychological methods. The patients organized a network to obtain the forbidden substances, and there were frequent attempts at escapes, smuggling, stealing, deception and robbery. Goodwill, promises or persuasion were to no avail, because the obtaining of drugs became the primary biological need of the patients. In our opinion, sudden withdrawal is impossible to achieve with such large groups and under the traditional conditions of a hospital.

[Question] Are there other, recognized, methods of treatment?

[Answer] The other strategy is based upon providing the patients with reduced doses of the appropriate substances--this is the so-called maintenance method. Its advantage is that the patient does not have to devote his time and energy to the obtaining of the drug; he can straighten up his affairs while the treatment is under way. It is probable that many people would react to this treatment positively. Programs of various duration can be organized, gradual withdrawal can be attempted in a few months or in years. Radical improvement can be brought about by lengthy and intensive psychiatric treatment.

[Question] In the course of the maintenance method, the patient can obtain drugs "legally" and easily, saving himself the trouble associated with purchasing narcotics. Is there a danger that after the treatment he will continue where he left off?

[Answer] If there are no withdrawal symptoms, the patient is not compelled

to chase his next fix, regardless of his time and energy. In our unit we are treating with this method, on an out-patient basis, a Canadian addict who came to Hungary to visit a relative. The same thing could be organized on a nationwide basis, with relatively small expenditure, using the out-patient method and, of course, exercising strict control over medications.

[Question] What institutional system would you consider appropriate?

[Answer] We need a multi-level system. Traditional hospitals are not suitable for the treatment of youngsters who are unable to free themselves of detoxification itself. Subsequent to withdrawal in the hospital, maintenance programs should be made available, by the creation of homes or sanatorium-like institutions where the patients could live under supervision and free of drugs. For example, protected work-places and dwelling units could be established, similar to those operating in Sweden or in Italy. Therapy could be selected on the basis of scientific tests determining their effectiveness. The chief physician of our unit, Dr Gaspar Takach, has been commissioned to organize and manage preventative and treatment programs in the various districts. As for the rest of us, we are now conducting an experiment at the hospital's resort at Gardony, where the patients spend much of their time in expert psychotherapy and intensive community activities. Practically each patient is treated by a therapist. At first, the local council--citing reasons connected with the interests of the resort region--opposed the experiment, but not it has officially been declared that Gardony has a "special resort."

[Question] Without question, such experiments are necessary. However, many people urge more radical changes and measures.

[Answer] We are talking about a contagious health problem, an epidemic, the spread of which must be prevented. All over the world, heroine use got its start by a few people "tasting" it. Right now Hungary is at this "tasting" stage. The next logical step is the appearance of dealers. Even a "Hungarian heroin" may appear at any time, since it only takes middle-level chemical training to process the drug from plants that can be grown around the house.

[Question] Still, it appears that there is no one responsible for the anti-drug struggle. Lacking is an organ that would coordinate the medical, educational, crime-prevention and judicial activities.

[Answer] The Central Organ for the Control of Narcotics (KEKSz) has existed since the 1930's; however, to the best of my knowledge, it consists of two individuals at the present time. Within the existing organizational structure, it is entirely unsuitable for its task and remains limited to registering cases. On the other hand, it is a positive development that the National Youth Committee (AIB) has earmarked 100 million forints to be spent on combatting drug use during the next five years. And the National Committee Against Alcoholism (AEAB) has a youth sub-committee that also deals with drugs. In my opinion, the medical community should retain the initiative, but we should step outside the usual practices, according to which, the Ministry of Health should handle the problem, since the problem involves sick people. Even our experiment at Gardony became possible only after the local authorities set aside the usual procedures.

[Question] Aren't we already very late?

[Answer] Yes, we are. However, politicians will decide which problem has to be urgently solved and which issues require the appointment of a ministerial commissioner. The use of drugs should not be the exclusive worry of the medical profession. Substances that are legally defined as drug-substitutes, including some medications, create the same degree of dependence as, let's say, heroin, and therefore they are very dangerous. The prevention of drug addiction requires much more action, energy and money than the struggle against alcoholism--but, as of now, all of this is in its initial stages of development.

12588

CSO: 2500/21

HUNGARY

# CONTROVERSIAL ROCK OPERA TONED DOWN INTO PSYCHO-DRAMA

Istvan -- In Good Spirit, Abundance

Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 20 Oct 85 p 7

[Review by Miklos Almasi]

[Text] This premiere is a great idea, a great change of pace: a "profane" rock opera in the National Theater! The songs, choruses and music of Boldizsar-Szorenyi-Brody, already being whistled on the streets, are flowing from the loudspeaker from which, by the way, the voice of the Lord speaks in the performances of "The Tragedy of Man," among other things. True, the loudspeaker itself was also renewed for this performance, but both the voice, the language and the entire theater concept are new. This time the history of the state's founding is being told in the musical mother tongue of a new generation, indeed one of the least known events of that history: How did Istvan become the personality, the politician, the statesman whose figure is so firmly implanted, almost as a mythological figure, in our historical consciousness? In one word: I do not feel that a rock opera on the stage of the National Theater is a sacrilege. The high quality of the performance makes this question simply redundant. The creation of Szorenyi-Brody summarized, on the level of permanence, everything of value that Hungarian rock music created in the last 20 years. The authors succeeded in creating from this common language material a valuable theater piece which also addresses political questions, which is interesting from beginning to the end, and which is also capable of creating a new spirit in the National Theater. I feel this opening gesture of director Imre Kerenyi--and the theater's directors--is a healthy innovation, both in style, in the attitude toward the audience, in the type of work, and in the development of new possibilities in forming a healthy national consciousness.

So much the more as this time the piece is not a mere excuse for making good music but is a work which tries, even in a dramatical sense, to deal with hard conflicts, being capable of emitting historical and political overtones, while its musical material is capable of covering all possibilities of effect in this music, from comical elements (I am thinking of the scenes of the Three Lords) through the ceremonial theater up to the style of folk-beat, rock songs and mass chorus--all this in a unified way, as multi-colored building elements of a single work. And always with drama. Thus, for example, Koppany and Istvan, the two rivals who constitute the opera's backbone, are not the "good" and "bad" characters out of a fairy tale. Instead, they are dramatic figures

who are contradictory even in themselves. The "bad" Koppany also has dramatic weight, and the "good" Istvan also has tragic weaknesses. But the entire construction of the work and the performance is such a dramatic, double-bottomed story. On the one hand, it tries to investigate the original story--how the young Istvan became an epoch-making politician--and, on the other hand, it tries to show the whole thing in a way that makes one feel like living in those times. How would we have decided today, 1,000 years later? How would the alternative of the then not yet "holy" king and the elementary and suggestive force of Koppany have appeared to us? This perspective projected backwards is an innovation of the stage adaptation which, although it cannot fill the entire production with enthusiasm, offers not only good punch lines but also helps, with a dramatic force, in establishing a tension in the performance.

The question--What made Istvan the person he was?--however remains unanswered. The young man we see here in these chaotic times, in the struggles preceding his coronation, still depends too much on his mother, Sarolt. It is always this woman who influences his most important decisions, and the young king candidate always tends to listen to his mother, either with rebellion or compliance. This happens at Laborc's hanging or Koppany's quadrisection. He would rather avoid the latter, he even gives his word to Reka, but then he chooses his mother's more practical solution. It is perhaps because Istvan himself suspects that these steps are political necessities. But he is not the one who invents them, he only wants peace for which the time is not ripe yet. He would like to be independent but he still lacks the power for that. With Istvan Hirtling's words we are seeing a holier, cleaner, and, at the same time, an apparently more compliant Istvan whose gestures reveal, on the other hand, that this compliance is perhaps merely a facade: For the time being he is forced to tolerate his mother's "governance" and her desire to support the Germans and the clergy. But if at the end he succeeds in acquiring the crown, he can do away with the facade and may become an autonomous king. Thus after the coronation we see another Hirtling above. Istvan Bubik, who plays Istvan in the second cast, is more explosive, he feels that the dependence on his mother is an almost intolerable leash. In addition, politics is in his blood: Unlike Hirtling, he does not think about the following steps with cool rationale but uses his entire being for his maneuvers which forecast his later self as well.

But no matter how this figure is translated into acting, we see in the script of the rock opera a young man whose hand is still being held but suddenly becomes the great king at the end of the story; the change is unexpected, and there is no explanation as to when and how he learned this trade, how he became the hard and conscious ruler we all know. Of course, such a simplified antagonism between responsibility and aptitude--according to which Istvan does not wish to see blood be he has no choice--is part of the rock opera's conventions. After all, this is not a literary tragedy. And the answer to the basic question--if there is one--is mostly hidden in the music. For good reason.

Koppany--and, of course, Gyula Vidikal, whose voice and character are ideal for this role--is a more unified figure without being any simpler. He

admonishes those lords who would like to end the conflict with a little murder by poisoning Istvan, he believes in fair play. And it is not he but shaman Torda who promises the redefinition of Hungarian history if he is chosen as the first king: "We will win at Mohacs." The performance makes use of the duality here which is a characteristic of this figure. On the one hand--"according to documents"--Koppany does not have much chance. In the reality of the stage, played either by Hirtling or Bubik, he is confronted with Istvan, this white-robed, almost holy and charismatic phenomenon, and in comparison he is too barbarian, too ferocious, too strange. But the drama is present musically, in the lyrics, as well as in Vidikal's elementary portrayal: this figure of Koppany is composed with better, heavier, or at least more enticing music. His gestures affect our instincts, his rebellious being is included in several events in Hungarian history, always in a different form. Szorenyi and Imre Kerenyi's directing made an exquisite counterpoint to the play's debate which seemingly had been resolved to begin with but which must in reality be resolved again and again. It is no accident that the applause begins at the end of Koppany's song.

In Kerenyi's conception, Istvan addresses the question that opens the story--"Say, whom would you choose?"--to the child Imre. But in the symbolic world of the stage this question is also Istvan's question to his own youth. Istvan must win over the child he once was and in part he still is, in order to become a real political king, in order to grow up to become the creator of a nation. At the end of the play the child Imre, i.e. the child Istvan as a symbolic concept, dies. This is the framework of the story. In the final analysis, Istvan's real drama is not his battle with Koppany but the victory over himself, the inner conflict.

All of this, then, deserved the stage of the National Theater. But I do not understand why it was necessary, at the end of such an enriched production, to use the national anthem as a punch line, at the sounds of which the audience stands up--sometimes instantly, at other times only after the initial astonishment--and watches the hoisting of the flag that has witnessed many historic storms. And then we must applaud. All of this happens almost tastefully, almost befitting the play. But not really. The national anthem is not a theatrical event, and making the audience stand is combining an extra-theatrical ceremony with a virtual element, i.e. a profanization of a ceremonial gesture. This work would be Hungarian and would speak of national existence and of the natural history, full of tragedies and lucky events, of becoming a nation, even if it was left alone to run its own course.

The performance has a stimulating momentum. Kerenyi uses the music, the dance, the movement and the effects by contrasting one with the other, without being afraid of using the rock opera's political overtones as well. This is what makes the whole thing good. In addition to the main protagonists, it was a surprise to hear and see Csaba Ivanka's (Torda) excellent voice and movements; this cannot be said of all other participants. With the exception of Gyula Vidikal. The rock opera's dimensions of play-dance-movement-singing are emphasized mostly by themselves, the actors can hardly act while singing; they cannot coordinate their gestures and movements with the music. Vidikal, Ivanka, Jozsef Tahi (Laborc and Regos) are able to do this which makes the production really multi-layered. Both the movement of the mass scenes, which demands

fewer theatrical tricks although Ferenc Novak's choreography is elaborate, and the stage settings are meaningful: they are built on mythological and historical hints (done by the guest Bela Gotz). The three bridge-like structures are terrific, in the exact meaning of the word, for they are lifted, shaken and disassembled by various groups while on the "bridge" the conflict itself is exploding in song, action and picture. There is only one trouble with this bridge system: the stage is too small for it. The end of the arch running toward the audience almost reaches the edge of the downstage and some of the more daring runs make us draw in our breath, wishing for the actor not to fall into the audience. We acknowledge the outstanding performance of the following persons, from both casts: Zoltan Nagy (Asxtrik), Angela Csaszar and Mari Szemes (Sarolt), and Anna Gotz and Anna Kubik (Reka). The costumes represented the director's idea: we are not standing still in the millenium's time period; the costumes remind us of later epochs of Hungarian history in the form of hints while the costumes of the main characters concentrate our attention on Istvan's epoch (costume designer: Nelly Vago).

Imre Kerenyi

Budapest MAGYAR IFJUSAG in Hungarian 13 Sep 85 p 6

[Interview with Imre Kerenyi by Istvan Takacs]

[Text] After the successful premiere and the open-air performance in Szeged, the rock opera "Istvan the King" is now being produced by the National Theater as well. Imre Kerenyi and the group has been putting in 14-hour hard-working days for 3 weeks now in preparation for the premiere at the end of September.

[Question] In what ways will the theater performance be different, in what way can it say something new, why did you find it important that Istvan, our state's father, appear on the stage of the National Theater as well?--I asked director Imre Kerenyi who reserved an hour for our talk after the morning rehearsal.

[Answer] None of the prestigious theaters are playing it, although I think it is a very good work, it is modern and carries an important moral message. We wish it were running for a long time and many young people would see it, for getting familiar with Istvan's politics will help the development of a Hungarian and national consciousness.

Through the years this concept went through a lot of distortions, there were times when having a Hungarian consciousness was a shame, the citizens were confused, not knowing what that meant. This is how people became rootless. Of course, the performance will be different from that in the City Park. In terms of a spectacle, we cannot, and will not, compete with the open-air productions. We are rather striving for an unfolding of drama. On the model of the struggles of great pairs of stars in the royal dramas, our performance will not show Koppany the hero but rather the duel of Koppany and Istvan. Both are envious for the success of the other: Koppany would like to be a politician, and Istvan a people's leader. Istvan must fight an inner battle, for he is getting ready for an action he does not want to take. Koppany is a relative of

his whom he does not want to kill. But he wants to become king. It was Istvan who was later justified by history; those peoples where "Koppany" was the victor disappeared like the Huns and the Avars...

[Question] You gave the role of Istvan to two actors of completely different characters. What did you want to achieve by this?

[Answer] If all goes well, this will result in two different performances. Both casts have the same choreography but the fact that another Istvan of a different character is facing Koppany will result in a different political struggle. Bubik's Istvan shows that he is a relative of Koppany's, that they are similar, with similar temperaments, the difference between them being only their social behaviors. On the other hand, Hirtling makes the drama more intense by stressing the differences between them. We also want to emphasize the difference between the two performances by holding two premieres. Whether it will be Bubik's or Hirtler's cast to appear first on the scene will be determined by blind chance. The day before we will toss up a coin: heads or tails?

[Question] The rehearsals are unusually hard. Full-day rehearsals for a month at the end of the season and another month before season.

[Answer] The performances, too, will be done in an unusual way, in shifts. This was done only at the performances of "The Cat." Its essence is that we play in 6 successive evenings every month, between Saturday and Thursday. The theater is free on Saturday so we can rehearse before every shift, we can prepare the stage which needs much more preparation than the stage of prose theater, we set the stage which we will not move for 6 days.

#### Drama of Decision

Budapest NEPSZAVA in Hungarian 25 Sep 85 p 6

[Review by Istvan Takacs]

[Text] As the first premiere of its new season, the National Theater chose "Istvan the King," the successful rock opera known from two open-air performances, from film and an album. The selection must be neither excused nor explained. The performance will show whether or not the choice was right anyway. The same way as any premiere of any theater.

Its presence on the stage of the National Theater is justified by Imre Kerenyi's directing with a double cast for the main characters, by Bela Gotz's stage setting, by Nelly Vago's costumes, and by Ferenc Novak's choreography. Mainly because the work of Levente Szorenyi, Janos Brody and Miklos Boldizsar is staged on the basis of a fundamentally different concept.

This concept is, of course, a result of the nature and requirements of a closed theater. The grandiose space and setting in Kiralydomb and Szeged could not be imitated on the relatively small stage. Accordingly, the scenery of the work had to be changed. This resulted in another important difference,

which is actually the real innovation. If this work appears under such circumstances then its inherent human drama must be emphasized. And since here the singing roles are played by actors, this drama can be unfolded, both in the play and the music. At the same time, the many nationalizing effects of the open-air performances, deemed redundant, can be refined, eliminated, or much reduced.

Thus what we now see in the National Theater is almost an entirely different work although its text and music remain unchanged, i.e. the latter went through an important change mentioned later. In Kerenyi's concept "Istvan the King" turns into a drama of a decision resulting in grave human and social consequences. Our history's basic premise is drawn here: a tragic choice between two alternatives. If one of these would be a bad one, it would make the choice easy but it would also eliminate both the conflict and the drama. Here neither Koppany's actions can be entirely condemned nor Istvan's glorified. No matter which way the scale moves, something irreplaceable will fall out of one--or both--dishes.

Istvan's drama is that he knows this well and still cannot decide otherwise. He must decide in the interest of the greater good, the greater and better cause, the well-recognized way to prepare for the nation's future. And, in relation this greater good, the limination of Koppany and the Koppanyian "line" is a smaller case, no matter what painful and bitter tragedy it entails.

Kerenyi is successful in showing this heavy drama right at the beginning by the way he stages the song "Say, Whom Would You Choose?" And he brings back this thought, the unavoidable tragedy of the decision, in the closing scene where Istvan is alone as a victorious loser. And here comes the change in the music with a shift in emphasis.

Earlier the play closed with a grandiose scene with huge draperies of national colors, flags and the national anthem. All of this appears now in a characteristic paraphrase, subdued and with a synthesiser, only hinting at the following centuries of our history. Even the huge national tricolor that covered everything is now replaced by a faded and somewhat torn flag, worn in the storms of centuries.

Had "Istvan the King" had its premiere with such a tasteful staging, it would have been received quite differently, perhaps without the angry outbursts.

At any rate, this performance must be viewed this way and in itself and if the viewer (like the author) has seen the earlier versions, the best thing he can do is to forget them instead of comparing them with what he sees in the National Theater. For this, here, is not only an almost entirely different work but its message is also different. Here the hero is still Istvan, the king finding himself in a tragic situation, even if the dramaturgical imbalance of the script, with its strong emphasis on Koppany in the second half, has not been entirely eliminated. But the earlier character, the loosely connected scenes and songs, has now been organized, thanks to Kerenyi and Novak, into a drama, resulting in a unified, well-conceived and well-acted performance in which Gotz's exquisite triple bridge system scenically symbolizes even the king's struggle in making the decision.

The viewer can only guess at the unbelievable amount of work behind all this. The group has never faced such a huge task but it was precisely this novelty that uncovered many hidden (or not so hidden) strengths, and this is good. The point here is not only the unusual style of playing or the physical demands that are way above average theatrical requirements but also that prose actors had to sing, and not just anything but rock, and that, too, with certain requirements of voice and style.

The results are surprising in several ways.

Who would have thought that Istvan Bubik has such an outstanding and stylistic voice for Istvan's role? Or that, along with an elegant irony, such a hard Istvan, played with dramatic colors, is also hidden in Istvan Hirtling? Or that Csaba Ivanka's shaman Torda displays such natural forces in his vocal talent? Or that Roza Juhasz (emerging last year in Szeged in the musical "Good Evening, Summer, Good Evening, Love" by Fejes and Presser) will be such a refined queen Gizela with such a nice voice, or that Anna Gotz, receiving her degree just recently, will be able to play Reka, Koppany's daughter, with such tragic grace? Or that Odon Rubold and Zoltan Nagy have such nice voices and such nobly cold carriage? Or that Angela Csaszar accompanies her beautiful and expressive voice with such ruthless motherly colors in her role as Sarolt, the mother of Istvan? Or that Gyorgy Csak, who was seen only in small roles previously, is able to give us such a dramatic Regos with such a crystal clear voice? Or that Endre Botar, Laszlo Csurka and Gyula Szercsen play the role of the three treacherous Hungarian lords with such a spicy sarcasm? Or that Gyula Vidikal, who sang Koppany as a guest artist, is able to adapt himself to the excellent group even as an actor?

Or that all the others of the huge cast not mentioned will use such a vigor in taking part in the hard and intensive work that is unheard of, at least on this stage? Or that the audio equipment will work with such a dependability and balance that surpass the quality found even in professional musical theaters (which, in the case of this combination of orchestral play-back and singing, is simply a matter of life and death)?

Four years ago it was the "Passion of Csiksomlyo" (also the work of Kerenyi, Novak and Gotz) that mobilized the staff of the National Theater with its unusual requirements. Thus an occasional challenge is not useless. We would be happy to witness it more often.

9414

CSO: 2500/19

HUNGARY

GROWING INTEREST IN PUBLIC AFFAIRS NOTED

Budapest NEPSZAVA in Hungarian 17 Sep 85 p 3

[Text] New elections for the bodies of the Patriotic People's Front have started. First People's Front committees for village districts, city districts and villages will be formed, then new bodies will be established in the cities, in the capital districts, and later in the counties and Budapest. More than 5,000 meetings and People's Front conferences are being held, and approximately 100,000 people are starting their 5-year assignment in the various bodies. The Congress of the Patriotic People's Front will be held between 13-15 December. Bela Molnar, Secretary of the National Council of the People's Front gave an overview to a representative of MTI [Hungarian Wire Service] of the preparations and the political importance of the People's Front elections.

Elections for the People's Front are taking place at a time period when people show a strongly growing interest in public affairs, and this could be well sensed at the party's 23rd congress and later at congress and council elections. Public activity, however, does not mean that society's interest will automatically extend to preparations for the congress of the People's Front. For this it is necessary that People's Front conferences at various levels indeed become public affairs, that people consider these forums their own. At meetings therefore those questions and problems should be dealt with that society and the various strata and groups find interesting. People expect that the issue of who should do what in order to achieve our goals of building this society become clear. We very much hope that starting with the present village conferences all the way to the congress this is in essence what we will be able to discuss. We know that in our society there are many problems and tensions, but we also sense a desire to solve them. At meetings and conferences we want to strengthen the spirit of "action and agreement," because we know that the only way to meet the public's rightful expectations is through thoughtful actions.

It is also important--and it is part of the concept of public affairs--that in electing People's Front committees we take a step forward by following the demands of socialist democracy. An important ingredient here is that each committee be elected by lower level forums of the People's Front.

Two-thirds of the committee is elected at lower level meetings, and one-third is elected by bodies of political, social and interest representational organs

participating in the People's Front, functioning at the same level. According to our intentions this may result in an increased role and importance in the People's Front for participating bodies, organizations and movements, and in this way the People's Front may more strongly represent all of society. It is therefore important that citizens who we hope are going to attend meetings in large numbers decide thoughtfully on who should represent them in committees. Our goal is to include representatives of the younger generations as well in our bodies. During the past year many of them expressed their readiness for public duty and it is hoped that all those who are suitable and willing to take the responsibility of public assignments will be in the newly elected committees.

In the next few months forums of the People's Front will be able to strengthen society's initiative and popularize the notion that in accordance with citizens' rights everybody has responsibilities to achieve the goal of building our country--emphasized Bela Molnar.

12366

CSO: 2500/575

POLAND

# PZPR CONTROL COMMISSION INTENSIFIES ITS EFFORTS

Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 26 Jul 85 pp 1-2

[PAP release: "Further Strengthening of PZPR Unity"]

[Text] The presidium of the CKKP [Central Commission of Party Control] met on 25 July. Information on the work of provincial party control commissions in the first half of 1985 was reviewed. It was found that in the course of their work the commissions of party control devoted special attention to further reinforcing ideological, political and organizational unity of the party as well as adherence by party members to statutory principles.

Party, preventive and upbringing ruling was improved. Considerable weight was attached to combatting manifestations of mismanagement and waste. In this sphere, the provincial commissions of party control carried out more than 150 various inspections of party organizations. Further progress was apparent in the cooperation between the commissions of party control and organs of professional and social control.

In the first half of this year, the commissions of party control at all levels considered a total of 3,582 cases of party members, i.e. 426 cases more than in a similar period of last year. On the basis of resolutions by the commissions of party control, 392 persons were expelled from the party, 48.6 percent for violating commonly accepted moral standards, more than 26 percent for violating statutory principles and failure to comply with party discipline; 12.5 percent were expelled for mismanagement and failure to comply with labor discipline, and 8.6 percent of the expulsions were for reasons of alcohol abuse and improper treatment of family members.

Other statutory party penalties were imposed on 1,005 persons.

As a result of party investigations, 155 party members were cleared of various slanderous accusations by the party control commissions at the provincial and basic level.

The remainder of cases involved appeals of dismissals from the party as well as cancellation of party penalties previously imposed on party members.

Preventive and upbringing activities were enriched further. Admonition talks with party members are the foremost of the varied forms in use; all commissions of party control conducted such talks with 3,706 persons.

In the course of its proceedings, the CKKP also evaluated the mode of responding to various complaints. Over the past half-year, 4,081 complaints were received by party control commissions at all levels, of which 994 were reviewed by the CKKP.

In cases when the accusations were confirmed, commissions of party control or other competent administrative or control organs at the request of the party control commission took appropriate measures.

The CKKP presidium found it necessary to further intensify the work of the party control commissions at all levels and obligated them to improve the ruling, control, preventive and upbringing activities.

The commission also recommended that the commissions of party control respond resolutely to the manifestations of improper attitudes by party members which violate party discipline and the ideological, political and organizational unity of the party as well as all manifestations of waste, mismanagement and lack of responsibility for the honest execution of professional duties in the context of ensuring the correct implementation of the principles of economic reforms. Attention was drawn to the feasibility of a more resolute reaction to the manifestations of bureaucracy and carelessness in responding to correct complaints and letters from citizens received by state and economic administration organs. It was also considered necessary for the commissions of party control to deal harshly with manifestations of suppression of social and party criticism.

The CKKP presidium also evaluated the operation of provincial party control commissions in Bydgoszcz, Gorzow Wielkopolski and Ostroleka, stressing the profound dedication of these commissions to carrying out the tasks set forth by the provincial report conferences and the CKKP.

The evaluation also pointed out the need to eliminate the existing irregularities and shortcomings in future work by these commissions.

The proceedings were chaired by the CKKP deputy chairman Tadeusz Nowicki.

9761

CSO: 2600/988

POLAND

# COUNCIL OF MINISTERS SET PROGRAM FOR REST OF 1985

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 30 Jul 85 p 2

[Unattributed article: "Work of the Council of Ministers in 1985. Activities in the Second Half of the Year"; passages in slantlines rendered in boldface in text]

[Text] The main avenues of government work in the second half [of 1985] will embrace 15 basic topical fields:

/Reinforcing political and legal institutions of the socialist state./

Among other things, the following are included: ensuring essential organizational and technical conditions for preparing the elections to the parliament of the PRP, including preparation of government proposals for the election platform of the PRON [Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth], enforcing and strengthening legislation protecting law and public order, e.g. continuation of anti-speculation measures, ensuring operating conditions for the IRCh [Workers' and Peasants' Inspectorate], analyzing implementation of post-control conclusions of the NIK [Main Chamber of Control], evaluation of the functioning of the law on specific penal responsibility, preparing the bill on the ORMO [Volunteer Reserve of the Citizens Militia], increasing the efficiency of state administration operations, determining the tasks of the state organs entailed by the resolutions of the 19th PZPR Central Committee plenum aimed at the vigorous involvement of the creative potential of Polish intelligentsia in the socio-economic development of our country, preparing materials reviewing the implementation of the August 1980 accords.

/Continuing the foreign policy reinforcing the position of Poland in the socialist commonwealth./

Among other things, the following are included: continuing work on the coordination of plans with the socialist countries (e.g. a review of the implementation of the CMEA summit resolutions and the program of cooperation with the USSR), continuing activities associated with Poland joining the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank, preparing legislative arrangements for the operation of mixed companies with foreign participation in Poland.

/Shaping basic proportions in the national economy./

Among other things, the following are included: ensuring complete fulfillment of CPR-85 [Central Yearly Plan], preparing a draft CPR for 1986 and scenarios of the NPSG [National Socio-Economic Plan] for the years 1986 through 1990, as well as determining the country's development tasks in the outline of the long-range plan through the year 1995, keeping the volume of investment outlays down to the level envisaged by this year's plan, streamlining methods for managing the economy (e.g. preparing an outline of development for a new operations system in the economy in the years 1986-1990 as well as a program of structural changes in the economy, working out a system of evaluating state enterprises, preparing a bill on counteracting monopolistic practices in the economy), ensuring the supply of raw and other materials for the economy, economical management of available material resources and improving the level of quality of products and services (e.g. preparing a bill on standardization and quality classification of products).

/Material foundations of economic activity./

Among other things, the following are included: outlining the mode of operation and accepting development programs for selected economic sectors (e.g. the machine tool and implement industries, foundries, shipbuilding, meeting the economy's needs in spare parts, production of building materials, reconstruction of the wood processing and match industries); evaluating the implementation of plans for using electronics and robots in production, modernization of production processes (e.g. using selected technologies from the socialist countries).

/Issues of the national food supply, agriculture and the food industry./

Among other things the following are included: implementation of the government program for development of agriculture and the food economy in accordance with the resolution of parliament of May 1985, providing conditions for carrying out smoothly the fall harvest of root and fodder crops, evaluating the implementation of the programs for nourishment of the nation which were accepted earlier, shaping appropriate modes of nourishment adjusted to the present opportunities of the state.

/Housing construction and the communal economy./

Among other things, the following are included: continuation of work entailed by the parliamentary resolution on housing policy, ensuring smooth operation of the communal economy, housing management and the energy economy for fall and winter, streamlining mass transit in cities and improving conditions for commuting to work, developing rapid transit systems in urban areas.

/Employment and wages./

Among other things, the following are included: working out new legal arrangements in the sphere of labor relations and preparing a bill on collective bargaining, improving and regimenting the financial and economic measures

boosting the incentive function of wages, pegging the increase in wages to that in productivity, introducing revisions in the guidelines for remuneration of certain employee groups, actions aimed at improving conditions on the job, hygiene and safety.

/Social policy of the state, health care, social welfare./

Among other things, the following are included: improving the forms of assistance and social welfare for low-income individuals and families as well as care of the old and handicapped (e.g. completing work on the bill on the organization and financing of social security, accepting an action program in the field of health resort operation until 1990, providing detailed guidelines for the appreciation of retirement benefits and annuities, extending the system of aid to families to farmers' children), streamlining the health care system and the supply of medicine for the populace (e.g. working out a bill on health care).

/Market conditions./

Among other things, the following are included: ensuring proper operation of the market, increasing the assortment of goods and counteracting inflationary phenomena.

/Science and technological progress, education and upbringing./

Among other things, the following are included: continuation of activities aimed at using scientific achievements in practice, drawing the scientific and artistic communities into carrying out social and economic plans, providing programs for upbringing activities in high schools, shaping study and work discipline, creating prerequisites for comprehensive knowledge of information storage, retrieval and computer technology in the process of education.

/Regardless of this, the government work schedule for the second half of this year envisages many undertakings concerning cooperative and non-socialized economic activity; the operation of technical services, culture, recreation, tourism and sport; protection, maintenance and utilization of natural resources as well as reviewing the legislation in effect./

Specific tasks of the Council of Ministers' work plan in the second half of this year are computer-controlled. The Council of Ministers' Office furnishes computer printouts to state administration organs or other units obligated to undertake certain actions. Information cards, which are filled out and forwarded to the office before a set deadline, are the basis for evaluating the degree of fulfillment.

9761

CSO: 2600/988

POLAND

VIDEO ISSUE RELATED TO TV PROPAGANDA, CLAIMS AUTHOR

Warsaw KULTURA in Polish No 17, 24 Sep 85 p 4

[Article by Tadeusz Pikulski]

[Excerpts] Television is facing two serious challenges: the possibility of receiving programs via satellite and the popularization of videos. Those who disregard these two issues and treat them as "songs of the future" are either shortsighted or are at variance with the facts.

Reliable sources maintain that it is already possible in Poland to buy--privately, of course--an antenna for the reception of satellite programs. True, no such programs have yet been broadcast, but the number of impatient future viewers keeps growing. I don't share the optimism of those sociologists of culture who say that technological and language barriers will limit the number of viewers. The problem is not how many viewers there are but who they are. Beyond doubt, these will be the most intellectually active representatives of the younger and middle-aged generation. Some of them, and particularly those familiar with electronics, may find the production of antennas and the other necessary equipment very lucrative indeed. One would have to be very naive to maintain (as some people do now and then) that receiving satellite programs can be regulated by administrative decisions, bans and restrictions.

Meanwhile, satellite television may ruin the whole precisely-knit network for selecting the West's cultural offerings, and the Americans are making no secret of this. Quite correctly, we want to present only the best productions, and to sort out the good from the bad, giving preference to works exposing the Western reality and eliminating the most striking examples of commercialism and of building the false mythology of the West. But what shall we do when the "Dallas" series of "The Deer Hunter" finally reach us? A propaganda offensive or, in other words, ideological subversion, appears to be something far more serious than a purely political matter. After all, television is not the radio; on television it isn't enough to read something out; there, the facts must be illustrated with pictures which sometimes may not be suitable for showing.

Even if at the beginning the antennas for satellite programs cannot be installed everywhere because of, for instance, their size what would be easier than to make a video recording and distribute the cassettes.

## Video--The Dream of Thousands

Nobody really knows how many video sets there are in Poland. It is not my intention to demand their registration, fees, etc. Those officials who have such ideas would do better to change their subject of interest. The biggest group of video enthusiasts is composed of the same people who I mentioned above. Spending holidays working abroad to bring back a video set has become a popular topic of conversation. Some 200 dollars is sufficient to buy a second-hand set in the West. After all this isn't so much and so its no longer true that only the richest group of the population can afford a video set.

Video cannot exist without cassettes. The Ministry of Culture and Arts gave rise to real hue and cry when it announced its famous decision to ban the lending of video films by private libraries. The concern for the financial interests of Western producers and distributors was, which should be clearly explained, only a fig leaf covering the decision-makers real intention of limiting the distribution of unwelcome productions. How naive our officials are, The library owners showed little gratitude for having their attention drawn to the consequences of earning illicit incomes without paying the licence fees. They changed the rules of the game and their business is flourishing again. So what was the use of announcing that unrealistic decision? The video invasion cannot be stopped.

There is one institution in Poland which uses video for propaganda purposes on almost mass scale. That institution is the Church. Many churches have excellent video equipment and they use it in a carefully planned way. Video recordings which the Church shows to young audiences are far more attractive than those presented on television. Apart from the recordings the Church shows for instance, the story of Christ and a film of the funeral service of Fr. Jerzy Popieluszko.

For many reasons, including those listed above, the production of video equipment should be the number one task for Polish electronics. Only then will educational programs shown on television make real sense. The opportunities these programs open up for teachers will grow greatly when they can use them when they need to and not just when the television broadcasts take place. Two television channels, supplemented by local television, will be enough then.

### Program Revolution

The facts which I have described here must lead to a real revolution in Polish television programs.

Already now it has become fashionable in some communities to meet at video shows on those days when television is broadcasting the so-called "correct" programs. Television is an extremely sensitive propaganda instrument; it is easy to make a mess of even the most important subjects when one forgets about proportions. Meanwhile, there are certain groups which would like to have almost all programs devoted to certain--frequently indeed important--subjects and are ready to issue instructions concerning the exact number of metres of tape which should be earmarked for a given subject. Exaggeration is the biggest danger facing television since it is not a newspaper where one can simply avoid feeling sick and fed up by not reading certain articles. [...]

POLAND

# SD ROLE IN SOCIOPOLITICAL STRUCTURE DETAILED

Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 31 Aug-1 Sep 85 pp 1,3

[Interview with Tadeusz Witold Mlynczak\*, chairman of the SD Central Committee, by Leszek Bedkowski and Jacek Mojkowski; date and place not specified]

[Text] [Question] A Center for Public Opinion Studies' questionnaire contained the following question: "In your opinion, do the activities of the organizations and institutions named serve society well and do they conform with its interests?" The Democratic Party (SD) received the lowest number of "definitely yes" answers (8 percent). True, it also received a small number of "definitely no" answers (3.5 percent), but also the most "it is hard to say" answers (31.2 percent). Thus the Democratic Party seems not to be in the social awareness, an unenviable situation for a political party.

[Answer] Certainly the results of the questionnaire give pause for much thought. Most important is that our program and our activities are still not known well enough by the broad public masses. Information on our ideological programs should reach the public not only through the mass media but also through education, school programs, etc.

[Question] Therefore, the results of the questionnaire are simply due to the fact that the public is not informed well enough?

[Answer] Unfortunately, it is more than that. Soon we will observe our 50th anniversary and already we are looking backwards and making assessments. It appears from these assessments that during the postwar period, except for the 1956-1958 program, our ideological-program documents, in view of their nature and substance, could not greatly interest everyone. In recent years, a program which was based on real events, was comprehensive and all-encompassing, was not developed until the 12th Congress, in 1981. And four years is not long enough to reach everyone with a program. If such a survey had been made prior to the 12th Congress I think that the results would have been even worse. But I am convinced that a similar questionnaire in a few years will produce answers more favorable to us.

---

\*Tadeusz Witold Mlynczak was suggested to the National Electoral Advisory Council by the National Council of the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth for the national electoral list.

[Question] Is the inability of the SD to reach the public not due to the fact that it does not define itself through the philosophy of its members or the interests of the social class which it wants to represent? Essentially, what sets this party apart is only the method of operation: democratism. Is this not too little in a situation where everyone professes to be democratic?

[Answer] It would be an oversimplification if today's political parties, especially in the socialist countries, were to be measured simply by the philosophies of their members and class-group interests. And certainly, it is wrong to say that what sets our party apart is democratism as a method of operation. Today, political parties have become an inherent part of the organization of society and a part of the state mechanisms. They fulfill far many more, and more important, functions for its members on one hand and for the state on another.

That is how it is with our party, also. On the one hand it is a spokesman for the interests of two large strata of society--the intelligentsia and crafts--and on the other hand it mobilizes these social strata to actively participate in implementing the tasks of a socialist state. All of this takes place because our members, as radical democrats, share the same ideological viewpoints and attitudes, and also because we share the same basic goals with the PZPR and the ZSL. Because even if we are a non-Marxist party, we define our ideology through a union of socialism and democracy. Therefore, except for the matter of a social base, ideological differences and differences in position on some particular state, economic and social issues do not disturb the ideological alliance of the SD with the PZPR and ZSL, nor do they interfere with the political coalition of our party. On the contrary, they enhance it. But for these reasons our party cannot confine its ideological-program activities only to those areas which lies in the sphere of our influence. The party must also define itself in terms of all relations existing in the state.

[Question] But what would you say if the party not only represented two social groups and defined itself only in terms of fundamental state matters, but also if its members took upon themselves the function of "watchdogs of everyday democracy?" After all, you are not only in the organs of authority, but also in self-governments, enterprises, institutions, councils, committees, etc. Your members would then watch over democracy everywhere, constantly. As they say, the devil lurks among the details.

[Answer] Which is even more reason why a political party should not delve into details. Such a one-sided political specialization of our party and the reduction of its functions to a "watchdog" role would restrict our activity and would lead it into a blind alley.

In our program we see democracy primarily as a method of exercising authority. The main guideline written into the ideological declaration is the actualization of democracy in a socialist state.

[Question] With socialism the substance and democracy the form?

[Answer] No! Because both of these elements are inseparable, especially after the revolutionary stage of the dictatorship of the proletariat, and we have

that stage already behind us. Today socialism and democracy constitute two sides of this same process of the development of society. Although we should remember that this linking of democracy with socialism is still not obvious to many people, particularly those who grew up and were trained in the spirit of the dictatorship of the proletariat. At one time this method of governing was justified by conditions, but today it should give way to a democratic way of making decisions, an indirect exercising of political authority, through representative organs and self-governments. That is why in our program we declare ourselves for further democratization of the system of exercising authority and the functioning of the economy. However, by democracy we mean not just the ability to influence decisions, but also to take responsibility for them after they have been made. Insofar as democratic processes are concerned, we have spoken out many times in favor of strengthening the role of the Sejm and the people's councils. We have postulated the appointment of a Constitutional Tribunal and a Tribunal of State, expansion of the self-government system, and the appointment of a state president. Many of our postulates have been supported, others have not, or perhaps we should say, not yet, because we are convinced of their rightness and will strive for them.

[Question] Which ones, for example?

[Answer] During the discussion on the reform of people's councils we believed that they should be given legal status, which would strengthen their position as local manager. But a dispute arose in the Sejm as to whether to give legal status to the councils or to the towns and gminas. We were not able to put through our idea. Perhaps we will return to it in the future.

[Question] But all of this is a struggle for democracy at various levels of authority. And we asked you also about this everyday democracy, under ordinary social relations.

[Answer] That really depends on everyone: On the political parties and administrative authorities, on social organizations and economic enterprises, on all citizens. This can also be promoted through the reforming processes on the political system plane, on the state, economic, social, and social-moral planes. We want to influence these processes. But the success of our endeavors and ideas depends to a large degree on party numbers. I, too, would like it if our party had 300,000 members instead of 110,000. Under our circumstances, therefore, it is important to seek allies. We would not have been able to settle the matter of both tribunals if we had not had the support of the PZPR and ZSL members for this idea.

That is why we must say very emphatically that the party is not and cannot be a monopoly in the establishment and observance of democracy. Democracy by definition assumes cooperation. True, our party arose out of the need for democracy, but it alone cannot spread it and apply its lofty principles. Our political partners are going in the same direction as we. Anyway, no party today can have a monopoly on "its own" matters. Such matters as agriculture, small-scale industry, and intelligentsia should be a common and fundamental problem of democracy.

The intelligentsia has a special role to play in such shaping of public awareness, and it also has the practical experience. In our party it makes up over two-thirds of the members. And although this is not a large number in relation to all of the intelligentsia in Poland, nevertheless our traditions, organization and program create good conditions for affecting the functions of intelligentsia in the country's activities. We aim to take advantage of these conditions, particularly in the area of culture, social progress and the organization of society. We have even created a special "intelligentsia" department in the central and local committees. Chances for success are particularly great because in this one-third of our members--among the craftsmen and small-scale industry workers--a decided majority are people with training typical of that for the intelligentsia professions, and often they are high-grade specialists. That is why our intelligentsia program matters are a task for the entire party and the traditional division into intelligentsia and crafts in the political work of our party not only has lost significance but it really makes no sense.

[Question] Although some of the public links the party with small-scale production.

[Answer] Because matters of the body, the economy, always disturb us more than matters of the soul, despite the fact that if the potential of the Polish intelligentsia is not stimulated and properly utilized, the effects of the crisis we have experienced will not be overcome, either the economic ones or the social and moral ones. But even if we are usually regarded as the political representatives of the interests of the small-scale producers, what does it really mean to represent such producers? That means to try to reform the model of the entire economy!

[Question] When we observed the deliberations of your 13th Congress, the representatives of small-scale production, including the craftsmen, seemed to us to be the group which was most dissatisfied. You were elected chairman of the SD Central Committee at this Congress, because it is said that you are a man of deeds. Does this portend better times for the small-scale producers?

[Answer] Those good times should have been here long ago because, after all, the development of small-scale production has nothing to do with the political system. Anyone who thinks otherwise is setting a trap for himself because he would foolishly have to admit that if a Fiat is produced according to capitalist technology then a socialist Pole would have no right to drive it...

[Question] ...it was observed long ago that there is no "socialist drawing-design paper"...

[Answer] Exactly. After all, there are many good universal methods of generating national income. The characteristic feature of a system is how this income is divided.

[Question] What, then, should be done so that economic conditions for small-scale production finally improve?

[Answer] To develop small-scale production, it is necessary, first of all, to break the barrier in human consciousness. Only certain groups at this time have become convinced of the need for small-scale manufacturers to exist. Meanwhile, society as a whole is so "programmed" for "large plants" that it will take years to engrain the conviction that a modern economy requires the simultaneous development of small-scale economic forms. After all, small-scale production functions alongside large plants everywhere in the world. In the FRG it is responsible for 47 percent of all industrial production, in Italy, 46 percent, in Sweden, 53...

[Question] ... and 10 percent in Poland! ...

[Answer] ... and that is why we have put forth the thesis in our program that the share of small-scale production in industrial manufacture in Poland grow to 25 percent. But we realize that under present conditions this is almost impossible. Realistically, therefore, we propose a ceiling of 15 percent in the first stage.

[Question] Impossible? Do any other obstacles exist besides society's awareness?

[Answer] Certainly. The most important of them are lack of raw and other materials, or difficult access to them, lack of access to modern technology, lack of people to do the work. Furthermore, there is still the problem of financing this sector, availability of credit, and taxes.

[Question] Most of the talk at the congress was on finances, and mainly taxes.

[Answer] This may be due to the fact that a craftsman can somehow deal with a lack of raw materials, but if the taxing policy is bad, he has no chances for the future.

[Question] How, then, do you talk with Minister Nieckarz [of Finances]?

[Answer] As with a friend and ally. And although since the 13th Congress I am just beginning to talk with him, I have hopes that we will come to an agreement. First, we want to jointly examine a package of crafts matters and then the SD will present its position on an interparty forum. Certainly there are mistakes in taxing craftsmen. There are subsectors which are taxed correctly, but there are also subsectors which are overtaxed and yet are very necessary to our economy.

Generally speaking, joint PZPR and SD policy, based on decisions made jointly by the PZPR Central Committee Politburo and the SD Supreme Committee Presidium, in 1980 and 1983, brought further development to crafts. In the last 10 years the number of plants doubled and employment tripled.

[Question] Nevertheless, the craftsmen are upset, because more and more people are finding that it pays less and less to work. There is something unhealthy in this.

[Answer] Let us admit frankly that some of these complaints stem from bitter experience in the past and the desire to safeguard oneself against the future. That is why the SD, as a party which represents, among others, small-scale producers, intends to demand stable solutions in financial policy--solutions which would not only help to develop small-scale production and crafts, but will also take advantage of the reserves available in them. This sector right now could produce far more than it actually does, but it needs calm and stability over the long range--5, maybe 10 years, in order to do so.

Taxes are only a small part of the problem. After all, the opportunities for expansion of the small-scale producers lie primarily in the decentralization of the economy and the appearance of new market mechanisms. Therefore, it is the task of our party to support everything and everyone who tries to put this model into effect.

[Question] But always, at such a time, questions come up about a guarantee for those who would function in a given model. In short, the craftsmen are demanding that an additional clause be written into the Constitution, following the model of the peasants' clause.

[Answer] I believe that what is written in the Constitution now is adequate. On the other hand, there is no doubt that the SD definitely takes the position (as expressed in all party documents) that small-scale production (including crafts) is a permanent component of a socialist economy. Also, we are trying to convince everyone that small-scale production and large industry should be mutually supportive and not mutually exclusive.

[Question] Let us still briefly talk about current elections matters. You have four candidates on the national list. How many candidates got on the district lists? What we are talking about, of course, is the so-called candidates for candidates.

[Answer] About a hundred. As you gentlemen probably know, our party is also giving up some of its places in favor of nonparty deputies.

[Question] Who have you selected from among yourselves to be deputies?

[Answer] These are people with experience, high social qualifications, and moral qualities. In choosing candidates we were also guided by social circumstances, i.e., that they constitute the broadest possible socio-occupational representation of the party.

[Question] Who in your party decided on these candidacies?

[Answer] First the primary elements, i.e., the SD circles. In my case, for example, the engineers and technicians circle was the first to express its opinion, then the Downtown-Warsaw neighborhood committee, and finally my candidacy reached the highest level of the SD, where it was decided by vote.

[Question] Do your candidates have a particular party elections program?

[Answer] We are all bound by the elections declaration of the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth, but on the basis of a program we will also give special attention to such matters as a change in the structure of the economy by which small-scale production should be strengthened. We are also in favor of the expansion of subsectors which produce consumer goods, and for modernization projects. In addition, ecology and housing construction are important to us, as well as issues dealing with science, culture, education and law and order. That is, everything that the 13th Congress' program assigned to us as tasks for the coming term.

9295

CSO: 2600/39

POLAND

# POLITICAL SCIENTISTS CALLS FOR MORE SELF-CRITICISM

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 12 Sep 85 p 4

[Interview with Professor Jan Baszkiewicz by Piotr Rządca]

[Text] Piotr Rządca talks to Professor Jan Baszkiewicz, historian of political thought and social movements, author of many outstanding scientific publications. Baszkiewicz works at the Warsaw University's Institute of Political Scientists at the CC PZPR's Department of Science and Education. Baszkiewicz has won TRYBUNA LUDU's first prize for his "scientific, didactic and organizational achievements in the field of political science."

Question: You, comrade, spend a lot of time among students. How would you characterize their political thinking?

Answer: The circle I know best, i.e. political science students, is not typical of the whole student community. The circle of political science students is more mature, because it is composed of young people who are better informed and seem to be interested in the policy of the Party in a more intellectual way. I think that in this regard the situation of the student community at large, (with some notable exceptions), is not very good. I don't say that we are facing strong opposition (political attitudes of students are often unnecessarily presented too gloomily), because opposition attitudes seem to be a peculiarity of older people. Therefore I am not struck by the force of students' opposition attitudes, but rather by their political indifference and a certain apathy. After all, many people have not yet been able to overcome their weariness with political discussions. For certain you can say that persistent discussion of politics within the whole of society is not necessary. However, although we do not intend general politization, in the case of the academic youth we are dealing with people who will assume responsible posts in the future. That is why the state of their political awareness must cause alarm. However, it is easier to make a diagnosis than to find an effective cure. There is no doubt that the teaching cadre faces a crucial task in this respect. Irrespective of other influences, it is the attitude of the teaching cadre, their personal example and the winning by them of the students' trust that seem the most important.

Question: It is difficult to become a consciously aware citizen if you lack the proper ideological motivation.

Answer: These young people are not devoid of axiological interests, they are deeply interested in great, traditional values. However, they are unable to reconcile them with practical values that are useful now and will still be useful in the future. Also, a part of the academic youth are allergic to what they call "ideolo." It requires a considerable effort to convince a young Arts student that if he frowns on ideological values, he will retire into the background of the community's life at best, and at worst, those values will turn against him. It also takes a lot of time and patience to explain to him that the fact that, if one is strongly committed to a certain ideology that does not necessarily have to affect one's scientific objectivity.

I am also worried by the fact that once the wave of particular emotional exaltation has passed, students sink into apathy, instead of trying to reflect on things in a critical and rational manner.

Question: At the same time they seem to be confused. I heard that certain students consider Jozef Pilsudski [creator of the First Brigade of the Polish Legions fighting for the independence of Poland during the First World War; in May 1926 he carried out a coup, imposing military rule while keeping the appearances of democracy; he caused Sejm's dissolution in 1930 and arrested leaders of the opposition--editor's note] to be the symbol of freedom and democracy.

Answer: Intellectual muddle-headedness is much more dangerous than an obvious error in thinking. Intellectual muddle-headedness is like grease, it clings. That is why the choice of teachers at our universities is so important. I can understand even the cheekiest students, because being disparaging is their privilege. However, the big boys talking such nonsense and splashing about in this grease are just deplorable.

Question: A number of university graduates are consumed by the ambition to start a "business." They believe that if there were more private enterprises in Poland, socialism would become quite a good thing.

Answer: The nepman sort of consciousness is a phenomenon very dangerous both to them and to our common future. However, where does it stem from? From their observations of life. After all, in other socialist countries there are private enterprises, too, yet their existence does not disturb social consciousness to the extent it does in Poland. There are many reasons for this state of affairs, for example, the persistently warped pay system which neither values university education and top skills, nor stimulates young people to work hard and ambitiously to obtain education, but makes them disinclined to accept a career that would otherwise suit them. I must add here that the spread of "nepman," petit-bourgeois consciousness is a manifestation of depolitization of certain parts of society, with the result that people condemn the state, civil service and nationalized industry. This phenomenon is the result of both the unsatisfactory state of social consciousness and mistakes we have committed.

Question: Sometimes I have the impression that we concentrate too much on the achievements of the past, giving too little heed to the future. Meanwhile, some citizens, including the young, assess the value of socialism on the basis of the current situation, although we are just in the period of transition and have not yet tried all the possibilities offered by the socialist social solutions.

Answer: As an historian I am going to defend the idea of looking back into the past. In my opinion we must not disregard the achievements of the past 40 years, which certain young people do. You cannot wisely and sensibly defend the achievements made during the 40 years of People's Poland--these achievements have been much greater than many people can imagine. Yet we must not ignore our own weaknesses and errors.

However, we must also go beyond the past and the present. In this respect I agree with you that we are not aggressive enough. We urgently need a vision of the future, reaching at least to the beginning of the next century. This picture does not need to be entrancing or attractive, but it should be convincing. It must present a socially acceptable picture of socialism in Poland. The Party congress to be held next year will be a proper occasion to present such vision.

Yet we must give up the idea of "catching up" with capitalism as regards consumerism or that "we will catch up and pass" it. "All the same I am deeply convinced that socialism is the system in which all human abilities can be best revealed and realized. These abilities involve productive labor, intellectual work and mass culture. We should not fuss about the latter, but we shouldn't repeat the mistakes of capitalism either. Just as, for example, in the past we shouldn't have got ourselves into a fix as regard the development of individual motor transport. Instead we should have set our stakes on an apartment for everyone. The possibilities of our system are indeed enormous. People are often unaware, for example, of the progress we have made in the democratization of education, which has been greater than in the affluent countries of the West. Suffice to compare the chances of the Polish state farm worker's son and of the French or Belgian farm worker's son reaching a university.

Question: All the same we are still facing many other problems, for example, leveling our differences between manual labor and non-manual work, or changing the structure of farming or the position of the private sector.

Answer: I do not repudiate my beliefs to which I have adhered to tens of years. Therefore I still believe that Poles in general will not adopt the nepman's principles. However, I think that we still have a long way to go before we achieve our goals. Sometimes we seem to be afflicted with the disease manifesting itself as revolutionary impatience, whereas experience teaches us that social revolution is a long process, not a saving explosion. Therefore I do not delude myself with hopes that within a few years we will solve the problems of agriculture, ecology, clean technologies, health protection or the petit bourgeois mentality that is spreading over Polish society. I am still set on the definite direction of our march.

Question: I think that your vision should include the desired attributes of the political culture of the Polish socialist society as well as instructions on how to accomplish this model.

Answer: To a Pole, the word "culture" always conveys something positive. Maybe this is why it is so difficult to explain to certain people that culture can represent high, mediocre and low standards. As far as political culture is concerned, we should consider two issues--empirical studies on this culture's standard in the Polish society, and the establishing of a normative model, a model vision that would allow us to make comparisons and realize our own position.

I think that the standard of political culture is not very high in our country. This was shown by the events of 1980-81. I advise all those who were going into ecstasies over that culture's high standard at that time, to take a more critical look at those experiences. After all, that was a time of many lost chances. Also, it turned out that, despite our common belief to the contrary, we are an extremely intolerant society, although, fortunately, this tolerance is usually only verbal in character.

The low standard of political culture manifests itself also in the absolute inability to foresee events and to take measures pertaining to social engineering, which can stave off or attenuate conflicts, while in those years, conflicts were flaring up in Poland. This can be attributed to society's inexperience or to the fact that Polish democracy--be it the democracy of the gentry or the prewar democracy--was always somewhat factious in spirit.

It is necessary for us to have a normative model of political culture. This should be based on reference to the classics of socialism and to the Polish socialists of the turn of the century, who represent a mentality close to our own, and on both the good and bad experiences of the recent past. Such a model can be created only by a body of outstanding scientists and politicians.

Question: Can you give us examples of what such a model should include?

Answer: Above all, it should define one's attitude toward one's own state. We have a certain notion of what kind of state would suit Poles. Such a state would, for example, allow a considerable freedom of speech and guarantee a tolerance that would not embrace only one's outlook on life. These are exactly the matters that come over quite well under our political system. However, we need better political discipline and more respect for the state and law. Poles should also realize that the opinion other people hold about them depends on the Poles' attitude toward their own state.

The model should consider the question of the correlation of rights and duties, which are at present often treated individually. Everyone is willing to talk about his own rights, at the same time frowning at duties. Meanwhile such correlation is a fundamental matter. Even the radical bourgeois thinkers believed that it was impossible to issue a declaration of rights alone, without assigning citizens' duties toward the state and community.

I should also stress the significance of methods to solve emerging conflicts, from which, after all, the socialist system cannot be free, because the laws of social development discovered by Marx do not cease on the threshold of the socialist structure.

That is why the model of socialist political culture should include methods of adjusting class, group and sectoral interests in order to prevent conflicts from becoming antagonisms. For this purpose, a Party that leads the nation and acts as a social arbiter is the best answer.

The task that lies ahead of us is to create such model.

It is necessary and urgent that such model be created also for this reason that we curb to some degree our exaggerated image of ourselves and at the same time that we ponder on what we all should do in order to raise the standard of political culture of all social groups in relation to the tasks ahead of us.

Question: Thank you for the conversation.

CSO: 2020/15

POLAND

OSMANCZYK PROTESTS PAPER'S PRESENTATION OF HIS VIEWS

Opole TRYBUNA OPOLSKA in Polish 21-22 Sep 85 p 3

[Text] Dear Sir,

In connection with the claims of the press and at pre-election meetings that "no civic organization, not even the Union of Authors and Composers ZAIKS (of which I happen to be chairman) nominated me its candidate for Sejm deputy," I wish to clarify the following points:

- 1) As a completely apolitical organization, concerned with the protection of copyright interests of its members, the ZAIKS has never appointed candidates for any political bodies.
- 2) The essence of the "Osmanczyk affair," presented in TRYBUNA OPOLSKA of 1 September, No 203, does not boil down to my own political views, which are assessed positively by some and negatively by others, but to the virtual impossibility of any deputy of the outgoing Sejm, anywhere in Poland, not affiliated to the PRON or presenting a separate opinion, gaining reelection. Personally, I feel entitled to declare, in public, that what has taken place is a political misfortune because the Sejm now ceases to be a platform of the dialogue which the country needs as much as the air we breathe, and it will be necessary to look for new platforms for such dialogue outside of parliament, which is not going to be easy.
- 3) Professing the principle that there will always be time for pessimism, I deeply hope that in a few years' time we shall return to a pluralistic Sejm and I will again be able to run for a seat from the Opole region, for three centuries the land of my ancestors.

Edmund Osmanczyk, former Opole Land Deputy, 1957-1985

CSO: 2020/15

POLAND

# CATHOLIC CANDIDATE'S 'NEUTRAL STATE' COMMENT CLARIFIED

Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 23 Sep 85 p.2

[Article by (z.m.): "Neutral State?"]

[Text] Television, and not just Polish television, has very many good qualities, but it also has several weaknesses. One of them is the superficiality with which difficult and complex problems are presented. I became convinced of this--and not for the first time--last Saturday evening when I watched an interview with the distinguished Catholic social scientist, lecturer on this subject at Lublin Catholic University, Prof Ryszard Bender. Professor Bender, as a candidate for deputy on the central list, also granted an interview to our newspaper. We shall publish this interview within the next few days.

Professor Bender, in discussing the evolution of viewpoints on social doctrines in general, pointed, very correctly, to the change in the understanding of the influence of a specific philosophy on the state's activities. He reminded of the frightening principle *cujus regio eius religio* [in Latin] (whosever's authority, his religion), introduced by the rulers of the German dukedoms after the reformation. This was a principle which not only symbolized intolerance, today in an era of ecumenism rejected by all Christians, but which brought on countless religious wars with their bloody results.

In condemning this principle, Professor Bender stated that "a state should be neutral." Following this, we heard the sound of beautiful chimes, which the interviewer, editor Boguslaw Czarminski, acknowledged to be musical breaks in continuity, and the dialogue went on to another subject.

The declaration itself in favor of a "neutral state" in a tremendous thought-shortcut, one that is certainly understandable to specialists in problems dealing with the social doctrine of the Church, but not to the vast number of viewers. And there was no followup question from the interviewer which would explain the statement. If such a question had been asked, it would have turned out that a neutral state in all assumptions--program, let us say, because ideology is a concept understood differently by different schools of philosophy, cannot exist. There are, after all, ideologies or political

programs (e.g., anarchism), which are against the existence of a state and are opposed, by program, by every state body, regardless of the political system. There are states which are doctrinally based on social conservatism, and there are states with constitutions based on progressive, class assumptions. There are, among countries of bourgeois democracy, states which reject broader social-assistance programs (e.g., the United States), and states which espouse a welfare doctrine (e.g., Sweden). As this short enumeration shows, a state is never neutral in the face of all doctrinal ideas or political concepts, and its legislature is the result of specific choice, a specific political concept.

In any case, Professor Bender spoke of this in the first part of the interview, pointing to the historical development of the social doctrine of the Catholic Church, which not too long ago regarded the very concept of democracy as dangerous.

I think we know what the chairman of the Club of Catholic Intelligentsia in Lublin was referring to: equal rights for believers and nonbelievers in People's Poland, total philosophical tolerance on both sides on the assumption that the matter of faith is a citizen's personal and not a political choice. And surely, observance of these just principles also has an impact on the relationship of the state to believers and their participation in public activities.

9295

CSO: 2600/39

POLAND

RAKOWSKI INTERVIEW ON PROPAGANDA, GOVERNMENT POWER, CREDIBILITY

Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 17 Sep 85 p 3

[Interview with Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski by Krystyna Kostrzewa]

[Text] Question: One of the entries of the national list of candidates for Sejm deputies reads: "Mieczyslaw Franciszek Rakowski, Vice Premier, member of the PZPR Central Committee, journalist, commentator. Former editor-in-chief of POLITYKA for many years. Party and state activist. Deputy to the 6th, 7th and 8th Sejm. Doctor of Historical Science. Member of the PZPR, formerly the PPR. Born in 1926." Is this your view of yourself?

Answer: Yes, but of course it hardly says anything about me, my views or my work. It is difficult to present a man in a written biography. However, I am prepared to answer any question from the electorate.

Question: As Vice Premier, you are a member of the inner leadership of the state executive. On the other hand, as Sejm deputy you represent the supreme organ of state power, whose responsibilities, in addition to legislative ones, include control of Government activities. How can you reconcile this high Government post with Sejm membership? "It is like supervising oneself," a reader wrote in a letter to RZECZPOSPOLITA.

Answer: I wish to point out that there are not many Government representatives, fewer than in previous terms, among the candidates for deputies to the 9th Sejm. But this is not the most important thing. Nowhere, or almost nowhere, in the world does the holding of a government post preclude participation in the work of parliament, so the combination of these responsibilities is neither a Polish nor a socialist invention. In many countries both in and out of Europe, the ruling parties have traditionally nominated many of their activities for parliament, whether they hold senior Government posts or not. This is so for important and understandable reasons. The ruling party wishes to have the strongest parliamentary representation possible, and also likes freedom of maneuver for personnel reshuffles during its term of office. The same applies to government coalitions. As for me, I do not foresee a clash between my possible duties as deputy and the post of Vice Premier--assuming that I retain it, of course--because I have an indivisible sense of responsibility for the state. In our system, parliament and the Government work for the benefit of the state, pursuing a common goal. Therefore the clash is only apparent.

Question: Your answer as well as your other statements will probably not convince some people. But that's perfectly normal, especially when one considers that you are regarded as a controversial figure, much talked about, and accused by various circles of this or that, be it lack of humility, arrogance or submissiveness. You aroused various sentiments when you were POLITYKA editor and you have aroused them again since assuming the pos of Vice Premier. Do you realize this?

Answer: A man engaged in public activity and holding a public post, whether economic or political, must be, or should be, a controversial person, whether he is gmina head or the prime minister. Otherwise he is a colorless figure, who will neither help nor harm anyone. You can't please everyone. The scope of controversies differs depending on the problem being dealt with but also on the particular person, or on the way he articulates his views. As for myself, I do not mind the reputation of being a controversial figure at all. I suspect it is the way in which I present my views that arouses stronger emotions than is the case with other officials.

Question: I don't mean to imply that it has anything to do with arrogance, but my next question concerns precisely that issue. Does power go to one's head? Does it breed arrogance? Or perhaps people interpret as arrogance the fact that many representatives of the authorities speak openly about some matters and about their actions? For a long time, society was accustomed to a careful treading of the path and a beating about the bush when it came to more sensitive matters.

Answer: Does power go to the head and breed arrogance? It can but need not do so. It depends on a set of both subjective and objective factors. In the case of the Government, the objective factor is always the conduct of its head, whether we are talking about Poland or any other country. That's the way it will always be. If the head of government displays an attitude that rules out the possibility of power going to one's head--which is the case in Poland at present--then the risk of arrogance decreases. The subjective factors, on the other hand, include the personality traits of individual members of the authorities, their knowledge--or ignorance, as the case might be--of the history of exercising power, and the awareness--or unawareness--of its passing nature. Arrogance is therefore a well researched disease and easy to avoid for those who wish to do so. Therefore the head of our Government is well aware of this ailment and eradicates its symptoms, no matter how lofty the position occupied. This is confirmed by not infrequent communiques about various people being punished for various misdeeds. I am aware of this disease.

Question: Calling it a disease provokes, I think, the next question: how can it be prevented? After all, the boss himself cannot control everything.

Answer: There is no better vaccine than genuine public control. You must keep an eye on the authorities. By keeping an eye I mean not only shaping proper attitudes of members of the authorities but also confronting them persistently with the results of their actions. Therefore I personally attach great importance to all those elements of the program of the 9th Congress of the PZPR which paved the way for the establishment of extremely diverse

self-government and self-management bodies. These bodies, by the nature of things, embody the wisdom of the nation and offer an opportunity for notifying the higher echelons of power about irregularities and disturbing phenomena, as well as opinions concerning the effectiveness, or otherwise, of the policies pursued.

Question: This provokes one more question: what about propaganda?

As a journalist of long standing, I frequently come across a pattern of writing which reflects the attitude of the proverbial waiter who guardedly conceded to the customer that "the egg may have indeed been partly stale."

Answer: I think everybody will agree that the range of subjects now discussed in the media is incomparably broader than in the 1970's and earlier. One token of it is the publication of undoctored results of opinion surveys on the most diverse subjects, including the ratings of the authorities, whereas in earlier periods such data were closely guarded secrets. Nevertheless I am aware that society expects something more today: it does not want anybody to be immune from criticism and it wants the criticism to be addressed to concrete persons. If X exercises power on my behalf, I have the right to assess his performance and he should be prepared to face criticism when he undertakes public duty and should regard it as a normal state of affairs. The media are expected to call a spade a spade and to use language that can be comprehended by the people. How is this propaganda activity to be pursued? Although it is too slow, an evolution in this direction is, I think, taking place in Poland. However, the pace of change in propaganda depends on a number of issues, including historical determinants, but first of all it depends on the people working in that area. They are the ones who must rid themselves of excessive caution, a sidestepping of issues, and a reluctance to take risks or trouble. In the Government, we have overcome a high barrier in this respect, which is confirmed by the Government spokesman's conferences for foreign and Polish journalists. There are no taboo subjects there.

Question: You mentioned public control of the authorities, so can you now say something about the conclusions you draw for yourself from this control. As a popular and controversial person, you used to receive plenty of letters and invitations to attend meetings. Is this still so? And what comes out of it? Watching from the sidelines, I get the impression that Vice Premier Rakowski now has fewer public contacts than in the past.

Answer: Not at all. The flow of letters rises and falls, depending on what happens to arouse the greatest emotions in the country, but their number is still high. I often meet working people too. In the last three months, I have paid surprise visits to the Glass Works in Wolomin, the Rekord factory at Jedrzejow, the Olimpia textile plant in Lodz, and Odra factory in Olesnica, and secondary schools in Rawa Mazowiecka and Jedrzejow. Without the letters, meetings and discussions I couldn't work, I need them to compare my actions with their social effects.

Question: Then let me put my question differently: how, on the basis of your contacts and your experience, could you define the degree of society's

confidence in the authorities and describe the process of stabilization of the political situation? Is the division into the authorities and society, which was quite pronounced recently, according to popular belief, disappearing? After all, all of this is extremely important in view of the necessity of getting the country out of the crisis and achieving further progress.

Answer: From letters and meetings I derive the conviction that the situation is getting more stable and that this process is gathering momentum. I learn from many problems appearing in Poland about which a member of the Government should know. These problems include the heterogeneity of Polish society and the consequent necessity of a diversified approach to it, to its various groups and circles. My contacts have helped me to revise the theory that society is indifferent to politics. It is not indifferent. However, it is clearly reluctant to support one idea or another in public. The sources of this attitude can be traced back to the political crisis of recent years, the devaluation of many thoughts and practices, a crisis of confidence, generally speaking. Today nobody gets applause for nothing or monuments for promises.

Speaking of the process of political stabilization, I was not expressing a wish or launching a slogan. It is the truth, and I know about it on the basis of facts and events. There was a time when people did not want to talk or only muttered. Now we can talk for hours. Also the subjects of discussion have changed. The index of public confidence in the authorities has increased. Those who still propagate the false thesis about a division into the authorities and society are wrong. The criticism of the authorities for one move or another, or different points of view on various problems, which inevitably happens quite often in a nation of many million people, do not signify such a division at all. I assume that we shall overcome this reluctance. To be precise, we are overcoming it already, as can be seen in the course of the election campaign meetings so far.

Question: Then, what, in your opinion, is the main political problem in Poland now? Is it the existence of the opposition?

Answer: No, the opposition should not be regarded as the main political problem of the country, either today or tomorrow. Why? Because if--as I do--you deduct those people who take a different view of the ways of solving the nation's main problems and for this reason do not approve of the whole activity of the authorities, the opposition appears very meager. It may be loud but its numbers are few. Most importantly, however, it is lacking in any broad social base which is necessary for action. In addition, its base is shrinking. This is because the state authorities, with the help of the public, of course, are consistently implementing the reforms demanded by the workers in August 1980, whereas the opposition has not presented any positive program so far, because it has none. It has based its vision of Polish matters on the negative of everything we have done, everything we strive for, on the atrophy of a realistic vision of the world in which Poland exists, on the negation of socialism, which is recognized by a great majority of Polish people.

Question: There has been some talk of a fresh program lately.

Answer: It's like all the previous ones. Namely, it's a program of negation, wishful thinking, naive advice combined with an undisguised dislike of socialism.

Question: What is, then, the biggest and most important problem in Poland, the problem facing the Government, the Sejm and society as a whole?

Answer: Generally, speaking, it's the economy. That is precisely a political problem in our country. We need a systematic and persistent rebuilding of the structures of economic management on the basis of the principles included in the economic reform. A consistent and lasting implementation of the economic reform is in my opinion an objective factor in broadening the base of public confidence in the policies of the Party authorities and the Government because only through the reform is it possible to carry out the social demands of August 1980 and only in this way will it be possible to achieve the desired progress and the resulting improvement in the standard of living. I wish to reemphasize strongly that any departure from the principles of the reform threatens to narrow the base of public confidence in the state authorities and the supreme body of the state, the Sejm, this in turn could lead to apathy, indifference, and disquiet. Meanwhile, what we need is the activity and ingenuity of the people.

Therefore, worker self-management, equipped with broad powers, must be a valid instrument of the reform. Self-management offers a great chance for the working class to satisfy its ambitions of participation in government, co-deciding the future of the country, thereby releasing the energy and motivation indispensable for efficient, high-quality work. In a broadly conceived economy, people should and must feel the real masters.

Question: At one meeting with workers you used the term "the sovereignty of an individual." Could this be the central issue, the need to release the initiative of the people, which seems to have withered? If so, then are not too many matters regulated by various orders and bans, in brief, various regulations which may have been intended to ensure discipline in the society but in practice often slow down progress?

Answer: I think that it is precisely the provisions of the economic reform and the accompanying changes in appropriate state structures, together with strong worker self-management that open the door to the releasing of the initiative and ingenuity of people. In these circumstances, man feels that he is most important and that he is sovereign in his actions. Everything mankind has produced so far was not the work of supranatural forces but of human hands, his effort, his ambition, precisely his sense of sovereignty. Regulations introducing discipline in social action should always be only an addition to the awareness of one's own possibilities, of one's own attitude. These regulations only fulfill their role when they permit man to demonstrate initiative and ideas. There is an excess of regulations in Poland and we are aware of it. I am convinced that as the situation stabilizes and progress is made, as the sense of sovereignty of an individual increases, as the reforms become deeper and the role of self-management increases, the importance of the regulations will diminish and they will be reduced to their normal

status. Of course, I give you a very simplified view, but these are the main matters I raise during my meetings in factories, and I receive support there.

Question: As this interview is connected with your nomination as a candidate for Sejm deputy, I wish to ask you one more question on behalf of the voters. There was a time when, during your meetings, people showed great interest in your private life and you replied, explained and rectified things with a truly masochistic attitude. What would you tell them today?

Answer: My private life, to which I am as much entitled as anybody, is stable, filled with action, and similar to the private life of any average person. The most important thing is to live in accordance with one's conscience.

CSO: 2020/15

POLAND

## PRESIDIUM MEETING INCLUDES REPORTS ON TAXES, WAGES

Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 24 Sep 85 p 1

[Text] The Government Presidium started its regular Monday session yesterday by hearing a report on supplies of consumer goods during the last month. Because personal incomes have been growing at a high rate, one which surpasses plan targets, the process of restoring a balanced consumer goods market has slowed down. But delays in deliveries of some durable goods have also played a part in this. Provision of foods, however, has improved. Goods which have been de-rationed are available all the time. In the fourth quarter, too, meat and meat products, poultry meat, fish, flour and products of flour, barley grits, animal fats, dairy products, cigarettes, candies and cookies will all be supplied continuously and in sufficient quantities to shops.

As far as textiles, clothes and footwear are concerned, production and deliveries of products fulfilling Government orders for goods are satisfactory. Footwear output now fully meets demand. Most mechanical household utensils are also supplied in sufficient quantities. Supplies of goods such as stereo equipment, color television sets, some models of sewing machines as well as upholstered furniture are almost up to demand. The distribution network's cooperation with manufacturers has been steadily improving. The distribution and sales network benefited from a series of short-term contracts and financial undertakings, such as transfers of funds from the distribution sector to manufacturers for the purpose of producing goods in short supply. Summing up the situation, the Government Presidium issued guidance for making manufacturers fulfill the contracts they have signed in order to prevent what are temporary interruptions in deliveries appearing to be permanent shortages of some goods and thus bringing about a wave of hurried purchases of such goods.

Next the Government Presidium heard a report on the implementation of recommendations the Supreme Chamber of Control (NIK) issued, following a series of audits of the Labor, Pay and Social Security Ministry in 1984 and 1985. Those audits were undertaken to find out how wage systems are used to improve companies' overall performance, and also how efficient is the system for responding to citizens' complaints. It turned out that in many companies pay grew at much higher rates than did productivity, production quality was deteriorating, and the PFAZ [Labor Redeployment Fund] tax failed to prevent unwarranted wage increases. Many companies were granted individual PFAZ tax breaks solely on account of their pay levels lagging behind other companies in the given region or industrial branch, while little attention was paid to their economic

performance records. The NIK Chairman's post-audit recommendations included a stipulation that parent bodies must watch more closely and feel more responsible for the introduction of companies' own pay systems, because such occasions were often exploited and wages increased over and above all economically justified levels.

In part fulfillment of the post-audit recommendations, the Labor Ministry cut the number of PFAZ tax breaks, kept close watch on the introduction of companies' own pay systems, and started work on designing comprehensive pay policies that would induce companies to seek higher productivity and to improve their use of production factors. The Labor Ministry is also studying a series of possible moves connected with the population's living standards and ways of curbing inflationary processes. The report also contained information on the implementation of NIK's other recommendations.

Next the Government Presidium heard a report on the implementation last year of a "Comprehensive Program of Actions for Forest Management Improvement till 1990" and of the 28 February 1983 Government Presidium decisions concerning the prevention of an ecological catastrophe in Poland's forests, the improvement of forest resources, and timber utilization.

The tasks set out in these documents were fulfilled according to schedule. In all, 23.7 million m<sup>3</sup> of timber was gained, an amount which has no precedent in the Polish economy. Exports also stood at record-high levels. Afforestation or improvement actions have been carried out on 50,280 hectares of land, and supplementary actions concerned 25,400 ha. Forest protection and health have improved substantially, and more timber has been gained by felling dry, wind-broken and diseased trees. Chemicals have been used more effectively in combating pests. Some progress has been achieved in making forest resources more resistant to diseases.

The Government Presidium recommended more aid for the forest management authority and for the timber industry, mainly in the form of increased supplies of mechanical equipment. The timber gained in woods must now be properly utilized in manufacture and exports. The Government Presidium underlined the necessity of carrying out all tasks in forest protection and new afforestation.

The Government Presidium decided that in order to reopen to the general public the National Theater which has long been a major institution of national culture, but which was destroyed by a fire recently, design work is to be started immediately and construction works soon afterwards. The National Theater will be restored to its previous architectural form but will be equipped with the latest technical facilities. The reconstruction will be paid for with the insurance money and with money from the investment funds.

CSO: 2020/15

POLAND

## MEETING OF SOCIALIST SCIENTIFIC ACADEMIES

Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 24 Sep 85 p 5

[Text] A Conference of representatives of scientific academies of the socialist countries begins in Warsaw on 24 September. This is the 14th conference of this kind and the third one to be held in Warsaw. The scholars are meeting to discuss the results of multilateral research cooperation so far and to plan future cooperation. PAP has asked Professor Zdzislaw Maczmarek, Secretary General of the Polish Academy of Sciences [PAN], to make a statement in this connection. The following is his statement:

"We have been pursuing close cooperation with the scientific academies of the socialist countries for many years. As for bilateral cooperation, individual academies have been cooperating in certain branches of science and with research subjects of interest to both sides. There is also extensive multilateral research cooperation which consists in launching a certain number of joint research projects of interest to all the academies of the socialist countries or at least to most of them. One example is the geophysical study of atmosphere physics, oceanology and geology, in which all the scientific academies are taking part. Another form of cooperation are the joint research centers. One of them is the International Stefan Banach Memorial Mathematical Center in Warsaw, which has been in operation for 15 years. A report of its work will be presented during the conference. Another such center is situation in Wroclaw--it's the International Laboratory of Strong Magnetic Fields and Low Temperatures.

"The research institutes of the socialist countries also maintain contacts with the research institutes of other countries; one institution providing such cooperation is the International Council of Scientific Unions. The problems involved in the participation of socialist academies in international research programs are also discussed during the conferences.

"The conferences are held every two years. Their aim is first of all to evaluate the implementation of joint programs and to plan for the future. It has been agreed that the academy which is going to play host to the next conference coordinates joint research during the preceding two years; accordingly, PAN has been coordinating research for the past two years. During that time, PAN has been responsible for collecting all information pertaining to multilateral cooperation and preparing a program for cooperation in practical branches of

science for the near future. We are now going to present a proposal for research cooperation in the physical and natural sciences during the next five years.

"Applied research is linked to economic activity, so the programs for multi-lateral cooperation of the scientific academies of the socialist countries are coordinated with the program for economic cooperation within Comecon. During the Warsaw conference a Comecon Deputy Secretary General will present a report on the progress made on a program for cooperation over a period of twenty years. We will then discuss the possibilities of the academies' joining in the implementation of this program.

"The Warsaw conference will be attended by eleven delegations of scientific academies of European and non-European socialist countries. Afghan scholars will be attending a conference of this kind for the first time this year (as observers). The foreign delegations arrived in Warsaw yesterday."

CSO: 2020/15

POLAND

# STATE ELECTORAL COMMISSION INSPECTORS ASSESS ELECTION SCHEDULE

Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 25 Sep 85 p 1

[Interview with Jerzy Breitkopf, PKW inspectorate chairman, by Wojciech Kazmierczak]

[Text] Preparations for the general election as assessed by inspectors for the State Electoral Commission (PKW) were the topic of a talk PAP reporter Wojciech Kazmierczak held with PKW Inspectorate Chairman Jerzy Breitkopf.

Question: Just what is the PKW Inspectorate?

Answer: It is a group of people, appointed in accordance with PKW's rules, to watch the implementation of individual actions deriving from the electoral law and the electoral calendar. Our 60 inspectors who were trained in details of the electoral law are employees of central administration bodies. Up to now we have carried out five checks to see if individual moves preparing the election were done according to schedules and regulations. Reports summing up the audits are submitted to the PKW, while remarks and observations of occasional irregularities are submitted directly to constituency electoral commissions and voivodship bodies concerned with organizing the elections. This model has been followed by constituency commissions and voivodship electoral offices which have appointed their own control groups. Apart from checks of a general kind, PKW members went to the provinces on 16-18 September to see how constituency and district commissions were working.

Question: Exactly what were the checks designed to do?

Answer: In checks carried out early this month and in mid-September we observed whether the appointment of district commissioners, the training of commission members, the drawing up of lists of voters, and the laying them open for public inspection were all done by the book.

Question: What did your inspectors find?

Answer: All checks carried out so far indicate that preparations for the election are going ahead correctly, according to schedule. The few irregularities disclosed by the inspectors were usually of a local nature only and as a rule involved minor points of organization or technicalities. All of them were set right immediately.

During the latest check, which was to establish how commissions did their duty of laying open for inspection lists of voters, inspectors found that district electoral commissions worked properly. Commission members not only carry out their duties accurately and strictly by the book but often even cooperate with the administration in taking various steps designed to make it easier for voters to check their names on the lists.

In all voivodships, commissions kept to the deadline (15 September) for laying lists open for inspection. Lists are open for check five hours a day, in some regions even longer. In Wolbrzych voivodship, for example, electoral commission are open seven hours every day, in Sieradz voivodship, in Gdansk and Wejherowo for six hours, and in Unislaw (Torun voivodship) for even ten hours. It was generally left for district commissions themselves to decide their working hours, and in some voivodships a uniform pattern was introduced. In Warsaw voivodship, for instance, lists can be inspected from 2 p.m. to 7 p.m. on workdays and between 11 a.m. and 4 p.m. on workfree days. In Katowice voivodship, lists are laid open from 10 a.m. to noon and from 3 p.m. to 6 p.m. every day. Rooms in which lists are laid out have been prepared for the purpose. Telephone connections were opened for voters to check their names without leaving their homes.

Inhabitants of individual buildings and entire streets are informed about the addresses and working hours of polling stations. In Konin voivodship, for example, public-address systems in factories are used for this purpose. In Warsaw, 650,000 information leaflets have been printed and are now being distributed by postmen together with the mail. In Lublin voivodship, pathfinder groups are involved in information actions, while in Gdansk a special poster has been printed with information for voters. The mayor of Rzepin in Gorzow voivodship organized a special bussing system for inhabitants of remotely situated villages to enable them to check their names on lists.

The lists, of course, will be open for inspection till 28 September and, if necessary, even beyond that date.

CSO: 2020/15

POLAND

EDITOR CHALLENGES OSMANCZYK'S VIEW OF NEW SEJM

Opole TRYBUNA OPOLSKA in Polish 25 Sep 85 p 1

[Article by Wlodzimierz Kosinski]

[Text] Faithful to the principle long professed by TRYBUNA OPOLSKA and summed up in the words "You talk about it, we write about it," we deem it our duty to present the various views of our readers, being the only daily press organ in the voivodship. Only an honest dialogue on all matters interesting the public, without any sidestepping, can uphold the paper's credibility, and, as it is a PZPR organ, our credibility is a fundamental factor in strengthening the credibility of the Party among the wide and extremely diversified circle of Opole Voivodship readers.

Some time ago, for this reason, we took up the subject of Edmund Osmanczyk's absence from the candidates for deputies to the 9th Sejm. We believed that at a time when this subject was raised at very many election campaign meetings and was the focus of debates in various millieux, to stay silent would be tantamount to denying ourselves the moral right to engage in an honest, open and fruitful election campaign. We have devoted plenty of space to this campaign through reports from citizens' meetings, a detailed presentation of all the 33 candidates who entered the race, i.e., not only those from among whom we shall elect the 11 deputies representing the Opole land on 13 October. We did it in order to enable the biggest number of our readers to get to know the people seeking election to the supreme legislative body, and to select consciously those who will make up that body holding society's mandate. It will be a Sejm to which we attach justified hopes, knowing its rank and the tasks awaiting it.

Apparently, these hopes are not shared by the hero of two articles which appeared in our paper ("The Snag" and "The Myth") [PNB 123, September 11], Mr. Edmund Osmanczyk, whose "Explanation," referring to these articles, was published in the latest edition of TRYBUNA OPOLSKA's weekend magazine. The author of the "Explanation" is fully entitled to present his view and, as good manners require, we honored this right by printing the text from him. However, we cannot leave his statement without making a comment relating to that passage in which Osmanczyk's views are supported with arguments based on facts. And facts do not lie.

Osmanczyk wrote: "The essence of the 'Osmanczyk Affair' presented in TRYBUNA OPOLSKA does not boil down to my own political views, which are appraised positively by some and negatively by others, but on the virtual impossibility of any deputy of the outgoing Sejm anywhere in Poland as not affiliated to the PRON or presenting 'a separate opinion,' gaining reelection.

Leaving aside the fact that--fortunately--individual membership of the PRON movement has no attributes such as membership cards or attendance rolls and that it is impossible to determine accurately who is affiliated and who is not (there are PRON signatories, the signatories of the Program Declaration, there have been collective accessions to the Movement by various civic or professional organizations), it is absolutely impossible to accept the final words of the passage quoted above, where "presenting a separate opinion" is used as an alleged criterion barring the road to election. While cherishing unchanging respect for Edmund Osmanczyk and his accomplishments, I also cherish respect for facts and I am obliged to use maybe a not too elegant phrase but a very clear-cut one: on this point, the author of "Polish Affairs" is simply not telling the truth.

After all, the national list of candidates for deputies includes the name of Professor Mikolaj Kozakiewicz, who on many occasions publicly expressed--to use Osmanczyk's words--"a separate opinion" on the moves of the Government, the Sejm, and also the PRON and its leadership. The extensive interview candidate M. Kozakiewicz gave to the ZDANIE monthly (No 4/85) can serve as an example. Even with a great dose of malice it would be hard to define these views as a sign of enthusiastic support for the PRON, but despite the fact that Professor Kozakiewicz voiced what was clearly a "separate view" his name is included on the list of nominees for the Sejm.

Not only the national but also constituency lists of candidates for deputies are full of names of people who on various public occasions showed the courage to proclaim their own views and present a "separate opinion." Therefore Osmanczyk's premature prediction that (to quote his "Explanation") "the Sejm ceases to be a platform for the dialogue which the country needs as badly as the air we breathe," offends a large number of candidates for deputies, to say the least. The 9th Sejm has not even been elected yet, so this assertion is plainly groundless.

There are 870 people seeking Sejm seats (50 on the national list and 820 on constituency lists). You have to admit, dear Edmund, that an unbiased examination of the lists of candidates provides absolutely no ground for the prediction that "the Sejm ceased to be a platform for dialogue." Could it be that my respectable adversary, who has consistently repeated that nobody has the monopoly on always being right, tries to supplant the golden principle "Nothing that affects us, without us" with the fool's gold slogan "nothing that affects us, without me."

You can't review a book which not only has still to be printed but has not yet been written. Even more, you can't analyse the work of a Sejm that has

not even come to life. The claim that "the Sejm ceases to be a platform for dialogue" is nothing else than such a review, which is not only premature but also offends the candidates, who, as we had the opportunity to find out at numerous meetings, have no intention of replacing dialogue (in which Edmund Osmańczyk has been and surely will remain a participant) with an ornamental monologue.

Before we proceed to criticize the Sejm, we first have to elect the deputies. There can be no other sequence, so long as reason is given precedence over emotion.

CSO: 2020/15

POLAND

COUNCIL OF STATE ON INTERNATIONAL AGREEMENTS, HIGHER EDUCATION

Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 27 Sep 85 p 1

[Text] The Council of State began its session yesterday with a decision concerning the procedure for the State Electoral Commission to submit its report on the general election to the Sejm; this duty was imposed on the Council of State in the 29 May 1985 electoral law. The Council of State has now listed specific matters connected with preparations for election day and the voting itself which should be included in the report.

Then, in part fulfillment of the July 1985 amendment to the law on higher education, the Council of State considered a draft decision concerning the competence and activities of higher schools' social councils and ruled that this draft should be submitted for consultation.

The Council of State then ratified the following international agreements:

--an agreement between the Polish People's Republic and the USSR on the boundary line of territorial waters, economic zones, fishing zones and the continental shelf in the Baltic Sea, which was signed on 17 July 1985;

--a protocol to a 1969 international convention concerning civil responsibility for damage done by oil spills, which was drawn up in London of 19 November, 1976;

--a protocol to a 1971 international convention concerning the foundation of an International Fund for Indemnifying Damage Caused by Oil Spills, which was drawn up in London on 19 November, 1976.

The Council of State appointed Andrzej Konopacki to the post of Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the Polish People's Republic in the Yemeni People's Democratic Republic. Konopacki will hold this post along with that of ambassador to socialist Ethiopia to which he was appointed in September of 1984.

The Council of State granted Polish citizenship to 31 people.

CSO: 2020/15

POLAND

## DIFFERENT APPROACHES TO SUNDAY GROCERY SHOPPING ISSUE

Gdansk Initiative 'Anarchistic'.

Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 10-11 Aug 85 p 8

[Text] In his article in the weekly 'Wprost' Piotr Andrzejewski reports among others: The woman-manager of a certain store in Sopot was severely reprimanded by the director for committing an arbitrary act. Now what was the crime committed by this poor woman? Being afraid on a certain Sunday that the accumulated stock of baked goods, milk, cheese, etc., will go bad, she decided to open the store.

The opening of the store on Sunday met with the approval of the Sopot inhabitants and tourists, who bought out the goods for the sum of about 160,000 zlotys. Unfortunately as it sometimes happens here, the appreciation of the public opinion was premature and altogether wrong because it has proven to be contradictory to the opinion of the administration of 'Spolem', which does not tolerate anarchy in Trojmiasto. Our mistake lies in the fact that in spite of years-long talk about reforms and the introduction of basic changes in our institutions, we don't know how to make use of peoples' initiative and economic energy.

Warsaw Spolem Begins Sunday Schedule

Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 12 Aug 85 pp 1-2

[Text] A few days ago we wrote about the initiative of Spolem in Warsaw, which, in spite of various difficulties, decided to keep open on Sunday at least one grocery store in every section of the city. We have mentioned, though, some criticism expressed by our readers about the inadequate stock and prices much higher than normal.

Last Sunday we visited a number of those places which were on duty between the hours of 7:00 and 11:00. It is obvious that Spolem took into consideration the negative remarks of customers about the stock. Yesterday it was really very good.

In the majority of stores there was a lot of action. People were buying first of all milk, baked goods, eggs, cream. But also other goods were in

demand. The only store manager who complained about lack of customers was the one in Krakowskie Przedmiescie. Is it possible that it was a mistake to choose this store to be open on Sunday?

Many customers expressed loud satisfaction at being able to do their shopping also on that day.

From our conversation with the managers it was clear that there was no problem with getting people to come to work on Sunday. The pay for that day, even though calculated differently in different cooperatives (either a lump sum or depending on the sales), is much higher all over than on other days of the week.

Last Sunday the 20 percent increase in the price of goods was still the rule all over except in Mokotow at Pulawska Street, which certainly is worth mentioning. Here the prices were the same as usual. And indeed, in that store business was best.

The representative of the Warsaw department of Spolem, director Ryszard Siwak, informed us that the cooperative is examining the criticism expressed in our paper of that 20 percent Sunday price hike. The final decision in this matter will be made in the next few days and our paper will be notified immediately. We hope, therefore, that Spolem taking in account the arguments presented here will make a decision in accordance with the public opinion.

12470  
CSO: 2600/1026

POLAND

BRIEFS

ACTIVIST PINIOR ARRESTED--Jozef Pinior was arrested in Wroclaw on 31 August under charges of disturbing the peace and was sentenced to three months of detention. [Text] [Krakow TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY in Polish 15 Sep 85 p 1] 12261

URBAN DEFENDS PINIOR'S ARREST--Minister Jerzy Urban said of Jozef Pinior's arrest that "Pinior was sentenced by a crime affairs collegium because on 31 August he laid a wreath at Grabiszynska Street in Wroclaw under the sign of the former Solidarity union and behaved in a very provocative manner, therefore disturbed the peace and social order". [Text] [Krakow TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY in Polish 15 Sep 85 p 1] 12261

CZECHOSLOVAKIAN FOREIGN AFFAIRS TALKS--On 4 and 5 September, working consultations were conducted between representatives of the legal departments of the foreign affairs ministries of Poland and Czechoslovakia. The delegations were led by Director Stanislaw Pawlak and Director Zdenek Pisk who was received by Vice-Minister Henryk Jaroszek. [Text] [Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 6 Sep 85 p 2] 12261

WARSAW INTER-PARTY MEETING--On 5 September, a meeting of the Warsaw Commission for PZPR, ZSL and SD Cooperation was held at the headquarters of the Warsaw Municipal SD Committee. Information provided by the presidium of the Electoral Convention was used by the commission to assess the course of public consultative meetings between voters and Sejm candidates. The commission highly evaluated the course of these meetings and emphasized the the mass participation in them by citizens of Warsaw and Warsaw Province and the engaged and constructive discussion that supported the Elections Declaration and appeal by the Warsaw Municipal PRON Council and considered some of the most important problems of the city and nation. Agreements were also made on the organization of the next stage of meetings between candidates and voters. the meeting was led by Jerzy Gruchalski, chairman of the Warsaw SD Committee. [Text] [Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 6 Sep 85 p 2] 12261

10th PARTY CONGRESS PROGRAM PREPARED--In accordance with decisions by the 9th Congress of the PZPR and the position of the National Conference of Delegates, the work on the draft of a program for the Polish United Worker's Party to be presented at its 10th Congress has made considerable progress. This was the opinion expressed on 5 September in Warsaw at the latest meeting of the

Central Committee Ideological Department. The session which was chaired by Politburo Member and Central Committee Secretary Jozef Czyrek was above all dedicated to an exchange of views on a working draft of this program that was prepared by an editorial team. [Text] [Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 6 Sep 85 p 2] 12261

BANACH'S RETIREMENT SET--On the recommendation of the minister of education and upbringing, the Council of Ministers dismissed Dr Czeslaw Banach from his position as undersecretary of state in that ministry for reason of his retirement from professional life. [Text] [Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 6 Sep 85 p 2] 12261

PZPR CC STUDY GROUP IN FRANCE--At the invitation of the French Communist Party, a study group of the PZPR Central Committee under Deputy Director of the Political and Organizational Department Jan Bluszkowski visited that country. The purpose of the visit was to become acquainted with the work of the French Communist Party after its 25th Congress. The delegation was received by Politburo Member Pierre Blotin and held conversations with the French Communist Party's departments such as the organization, propaganda and party documentation departments as well as the Institute of Marxist Studies and Messidor publishers. The delegation also became familiar with the work of the party in the labor federation, in sections and in the worker and peasant communities in the Essone and Rhone departments. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 9 Sep 85 p 7] 12261

SOVIETS JOIN ANTI-WAR DEMONSTRATION--Together with pioneers from the Russian city of Lutsk, boy scouts from Chelm participated in an anti-war demonstration. Also taking part in this demonstration were school-age youth, veterans, delegations from places of employment, inhabitants of the city and representatives of the provincial government. [Text] [Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 9 Sep 85 p 2] 12261

ZSL PROVINCIAL COMMITTEES MEETING--At the present time, plenary meetings of ZSL provincial committees are taking place throughout Poland and they are discussing the social and economic life of particular regions and of the nation as a whole, assessing the achievements of public consultative meetings and recommending ZSL Sejm candidates to the local electoral conventions. [Text] [Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 9 Sep 85 p 2] 12261

NOWE DROGI INVITES HUNGARIAN EDITORS--A delegation from TARSADALMI SZEMIE, the theoretical and political organ of the Hungarian Socialist Worker's Party, led by Chairman Szilvi Szegoe, member of the editorial college, is visiting Poland at the invitation of NOWE DROGI. The delegation became acquainted with the ideological and economic work of the party and had meetings with the Central Committee departments of economics and information. It also visited the Social Sciences Academy and the bureau of the government plenipotentiary for economic reform. Our Hungarian guests were received by Edward Szymanski, director of the Central Committee Sejm Affairs Bureau, Jan Bistyga, deputy director and the Information Department and Zdzislaw Sadowski, deputy government plenipotentiary for economic reform. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 10 Sep 85 p 2] 12261

SIWAK AT KIELCE PZPR MEETING--Members of provincial PZPR instances gathered for a plenary meeting in Kielce. Politburo Member Albin Siwak was present and the subject of the meeting was evaluation of the method of handling public complaints addressed to party committees. The participants of the meeting also examined the course of consultative meetings in Kielce Province. [Text] [Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 10 Sep 85 p 2] 12261

RAKOWSKI, PRINTING INDUSTRY CONFER--Vice-Premier Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski received a visit from the secretary general of the National Council of the Printing Industry Employee's Trade Union, Stanislaw Wisniewski. They discussed the critical situation in the printing industry and the union's position on the program for development of the printing industry in 1985-1990. [Text] [Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 10 Sep 85 p 2] 12261

TALKS WITH INTERNATIONAL ATOMIC AGENCY--Vice-Premier Zbigniew Szalajda received a visit from Professor Leonard Konstantinov, general director of the International Atomic Agency in Vienna. They discussed cooperation with the agency in the area of nuclear energy, nuclear safety and radiological protection. They also considered how the agency can assist in training nuclear safety cadres, the design, construction and operation of nuclear power plants in Poland, use of the agency's data bank on nuclear energy and the realization of Poland's nuclear research and development tasks. Dr Mieczyslaw Sowinski, chairman of the State Atomic Agency, took part in the conversation. [Text] [Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 10 Sep 85 p 2] 12261

PRON TALKS WITH GDR REPRESENTATIVE--Secretary General of the PRON National Council Jerzy Jaskiernia received a delegation from the National Council of the GDR's National Front under Hasso Zimmermann, member of the presidium and secretary of the National Front's National Council. They discussed the problems of the Sejm elections campaign and realization of the protocol on cooperation between PRON and the GDR National Front. [Text] [Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 10 Sep 85 p 2] 12261

PZPR CC, USSR FRIENDSHIP COMMITTEE MEET--The PZPR Central Committee held a meeting with the winners of the Friendship and Cooperation 1984-1985 Relay Race, organized by the Worker's Commission of the Society for Polish-Soviet Friendship. The winners were warmly congratulated by Central Committee Secretary Henryk Bednarski who pointed out the need for new initiatives in the realization of the Politburo's 1982 and 1984 resolutions and the directions for the growth of the Society. Director of the Central Committee Ideological Department Wladyslaw Loranc and Chairman of the Main Directorate of the Society for Polish-Soviet Friendship Stanislaw Wronski also took part in this meeting. [Text] [Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 10 Sep 85 p 2] 12261

ZSL IDEOLOGICAL, POLITICAL MEETING--A conference of the directors of the ZSL provincial committees' departments of ideological education and social policy met in Warsaw with ZSL Supreme Committee Secretary Kazimierz Kozuba. They discussed the training tasks of the party's circles and instances in the light of instructions handed down from the Supreme Committee. [Text] [Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 10 Sep 85 p 2] 12261

NEW PILSUDSKI BOOK--Bookshops have begun to receive a new book that will undoubtedly be of interest to lovers of history. This is a collection of memoirs and documents about Marshal Jozef Pilsudski. The book contains fragments of memoirs of 6 political figures and 7 military figures. Almost all of these are being published for the first time in Poland. Their authors are people fully capable of judging Marshal Pilsudski as many of them were closely associated with him in his activities in the Polish Socialist Party and the national independence movement and later became leading state and political figures during the 20 years between world wars. [Text] [Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 10 Sep 85 p 5] 12261

PRON, WARSAW UNIVERSITY RECTOR MEET--On 9 September, Chairman of the PRON National Council Jan Dobraczynski received a visit from representatives of Warsaw University and its rector, Dr Grzegorz Bialkowski who informed him about the problems with which the school must grapple in its need to improve study conditions. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 11 Sep 85 p 2] 12261

PRON'S PHILOSOPHY IN OFFICIAL'S WORK--"Ksiazka i Wiedzy" has published Jerzy Jaskiernia's book "Dialogue Is Our Chance". This is a collection of articles, speeches and interviews by the secretary general of the PRON National Council from 1984-1985. The author discusses the movement's activities to widen the areas of national agreement, new initiatives for political dialogue, the efforts to convey PRON's ideas to new social groups and the effect's of the movement's activities among youth. In view of the approaching Sejm elections, of special relevance is the author's analysis of the discussions on the premises of the Sejm electoral ordinance. He also describes the work done to prepare PRON's electoral declaration. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 11 Sep 85 p 2] 12261

PZPR, ZSL LECTURERS MEET--On 10 September, a joint meeting of lecturers from the PZPR Central Committee and the ZSL Supreme Committee was held at the headquarters of the Central Committee. the subject of the meeting was the traditions and the present meaning of the worker-peasant alliance. These problems were discussed by professors Franciszek Kolbusz and Boleslaw Struzek who also answered numerous questions from the lecturers. They stressed the fundamental importance of the worker-peasant alliance in strengthening and encouraging the growth of Poland's political system and especially in the realization of both parties' shared agricultural policy. The meeting was led by the director and the PZPR Central Committee's Ideological Department, Wladyslaw Loranc, and the director ZSL Supreme Committee's Department of Ideology, Press and Propaganda, Jozef Czajkowski. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 11 Sep 85 p 2] 12261

PRON OFFICIAL MEETS RETIREES--Chairman of the PRON National Council Jan Dobraczynski received a visit from representatives of the Polish Association of Retirees and Invalids with its chairman, Ferdynand Herok. The 5th National Congress of Delegates of the association will be held in Warsaw on 18-19 September. Jan Dobraczynski stressed that PRON has repeatedly intervened on behalf of the needs of this community and will continue to do so. The newly-elected Sejm will also have to consider the problems and needs of retired people. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 11 Sep 85 p 2] 12261

CUBAN YOUTH, OPZZ, METAL WORKERS MEET--On 11 September, representatives of the Warsaw federations of trade unions meet a group of unionists, members of the 2nd Brigade of Cuban Youth imiona C.R. Mialkowski at the headquarters of the Federation of Metal Worker Trade Unions. They discussed problems of ideological education work at places of work. Our Cuban guests were also informed about the methods used to solve problems in the different branch unions. Present at this meeting were members of the presidium of the Executive Committee of the OPZZ [All-Polish Trade Union] with its chairman, A. Miodowicz. [Text] [Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 12 Sep 85 p 2] 12261

PRE-ELECTION DISTURBANCES PLANNED--In an interview, Vice-Minister of Internal Affairs Gen Wladyslaw Pozoga stated that "according to our information, there will be attempts made to create disturbances at sacred objects in Poland in the period preceding elections. Some groups have also readied themselves to carry out provocative actions at foreign offices of the former Solidarity union and a coworker of the RWE [expansion unknown]. A 'dramatic' hunger strike in front of a Polish embassy has been planned. We have information about a few more equally cynical ideas but we do not wish to make this knowledge public. Western propaganda will hold the Polish Security Service responsible for these acts". [Text] [Krakow TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY in Polish 15 Sep 85 p 1] 12261

NEW WAJDA MOVIE COMPLETED--Andrzej Wajda has finished shooting his newest movie 'Chronicle of Love's Events', after the popular novel by Tadeusz Konwicki. The action takes place in the Wilno province, just before the outbreak of World War II; its main heroes are two young lovers-- students of a lyceum. In these roles two students are featured, Paulina Mlynarska and Piotr Wawrzynczak. The remaining adult parts, mostly incidental, were filled by Bohdan Majda, Joanna Szczepkowska, Gabriela Kownacka, Krystyna Zachwatowicz, Leonard Pietraszak, Bernard Ladysz. The photography to Chronicle of Love's Events' is by Edward Klosinski, the stage settings by Janusz Sosnowski. The production director is Barbara Pec-Slesicka. [Text] [Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 1 Aug 85 p 7] 12470

PROSECUTOR-GENERAL COOPERATES WITH BULGARIA--The prosecutor-general of the PPR Jozef Zyta and the prosecutor-general of the LRB Kinstandin Lutow met in Warna on 2 August and signed an agreement of cooperation between their agencies in Poland and Bulgaria. The agreement regulates actions related to securing the rights and interests of citizens of both countries and to the guarantee of their right to a full legal assistance. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 3-4 Aug 85 p 7] 12470

CHINESE COLLECTIVE REPS VISIT--On 2 August the president of NK ZSL, deputy president Roman Malinowski met with representatives of Chinese collectives, with the general secretary of the Administration of Chinese Collectives of Supply and Distribution, Yang Deshow. The delegation is visiting in Poland on the invitation of the Central Association of Collectives 'Samopomoc Chlopska'. The Chinese guests became acquainted with the socio-economic situation and the achievements of our country in the past 40 years, and the part played by the collectives in the process of changes and achievement of the Peoples' Poland. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 3-4 Aug 85 p 2] 12470

KISZCZAK AT WARSAW ZSL MEETING--The present goals of the political activities of ZSL were the subject of a conference of the presidents of the provincial committees of the party, political workers of NK, and the central activists who met in Warsaw on 2 August. The meeting was chaired by the president of NK, deputy prime minister Roman Malinowski. Deputy member of the Politburo KC PZPR, Minister of the Interior, General Czeslaw Kiszczak, presented the socio-political situation of the country. Deputy Minister of Agriculture and Food Industry Kazimierz Grzesiak described the situation in agriculture, the course and progress of harvest and collecting. At this meeting there were also talks about the present tasks of the party in the election campaign to the Sejm. [Text] [Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 3-4 Aug 85 p 2] 12470

WHITE-RUSSIAN MINORITY PROBLEMS--Problems of the White-Russian minority, its participation in the socio-economic and cultural life, and their participation in the election campaign to the Sejm were the main subjects of the meeting which took place in Bielsk Podlaski on 7 August, between the White-Russian Socio-cultural Association and the chairman of the National Council PRON, Jan Dobroczynski. Let us remember that about 350,000 White Russians live in Poland. A decisive majority are the inhabitants of the eastern terrains of the Bialystok province. In Hajnowka and Bielsk Podlaski there are humanistic lycea where White Russian is the language of instruction, as it is in many places also in the elementary schools. At the Warsaw University there is a department of White Russian philology. In the towns and villages of the Bialystok province the artistic movement flourishes, many folkloristic groups are quite active. In Bialystok also appears a weekly publication called 'Niwa'. A literary association 'Bialowieza' is very active; it comprises 20 writers and poets writing in the White Russian language. [Text] [Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 8 Aug 85 p 2] 12470

SZALAJDA MEETS CHINESE, AUSTRIAN OFFICIALS--On 7 August the deputy prime minister Zbigniew Szalajda met with the ambassador of the Chinese Peoples' Republic, Wang Yinging. The subjects of the discussions were problems of economic, industrial, and scientific-technical cooperation between the PPR and Ch RL and future prospects for its growth. There were talks about the possibilities of intensifying mutual industrial and scientific-technical contacts, as well as forms of cooperation leading towards the achievement of concrete economic results. On the same day Zbigniew Szalajda met with the Austrian ambassador, Richard Votava. There was a discussion of problems connected with growth of economic cooperation between the two countries. Special attention was given to the prospects for further intensification of economic cooperation through growth of cooperatives and specialization in the industrial area. [Text] [Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 8 Aug 85 p 2] 12470

NICARAGUAN TRADE TALKS CLOSE TOUR--The Nicaraguan ambassador Jacinto Suarez Espinoza paid a visit to the chairman of the Ministry of Foreign Trade Ryszard Strzelecki in connection with the conclusion of his tour of diplomatic mission in our country. The subject of that meeting on 7 August was problems of Polish-Nicaraguan trade relations. [Text] [Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 8 Aug 85 p 2] 12470

PRON MEETING ON 'NATIONAL UNDERSTANDING'--Matters of national understanding were the main subject of the meeting in Bialystok on 9 August between the deputy member of the Politburo of KC PZPR, member of the presidium RK PRON, Marian Orzechowski, and aktiv PRON, representatives of enterprises, youth- and social organizations. He presented the socio-political situation of the country paying special attention to problems connected with the coming elections of the Sejm. A close attention was also paid to the matter of Church-State relations and cooperation between people of different persuasion within the framework of all Polish national understanding. M. Orzechowski also met with the presidiums of the province and town PRON councils of Bialystok as well as with the people of Bielsk Podlaski. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 10-11 Aug 85 p 2] 12470

WORKERS CITED IN INDUSTRIAL FIRE--According to the Central Command of the Fire Department in Paczkow (Opolsk province) a fire broke out in the local furniture factory. The fire destroyed the office and the goods in the department of school supplies. The damage was initially estimated at about 12 million zlotys. Twelve battalions of firemen prevented the fire from spreading to other parts of the plant. According to the investigation the workers involuntarily started the fire. [Text] [ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 10-11 Aug 85 p 2] 12470

SOCIALIST ART CRITICS MEET--A 3 day symposium of art critics of the socialist countries came to a close in Szczecin. The leading theme of that meeting was the present state and creative tendencies of contemporary painting in the socialist countries. A large group of artists who exhibited their works in the halls of the Szczecin castle of the Pomorski princes also participated in that symposium. The XI exhibit of the painters of socialist countries opened in the middle of July. [Text] [ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 12 Aug 85 p 2] 12470

GDANSK DEFENSE COMMITTEE--The social situation, state of order and economy in Gdansk region and the activities of transport enterprises of the building industry 'Transbud' and also domestic trade were evaluated at a conference of WKO in Gdansk. It was noted that the operation of these enterprises has a real influence on the punctual and regular fulfilling of the plans of the building industry and the daily supply of the whole net of the trading posts of the province. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 12 Aug 85 p 5] 12470

GDANSK ACTIVISTS PASS APPEAL DATE--On 12 August the time elapsed in the case against B. Lis, A. Michnik and W. Frasyniuk when, after receiving a written argument for the verdict, the parties were able to appeal to the Supreme Court for a reversal. At the same time, according to a PAP journalist, the counsels for the defense for the three defendants filed an appeal for the revision of the verdict at the regional court of Gdansk. [Text] [Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 13 Aug 85 p 5] 12470

FEATURES FROM CC IDEOLOGICAL JOURNAL--The September issue of SUGESTIE, the PZPR Central Committee's Ideological Department monthly, has appeared. In this issue, Stanislaw Kuzmierski reminds us of the postwar experience of elections propaganda. Andrzej Ankiewicz examines the tactics of the political opponents in the campaign of elections to the Sejm. In the "Doswiadczenie" series, the achievement of the Krosno Province's party organization are described. The photo spread, titled "Wieslaw's Museum", is devoted to the museum, opened this year in Wladyslaw Gomulka's family home in Krosno. Under the title "Tasks of the Primary Party Organizations in Strengthening the Leadership Role of the Party in One's Own Community", SUGESTIE has begun a new series of auxiliary teaching methods to be used in party schooling. The visual propaganda aids include proposals on graphics connected with elections to the Sejm. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 13 Sep 85 p 5] 9295

VOTING REGISTRATION CHECK EXTENDED--The two week minimum period required by the electoral inspection at the offices of district electoral commissions elapsed on Saturday. In order to allow those who, for some reason or other, have not yet checked their names on the voting registers to do so, the deadline has been extended in some voting districts all over the country. In Warsaw and the Warsaw voivodship, the deadline for checking one's name on the register has been extended to 6 October. [Text] [Warsaw PZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 30 Sep 85 p 1]

OLSZOWSKI INTERVIEW IN SOVIET DAILY--In an interview to the Soviet daily TRUD the minister of foreign affairs of the PPR, Stefan Olszowski, expressed his views on the meaning of the Final Act KBWE, which was signed 10 years ago, on the development of the international relations in the post Helsinki era, and also about the just concluded meeting between the diplomatic chiefs of the countries which cosigned the Final Act. The meeting took place in the capital city of Finland. [Text] [Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 3-4 Aug 85 p 2] 12470

CSO: 2020/15

ROMANIA

DECREE ON INCREASING RESPONSIBILITY OF WORKERS

Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 5 Sep 85 pp 1, 2

["State Council Decree"]

[Text] "Decree by the State Council of the SR of Romania on new measures for the application of the economic-financial mechanism and for increasing the responsibility of management personnel and technical, economic and other personnel in fulfilling the production plan in exports and the production plan in the extractive industry":

ARTICLE 1. The managerial personnel in economic units, industrial centrals and ministries, other central bodies and people's councils, as well as the technical, economic and other specialised personnel involved in implementing export production and export plans in those units, who overfulfil the export production plan and export contracts, will receive monthly export bonuses of up to 20% of their basic pay; these bonuses will be calculated in keeping with the percentage with which the export production plan and exports are overfulfilled.

In keeping with the conditions of paragraph 1, export bonuses are also granted to ministers, other managerial cadres in ministries, other central bodies and people's councils, and to deputy premiers who co-ordinate the activity of the relevant bodies.

The necessary sums of money will be provided from the financial returns of economic units and from the income and expenditure budgets of central and local bodies respectively and will be paid out through the planned wage fund.

ARTICLE 2. Managerial personnel in economic units, industrial centrals, ministries, other central bodies and people's councils, as well as technical, economic and other specialised personnel involved in fulfilling the export production tasks and export contracts in such departments as production, planning, material-technical supply and foreign trade in those units will have to pay a penalty of 2% of their basic pay for each percent of failing to fulfil the export production plan and exports.

The penalty established under the present decree amounts to up to 50% of basic pay.

The penalty stipulated in paragraph 1 shall also be applied to ministers, other cadres in the ministries' leadership, to other central bodies and people's councils, and to deputy premiers co-ordinating the activity of the relevant bodies.

The provisions of the present article are accordingly also applied to managerial, technical, economic and other specialised personnel involved in fulfilling the export production plan and export contracts throughout the economy in the State Planning Committee, the Ministry of Technical and Material Supply and Control of management of fixed assets, the Ministry of Foreign Trade and International Economic Co-operation, the Ministry of Finance, and the Romanian Foreign Trade Bank, as well as to the ministers, attached bodies, other cadres in the management of these central bodies, and deputy Premiers co-ordinating the activity of the relevant bodies.

ARTICLE 3. The provisions of Articles 1 and 2 are accordingly also applied when raw and other materials, parts and subassemblies designed for fulfilling the export production plan are not delivered.

ARTICLE 4. Those economic units that do not fulfil at least 30% of the export production plan will be subjected to a special economic-financial control system instituted in keeping with the law.

ARTICLE 5. In units of the extractive industry that overfulfil the coal, crude oil and non-ferrous ores production plan, the managerial, technical, economic and other specialised personnel will benefit - apart from rights envisaged by law - from a monthly bonus of up to 10% of their basic pay, calculated in keeping with the percentage by which the extraction plan is overfulfilled.

If the extraction plan is not fulfilled, the personnel mentioned in the present article will have to pay a fine of up to 2% of their basic pay for each per cent of plan non-fulfilment. This penalty may amount to up to 50% of basic pay.

Paragraphs 1 and 2 are applicable to ministers, other management cadres from the Ministry of Mines and the Ministry of Petroleum, and to deputy premiers co-ordinating the activity of those ministries.

ARTICLE 6. The provisions of the present decree will be applied during the 1st September-31st December 1985 period. If by the end of the year arrears in export production and in extractive industry production are made up for, withheld money will be paid accordingly.

The ministries, other central bodies, economic units and people's councils are obliged to take measures to make up for arrears and completely fulfil the export plan and the extractive industry production plan.

For August 1985, penalties for the nonfulfilment of the export plan and the extractive industry production plan will amount to up to 30% of basic pay, that is, in keeping with the level of nonfulfilment of the plan.

[NICOLAE CEAUSESCU, PRESIDENT OF SOCIALIST REPUBLIC OF ROMANIA  
BUCHAREST, 4 September 1985  
NR, 274]

CSO: 2020/14

YUGOSLAVIA

CARDINAL KUHARIC'S STATEMENTS IN VATICAN PRESS CRITICIZED

Zagreb DANAS in Serbo-Croatian 20 Aug 85 pp 21-22

[Article by Nenad Ivankovic: "How the Cardinal Sees the SFRY"]

[Text] If there is any formula today that will save the world (and let us assume there is), then it is certainly dialogue, not only because dialogue (by the nature of the thing itself) recognizes the other person and other ways of looking at things, but also because it does not leave anyone "out of the game." As a matter of fact, in a pluralistic world (which is what the world is regardless of what some people still think and desire) not only do ideological anathemas and group a prioris not lead to peaceful living together, but they patently frustrate it.

Of course, the value (of that kind of) dialogue does not stop at the borders of the global world: it is also--depending on conditions, places and the times--the formula of the "microcosm." At least when it comes to those societies which are civilized and "balanced" to some extent in their social policy. It also became the key word of a council (the 2d Vatican Council), which attempted to bring the church up-to-date and make Catholicism more evangelical. The church of the anathema thus had the opportunity to turn itself into a church of dialogue. On one of the most difficult issues--the attitude toward communism and the socialist movement--the popes who had the spirit of the council hit upon a wise and fruitful distinction: the difference between ideologies and the movements which they have inspired. And this signified: dialogue is possible even with socialist reality, since it cannot be reduced to its ideological points of departure (with which the church has been in conflict for a century). Ideological warfare was supposed to be replaced by peace through dialogue.

But at this point little is left of the council (20 years after it ended), at least if we look at the policy represented by Cardinal Ratzinger, prefect of the Congregation for Religious Science, which looks more and more like an ideological proselytism that is hostile toward everything that is not Christian and ultimately everything that is not Catholic. Yet in our country the council never was highly valued in spite of the efforts of the ecclesiastical "marginalists" (who as a rule are the most intelligent people in the church) to give some "more dignified" appearance to this "Balkanized" Christianity.

## Anathema

Even today there are some who rightly point to the need for "peace between believers and atheists" threatened by the "climate of dangerous and opposed fanaticism": those who "preach irresponsibly" (the clericalists) and those who "antipreach" (atheistic sectarians). After all, it is more than understandable (or at least it should be) that "society ought to be interested in whether a man is a believer or not only insofar as this is important to preserving the peaceful and creative common life between them, without unwholesome proselytism or, still worse, fanaticism, be it religious or atheistic." And that means that religion (in the eyes of atheists) must not be something negative, something that is put up with and tolerated simply because it cannot be ended by decree. Religion, that is, and not politics masking as religion, is indeed a church ideology. But the converse also applies. It is not enough, that is, for society to consistently conduct its policy of "ignoring" religious sentiment or the lack of it at the expense of the criteria of fundamental social values, but it is just as necessary for the church to accept the absence of religious sentiment not only as a fact, but also as a certain value. Without that kind of mutual acknowledgement, it would seem, there can be no "peace between the pious and the atheistic."

At the same time there are certain facts which have to be acknowledged not for the sake of political pragmatism, but out of a love for the truth. That is, even though there are numerous examples in everyday life of atheistic proselytism (which is not only ideological in nature, but is also a consequence of quite definite historical circumstances and of reactions to the policy of the church, which has not always been in the interest of the people), it still does not represent this society's commitment, therefore even those people with the greatest political responsibility not uncommonly point to the unacceptability of any sort of divisions of the citizenry into those who are religious and those who are not. It is certainly clear in this connection that atheism cannot be the ideology of society either. The fact that practice is contaminated with different conceptions and actions lies in the field of social pathology, which cannot be eliminated overnight, since it was not overnight that it came about. Of course, we do not mean to say that certain things might not be resolved more quickly and consistently, but that is an issue which lies outside the limits of this topic.

Meanwhile building an ecclesiastical policy on social pathology, which is exactly what some people are doing, seems still more pathological. Since it cannot be acceptable--as one clericalist recently demanded--there must not be "even one single problem" related to the church and religion in society if its good intentions are to be acknowledged. A social community is a living organism and there will always be problems, and indeed the church will go on creating them, at least as long as it is an ideological institution.

To tell the truth, it should be said, however, that when church people talk about those who do not believe and about disbelief, they speak of them with the implication that they are something negative and provisory, something which should always be combated with every ounce of strength, which has to be overcome if the world is not to go to ruin. That is in fact what the pope

himself has just said in his own way in Togo: "It is in the nature of man not to be good when he moves away from God." Something much worse, however, has been written by Cardinal Kuharic in a review published by the Vatican secretariat for those who are not religious ATHEISM AND DIALOGUE (Rome, Vol 20, No 2/3, 1985). That is, this issue of the journal was devoted to the plenary meeting of the secretariat which was held in March and at which reports were presented from various countries of Europe, America, Australia and Africa on the church and atheism. Kuharic submitted a report on the situation in Yugoslavia entitled "Some Observations on the Dialogue Between the Church and Atheism" (AKSA [AKTUELNA KRISCANSKA SADASNJOST--CONTEMPORARY CHURCH TOPICS], 2 August 1985).

Here (briefly) is how Cardinal Kuharic sees the situation in Yugoslavia and the picture of this country and all those who do not claim to be believers that he is offering to the foreign public, which certainly is not exclusively ecclesiastical. In the very first sentence of his report he condemns all possible "forms of materialism, i.e., atheism," which have ever existed, since they are supposedly a thing of the Devil, and therefore "have infiltrated souls" (Kuharic's expression) like some thief in recent centuries. Not a word about the possibility that at least some form of materialism or atheism might contain something constructive and of human value.

#### Marxism Is To Blame

And everything else is derived from that premise-anathema. Marxism is seen to be a "dramatic and historical phenomenon," since atheism has passed "from the sphere of private life to the official view of the world of nations where the Marxists have taken power by revolution," and this, according to Kuharic, is the case not only in eastern Europe, but in Yugoslavia as well. Which means, he says, that believers in our country are discriminated against, that they are not free in spite of the fact that our government would like to portray it differently to the world. After all, Kuharic exclaims, problems do exist! According to him, they "result from the fact, solely and entirely, that Marxism as an ideology is the foundation on which the society of the present and future is being built, (while) atheism is an essential element of Marxism." So, for Kuharic Marxism is to blame for everything, and for him it is nothing other than atheism, and this latter in turn is a sin against everything human and divine.

It is a pitiful state of affairs when a cardinal can speak in such terms of caricature about something which carries implicit in itself the kind of reality represented by Eurocommunism, the vision of a self-managing socialist worker democracy, or indeed Bloch's "Christian" Marxism, and so on. It is too bad that he should derive his description of the Yugoslav situation from such vulgar ideological formulas, not even capable of reaching the level of the distinction already made between theory and reality. It is also said that a cardinal should believe that others are always to blame for everything, and he cannot even keep quiet about his own faults and mistakes. Finally, is it possible to convince anyone that all the problems and tensions between the church and the government (we use the phrase advisedly) are only the consequence of a particular ideological outlook; as if there had never been any history played

out on this soil with actors many of whom are still alive, with wounds in their hearts and forgiveness never begged for. As though no history were taking place today either. And as though on the one hand there is a kind of ideologically monolithic government-society, and on the other the church. Is it possible that a cardinal does not see that this society is also a society of conflict in its way, that in it there are various forces and options which are operative: progressive and regressive, those favoring and those opposing self-management, socialist and parasocialist, democratic and undemocratic, centrifugal and centripetal?...

What Is the Cardinal Silent About?

Or, if he sees it, is it possible that all this does not concern him? That in the end he doesn't care whether this society will be independent and non-aligned, whether these nationalities will live in peace and community, in equality, and on the road toward a more just and humane society personified in the idea of socialist self-management (which if not yet a finished reality, is certainly no fiction either), in which relations with the church are only one aspect of that "game" which is being played here? If we are wrong, the question remains: How is it that the cardinal is quiet about those positive values? No, this is not an appeal to politics, since independence, community, justice and the rest are not politics, but universal values. It is not a question of accepting the set of political instruments, but of accepting and acknowledging this society's fundamental values, which in essence are not ideological, and they are no more "atheistic" than they are "Christian."

But certain prelates in our country avoid not only that, but even, whenever they can, the second-hand names and symbols of this SFRY and this SR [Socialist Republic] Croatia, and at the same time, and this is really strange and incomprehensible, the cardinal complains in his report that this government does not recognize the church "as an equal partner in dialogue"! At this point the report even becomes comical in its way: after all, it really is comical for the nonacceptance of the "atheistic state" to be testified to up to the last paragraph, and then in the last words to conclude what Kuharic concludes: that this unacknowledged state does not acknowledge the church as an equal partner in dialogue!

And the cardinal finally concludes, almost with joy: the church cannot enter into dialogue in Yugoslavia! To be sure, he admits that certain problems can be discussed, but according to him this cannot change the situation: "hatred toward the church," which according to him follows from the circumstance that "Marxism is the official ideology of a system" and as such is the "state religion."

Instead of any sort of further comment on these views, which give such pitiful evidence of themselves on their own, we will recall an observation made by one Vaticanologist. In writing this summer about the Catholic restoration (along the line of a rigid ecclesiology foreign to the 2d Vatican Council), which is now under way under the conductor's baton of the German-Polish prelates, he recalled a circumstance which was typical both of the restoration in the 19th century and the one at the beginning of our own century, and certainly will be

of this one as well (especially if it succeeds): that is, that the greatest harm caused by the restoration was to the church itself. Since a church that was rigid at all points and a proselytic Christianity gave rise to an anti-clericalist offensive which in turn quite often brought the church into a still less evangelical situation and still more difficult conditions for survival.

Adapted to our own current situation, we can repeat with the theologian already mentioned: "... these rigid political ideologues (the reference is to the sectarians, N. I.) are with their 'soul-saving' themselves offering the church as the possible framework for rallying various oppositionists." Certainly, it should be added, at times and in the most drastic cases this is true, but sole responsibility is not borne by the "rigid political ideologues," but also by the "rigid church ideologues" (consistent with the formula of every restoration).

After all, after this kind of report by Kuharic, one can reiterate endlessly that there are healthy forces in the church, that religion can also be a constructive factor in society, and that many people do not think like Kuharic, and so on. The gauntlet has been thrown down, apparently with the intention of its being taken up.

Is this "only" irresponsible preaching, or on the other hand "only" hatred of everything which is not religious? Or indeed some third thing?

7045

CSO: 2800/7

YUGOSLAVIA

'INFORMAL POWER CENTERS' IN LCY DISCUSSED

AU102054 [Editorial Report] Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian on 23, 24, and 25 September 1985, on page 5 under the rubric "Ideological-Political and Ethical Aspects of Differentiation in the LCY," carries a series of three articles by Dr Fuad Muhic entitled respectively "Informal Power as the Greatest Power," "Autonomy Is Not Sovereignty," and "Power Centers as Opposition." In these articles Dr Fuad Muhic discusses the formation and negative effects of "informal power centers" in the LCY and the need for their elimination.

In his first 1,550-word article, entitled "Informal Power as the Greatest Power" in 23 September BORBA, Muhic recalls the conclusions of the 13th session of the LCY Central Committee and the subsequent all-party discussion that set the "ideological, political, and ethical differentiation from the status quo forces at all levels as one of the main postulates" in the context of crisis in the LCY. "Therefore," Muhic says, "the discussion about this topic is necessitated by the very substance of events and not by any conflict at the party top, as has often been the case in the experience of other parties." The main question is what are the forces within its structure from which the LCY must differentiate itself, he says. This is a difficult question, he believes, because in the LCY there are no constituted or even informally structural rival groups, no split between any orthodox and liberal policies, and there has been no struggle for succession after Tito. These circumstances have favored the revolutionary continuity but, at the same time, they have been also used by those forces which, while swearing by that continuity and Tito's name, hastened to follow a practice that resulted in all kinds of crises and alienations. In this connection, Muhic concludes: "What must especially attract our attention are the rapid rise and growth of informal power centers at all levels of economic, political and cultural life." According to Muhic, these "informal power centers" are in fact the "groups formed within certain communities by individuals who are linked together by illegitimate interests but have enough power on the basis of their positions in the party, state, or self-managing forums to realize these interests."

Explaining the activities of these power centers, Muhic points out that publicly they act under the guise of protection of interests of the community in which they are active whereas privately, both as individuals and groups, they are well aware of their real status and use all available means,

including pressure on public opinion, information, members of delegate bodies, state organs, and scientific and cultural institutions, to perpetuate their status. "Therefore they can also be called 'pressure groups,'" Muhic adds. According to him, these "informal power centers" or "pressure groups" are formed "either within official forums among those of their members who have the greatest influence and use this influence to win the consensus or the necessary majority for their own decisions," or they are formed "bypassing the official forums through the creation of 'parallel structures' among holders of public offices," such as the party or state offices, who turn these structures into "effective power centers without which no important decisions can be made."

Muhic recalls that the question of these "informal power centers" has been raised at many recent meetings at all levels and concludes that the critical attitude toward them has developed simultaneously with the "realization that the illegitimacy of this practice is eroding the very foundations of the workers class' confidence in the LCY's ability to overcome the crisis trends." "It has been pointed out on many occasions that the main promoters of nationalism in the LCY are precisely these informal power centers, and that they promote republican and provincial statisms through alliances between national bureaucracies and technocracies and the corrupted sections of the workers' majority," Muhic says in conclusion of his first article.

In his second, 2,000-word article entitled "Autonomy Is Not Sovereignty" and carried by BORBA on 24 September, Muhic notes that the lack of readiness and the hesitation to clearly identify and subsequently eliminate these informal power centers have often given rise to "radical criticisms that simply identified the illegitimate power centers with the party and state system itself, that is, for instance, the promoters of republican and provincial statisms with the republican LC central committees and the LC provincial committees." These criticisms quickly turned into demands for reducing the autonomy of republican and provincial leagues of communists which were immediately supported by those who would like to replace democratic centralism in the LCY with a bureaucratic centralism. For this reason, Muhic points out, "the identification of the illegitimate power centers and the ideological, political, and ethical differentiation in relation to their activity represent one of the decisive questions in overcoming the crisis state of Yugoslav society. It must be resolutely stated that they cannot be identified with the LCY organization and its forums because otherwise the entire LCY could be considered illegitimate, as the 'radical left' wants to claim. But on the other hand it also cannot be claimed that these centers have been formed in a vacuum outside the LCY and its control. Nearest to the truth is the statement that until now the legitimacy of institutions and the illegitimacy of informal power centers in the LCY have been interwoven in a manner that has often escaped effective control and produced the effects that have favored a spreading of the crisis," Muhic says.

In this connection he further notes that the "public has been often irritated precisely by the ethical aspects" and "the moral hypocrisy" of various occasions when, for instance, social differences were discussed by some individuals who have enriched themselves through incredible abuses of their

official positions, when various chieftains of clans or promoters of nepotism spoke about the cadre policy and its democratic nature, or when former unitarianists or current protectors of statism at lower levels attacked nationalism.

Discussing further the negative effects of the activities of informal power centers, Muhic points out that the same crisis trends that lead to the disintegration and fragmentation of social entity also produce, as their correlate, strong informal power centers. And these "informal power centers," he says, "have undermined the LCY ideological and action unity wherever protectionism over partial interests had any kind of a chance to gain for itself some kind of legitimacy and, by using various forms of political and moral pressure, to convince those members of a forum who did not fall within its circle that what was involved in a particular case was a question of decisive importance on which the very existence of the community concerned depended." The informal power centers in fact "usurped the role of decisive influence" in their communities and, "inasmuch as they succeeded in also formally identifying themselves with the legitimacy of official forums, they contributed to the distortion of the very foundations of party life." But if they failed to achieve this, their activities gave rise to tendencies and "aspirations to transform the statutory provisions on the 'autonomy' of republican and provincial leagues of communists into the de facto existing practice of 'party sovereignty' and to turn 'autonomy' into 'autonomism' and the League of Communists of a republic or province into their 'national party' of the most numerous nationality of that republic or province," Muhic states. In their hypocritical behavior the informal power centers often joined public criticisms of various negative phenomena or occurrences under the force of circumstances and subsequently spared no efforts to effectively neutralize all consequences of such criticisms, Muhic concludes in his second article.

In his third, 1,400-word article, entitled "Power Centers as Opposition" and carried by BORBA on 25 September, Muhic points out that the informal power centers in the LCY are only the "'tip of the iceberg' floating on a much wider but invisible sociological substance" of those social forces that promote and support various negative phenomena, ranging from nationalism, statism, party federalism or unitarianism to destructive criticism or unconditional apologia of everything against which the LCY has struggled since the beginning of the eighties. However, "what is relevant for us," Muhic emphasizes, "is the fact that the informal power centers are active within the LCY framework, that they are externally covered by its legitimacy while they are completely illegitimate within the LCY, and that there are many arguments to support the thesis that they in fact represent an internal party opposition and a potential factor of counterrevolution, depending on the nature of the position from which they act. The differentiation of goals in relation to them has long since ceased to be a matter of periodic campaigns or of the belief that the settling of accounts with them can be completed by holding congresses, plenums, or other similar party meetings. What is obviously involved here is a long-term process that should be significantly articulated by the 1986 congress year."

Muhic goes on to stress the need to uncover and analyze the real historical situations and elements that make the activities of the forces of informal power centers possible. Failing to do this, he says, the ideological differentiation itself in the LCY will be of little help. "Little can be gained, for instance, from even a very precise definition of the contemporary forms of nationalism if we fail, at the same time, to see how the spreading of nationalist tendencies is favored by the party federalism, the hypostasis of national economies, the stretching of the concept of sovereignty beyond its constitutional framework, the cultural isolationism, and a number of other dissolvent factors," he explains.

Recalling again the all-party discussion in the second half of last year, Muhic says that "LCY members put special emphasis on personal and group differentiation. They emphasized that an entire stratum of people should be removed from the LCY, people who have consciously obstructed the policy of their own party from various unacceptable positions. According to LCY members, holding a position as a profession cannot be considered anyone's natural right nor should holding a position lead to nepotism and 'meritocracy,' that is, 'rule by the meritorious.' According to general opinion, without this kind of differentiation, the political differentiation, too, would miss its aim. Therefore, the cadre policy must be rid of mechanisms that favor a renovation of informal power centers."

Concluding his third and last article in the series, Fuad Muhic stresses: "Ideological, political, and ethical differentiation in the LCY will show that the causes of most of our ideological and action disagreements are more illusory than anything else, and that they emanate from the LCY's inadequate positions in relation to practice." And he adds: "Differentiation will open up the path to an integral establishment of the LCY's legitimacy and to the negation of all forms of disputing it."

CSO: 2800/21

YUGOSLAVIA

SOVIET GENERAL DESCRIBES VISIT TO YUGOSLAVIA

PM131748 [Editorial Report] Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 9 October 1985 Second Edition carries on page 3 a 2,500-word article by Lieutenant General V. Balakirev entitled "The Obelisk on the Banks of the Danube." The author headed a Soviet delegation visiting Yugoslavia at the end of September for the unveiling of an obelisk on the banks of the Danube near the city of Kladovo, where Soviet and Yugoslav forces first met in the fall of 1944. The author gives his impressions from the visit and extols Soviet and Yugoslav efforts in the antifascist struggle, briefly citing Gorbachev and Tito on the subject. He praises Yugoslav hospitality and concludes his article with the following passage:

"'This is the second time in my life that I have seen Yugoslavia,' Major General of Aviation M. Kapustin, a wartime fighter pilot and member of our delegation, said during one of the conversations. 'But 41 years ago I saw it from the air, wreathed in the smoke of conflagrations, lit up by the flashes of exploding bombs and shells. Now, visiting your hospitable country, I see it transformed, I see people building a new life, I feel the warmth of their friendly smiles. We will never forget at what price the right to this life was won. We will defend peace even more vigorously and raise our children and grandchildren as worthy continuers of the cause which we have begun.'

"Warm comradely talks were held with Lieutenant Colonel General M. Stefanovski during the reception of our delegation at the Federal Secretariat for National Defense, and at the Federal Council of National Liberation War Veterans' Associations of Yugoslavia with M. Svabic, president of its presidium. The need to further develop our cooperation in educating young people within the framework of veterans' organizations was discussed. The Yugoslav comrades noted that a good basis and reserves for this exist. We sincerely wished the Yugoslav comrades success in developing their country.

"Yugoslavia has traveled a long way during the years of people's power; it has changed from a backward agrarian country into an industrial-agrarian country. We were able to see this for ourselves again, visiting Yugoslav cities and villages and acquainting ourselves with the life of the working people. The beautiful blocks in the modern part of Belgrade, the well-appointed houses in the countryside, and the excellent roads deserve high praise.

"Our interlocutors spoke warmly about the Soviet Union, with which Yugoslavia maintains friendly relations, and about the fruitfulness of Soviet-Yugoslav economic cooperation. Wherever we went we felt the Yugoslav people's profound respect for the Soviet servicemen who fought for the liberation of Yugoslavia and the desire to strengthen and develop the friendship between our peoples and armies.

"Soviet people understand and share this desire. History convincingly testifies to the common destiny of the Soviet and Yugoslav peoples. Soviet people value their friendship with the fraternal peoples of the SFRY, they are confident that this friendship, which was born in the joint struggle against fascism and the comradeship in arms between the Soviet and Yugoslav servicemen, will continue to develop in the interests of the peoples of our countries and in the interests of peace and socialism."

CSO: 2800/21

YUGOSLAVIA

# SERBIAN SCIENCE COMMITTEE DISCUSSES CONTROVERSIAL BOOK

LD151859 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1628 GMT 14 Oct 85

[Excerpts] Belgrade, 14 Oct (TANJUG)--The publishing of Veselin Djuretic's book "Saveznici i Jugoslovenska Ratna Drama" [The Allies and Yugoslav War-time Drama] is an event which in its character, its anticommunist orientation, and negative political consequences has no precedent in the more recent history of science in the Socialist Republic of Serbia.

This assessment was made by Zarko Papic, president of the Republican Committee for Science, at today's meeting of the Executive Committee of the Assembly of the Community of Sciences of the Socialist Republic of Serbia. The meeting was convened to discuss the issue of personal and collective responsibility of the people in this community which cofinanced the publication of the book.

Dissociating himself from the suggestion that today's meeting should not be used as an opportunity to begin scientific criticism of the book--whose main objective is not historiographical research but rehabilitation of the Chetnik movement--Papic said that, if it sets any store by its scientific reputation, historical science in Serbia should ensure that a thorough, complete, and scientifically based criticism of the book is conducted soon.

However, neither Papic nor other participants in the discussion dwelt on the book's content itself but more on the circumstances which made it possible for the book to be published and the fact that the Republican Community of Sciences contributed 10 million dinars to the publication of the book.

It was also stated at the meeting that a considerable degree of personal and collective responsibility also lies with the Republican Community for Culture, particularly with its Committee for History which was the main factor in approving the financing of Djuretic's book on the request and application by the Institute of Balkanology of the Serbian Academy of Sciences which is the publisher.

Announcing that a special meeting of members of this committee will be held tomorrow, Slobodan Smiljanic, president of the Assembly of the Community of Sciences, indicated that some cadre changes within the committee are to be expected soon. However, he added, this will not be enough. Changes will have to be made in the way decisions are being made about the financing of

new works, and as an initial step, a compulsory additional revision of new works will be introduced.

For, it was said today, the community's working bodies which annually finance several hundred publications, have no other choice but to "believe" those who revise all these works. However, in the case of Djuretic's book, their trust has been abused by Savo Skovo and Zoran Lekic who revised the book.

CSO: 2800/21

YUGOSLAVIA

BRIEFS

TELEKERI BOOK BANNED--Novi Sad, Oct 17 (TANJUG)--The public prosecutor's office in Novi Sad has made a recommendation to a higher court in the same town to ban the book "Becej in the Maelstorm of History", published by the Roman Catholic Parish in Becej, a town in the north of the Yugoslav Province of Vojvodina. The provincial secretariat for justice says in a statement that the book by Bela Telekeri, which purports to present the history of the parish of Becej, sets forth untruth, offends the patriotic feelings of the nations and nationalities of Yugoslavia and falsifies the history of the national liberation struggle. For example, the book portrays the World-War-Two occupation of these parts by the Hungarian fascist army as their "liberation". These untrue descriptions, from the positions of Hungarian nationalism of certain events and persons and the history of Becej are aimed at sowing national and religious hatred among the nations and nationalities living in Becej and Vojvodina, the secretary says. [Text] [Belgrade TANJUG in English 1304 GMT 17 Oct 85 LD]

ULCINJ RESIGNATIONS--Ulcinj, 11 Oct (TANJUG)--The Ulcinj LC Municipal Committee today accepted the resignation of Milic Mijovic, secretary of the Ulcinj LC Municipal Committee Presidium. At the same time the committee instructed its delegation to the town's assembly to insist that the resignation tendered by the assembly's president, Fadil Taipovic, be upheld. In addition to these two leading officials the following are also expected to submit their resignations shortly: Ekrem Resulbegovic, president of the assembly's executive committee; Malic Capric and Dusan Ilincic, vice presidents of the assembly's executive committee, as well as a number of officials in the municipal service and administrative bodies. Aleksandar Jovicic was today elected new secretary of the Ulcinj LC Municipal Committee Presidium. The resignations come as a result of the appraisal of their work by the republic's top party bodies in which stress was laid on their inability and unwillingness to counter various deviations in the work of the local administrative bodies. They have also been criticized for opportunist conduct and for allowing Ulcinj to become notorious for innumerable cases of land usurpation, illegal house building, tax evasions, and so on. [Excerpt] [Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1752 GMT 11 Oct 85 LD]

PRIZREN HISTORY TEACHER SENTENCED--The five-man bench of the Prizren District Court has sentenced Hamza Aslani (59), history teacher from Prizren, to 2 years in prison for hostile propaganda. In a written demand for the

6 November 1985

protection of legality sent to the Kosovo Constitutional Court, he presented the sociopolitical situation in our country in a malicious and false way. [By I. K.] [Text] [Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 3 Oct 85 p 10 AU]

ENVOY TO BOTSWANA, ZAMBIA--Belgrade, 16 Oct (TANJUG)--By a decree of the SFRY Presidency, Jelko Zagar, until now adviser for foreign-political issues in the SFRY Assembly, has been appointed ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to the Republic of Zambia and the Republic of Botswana. [Text] [Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1845 GMT 16 Oct 85 LD]

NEW KOSOVO OFFICIALS--Pristina, 14 Oct (TANJUG)--The following newly elected members of the Kosovo Provincial Executive Council were sworn in today before Abaz Kazazi, president of the Assembly of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo: Ismet Krasnici, new provincial secretary for national defense; and Seljadin Skeja, director of the Provincial Administration for Prices. [Text] [Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1906 GMT 14 Oct 85 LD]

CSO: 2800/21

END