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East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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15 April 1985

EAST EUROPE REPORT
POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

CONTENTS

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

Bulgaria Honors 'Stalinist' SFRY Emigre (TANJUG, 15 Mar 85)	1
--	---

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

PRAVDA Editor in Chief Satirizes Wheeler-Dealers (Bohus Travnicek; PRAVDA, 2 Feb 85)	2
---	---

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

Emigrant Jurist Views 'Respecting Citizenship' Demand (Wolfgang Seiffert; RHEINISCHER MERKUR/CHRIST UND WELT, 9 Feb 85)	5
---	---

Briefs Egalitarian Treatment Hinders Scholars	9
--	---

HUNGARY

Yalta Conference Recalled (TARSADALMI SZEMLE, Jan 85)	10
--	----

'Letter' Attacks Writer, Critic (Various sources, various dates)	24
---	----

Csurka, Berkes Attacked, by Elek Buzgo	24
Csurka's Work, Contributions Praised, by Erzsebet Berkes	28
Answer to Berkes Review, by Gabor Gorgey	32

Party Secretary's Confidence About Re-election Questioned (Istvan Koncz; NEPSZABADSAG, 23 Feb 85)	35
--	----

POLAND

Defense Ministry Daily Hits 'Team Spirit' Maneuvers (ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI, 21 Mar 85)	37
---	----

Party Report-Back Conferences Continue (TRYBUNA LUDU, 22 Mar 85)	40
PZPR's Bednarski on Tasks for Intelligentsia (PAP, 26 Mar 85)	42
Retirement of TU I TERAZ Chief Editor Noted (TU I TERAZ, 27 Feb 85)	43
Praise From Editorial Board Columnist Commentary	
Exercise of Military Authority on Various Levels Examined (Czeslaw Brylski; PRZEGLAD WOJSK LOTNICZYCH I WOJSK OBRONY POWIETRZNEJ KRAJU, No 11, Nov 84)	48
General Staff Officer on Art of War Under Present Conditions (Kazimierz Nozko Interview; ZOLNIERZ POLSKI, No 3, 20 Jan 85)	55
Rakowski Speaks at Artists' Meeting (RZECZPOSPOLITA, 7 Mar 85)	59
Bar Council Decisions 'Step Toward Breaking Deadlock' (Warsaw Domestic Service, 18 Mar 85)	60
Legal Procedures Raised During Torun Trial Explained (POLITYKA, No 6, 9 Feb 85)	61
Controversy Over 'Liberation Theology' Heats Up (Various sources, various dates)	64
Support for Vatican Policy	64
Church Accused of Hypocrisy	65
Pax Organ Submits Own List of Religious Publications (SLOWO POWSZECHNE, 15-17 Feb 85)	68
Briefs	
All-Out Reform Plan Urged	79
Kalkus, Orzechowski Attend Conference	79
Bednarski at Report-Back Session	79
Olszowski at Gdansk Conference	79
Politburo Members at LODZ Meeting	80
Mokrzyszczak, Others at Kielce Meeting	80
Katowice Report-Back Session	80
Barcikowski, Kalkus in Poznan	80
PZPR Delegation in Greece	81
Increasing Court Appeals	81
Supreme Court Upholds Appeals	81
Illegal Association Indictments	81
Polish-Hungarian Cooperation	81

Greek Delegation	82
Bejger Visits Gdansk	82
Rakowski Meets Authors	82
New Australian Ambassador	82
Tarnow Deputy voivoda Recalled	82
Olszowski in Wloclawek	82
Iraqi Delegation	82
Kalkus Visits Poznan	83
Czechowicz in Lodz	83
Michalek Attends Ciechanow Conference	83

YUGOSLAVIA

Serbia, Provinces Disagree on New Draft Law (D. Ivanovic, D. Bujosevic; POLITIKA, 1 Mar 85)	84
Grlickov Addresses Roundtable on Liberation Movements (TANJUG Domestic Service, 21 Mar 85)	86
TANJUG Condemns Bulgarian Denial of Ethnic Minorities (TANJUG Domestic Service, 17 Mar 85)	88
Subnor Activists Protest National Struggle Memorial (TANJUG Domestic Service, 19 Mar 85)	91
Dalmatian Subnor Condemns Nationalist 'Excesses' (TANJUG Domestic Service, 20 Mar 85)	93
Serbian Commissions Discuss Nationalism Among Youth (TANJUG Domestic Service, 15 Mar 85)	95
Struga Takes Steps Against 'Deviationist Phenomena' (TANJUG Domestic Service, 21 Mar 85)	97
Official Criticizes Belgrade Monthly Article (R. Kljajic; POLITIKA, 13 Mar 85)	98
Poor LC Status at Zagreb University (Dean Ajdukovic Interview; DANAS, 5 Mar 85)	100
New Law on Service in Armed Forces Discussed (Mijo Vlasic; BORBA, 2-3 Mar 85)	103

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

BULGARIA HONORS 'STALINIST' SFYR EMIGRE

LD151525 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1336 GMT 15 Mar 85

[Text] Zagreb, 15 Mar (TANJUG)--Sofia has made another move in its anti-Yugoslav and anti-Macedonian campaign by proclaiming proven Stalinist and Cominform emigre from Yugoslavia Venko Markovski a "Hero of the People's Republic of Bulgaria," the Yugoslav daily VJESNIK writes today.

The daily recalls that Markovski became an obedient pawn in the hands of the Bulgarian propaganda machinery when he emigrated to Sofia twenty years ago. Prior to this, Markovski had in Yugoslavia served a prison term for enemy activity during the Cominform period, when the country was forced to defend its hard-won independence.

VJESNIK underlines that, since that time, pamphlets by Markovski have been succeeding one another in the windows of bookshops in Sofia, negating the achievement of Josip Broz Tito and the contribution of the Macedonian and other Yugoslav peoples to the development of new Yugoslavia.

The Bulgarian State and Party award numerous decorations and recognitions to the author of slanderous tirades against socialist and self-management Yugoslavia and of gross anti-Macedonian attacks which interfere with the improvement of Bulgarian-Yugoslav relations, the Yugoslav daily stresses.

Bulgaria offers such attacks on Yugoslavia to the world as well. Thus, a pamphlet by Markovski has appeared in the United States, with a preface written by Mate Mestrovic, president of a fascist-Ustasha anti-Yugoslav emigre organization, the Croatian People's Council, and Yugoslav daily stresses. This evidently did not stop Bulgaria from underlining, in its official citation, that Markovski has been proclaimed a "Hero of the People's Republic of Bulgaria" because of his "active participation in the struggle against fascism and capitalism," among other things.

Collaboration between Markovic [as received] and Mestrovic is not accidental, as Sofia has hosted a number of their meetings during which the Ustasha emigre was accorded the highest Bulgarian official honours, the Yugoslav daily VJESNIK notes.

CSO: 2020/95

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

PRAVDA EDITOR IN CHIEF SATIRIZES WHEELER-DEALERS

Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 2 Feb 85 p 1

[Article by Bohus Travnicek, editor in chief of PRAVDA: "Let Us Not Cast Stones--Let Us Be Fair"]

[Text] I am likely a papalas [wheeler-dealer]. Some call me that--of course, behind my back, others refer to me that way in letters--and, naturally, "forget to sign their names."

"Wheeler-dealer" ... I don't know how, when or where this word has its origin. It does not appear in any dictionary of the Slovak language and I, therefore, do not dare to judge whether it enriches our mother tongue. It clearly has a pejorative meaning, a shameful or derogatory connotation, perhaps a more or less true appellation, although it may be a dishonorable one and therefore some people like to use it in describing others.

Who, then, in the imagination of the unsocial community might be a "wheeler-dealer"?

A person who, by social station, could be sometimes higher--or as these hurrah justices tend to rave--a person who is sitting in a warm place. In other words, one or another kind of official, a leading or controlling worker, who has a few subordinates, who has power and has the word, one who can do everything and manage everything and nothing will put him down. He is not subject to the same sort of rules as the ordinary mortal, nobody can get the better of him, everything he touches succeeds, he has not yet committed the "mortal sin" but it has already been forgiven him. Or ... or he is a "wheeler-dealer." That is what some say; others add something: he can be recognized by the fact that he drives around in a Model 613 automobile, lives generally in a state-provided or private villa, has everything he or his family may think of, doors are open to him everywhere, he manages to arrange everything easily with one hand, etc.

I do not claim that this diagnosis is accurate or even all-encompassing, or that it characterizes and captures all givens as a result of which this individual is characterized a "wheeler-dealer." However, he clearly lives and exists, moves and functions in this kind of framework as a person who has earned, rightfully or wrongfully, such an appellation.

Yes, you read correctly. I said: rightfully or wrongfully. And even if rightfully, then I am admitting, I confess that there are living among us individuals who are able to and are not embarrassed to utilize or abuse their functions, their positions, who know how to turn things to their own advantage, who unlawfully profit from their "authority" and they don't give a tinker's damn that they are trading on their authority and are frivolously turning it into small change and selling it for a plugged nickel. Why does not even the Proclamation of the Chairmanship of the CPCZ Central Committee, which criticizes and condemns everything and everyone who violates socialist legality, morality, and discipline, speak of these people? Without regard to who it is, which function they occupy, and on which bench they may be sitting.

I do not defend here, nor will I ever defend anyone who harms the party, the working class, society, socialism. However, I do defend, I will always defend and will fight to the death for every honest person--be he a laborer or an official, a member of a cooperative or a leading worker at any level position. I cannot, therefore, agree with the generalized braying, the distorted generalizations, which cast all those who hold more or less important functions into the same basket, because by far not most of them are "a socialist aristocracy" which looks from above down upon the workingman, as was written to me recently by an anonymous correspondent.

How did I understand him: "What else could one expect from you; you are one of them, you have taken on the fur and the feathers and look like them; and you sing the song of those whose bread you eat. He who thinks wrong, let him think again.... There were, are, and will always be Doubting Thomases whom you will not convince because they know what they know. They either see well or their vision is clouded by mistrust, envy, disrespect for others, that they will not admit and, consequently, they are not even capable of correcting their distorting incorrect view. I am not concerned about them; as the saying goes, not even 'holy water' will help them."

I remembered the Model 613 automobile.... How this automobile can make some people's eyes bulge. I will say honestly and humanly: sometimes I felt uneasy in my heart when I stepped out of it and I had to overlook a few pinching and unkind cutting remarks which unknown passers-by spat into my face. Perhaps they included a cobeliever or brother of the "most fair of the fair," who convinced me that we would have socialism in this country even if the whole nation were to ride around in Model 613 automobiles.

Or let us take another, more sensitive matter: our salaries--or more precisely, differentiated pay.

There are among us individuals who confuse concepts and ideas and as "advocates of the poor" who confuse social equality with egalitarianism. They do not admit that their theory of equal stomachs is, essentially, incorrect, unfair, antisocialistic. They do not agree with the single correct principle of deservedness, with rewards according to quantity, quality and social significance of the work performed.

Granted, we are far from effecting the principle of deservedness in practice strictly and accurately. We tend to make speeches about it, to convince those who are already convinced of it, but we hesitatingly and intolerably slowly bring it to realization. However, that is quite another chapter. And even if the quantity, quality and social significance of work in relationship to remuneration counts in terms of the dialectical unity, I am concerned more with the latter. Because in the opinion of many, it is precisely the "wheeler-dealer" who is characterized by the fact that he has a "royal" salary and can, therefore, afford and live "in a big way." He does not even have to calculate or figure. He can afford everything, he need not deny himself anything, in fact, the only thing he lacks might be a "wristwatch complete with water fountain."

Is it really so? Is it true that pay regulations and pay steps do not apply to ministers, general directors and several other types of people? Or is it as it used to be in Janosik's time [Slovak folk hero somewhat equivalent to Robin Hood], when cloth was measured from one beech tree to another? Do not protest--I know: you know of cases when not everything was (or is) not in "pristine order" in this direction. Even I know of cases where one or another individual attained an undeserved reward. He disappointed, he justified the unjustifiable, he twisted the facts, he "camouflaged." Unfortunately--he succeeded. But does everyone do that--do they all? Let us not accuse, let us not commit an injustice.

When I think about things, when I examine the problem from the right or from the left I come to the conclusion that there is no "wheeler-dealer" like a "wheeler-dealer." I cannot identify with a view that everyone who works at a responsible, socially significant position is touched by the "original sin" of acquisitiveness, greediness and hoarding, abuse of their position, making capital out of their advantages, etc. I protest against such generalizing concepts and unjustified contentions.

And if an unworthy person, who harms our society, who abuses the accomplishments of socialism, does occur, I will always favor that he be rapped over the knuckles. Hard and mercilessly, strictly and fairly. Regardless of the position or post he may occupy.

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CSO: 2400/329

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

EMIGRANT JURIST VIEWS 'RESPECTING CITIZENSHIP' DEMAND

Bonn RHEINISCHER MERKUR/CHRIST UND WELT in German 9 Feb 85 p 6

[Article by Prof Wolfgang Seiffert, research associate at Christian-Albrechts-University in Kiel, formerly professor at the GDR Academy for Political and Legal Science: "Is a German Simply Someone Who Wants To Be One?". For text of the 30 Jan 85 article in NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, see FBIS DAILY REPORT: EASTERN EUROPE (FBIS-EEU-85-029) 12 Feb 85 pp E5-E10. For text of the 19 Sep 84 NEUES DEUTSCHLAND article see JPRS EAST EUROPE REPORT (JPRS-EPS-84-128) 18 Oct 84 pp 32-35.]

[Text] By way of a recent article in the central SED organ NEUES DEUTSCHLAND [30 Jan 85 p 5], the GDR has made it clear how it interprets the term of "respecting" GDR citizenship--a term which of late has also been frequently employed by East Berlin. It amounts no more and no less than a fundamental revision of the previous bases of relations between the two German states, including the Basic Treaty of 1972. At the same time the GDR uncompromisingly demands abandonment of a key element of the Federal Republic's self-perception--the Basic Treaty articles concerning German citizenship.

Such a challenge and presumption by one state vis-a-vis another with which it has contractually settled the bases of bilateral relations--for the duration of their parallel existence--is unprecedented in the practice of states. It is therefore not surprising that the article in NEUES DEUTSCHLAND signed "AZ" makes little effort to justify its arrogant demands juristically. And it is striking that it contradicts outright the opinions voiced on the problem of citizenship at the same place on 19 September 1984 by Professor Wiechelt, chairman of the Constitution and Law Committee of the GDR People's Chamber.

Wiechelt had stated that there could be neither a formal recognition nor an independent respecting of citizenship, adding: "We do not make it a prerequisite of bilateral... relations that others change their internal laws." Wiechelt wrote further that it was merely a question of "respecting" GDR citizenship in relations between the Federal Republic and the GDR; there could be neither any negotiations nor any treaties concerning this.

Does Honecker Consider His Sister in the Saar a Foreigner?

Now, by demanding a "change or abolition" of Article 116 of the Basic Law, the GDR is again moving away from this position, which contains a number of positive elements. The "meaning" of this interference by the GDR in the internal affairs of the Federal Republic, which runs counter to prevailing international law, is fairly clear: by this detour the Federal Republic is to be made to recognize the GDR in terms of international law, with the result that it would be a foreign country for us and for the Germans living there, with all the consequences that such a status entails.

How absurd this is--apart from any legal considerations--for purely humane reasons becomes evident if one recalls that 50 percent of the GDR population and more than 25 percent of FRG citizens are related to one another. The son of a woman living in Leipzig will not want her to be treated as a foreigner when she visits him in Cologne, any more than Erich Honecker will consider his sister living in Saarland to be a foreigner because she is not a GDR citizen.

One may, however, take it for granted that the GDR does not dream of the Federal Republic somehow perhaps meeting its presumptuous demands. Nevertheless it is neither idle nor exclusively of semantic significance if one addresses the question of the actual legal quality of the relations of the two German states which have been settled by the Basic Treaty and examines what this entails as far as citizenship is concerned.

The Federal Republic of Germany gave a de facto recognition (of a special kind) to the GDR as a second state in Germany. From this follows a respecting of the independence and autonomy of the GDR in its internal and external affairs. This was concretized through the Basic Treaty and takes into consideration the fact that both states are part of a combined Germany to which the rights of reservation of the Allies continue to relate even after the Basic Treaty came into force and after both German states were admitted to the United Nations. It follows from this that the single (combined) German citizenship has remained unaffected by the de facto recognition of the GDR.

In light of this, the total of the legal bases of inner-German relations makes possible a number of detailed conclusions bearing on the heeding of the citizenship provisions of the GDR, to wit:

--Fundamentally, "respecting" is less than "recognition." Otherwise the dispute concerning the applicability of the two terms would be one concerning mere trivia. Recognition in terms of international law requires above all legal (in other words, not just de facto) acceptance of the recognized state and its legal system. Respecting, on the other hand, means de facto acceptance of the other state and heeding of its legal system.

Bonn Has Welfare Duties Toward Citizens From the GDR

This does not mean, however, that in such a relationship a state must accept the actions of the other state or its laws as they affect its own internal and external affairs. This difference in many cases may be small in practice or even insignificant. In inner-German relations it is shown precisely in the field of citizenship that it can be of enormous significance. For this "small difference" results in all Germans (in the meaning of Article 116 of the Basic Law) continuing to be German citizens, even if they are GDR citizens in accordance with GDR legislation. And this means that the Federal Republic of Germany continues to be able to exercise lawfully its duty to protect and see to the welfare of Germans from the GDR.

--"Respecting" the "citizenship" of the GDR within these limits means as far as the Federal Republic of Germany, its organs and courts are concerned:

(1) Whoever is a GDR "citizen" according to GDR legislation is also subject to GDR sovereignty in GDR sovereign territory in this capacity.

(2) Otherwise, however, it is left up to the individual freedom of decision of the GDR "citizen" concerned whether he relies exclusively on that "citizenship" and also adheres to it during a stay in the territory where the Basic Law prevails or the area under the protection of the Federal Republic of Germany. The legal consequences of such an individual decision consist in this GDR citizen being exempt from the "unrestricted" duty to pay taxes, military service and active and passive entitlement to vote in the territory to which the Basic Law applies.

--Whoever is a German citizen in the meaning of the continually valid citizenship law remains a German citizen even if he proclaims to be only a GDR citizen. The mentioned legal consequences of an individual proclaiming to be exclusively a German "citizen" do not result in this GDR citizen losing German citizenship. Owing to a lack of any authority of its own, neither German state can do anything about this, because abolition of German citizenship comes under the rights reserved to the Allies.

The practical consequences of this legal situation are quite clear and simple as far as the Federal Republic is concerned, and the relevant conclusions have in fact been drawn long since. The cases in which, according to the GDR, the duty to respect GDR "citizenship" has been violated constitute at best an infrequent erroneous action of subordinate offices. But even there such occurrences demonstrate that the Federal Republic of Germany respects GDR "citizenship": in none of the cases cited by the GDR (participation in call-up or request to do so, enlistment, tax declaration etc) was the person concerned warned again to take the requisite action once he had pointed out that he was a GDR "citizen" and wanted only to be treated as such.

--There is no such thing as one-sided respecting, for example, of GDR "citizenship" by the Federal Republic, but only mutual respecting of the citizenship provision of both states. What is good for the goose is sauce for the gander. In other words, if the GDR assumes that "citizenship" is regulated by every state itself in a sovereign manner and consequently must be respected accordingly by any other state, this must also apply to the citizenship provisions of the Federal Republic. This comprises not only the authority to make such provisions but incorporation of citizenship provisions in the scheme of the Basic Law and its applicability to all of Germany.

--For these reasons, the respecting of citizenship cannot be the subject either of unilateral declarations of talks or negotiations, let alone treaties.

Since the GDR leadership is well aware of this, the question remains what the political reasons are for it suddenly now ignoring everything. The reply is obvious. Following Moscow's dampening of Honecker's wishes to visit the Federal Republic, the SED leadership at first attempted to forgo media-effective accents in inner-German relations but to adhere to the substance of its political scheme vis-a-vis Bonn. Now, as part of the increased Moscow "revanchism" campaign, it apparently feels it must make "its" contributions. In the process, the almost weekly urging by Inner-German Minister Heinrich Windelen that the GDR should at long last say what it meant by "respecting" GDR citizenship may have made its own contribution.

SED Tribute to Moscow's Revanchism Campaign

Let us recall, however, that the strongest pressure in the matter of citizenship came from Moscow. Besminskiy's 27 July 1984 PRAVDA article of ill repute stated that an example of the "revanchist" phenomena in the Federal Republic was the stubborn refusal "to recognize such an obvious attribute of a state's sovereignty as GDR citizenship. In the publication of the article in NEUES DEUTSCHLAND the following day, the GDR translated the term "recognition" (Russian: priznaniye) with "respecting" despite the fact that the Russian term for that (soblyudeniye) does not occur anywhere in the original. The purpose of Moscow's affront was beyond doubt: the demands once raised by Honecker in Gera are to be used as an instrument for preventing intensive relations between the GDR and Bonn. But since it cannot be in the interest of the GDR not to change this, the latest attack by NEUES DEUTSCHLAND can probably be classified as propaganda.

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GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

BRIEFS

EGALITARIAN TREATMENT HINDERS SCHOLARS--According to studies by the East Berlin Central Institute for University Education, a start has been made toward meeting the demand raised for some years in the GDR for stronger support of top-notch scholars. The "first steps have been taken" to realize this task in practice. Measured against the problem's social significance, however, even greater efforts are needed to achieve the needed progress in this area. The institute objected to the widely held view that only the capable person is successful. The currently existing "gap" between the support of talented people during their time in school and the logical continuation of it for young scholars is linked to such ways of thinking. When support is provided, a conscious distinction must be drawn between the large majority of young scholars and the--relatively and absolutely--small group of top-notch people. That is precisely the point "at which we frequently shrink back in practice when advancing talented people." The greatest obstacle is "egalitarianism." The institute called for setting a course toward concentrating gifted young scholars in selected disciplines from all over the GDR around first rank scholars. That would amount to forming highly effective top quality collectives which would be cadre training grounds as well as places where front line academic problems would be dealt with. The studies asserted that the formation of such collectives demands a high degree of thought about society as a whole; egotism and provincialism are incompatible with [such thought]. [Text] [West Berlin IWE TAGESDIENST in German No 14, 26 Jan 85 pp 2-3]

CSO: 2300/349

HUNGARY

YALTA CONFERENCE RECALLED

Budapest TARSADALMI SZEMLE in Hungarian Jan 85 pp 20-30

[Article by State Secretary in Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Janos Nagy:
"The Yalta Conference After Forty Years"]

[Text] It appears that not only books but also international documents have their own fate. Four decades have passed since the last months of the Second World War. From the beginning of 1945 the leading powers of the anti-Fascist coalition, aware and certain of approaching victory--with the coordination of crushing blows at Hitlerite Germany--increasingly concentrated their attention on working out the international arrangements following the cessation of fighting.

Among the international conferences on this matter, an outstanding place is occupied by the Crimea (Yalta) Conference. It was here that the first comprehensive agreements were born regarding the arrangements in post-war Europe. The 7-day meeting at the Black Sea resort was the most extensive series of discussions held by the supreme leaders of the allied powers; it represented the peak of political collaboration among the Soviet Union, the United States and Great Britain.

The agreements approved at the Crimea Conference came under heavy cross fire almost from the very first days. Ill-intentioned polemics and charges regarding the actual value and interpretation of the Yalta documents continue to our day. This is all the more noteworthy because the literature on Yalta could already fill libraries, and we are familiar with every phase of the Conference. Also, it is beyond doubt that the documents signed by the "Big Three" in Crimea--coinciding with the jointly announced intentions at that time--significantly contributed to the creation of the conditions of peaceful, post-war cooperation.

The participants at the Yalta meeting conferred in an international situation that was qualitatively new. The European war reached its concluding phase by early 1945. Increasingly greater masses joined the struggle led by the Allies, and in the countries liberated from Fascist oppression new political forces made their voice heard, and the altered international power relations were making their effect felt. It also became possible and necessary that the victorious powers should agree on the main principles of the post-war arrangement, and make an attempt to create a permanent basis for a new and peaceful era.

The millions who suffered from fear and privation, the soldiers who were suffering the hell of war still hardly felt that peace was close enough to be tangible. The most extensive and destructive war in the history of mankind was still being waged on the European fronts and in the Far East.

At the time of the meeting it was already obvious to everyone that among the Allies the Soviet Union had borne the major brunt of the war. More than 20 million Soviet men had fallen victim to the fighting and cruelty of the Fascists; 1,700 cities and 70,000 villages were destroyed on Soviet territory. As many eyewitnesses described it, Roosevelt, as he arrived in Crimea, found it hard not to be struck by the immense war destruction that the Soviet Union had suffered and by the sight of the ruins that still had not been removed. This was the first time that he met eye to eye with the terrible damages caused by the war. It is well known that the Red Army had played a decisive role in the crushing of Fascist Germany. From June 1941 to the deployment of the second European front, the enemy poured in 15 to 20 times more troops against the Soviet Union than on all the other fronts combined in the World War. Even after the deployment of the second front, three-fifths of the Hitlerite forces were wiped out in vain attempts to stop the Soviet advance. The Fascist German troops suffered more than 73 percent of their total losses from the Soviet Army. Seven million Soviet soldiers took part in the liberation of a series of European countries. As Roosevelt said: "One cannot ignore the striking fact that the Soviet troops destroyed more enemy soldiers and military equipment than the other United Nations combined."

At the time of the Yalta Conference the Nazi resistance had withdrawn essentially to the territory of Germany. The offensive started by the Soviet troops on 12 January was advancing strongly. By virtue of the attack on the whole front extending from the Baltic Sea to the Balkans, Poland was liberated. The Soviet bridgehead established on the west bank of the Oder was 60 kilometers from Berlin. After Romania, Bulgaria and Albania, significant parts of Yugoslavia, Hungary and Slovakia were liberated. The Soviet soldiers liquidated the last centers of resistance in Budapest.

The advance of the Anglo-Saxons along the Rhine was stalled in December 1944. After overcoming the strong German counterattack in the Ardennes, Eisenhower and Montgomery started significant attack operations on 8 February. The situation was different in the Far East. Although Japan's economy was gasping its last breath, a quick collapse of the island country's military leadership still could not be counted on. The strong Japanese occupying army in Manchuria was still virtually untouched. The first atomic bomb was being prepared in the United States.

Late in the afternoon on 4 February the representatives of the Soviet Union and the two Anglo-Saxon powers began their talks in the Livadia Palace in the environs of Yalta. Contacts among Stalin, Roosevelt and Churchill had been relatively frequent. Several months earlier the British prime minister visited Moscow, and at the end of 1943 a joint

meeting of the leaders of the three allied powers was held in Tehran. At that time the important decisions were made on coordinating the military actions of the three countries and on opening a second front in Europe.

The Crimea (Yalta) Conference was the longest of similar conferences held during World War II. Stalin, Roosevelt and Churchill held a total of eight official talks, the foreign ministers conferred on six occasions, and the military leaders also conferred on a number of occasions. Three "unofficial" Stalin-Roosevelt talks took place. The meeting was held without prior agenda, and--reflecting the level of warm relations among the participants--protocol formalities were also largely dispensed with. All three felt free to raise any question that could be of interest, but most of the problems had already been discussed at prior talks.

The Conference approved three documents: the Declaration published on 11 February, the Protocol of the Proceedings, and the secret Agreement regarding Japan. (The last two documents were not published until later).

The participants were united on the most timely question, the complete military crushing of Hitlerite Germany. To this end, they agreed closely to coordinate military operations. But no agreement was made on the division of Germany. The Declaration stated that the representatives of the three Big Powers agreed that the armed forces of the Soviet Union, Great Britain and the United States would occupy separate zones in Germany and that a coordinated administration and control would be established through a central Control Commission consisting of the Supreme Commanders of the Three Powers in Berlin. The three powers requested France to take over the occupation of a fourth zone that was to be delineated. It was according to the Declaration an inflexible purpose to destroy German militarism and Nazism, and "to ensure that Germany will never again be able to disturb the peace of the world. We are determined to disarm and disband all German armed forces, demilitarize Germany, dismantle the German war industry, punish all war criminals." The Three Powers emphasized that Germany was bound to pay reparations for damages caused to the allied countries to the fullest extent. According to the Protocol of the Proceedings reparations had to be paid first of all to those nations which bore the main burden of the war, suffered the greatest losses, and organized the defeat of the enemy. The Conference decided that a United Nations Conference should be summoned for 25 April 1945.

Point V of the Declaration on Liberated Europe was one of the most important and later one of the most controversial of the Yalta Conference: It read: "They jointly declare their mutual agreement to concert during the temporary period of instability in liberated Europe the policies of their three governments in assisting the peoples liberated from the domination of Nazi Germany and the peoples of the former Axis satellite states of Europe to solve by democratic means their pressing political and economic problems. The establishment of order in Europe and the

rebuilding of national economic life must be achieved by processes which will enable the liberated peoples to destroy the last vestiges of Nazism and Fascism and to create democratic institutions of their own choice."

The Conference devoted a particularly great amount of time to the Polish question. Significant differences of view surfaced in respect to the nature, composition and political orientation of the government of new Poland. There was also much discussion of the question concerning the country's future borders.

By this time the provisional government established by the people's democratic forces was exercising power in Poland. The Soviet Union recognized this government which was originally formed in Lublin, and entered into diplomatic relations with it on 4 January 1945. In the latter part of January the provisional government transferred its capital to liberated Warsaw. At the same time the bourgeois emigre government was operating in London from where it conducted a strongly anti-Soviet policy and counted on the support of the Anglo-Saxon powers.

In sharp discussions conducted primarily with Churchill, Stalin emphasize that the Polish question directly affected the security of the Soviet Union. "The Soviet Union," he said, "is interested in establishing a strong, free and independent Poland." Although Churchill and Roosevelt quickly saw that in the given situation it was unrealistic to expect to bring the emigre government in London to power, a compromise formula could be found only with difficulty and after the issue had been on the agenda a number of times: "The provisional government which is now functioning in Poland must be reorganized on a broader democratic basis with the participation of democratic leaders from both Poland itself and from Poles abroad. This new government--that is, the Provisional Government of National Unity--will be recognized by the United Kingdom and the United States." (The latter subsequently took place.) In respect to the boundaries, the Soviet Union proceeded from the position that Poland would have to give up areas inhabited in the majority by Ukrainians, Byelorussians and Lithuanians which had come under Polish authority in 1921 in the meaning of the 1921 Riga Peace Treaty, but at the same time Poland would receive significant territories in the west. The Soviet Union proposed that Poland's eastern boundaries should be drawn along the so-called Curzon Line. (This line which corresponds essentially with the ethnographic boundary was proposed in 1919 as Poland's eastern boundary, in the name of the Entente, by Curzon, the British foreign minister. It was prevented, however, by the Polish attack on the young Soviet power and later by the Riga Peace Treaty). The Anglo-Saxon powers accepted the proposal relatively readily, for it simply returned them to their 1919 position. It was much more difficult to arrive at an agreement on the question of the Western boundary. The Declaration states that "Poland must receive substantial accessions of territory in the north and west." (The issue of the Polish-German border was finally settled considerably later between the GDR and Poland in the treaty of 1950 and in the spirit of Yalta and Potsdam).

By early 1945 the Soviet and Yugoslav troops had liberated most of Yugoslavia. The Yugoslav National Liberation Committee headed by Marshal Tito had decided in 1943 on reorganizing the country on a federation basis. In November 1944 Tito agreed with Subasitch, the head of the royal emigre government in London, to form a unified Yugoslav national government. The Yalta Conference declared its support for the Tito-Subasitch agreement and took a position in support of creating a provisional government and Parliament.

As the Declaration emphasized, the representatives of the Three Powers decided that their foreign ministers would hold regular consultations among the foreign ministers of their country probably every three or four months. "Our meeting here in the Crimea has reaffirmed our common determination to maintain and strengthen in the peace to come that unity of purpose and action which has made victory possible and certain for the United Nations in this war. We believe that this is a sacred obligation which our Governments owe to our peoples and to all the peoples of the world."

At the Crimea Conference they signed an agreement on the terms for entry of the Soviet Union into the war against Japan. According to it, the consequences of the Japanese aggression against Russia would have to be rendered null and void, the Far East borders of the Soviet Union would have to be secured and therefore the southern part of Sakhalin would have to be returned by Japan, and the Kurile Islands would have to be handed over to the Soviet Union. The Soviet Union committed itself to enter the war against Japan on the side of the Allies within three months following the termination of the war in Europe, and "with its armed forces render assistance to China for the purpose of liberating China from the Japanese yoke." As we know, the Soviet Union kept its word. This agreement--otherwise the only such "Yalta Agreement"--remained secret for a year and was made public on 11 February 1946.

It is said that diplomacy can find the opportunity to speak only where there are certain common goals and common interests. It can also be added that these goals and interests must be recognized and accepted by all the interested parties. It is only in this way that one can have hope in an agreement. Edward R. Stettinius, the American secretary of state who participated in the Conference, several days later on the other half of the globe in Rio de Janeiro said to Brazil's President Vargas: "President Roosevelt had found a high degree of cooperation on the part of Stalin." And when Vargas asked if "Stalin was a very tough man to work with," Stettinius replied "Yes, he was very tough but also very realistic."

On 1 March, President Roosevelt formulated it in this way in Congress: "I believe that at the Crimea Conference the three leading nations made a successful effort to find common ground to peace...I believe that the Crimea Conference was a turning point in our history and in the history of the world." Churchill expressed a similar view to the British Parliament.

The press in the allied countries, public opinion and the masses greeted the Yalta agreements as an event that justified hope. The commentaries attributed particularly great importance to the declaration concerning postwar cooperation and the establishment of a permanent peace. The atmosphere in these days was well reflected in the words of Harry Hopkins, the special adviser to the American president: "We believe from the bottom of our hearts that it was the dawning of a new day for which we had prayed so much, about which we had talked for so many years."

Soon both Roosevelt and Hopkins departed the ranks of the living. As witnessed by the results of the Potsdam Conference, the cooperation between the members of the victorious coalition survived for a while, but in the camp of the Western allies the effort gained ground which was directed at breaking down the cooperation with the Soviet Union. But what does the Yalta Declaration state?--"Only with the cooperation of the three countries and all peace-loving nations...can a secure and lasting peace be realized."

On the pens of the foreign political writers the word "Yalta" no longer means simply the Crimea Conference and the documents that were signed there. With a bit of exaggeration we can say that after the war the bourgeois press--particularly the press with an extreme right wing mentality--contrived a second "Crimean War" in which--unlike in 1853--the "heavy cavalry" has also been put into action. The name of the seaport and recreation center on the Black Sea has become, with the mistakes, deliberate distortions and anti-Soviet slanders that have been attached to it, a symbol whose goal it is not difficult to define. Certain extreme circles in the West seek to brand Yalta as "yielding to Soviet expansion" and as "naive and onesided" concession by the Anglo-Saxon powers. At the same time, in self-contradiction they strongly protested that from the first day the Soviet Union violated these agreements which "offered them one-sided advantages."

The first arrows were directed at Roosevelt. The newspapers presented the American president, whose health was already impaired, as warming up his utopian desires in the sunlight of an early Yalta spring." According to these articles Roosevelt had concentrated all his attention on his main goal in life, the creation of the United Nations. Beyond this--the false reasoning continued--nothing was important to him but ending the war in the Far East with the least loss of American lives; politically it was naive and militarily unnecessary, however, to make concessions to the Soviet Union for taking up arms against Japan. Margaret Truman, the daughter of Roosevelt's successor, voiced the judgment: "(Roosevelt) negotiated not from strength but from his position of weakness."

Let us not even speak of the fact that it would cause serious international complications if all these arguments were accepted in judging the validity of international agreements. The fact is that Roosevelt--like his negotiating partners--made certain concessions in Crimea. Let us once more quote Stettinius: "The record of the Conference shows clearly that the Soviet Union made greater concessions at Yalta to the United

States and Great Britain than were made to the Soviets. The agreements... were, on the whole, a diplomatic triumph for the United States and Great Britain." Probably this is not entirely true either. It would be more correct to say that agreements were made at Yalta that were based on mutual concessions, and realistically took into account the power relations existing at the given point of time. By virtue of their substance and conceptualizations, these documents made a number of different interpretations possible. Their characteristic feature is that they contained only those issues which were current at the given moment or which permitted a consensus to be arrived at with relative ease. Naturally, we look in vain for direct answers in the Yalta (Potsdam) documents which arose later. But it would be useless to look for the source of these difficulties in Yalta.

Among the legends that have been spun around Yalta, perhaps the most widely spread and the most stubbornly held is the view that the Three Powers at Crimea agreed on dividing Europe into spheres of interests. According to those who held this opinion, the Conference "split Europe in two, the Eastern half they promised to the Communists, and with this they made it possible for the Soviet Union to expand after World War II." They link to Livadia Palace the vision of two superpowers in confrontation ruling the world, and each developing its own, exclusive sphere of interest.

It counts for nothing that there is not a single sentence in the Yalta documents which would support these conjectures. Not a word was spoken at Yalta of even the possibility for such an absurd idea as a Soviet-American Tordesillas. It is a fact that with the historically unprecedented loss of life the Soviet Union regarded as unacceptable every solution which did not guarantee adequately the security of its borders in Europe and the Far East. It is also clear that it rejected all attempts directed at reviving the "cordon sanitaire" which was attempted between the two world wars. It stated that it was interested in developing friendly, good neighborly relations with the leaders of the countries situated in its proximity. This, of course, had its conditions. The Yalta agreements served this goal in an adequate way, even as--for example, in respect to Germany--it provided effective security measures for France and Great Britain.

As for the social system which was later chosen by certain European countries, this question at the time of Yalta was in its entirety an open one, and no one attempted at the Conference to limit various possibilities existing in this area. The lines of division between the areas to be occupied by the individual allied armies can in no way be interpreted as a decision to exclude the other party. This is also proved by later historical development, the example of Austria and Finland.

It is a striking phenomenon that the Yalta debates are particularly inflamed at times of increasing international tensions, intensified confrontational efforts by extreme circles and temporary deepening of

internal difficulties within the East European countries. This has happened also in recent years when the number of articles and speeches recalling the "long and threatening shadow of Yalta" have increased, particularly with the pretext of the Afghanistan events and the Polish crisis. These writings and declarations hold forth that the Soviet Union--they say--has violated the Yalta agreements, it has not observed the "code of conduct worked out by the Three Powers" in the post World War II period, or that the present East-West tensions derive from the fact that the Soviet government has violated or ignored "the obligations it undertook at Yalta." As a consequence--and this has been voiced by a number of leading American politicians--the split of Europe or its division into spheres of interest is illegal and unacceptable, the order in postwar Europe no longer needs to be adjusted to the Yalta and Potsdam decisions, these "treaties" must be renounced. The United States can no longer passively watch permanent subjugation of the peoples of Eastern Europe--they say.

It is not difficult to find in these statements the essential substance of the attacks against the Yalta agreements: they cast doubt on the bases of the international political settlement following World War II, and by means of this they question the right to existence of the East European socialist states. The cited reasoning and the tone is not new, they evoke Truman's and Churchill's statements of 1945-1946. And with this we discover who turned a back on the goals set forth at Livadia Palace.

The main strength of cohesion in the anti-Fascist coalition was the cooperative nature of the struggle against Germany. After the crushing of the common enemy, the considerations guided by the class viewpoints of monopoly capitalism in the foreign policy of the Anglo-Saxon powers came to the fore appropriately to the new power relations. In accordance with the enormously increased possibilities and requirements of domestic capital, Truman, the new president of the United States, carried out from one day to the next a radical turn in American foreign policy strategy. The United States, which had become an economic colossus and had gained an atomic monopoly, began to engage in power politics with its former ally, the Soviet Union. In Truman's words: "We came out of the World War as the most powerful nation in the world...with this power in our hands we must provide the leadership."

The changes were already perceptible in the spring-summer of 1945. It could be discerned in such steps as the suspension without prior notice of Lease-Loan deliveries. Accusations against the Soviet Union were given increasingly greater scope. In May 1945, just a few days after the capitulation of Germany, Churchill wrote of "the Soviet threat lurking in Europe." His speech at Fulton (March 1946) marked the beginning of the Cold War: namely, that other winds were blowing in the west, and the anti-Fascist Coalition had collapsed.

In some of the states the peace treaties based on the principles of Yalta and Potsdam eased the democratic transformations. A class war that moved large masses was being waged in virtually all countries, and this

struggle had an effect both in Europe and the whole world. The Western powers were greatly disturbed by the fact that the anti-Fascist feelings of the masses were welded to the efforts made at social progress. The communists and other progressive forces played an outstanding role in the anti-Fascist resistance in France, Greece, Italy, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia and other countries. Their political power of attraction and their popularity grew proportionally. Government authority completely lost its credibility in many places as Fascist, or an accomplice of Hitlerite Germany. In the provisional governments of most liberated countries representatives of the progressive forces were present. The demand for important social changes was general, and in many cases this meant a demand for the radical elimination of the former policy. The independence efforts grew more lively in the colonies. In many countries of Asia the rule of the colonial powers tottered. As mentioned, Washington and London were already following an open anti-Soviet policy in this period. The American and British leaders who took a stance against the changes that had occurred in European power relations and against the social transformations already in process and others which could be divined, worked out the strategy of the Cold War to stop and then to undo the advance of the progressive forces. In his message to Congress of 12 March 1947 Truman put forth "the policy of stopping and containing Communism," the well-known Truman doctrine. Less than three months later the American Department of State announce the Marshall Plan. In the political and economic areas the United States drew Western Europe increasingly under its control.

Not long in following were the steps designed to establish the first organizational framework of military unity. The 1948 Brussels Agreement provided for the military cooperation of Great Britain, France and the Benelux states, and did not differ much in its goals or whom it was directed against from NATO, which was formed a year later. In March 1948 the Soviet Union, prior to the signing of the Brussels Agreement sent notes to the three Western powers. This document states: "It is not difficult to note that (the signing of the agreement) is closely related to the Marshall Plan and supplements it, and also reveals American plans and political goals relating to Europe. Like the American plan for economic assistance, the British political plan for a 'West European' alliance confronts Western Europe with Eastern Europe, and thus leads to the political division of Europe."

The Western powers had taken up the idea of dividing Germany already at the Tehran Conference. There were many plans during World War II, including more than one which called for carving up the country into 5 or 6 "successor states." The Soviet Union advocated a united Germany, and it was essentially in this spirit that the Yalta, and particularly the Potsdam, agreements were conceived. The latter prescribed that Germany must be treated as an economic unit during the period of occupation.

From the beginning of 1946 the Western powers resolved to render more difficult their cooperation with the Soviet Union, which was of basic importance from the viewpoint of maintaining German unity. In December 1946

London and Washington agreed on the "economic fusion" of the occupational zones of the two countries. Immediately after, Dulles announced the formation of "Bizonia:" "We must break with the Potsdam dictate (!) which states that Germany must form an economic unit."

At the 1947 Four Power conference of foreign ministers, the Western powers refused to accept the establishment of a unified German government and the Soviet initiatives to press forward with the preparation of a new German peace treaty. In 1948 Washington, London and Paris called a conference to coordinate the German policy of the three powers. This step was an open break with Yalta, and the further work of the Control Commission became impossible. The amalgamation of the three Western zones into the West European capitalist economic system proceeded apace, and in August 1948 "Trizonia" was formed with the accession of the French zone of occupation. Steps serving to prepare the establishment of a West German state followed one after the other in the political, economic and social fields. These divisive measures were greatly facilitated by the active, one might say enthusiastic, support of those West German political and economic circles which nowadays are conducting themselves as champions of the restoration of German unity. Finally, the Federal Republic of Germany was formed on 20 September 1949. Naturally, the Soviet Union and the people's democratic forces active in the Soviet occupation zone were observing alertly the measures taken in the Western zones. On 1 October 1949 the Soviet Union sent a note to the three Western powers. It stated that the formation of the West German state "is the fulfillment of a policy designed to split Germany and to violate the Potsdam Agreement." In this situation only one choice was possible: on 7 October 1949 the German Democratic Republic was formed.

By this time the Western powers had been boycotting political and cultural ties with most of the East European states and had imposed a commercial embargo against them. It is no wonder that these countries sought to bring about closer cooperation among one another, their governments continuously emphasized that they were ready to settle differences of view soberly and through negotiations. It is characteristic that the threads of cooperation holding together the eastern part of Europe were only of a bilateral nature, the states concerned were reserved about a bloc type cooperation. Despite the increasing blockade and threats, CEMA, the first multilateral organization of the socialist states, was not formed until 1949. The joint declaration on the establishment of CEMA stated: "The United States, Great Britain and the governments of several other West European countries have in essence boycotted commercial relations with the people's democracies and the Soviet Union, because these countries regard it as impossible to subject themselves to the dictates of the Marshall Plan, which is injurious to their sovereignty and national economic interests...CEMA is an open organization which can be joined by the other European countries if they are in agreement with the basic principles of CEMA and wish to participate in broad economic cooperation with the above-mentioned countries."

As the Western powers took one step after another to separate Eastern Europe and isolate it, the political situation within the individual countries was more or less consolidated, the fronts were cleared. It is precisely with the proliferation of Cold War policy in the West that the trend prevailed to force the left wing out of the governments in Western Europe and the right wing out of governments in Eastern Europe, on a different basis of course in each case and in response to radically different factors. In a self-acting manner, this lent a class character to the defense against the military and political power concentrated in NATO, and led to a situation where the main line of a separation between the two worlds runs through the middle of Europe.

The initiators of the attacks against the Yalta agreements forget that the establishment and the legitimacy of the East European socialist states is not related to the documents of the Crimea Conference, and is not the result of some kind of bargain. They leave the historical antecedents out of account, for example, in our case the circumstances involving the establishment and the suppression of the 1919 Hungarian Soviet Republic. Whoever demands the renunciation of the Yalta agreements is slashing into a vacuum. The political environment of the area is the result of complex socio-economic development and corresponds to both the objective processes occurring within national frameworks and international power relations. Unacceptable is the line of argument expressed or latent in the accusations that everything in the internal development of the people's democratic countries which differs from the social environment of the capitalist countries is opposed to the spirit of Yalta. Yalta has nothing to do with the establishment of the military-political alliances. This is particularly true regarding the Warsaw Pact, the founding document of which was signed more than a decade after the signing of the Yalta agreements.

Finally, it was not because of Yalta that the Soviet Union became a great power of importance in international affairs but rather (to use the words of Hopkins) the sacrifices of the Soviet people and the strength represented by "180 million hard-working people" was reflected in the documents of the Crimea Conference.

In many ways the Crimea Conference had a productive, beneficial effect on international political thinking. Although its substance cannot be separated from the circumstances in which it was born we can confidently maintain that the times justified to a full extent the guiding principles and intentions of the participants. Tehran, Yalta, Potsdam and the entire allied cooperation in World War II taught so many lessons that still have an effect and are valid to this day.

The joint commitment to antifascism was one of the basic driving forces of the Conference, to the crushing of Hitlerism. The participants advocated the radical liquidation of all evident forms of Fascism. They emphasize that they would do everything they could to assure that a new war could never again start from Germany. These goals are not out of date, we can see them again today as the demands written on the flag of the progressive forces of our day and the peace movements.

Among the decisions in the spirit of Yalta which have withstood the test of time, one of the most important is the establishment of the United Nations, the emphasis placed on the responsibility of the Security Council and joint responsibility for the five great powers, and acceptance of the voting procedure based on the principle of unanimity. Those views are not without foundation which maintain that the mutual confidence that was shown at the Crimea Conference was essential to this development. Neither earlier nor in the period following Yalta could the Security Council have been established in this form.

The beginning of UN activity coincides with the start of the Cold War, the world organization, too, has lived through difficult days. Although the UN could not redeem all the hopes placed in its activity, this cannot change the fact that it is one of the most important institutions of international life. It is the one eminent political forum embracing the great majority of the states on our earth. The changes which have occurred in recent decades in world political relations are reflected naturally in the UN, and therefore the organization plays a positive role in reducing tensions in international life. The principles and stipulations embodied in the charter have stood the test of time.

The Yalta documents silently but clearly show that the Soviet Union has left behind once and forever the condition of international isolation. The special responsibility of the Soviet Union and the United States for the fate of the world presented itself. The basis was created for the relative power balance which subsequently was regularly reestablished amid the continuous modification of political, economic and military possibilities. It has frequently been shown that the upsetting of the power balance and the older and more recent attempts at containing the Soviet Union are chips from the same block as the attacks against Yalta.

The Allied policy of manifold cooperation during World War II proved to be viable even in the most difficult period. With mutual respect for interests, fruitful relations were developed in almost every area among the countries in the coalition with different social systems. Recognition of common interests brought success in developing an atmosphere of confidence in which there were possibilities for joint decisions and compromise agreements. Now when mankind must live with the danger of nuclear war it has become an imperative necessity to settle international problems on the basis of equal rights. It is a hopeful sign to know that even in the gravest times there were in the two leading capitalist countries sober political forces which undertook dialogue and partner relationships.

The Yalta agreements carry in their seed additional important elements for a collective security system. The declaration emphasizes the necessity for a combined role for the three great powers, and calls for joint conferences when disputes arise. The document speaks of a "world order under law, dedicated to peace, security, freedom and general well-being of all mankind."

It took more than two decades for Europe to be built on this basis. In 1969 the Warsaw Pact states issued an appeal to the countries of our continent. This document which became known under the name of the Budapest Appeal stated: "The development of Pan-European cooperation was and is the only real alternative to dangerous military confrontation, armed competition and contention, which the aggressive forces continue to force on Europe by attempting to undo the results of World War II and transform the map of Europe."

The initiatives of the Warsaw Pact states at the end of the 1960's and the beginning of the 1970's--chiefly in response to the consolidation of the new international power relations--have found an echo among Europe's neutral countries and the member states of NATO. We have succeeded in settling various problems which poisoned the international atmosphere since the end of World War II. The Soviet Union, Poland, the CSSR, and the GDR signed bilateral treaties with the FRG, with whom in a short time all the members of the Warsaw Pact entered into diplomatic relations. The Four Power Agreement was arrived at on West Berlin. By means of efforts extending over many years it became possible for the European Security and Cooperation Conference to meet in Helsinki and accomplish successful work.

The approval of the Helsinki Final Document is a victory for the policy of peaceful coexistence. Like the signing of the joint documents by the anti-Fascist coalition, it assures the possibility of peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems. Thirty years after the end of World War II the Helsinki document validated the inviolability of the post-1945 borders with the signature of 35 countries. It means that in Europe the historical reality symbolized by Yalta was generally accepted. Helsinki received and made valid for all Europe the political values latent in Yalta. Helsinki builds on Yalta, they are indivisible. For this reason, the casting of doubt on either one would undermine the European security process.

In the course of its history mankind has fought many wars both big and small, and rulers since the earliest times have committed themselves "to eternal peace." But despite these promises the cycle has continued: the times of peace have brought the seeds of war as naturally as wars have brought the certainty of peace treaties. Two devastating world wars, the first socialist state and later the establishment of a socialist world system brought about a new situation. Where the restoration and revisionist efforts of the interwar periods led and what kinds of bloody tragedies they ended in needs to be a warning lesson for everyone. Yalta is also a symbol in our eyes. It symbolizes the acceptance of the European realities which developed after World War II, and compromise possibilities which take mutual interests into account. It is the collective term for those decisions of principles by which peace was successfully maintained in Europe for four decades despite all difficulties. We cannot forget that even today we are living in tense times. Yalta's final place in history depends on to what extent we can exploit the possibilities latent within the framework that has developed in the

present period of peaceful coexistence, to what extent we will succeed in having the West accept the elements of cooperation and sober policy, and whether we will succeed in keeping within bounds the dangers that clearly exist. To this end there is still only one road: accepting the realities of our continent and the world, maintaining the East-West dialogue which serves to avoid the danger of war, to settle disputes by genuine negotiations, and to further the process of European security and cooperation.

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CSO: 2500/234

HUNGARY

'LETTER' ATTACKS WRITER, CRITIC

Csurka, Berkes Attacked

Budapest UJ TUKOR in Hungarian 3 Feb 85 p 23

['Letter' by Elek Buzgo [Gung-ho]: "A New March Youth and His Patroness." Under the signature: "Studn., Form III, Gimn. [Secondary school]." March youth refers to (a) the youth of March in the revolution of 1848, and (b) a similarly named movement established during the last years of WW II. For Istvan Csurka's letter to the Hungarian Writers' Association president, see JPRS-EPS-84-013-L, 24 Oct 84 pp 85-91.]

[Text] Although I am still in secondary school, I have been admiring for years the writings of Erzsebet Berkes. She is my ideal of a literary critic. I have even pasted her photograph in my literature textbook.

First of all, her stylistic genius fascinates me. Her command of the language is amazing! Thus when I read in her latest political pamphlet, which is disguised as literary criticism and has been boiled into a poem in prose, that when Istvan Csurka "seeks the subject of a toast, our glass-clinking mood is capable of arousing and assembling our Europeaness," I am practically captivated by this enchanting magic that disregards grammar and logic, to concentrate on glasses and clinking. (ELET ES IRODALOM, 25 Jan 85.)

That article has zapped into me as certainty something that I vaguely suspected in the past: Aunt Erzsi [Berkes] has not only a magic tongue, but a supersensitive warm heart as well. No eye, at least no Hungarian eye, remains dry when she depicts with inciting sympathy the fate of Istvan Csurka who has been forced into loneliness because of his veracity, barred from the feuilleton in MAGYAR NEMZET, and is even threatened with being buried alive.

Up to now, all this has been kept secret from us youths as well. My granny is a typist in the Press Building. She actually told me that Uncle Pista [Csurka] had five of his plays performed by three theaters during the 1983-1984 season, and that his books were being published frequently. Moreover, he was presently (another one of Aunt Erzsi's adorable words!) under contract with FILM SZINHAZ MUZSIKA, which meant that he would continue to earn some income from sketches appearing in journals. That is what my granny told me. But now it turns out that all this is merely superficial appearance. For the essential thing is

the threat of being buried alive. And because of this, Uncle Pista's new volume is perhaps his swan song, as Aunt Erzsi so movingly puts it.

Well, this is no way to treat Hungarian writers! The entire nation will rue this persecuting, alive-burying and swan-killing literary policy. I know this from one of Istvan Csurka's letters, which I heard frequently last year through the courtesy of a foreign radio. In it Uncle Pista predicted that "the coming turn of the century will definitely produce Europe's inevitable rearrangement." What he has in mind is "not war, of course" but that "perhaps once the nations of Europe will be forced to a rearrangement of their mutual affairs that will have the force of a peace conference." I am somewhat saddened because what he predicted "definitely" above has been devalued one sentence later into "perhaps once." But as I hate to see ourselves looking constantly for logic in the visions of Hungarian geniuses, let me give you the rest of this quotation. It contends that our representation at previous peace conferences "has been weak and inadequate" because the home front was plagued by division. Thus we had to atone not for the sins of our ruling classes, as we have been taught in school, but because our home front was divided. In 1946, in other words, counts and peasants, capitalists and blue-collar workers, fascists and Jews should have joined hands to forge their unity, I wish to add by way of explanation.

Even worse, according to Uncle Pista, is that at the coming peace conference, which we can expect "definitely" or "perhaps once" at the turn of the century, "our bargaining position would again be weak because the nation is divided also now, relations being what they are between Politics and the Commonwealth of Letters, for example"

This is why Uncle Pista decided to resign from the Hungarian Writers' Association, expecting that this heroic gesture would nudge political thinking from its standstill. Regrettably, nothing has moved for some reason or other. Perhaps because Uncle Pista himself did not mean his resignation seriously and has remained in the Hungarian Writers' Association.

As a secondary-school student yearning for ideals, I would have preferred that a Hungarian writer carry out his decisions once he has broadcast them to the world. After all, the nation's future is at stake. But we should not judge too harshly. Even a Hungarian writer with the soul of a swan is only human, and a discrepancy can arise between Idea and Action. For although our behavior (or "conduct" as Aunt Erzsi says with her folkish charm) is not perfect, our idea may still be irreproachable. And I as a young patriot am driven to despair by the idea that at the peace conference to be held definitely or perhaps once, where Hungary is to be split up anew, the most beautiful regions will go to the Romanians, Slovaks, etc., because their "relations between Politics and the Commonwealth of Letters" are not the same as ours. As you can see from the allegorical calvary of Uncle Pista's persecution, even though he alone could save the principality through his words of strict but just criticism.

Incidentally, this principality figures in one of Aunt Erzsi's charming stories. The principality became prosperous and peaceful because its ruler offered 1000 acres of land and 10,000 serfs to anyone who came and told the truth to

the ruler's face. And they came and told the truth to his face, from which the principality began to prosper. Here, of course, there is again a slight contradiction in the logic of Uncle Pista and Aunt Erzsi's combined system of ideas: of the countries that are to get additional Hungarian territory at the coming peace conference, because their relations "between Politics and the Commonwealth of Letters" are what they are, it is not exactly typical that their princes are too strict in demanding personal criticism. Rather than criticism of the prince, in some places the ode, dithyramb, panegyric and official lead article extolling the leader's merits might be the dominant literary forms. And then there is no division within the nation, and it is united in its dedication to the prince.

But I will not let the devil of logic and confounded reason lead me astray: for faith is the stronger, the more mysteries it contains. Let us examine instead why Uncle Pista is being persecuted. Aunt Erzsi explains that too. Certain Panglosses [a reference to tutor Pangloss in Voltaire's "Candide"], not otherwise identified, would like nothing to change in Hungary, regarding it the best of possible worlds. Up to now I believed (I am ashamed to admit) that some things have changed for the better in our country: arbitrary actions have been curbed; there is perceptibly greater freedom of movement in our cultural life and everyday life as well; the borders are open; directors are being elected; there will be more candidates to choose from in the elections; entrepreneurs are able to operate, and so on. But now I know the bitter truth: here, too, we are lagging behind the other socialist countries!

While elsewhere socialism is obviously thriving from the many reforms, in our country everything is numb and still. Under the influence of Istvan Csurka's painfully true writings, Aunt Erzsi tells us, "we must stop to consider the conduct that stems from our adulthood (I'll be damned if I know what this is supposed to mean, but it sounds nice anyhow) and lets us adjust to the realities, while abandoning the revolutionary program to change them." I have my own opinion about the opportunism of my parents' generation, but fortunately Aunt Erzsi offers consolation by referring to Uncle Pista's example: "Csurka professes the most rigorous Marxian thesis: he not only explains the existing world, but also wants to change it."

However, Marx wrote this thesis on philosophers, and it is evident from his writings that it is not entirely the same to him in what direction the philosophers want to change what exists. Furthermore, Uncle Pista has not published his philosophical works as yet, and has not made clear what he wants to change. Fortunately, Aunt Erzsi sheds lights on this mystery as well. She reveals to us that what the propagator of Painful Truth "has in mind, what he would want if he were in a position to make the decisions. With self-irony, it is true, but always admitting on such occasions to his old-fashionedness, his romantic passions from the reform period: world freedom, national independence, equality, fellowship, state sovereignty, desirable unions--through the Twelve Points of March [1848] and the Communist Manifesto as well . . ." Csurka has countless program proposals, but all of them "are imbued with the wonderful beliefs of adolescence, without bombast!" This is the essential point: without bombast. We have had enough of empty phrases. Aunt Erzsi also avoids bombast when she describes Uncle Pista as follows: "the thinking man able to perceive

nuances stands before us as a Pilvax [Budapest cafe where youths met in 1848] youth of childish innocence when we remove his wine-drinking, leg-pulling and public-life costume."

Excuse me for a second while I dry a few bombast-free tears that escaped from under my eyelids. It is no wonder that my eyelashes are bathed in tears, for finally we again have a March youth! Admittedly, he is rather mature: his age and weight would be enough for even two March youths. But let us not split hairs when the nation urgently needs 12-point adolescents of childish innocence, especially when they are grafted onto Marx and the Swan, and would be able to work miracles if they were in a position to make the decisions.

But why must we remove for this "his wine-drinking . . . costume"? And why does Aunt Erzsi refer constantly to drink, clinking glasses, and even to "wisdoms triggered by schizophrenias after drinking bouts"? I am especially pleased that Aunt Erzsi is against drinking. A Hungarian lady should be a teetotaler, especially if she is the Patroness of the new March youths. But let the Hungarian writer drink like a fish, because that is a national virtue. I read somewhere that drunken schizophrenia is an adequate mode of existence for patriotic scribes. Petofi, too, drank, or at least wrote drinking songs. And anyone who is unable to compose drinking songs should guzzle, especially if the March youth in him emerges only when he sheds his wine-drinking costume.

If the esteemed reader stops to consider my conduct that stems from my youth, he will see that I am already able to imitate Aunt Erzsi's language. Now I shall borrow from her an example of courage as well and shall continue to argue. It is all very nice that Aunt Erzsi recognizes Uncle Pista, whom not even four other writers have been able to replace at MAGYAR NEMZET, and whose sketches remind her of Gyorgy Balint and Lajos Kossuth. We are told also that Uncle Pista, as a new March youth and a most rigorous Marx, wants to fulfill simultaneously the Twelve Points and the Communist Manifesto as well. But the Patroness of March could have been more generous with her attributes. For example, she could have praised Uncle Pista's Aristotelian logic, Krudy-like charm, Sartre-like intellect, Lukacs-like absorption in ontology, and especially his Lenin-like toughness.

But perhaps Aunt Erzsi has used homage-rendering attributes sparingly because she knows that it is unwise to spoil a youth, even if he is a March youth. In conclusion, therefore, I merely wish to point out what I like best among Uncle Pista's countless program proposals. You have probably guessed it. The "desirable unions," of course.

The March youths of the last century wanted only one union in their Twelve Points, and even that union was in the last point. My heart throbs with joy because Uncle Pista, according to Aunt Erzsi, desires unions in the plural. Yet, in Aunt Erzsi's eyes, he is only half-brave. Imagine what the situation would be if he were entirely brave!

I realize that this is a delicate matter. But I am only 17 and cannot reconcile myself to becoming a half-brave March youth. Therefore I wish to note, briefly but decisively, that I will not be satisfied with the other desirable

unions that have been due since 1848. I know from history that at one time a Hungarian was able to wash his feet in three seas of his own. Emboldened by Uncle Pista's painful truths and Aunt Erzsi's inspiring comments, I am preparing to change the realities in the spirit of the most rigorous Marxian thesis.

I am aware, of course, of the arguments that the clever cowards present: the provisions of the peace treaty and of the Helsinki Agreement; and that no country in the world would go along with our union plans, not even the super-powers that otherwise are constantly bickering but are in agreement on this issue! And so what, say I. Either we fight boldly for the Painful Truth or we lie low as cowards!

Attempts are being made to cloud my brain also with the arguments that a real union or unions will never result from the pro-union propaganda, but the situation of the Hungarian minorities in the neighboring countries could worsen, and that irresponsible loose talk about borders is free help for the neighboring chauvinists who like to brand protection of the Hungarian minorities as irredentism and use talk about unions in principle as a pretext for actual tough restrictions, etc. What would it matter if this were true? Let the minorities suffer a bit. The louder they suffer there, the more ground the pro-unionists gain here, until finally they will be in a position to decide, and can realize everything from the Twelve Points to the Communist Manifesto like blazes! Moreover, let us think in terms of the future and not of the present. For how long can the suffering of the minorities last? Only a mere decade and a half, because Uncle Pista has predicted that "definitely at the coming turn of the century . . ." and so on.

And what if his prophecy is not fulfilled definitely, if perhaps once even a Hungarian writer is mistaken, and there will be no "rearrangement of Europe"? Then who will be the patroness of the ball, and who will foot the bill? This question, of course, might arise. But we will still have time to think about it on the philosophizing mornings of schizophrenias after the drinking bouts of Hungarian writers. Perhaps we will resettle where the unity of Politics and the Commonwealth of Letters is so exemplary. But we could also stay. At worst we could write one or two wittily melancholy comedies about the Great Adventure (for by then I, too, will have become a writer). And if we fail to advance to new March youths, we can still be persecuted millionaires paying the most tax.

Csurka's Work, Contributions Praised

Budapest ELET ES IRODALOM in Hungarian 25 Jan 85 p 11

[Review by Erzsebet Berkes, MAGYAR NEMZET staffer, of book "Szinleiras" [Description of the Scene] by Istvan Csurka, Budapest, Magveto Publishing House, 437 pages. Review entitled: "The Story of Chou Ki and the Victorious Prince"]

[Text] "Szinleiras" is a collection of prose that Istvan Csurka wrote in recent years. Six excellent short stories, and selected sketches. Anyone who has been closely following Csurka's writings will easily recognize practically all of them as having appeared on the pages of MAGYAR NEMZET. He appeared

there as a man of letters on more festive occasions, and as a publicist every other week. Appeared, in the past tense. After 13 years, Csurka's feature articles and sketches ceased in the paper six months ago. This writer is a staffer of MAGYAR NEMZET (in the present tense), and therefore she feels that it would be in bad taste to entertain the readers with the details of this separation. But even as a graduate of a provincial secondary school for modern languages, sciences and Latin, she is able to grasp that it would be useless to demand Csurka, who had been appearing with the rhythm of monotonous discipline, when there are now four new names replacing him in the newspaper (the eminent writers who are the change for Csurka). After all, four is more than one.

The future will tell whether or not this volume is Csurka's swan song. But its review is a task for the present.

What kind of feuilletonist is Istvan Csurka?

An old-fashioned one.

In the sense that Gyorgy Balint was an old-fashioned feuilletonist, and as our encyclopedia--published 20 years ago!--writes about Kossuth's PESTI HIRLAP: "here there appeared first of all articles on politics and on life in Budapest." Istvan Csurka does nothing differently: his feature articles are on life in Budapest and politics. He gives his writings a more literary appearance only to the extent that this form must differ from the lead article, report or commentary. But Csurka does not look bad in literary costume. To the contrary! It liberates his playfulness, irony, and skill in associating ideas. When the conference of crickets stands for the congress of the Hungarian Writers' Association, he provides a vehicle for expressing the significance of the songsters' useless life familiar from La Fontaine's fable (and embellished further in a current Budapest joke). When he mentions the denied, lie-masked sweetness of a passionate kiss, he flashes before us the daze of historical ecstasies. When he seeks the subject of a toast, our glass-clinking mood is capable of arousing and assembling our Europeanness. And when he flashes before us the chapters of "Egy Megirhatatlan Utikonyv" [A Guide Book That Cannot Be Written], the entire present nervous system of Hungarian injuries and truncation has a spasm. For Csurka the literary form is not a disguise, not an opportunity to hide. Courteously observing the rules of conduct, he remains who he is even in domino. And because he is a born player, he is more uncovered in costume than without it. The intense passions of the one-time teenager can thus flare up in the writer dressed as a man who nostalgically recalls his student years; this is how the cynism of fake jugglers bursts forth from the writer disguised as a member of a cabaret audience; and from behind the mask of a Budapest citizen disguised as a tough, he can listen in this way on the conversations in the steam bath, the wisdoms triggered by the schizophrenias and morning workouts after drinking bouts.

We enjoy the playfulness and easily understand the two-pronged criticism directed against the investigated phenomenon as well as the investigator. As an element deeper than play in the intellectual relationship between writer and reader, Csurka not only lets us in on the secret that he is dissatisfied with

something, but also lets us know that he regards his own dissatisfaction as somewhat stunted. When he passes judgment--and when does he not?--he admits to doing so with the same half-brave, half-cocked, half-arrogant and half-humble internal feelings as the average citizen, the reader.

He records the messiness of everyday public sentiments, the demand to extricate ourselves from it, and the ambivalence. He presents a situation report, and thereby informs us that we are falling short of our ideals and opportunities. He suggests this repeatedly, but in a way that gives us the courage to think things through, instead of remaining defensive. Which way, and where will it end? He never gives definitions at the end of such questions. He never claims to hold the only redeeming solution. But he likewise makes no secret of what he has in mind, what he would want if he were in a position to make the decisions. With self-irony, it is true, but always admitting on such occasions to his old-fashionedness, his romantic passions from the reform period: world freedom, national independence, equality, fellowship, state sovereignty, desirable unions--through the Twelve Points of March and the Communist Manifesto as well, even the hopes of the Gentle Breezes [a populist rural education program], and continuing toward world peace, peaceful coexistence, and mutual advantages. All this is included in Csurka's program proposals, but they are imbued with the wonderful beliefs of our adolescence, without bombast. The thinking man able to perceive nuances stands before us as a Pilvax youth of childish innocence when we remove his wine-drinking, leg-pulling and public-life costume. And because the Somebody who once molded us and demands an account demonstrably lives in him, his writings are painful. Under his influence, we must stop to consider the conduct that stems from our adulthood and lets us adjust to the realities, while abandoning the revolutionary program to change them. Indeed, Csurka professes the most rigorous Marxian thesis: he not only explains the existing world, but also wants to change it. This of course is painful and unpleasant to the likes of tutor Pangloss, for whom the existing world is the best of possible worlds. But the world moves all the same, even if a court of inquisition declares it stationary.

Csurka also realizes that the movement is not always favorable. There can be and are years of stagnation, when silence, falsehood or vain inside knowledge blocks the transfer of experience between generations living side by side. His short story "Desires and Cramps" is about such a stagnant but understood moment. This work, I believe, is a milestone also in the development of his skill as a writer of short stories. A born playwright, Csurka has always been able --even as a storyteller--to spot and magnify the climax in the plot. In the past, always meditations, inserted comments, soliloquies and digressions interpreted the turning point in his short stories. Here, in exceptionally condensed form, personality and its situation make the dramatic moment comprehensible. The outline of the plot is playfulness of Csurka-like elegance: Burdened with the vital problems of their generation, writers traveling by train to meet their readers enter the compartment in which a young couple is gayly flirting. In the presence of the beautiful medical student, the vital problems become a peacocks' mating dance. The girl's casual partner is disgusted because he lacks higher education but understands what is behind this spectacle to impress the girl. He sees that here something--the writers' historical bitterness--is being devalued into a practical triviality, although he

himself will never be able to understand what value has been lost, because he is an excluded youth.

Csurka ends the short story with an offensively coarse scene: Having left the compartment to sulk in the corridor, the young man advises the writer starting for the toilet that although he himself would rather hop off the train, the door to the toilet that the writer is seeking opens inward. In this final scene the womanizing youth, the writers using the vital problems of their generation to perform a peacocks' mating dance, and also the rivalry between generations are stunted into a bit of advice regarding a common biological gesture, whereby the shallowness that exists at large becomes evident.

It is primarily the fault of the elder generation that there are no experiences to be passed on, only disgust and biological advice. Here Csurka presents for public view the role-playing clowning of his own generation, and he does so with such painful ruthlessness that he repulses his own contemporaries, even though he fails to win the younger generations. But he evidently is not interested in such tactics. For him it is enough that what he is talking about is true. Therefore he must remain alone, as this has been the scheme of things for many many years.

Yet, this does not have to be so. All we need is to know how to handle the painful truth. As in China at the time when the princes were warring among themselves. The parable (historical anecdote?) goes as follows: There was once a rich merchant called Chou Ki. He was skillful and clever, but had one great fault: he had a very high opinion of his own good looks. He asked his wife: "Tell me, wife, am I as beautiful as the city's famous actor?" "You are far more beautiful than he," the woman replied. He asked his purchased concubine: "Am I as beautiful as that famous good-looking actor?" "More beautiful, far more beautiful," panted the concubine. He also asked his friends: "Tell me, is that actor better-looking than I am?" "How could he be better-looking than you are . . ." And then Chou Ki invited the famous good-looking actor for dinner and saw that the actor was indeed much better-looking than he. Taller, slimmer, more graceful in his movements, more lively in his speech, with brighter teeth . . . In other words, the actor was the more beautiful. Then Chou Ki pondered deeply and came to the conclusion that his wife loved him, his purchased concubine feared him, and friends wanted something from him. One wanted his horse. Another wanted his fan. A third one owed him money, and so on. He sat and pondered, then called for his palanquin and had himself carried to the prince who was at war with the neighboring tribes. Chou Ki told the prince his story. The prince reflected long, and then richly rewarded Chou Ki. The prince then called his scribe and dictated the following decree: "Whoever spreads news about the prince that is true among the common people shall receive an ounce of silver. Whoever describes a fault of the prince that is true shall receive five ounces of gold. And whoever appears before the prince and tells the prince's fault to his face shall receive 1000 acres of land and 10,000 serfs." The bearers of news, denunciations and petitions increased in number, and the silver, gold and land flowed from the prince's treasury. But only for three moons. Because the prince took the shortcomings of which he was accused to heart, and improved the conditions as well as himself. In less than three years, this became the

principality that neither external nor internal enemy attacked. The neighboring tribes recognized the prince as their lord, and China became bigger and stronger than at the time of the divisive, slandering and quarreling princes. By then, of course, also Chou Ki had grown old, his hair had become white and his face wrinkled. But no one found him ugly: wise comprehension, and the serenity of the prince's favor shone on his forehead. Everyone in the peaceful and rich country knew that its prosperity could be attributed to his insight. When he died, his 100 grandsons and the prince's 1000 critics stood at his grave. But his spirit has never been buried completely.

Would that the Hungarian nation, too, be blessed with the victorious idea of an invigorating critical spirit. So that we may never have to bear the shame of the nation's burial alive.

Answer to Berkes Review

Budapest ELET ES IRODALOM in Hungarian 8 Feb 85 p 5

[Gabor Gorgey responds: "A Private Affair - Inside a Public One"]

[Excerpts] In the 25 January 1985 issue of ELET ES IRODALOM, Erzsebet Berkes begins her review of Csurka's collection of sketches with thoughts that are very subjective to say the least, and extremely peculiar in terms of the information they contain. Let us examine them in detail.

I, too, belong to the MAGYAR NEMZET staff, although only a so-called outside contributor under contract. In violation of good taste, I would nevertheless like to entertain the readers and inform them that there has been no separation. Istvan Csurka's ties to the paper are still in effect, as are those of the other feuilletonist, who happens to be me.

Yes, the two of us alternately wrote for nearly a decade the feature articles on the bottom of page five, in the Sunday and subsequently the Saturday editions. We may say without any false modesty that it was we who somewhat revived and brought back into fashion this form of literary publicism that has great traditions but at one time was allowed to wither artificially. The only thing new in comparison with the previous situation is that my one-time fellow feuilletonist is now writing short stories for the newspaper, and not sketches. This change does indeed have a history, which may be of interest to discuss, but in no way can it be called a separation. Actually it was I who broke with the newspaper, more than 18 months ago. Angered by disputes over policy and what was or was not fit for publication, I revolted and did not submit any copy to the editors for nearly 6 months. This period of sulking lasted from June through December 1983 and finally, after lengthy arguments, ended in an agreement. Throughout all this time, even after my "kuruc" [anti-Habsburg] outburst, Istvan Csurka continued to write his feature articles, although amidst brawls of his own. I find nothing objectionable in this. But the twosome unquestionably broke up.

Why is it so important to me that this question of "separation" be presented in its proper light? First, because Erzsebet Berkes's romantic overstatement

informs the readers inaccurately. As a staffer of MAGYAR NEMZET, she knows very well what the facts are, and therefore this is the mildest terms that may be used to describe her actions. Secondly, because she dramatizes the situation surrounding Istvan Csurka, when he himself has no need for such dramatization. Thirdly--but primarily from my point of view!--because in this insinuatingly described drama she explicitly assigns me a role that is untrue and deeply offensive. The role of a "labanc" [pro-Habsburg] who betrays his comrade after the latter's "kuruc" revolt and continues to do his own thing. I am not willing to swallow this accusation without comment, even though I know that in our literary life it is a tradition of long standing that performance alone is never enough, and the legend is always far more important. With this "separation" Berkes is creating a legend, which in itself would be tolerable. However, this ascension into heaven takes places at the cost of another person's, actually several other persons', damnation. Whereas both sides, the "kuruc" and the "labanc" continue to draw their pay from the same disbursing office, in the same close friendship as before.

I really do not know why I am objecting to this assignment of roles when in her very next sentence Berkes reveals that our decade of alternating feature articles, our twosome, actually never existed, at least so far as my contribution is concerned. She writes that it would be useless to demand Csurka, who at one time had been appearing regularly, "when there are now four new names replacing him in the newspaper (the eminent writers who are the change for Csurka). After all, four is more than one." Several conclusions follow from this sentence. First, that it was not I who wrote alternately with Csurka the feuilleton page for nearly 10 years; after all, I too am a new name who now replaces him. Secondly, that four "eminent" writers are now the change for Csurka. In addition to myself, they are Karoly Szakonyi, Tibor Gyurkovics and Andras Nyerges. As insults go, this is not an ordinary one. Thirdly, another bit of misinformation. The truth is that originally the four eminent writers were not the "change for Csurka." Rather, he was a consenting founding member of the newly established foursome of feuilletonists. Both he and I grew tired of the biweekly pace for nearly a decade, and we had the strength and time for only one feautre article a month, rather than for one every other week. Csurka welcomed this foursome in which the members of a one-time reserved table now appeared on a rotating basis. Thus the four eminent writers cannot be the "change for Csurka," because he himself is one of the four. If this is devaluation, then it has occurred with his inclusion. I do not understand what joy in spreading conflict leads Berkes to contrast Csurka with his fellow writers.

These, then, are the simple facts. I would like to state that I have lined up these facts solely in the name of justice, my own justice. I am speaking solely for myself and no one else. I want to say only what I have written. In other words, there is no hidden meaning in my writing, there is no group sending a message through me, and there is no sectarian camp of coffehouse rampart, awareness of whose protection would amplify my voice into megalomania. I have stated only my personal opinion. I emphasize this because in our literary life we have become disaccustomed to hear such a personal message. Yet, this is the main gold reserve not only of literature, but of so-called literary life as well. We should return to this personal word, without myths, legends,

collective choirs, marches and banner-waving. To the honor of the workshop, desk, and quality produced with the greatest care and to the best of our ability.

In conclusion I wish to revert a sentence in Erzsebet Berkes's review in which she writes that "even as a graduate of a provincial secondary school for modern languages, sciences and Latin, I am able to grasp . . ." I would like to ask her: Is she underbidding or bidding higher? For if she is underbidding, I would like to defend the obviously good secondary school from which she graduated. But if she is overbidding, I would like to defend the many secondary schools evidently operating effectively even here in the sinful capital, schools from which Berkes did not graduate.

There remains just one more question. Where has she obtained her university diploma?

In agreement with Gabor Gorgey, we too dislike "airing in public private offenses and personal disputes." We are making an exception by publishing Gabor Gorgey's contribution, for the same reason that he has written it. We hope that it will help to dispel a legend, to quiet passions, and to return literary life to what also its self-interest dictates: "To the honor of the workshop, desk, and quality produced with the greatest care and to the best of our ability."

The editors.

1014
CSO: 2500/258

HUNGARY

PARTY SECRETARY'S CONFIDENCE ABOUT RE-ELECTION QUESTIONED

Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 23 Feb 85 p 7

/Letter by Istvan Koncz to 'Honorable Comrade City First Secretary': "The Skin of the Bear." The title alludes to the Hungarian expression, "Drink to the skin of the bear," which means drinking to the success of something before it actually happens.

/Text Dear Comrade City First Secretary:

I ask in advance for your indulgence for disturbing you but I will call you long-distance tonight to inquire whether you will have been re-elected as First Secretary at today's city party meeting, i.e., afterward, at the first meeting of the new city party committee. Until then, I will cross my fingers for you. To be elected. Oh, I only wish that nothing will go wrong.

It is possible, of course, that you are now smiling superciliously and would like to reassure me that there is no cause for worry, nothing can go wrong. Well, this is precisely it. What worries me is precisely your exaggerated calm; what makes me a little insecure is your self-confidence. That you drank in advance to the skin of the bear.

What happened is that you and your colleagues, being precise and dynamic people with a foresight, had worked out the program of the town's political and cultural events in the spring ahead of time, coordinating time schedules, locations, participants, programs, etc. For you do not tolerate lateness, lagging behind and last-minute rush. The executive bodies of local state and social organs and mass organizations appropriately discussed the program as early as the first half of February. Even then the grumbling began and, unfortunately, you seem to be the only person unaware of it. And then the posters with the March program of the local cultural house appeared! Since mid-February the poster has been saying, among other things, in black and white: "8 March, International Women's Day. Salute to the city's female workers. Guest speaker...(here is your name)...First Secretary of the City Party Committee." See?

On 8 March

Although you are going to be re-elected as first secretary only on 23 February, i.e., today. Or--who knows--perhaps you will not be re-elected.

Well, dear Comrade First Secretary, this is a rather risky foresight and self-confidence on your part. Not even the soccer fans would display such confidence at an imaginary match between, say, your city's second-class team and the Honved or even a world-class team. You were certain already in mid-February, on the other hand, that you will still be first secretary in March, without thinking of yet another round that was coming up.

Do not misunderstand me, I have nothing against you. Were I a representative, I would also vote for you. I know that you are respected and even loved in the city both by communists and by nonparty members. Even the higher party organizations think highly of you, for you are doing your work in a high-quality and responsible fashion, according to the everincreasing demands of today and even tomorrow. I am certain that the results of the customary preliminary, thorough public survey and the opinion of the higher party hierarchy will be the same with regard to your nomination. On the basis of the party nominating committee's recommendation you will be a member of the newly-elected party committee according to the principles and practices of democratic centralism and you will be re-elected as first secretary according to the well-proven rules of the same principles and practice.

I do not doubt, then, that you will be the one, as first secretary, to make that Women's Day speech on 8 March which was announced too early. I hope it will be a good speech, as good as your speech will be today at the party meeting about the party committee's proposal of the 5-year work. It is possible that you are a little nervous today about this proposal and the summary, for it is not easy to speak publicly, especially not offhand. It is possible that you are more nervous about this speech than about the following election which will decide on your re-election. But I am not worried about you. You know how to speak. You will no doubt express significant and critical thoughts, covering foreign policy, analyzing economic problems as well as ideological and cultural tasks. Perhaps you will also talk today about the development of party democracy and about its problems and tasks. I will not continue so that while there you will not think of this little flaw and the words will not get stuck in your throat.

Because, yes, the issue is only a little flaw. But, since it was made as a result of carelessness, or even subconsciously involving an insignificant thing, it is a real flaw.

I wish you a successful party meeting today, a successful election, and good work for the coming years, with less flaws. With comradely greetings,

Istvan Koncz

9414

CSO: 2500/276

POLAND

DEFENSE MINISTRY DAILY HITS 'TEAM SPIRIT' MANEUVERS

AU251148 Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 21 Mar 85 p 2

[Commentary signed 'S.Z.': "'Team Spirit 85' Maneuvers"]

[Text] The main actions of the American-South Korean maneuvers known by the codename "Team Spirit 85," whose preparatory phase has been in effect since the beginning of February, have started. These are already the 10th annual naval maneuvers in South Korean waters with the participation of United States Armed Forces. This year, however, the show has been organized on an exceptionally large scale, with the participation of over 200,000 soldiers, of whom half are Americans. Some 62,000 of these are permanently stationed in South Korea, and the rest have been drawn in to the maneuvers from other U.S. military bases.

In January, the Seoul Government issued a formal note to the DPRK through diplomatic channels, inviting that government to send observers to the maneuvers. A reply was provided by a communique issued by the Central Telegraphic Agency of Korea in Pyongyang, which said:

"The adventurist military maneuvers are designed to eliminate the signs of detente which have only just appeared in our country. They are a continuation of the steady torpedoing of our honest, sincere efforts to resolve the Korean problem by peaceful means, behind the table of dialogue and negotiations.... Attempts are being made to justify the approaching joint military maneuvers... spreading the farce by inviting observers to it.... If the United States and the South Korean authorities really want dialogue and peace, they should immediately call off the provocative "Team Spirit 85" joint military maneuvers and relinquish actions which create obstacles on the road to dialogue...."

As we see it, this warning has not been considered by the Americans, nor by their South Korean puppets. The maneuvers have been started, which has led to the suspension of the second round of economic talks between the DPRK Government and the Seoul authorities, as well as the postponement of the already-announced eighth round of talks between representatives of the DPRK Red Cross and a delegation from the South Korean Red Cross....

The "Team Spirit 85" maneuvers, full of such fatal political consequences, remind world public opinion once again about the abnormal situation that has

existed for many decades in the Korean Peninsula, whose southern part has been occupied by U.S. forces since the end of World War II, even though there have not been any foreign forces on DPRK territory for over 3 decades. The official thesis presented by Washington and Seoul whereby the presence of U.S. forces in South Korea stems from the need to defend it against an alleged threat from the North cannot convince anyone. Why should South Korea, numbering more inhabitants than the DPRK, be unable to guarantee its own security by itself? Why must its existence be protected by the presence of American forces? There is no convincing answer to these questions based on the theses propounded by all the propaganda loudhailers in Washington.

The oft-repeated view whereby the U.S. forces in Korea are meant to guard "democracy" also clash with the known facts. Not even the American press has been able to gloss over the most brutal terror applied by the dictatorial South Korean regime against all signs of political opposition--even the bourgeois opposition, to say nothing of the Revolutionary Unity Party, which is acting illegally out of necessity....

In fact, the U.S. forces are in South Korea not to defend the democracy there, but in order to implement the Pentagon's strategic global plans, which assign to South Korea--as well as Taiwan and Japan--the role of bastion of American forces in the Far East. In a recent parliamentary speech, Japanese Premier Nakasone even said that his government believes that in "extraordinary circumstances," the use of a nuclear weapon by the U.S. Seventh Fleet operating in this region is permissible. The protest of the DPRK Government, which sees a danger of its country's security in these plans, is all the more understandable. An expression of Pyongyang's stance toward the American actions in the South is, among other things, the following statement contained in the above-mentioned statement by the Central Telegraphic Agency of Korea:

"The 'Team Spirit 85' military exercises, whose size has been increasing recently from one year to the next, are really a complex 'experimental nuclear war' designed to carry out a land, sea, and air attack on our republic...."

The political consequence of the United States strategic plans vis-a-vis Korea is the artificial petrification of the hermetic isolation existing between both parts of the divided country.

A reinforced concrete wall built across the entire peninsula South of the military demarcation line has become a spectacular expression of this isolation. This wall is a visible symbol of this country's division, although unsymbolic military installations extend along it.

The DPRK Government has been trying to break the wall of isolation for many years. The humanitarian aid recently offered to the flooded inhabitants of South Korea by the DPRK has recently permitted the establishment of economic contacts between Seoul and Pyongyang and a resumption of talks between Red Cross delegations from both parts of the divided country. However, these efforts have not much chance of success as long as South Korea remains under the control of U.S. forces.

Being yet another part of the Pentagon's war preparations in the Far East--preparations threatening the DPRK's security, though certainly chiefly aimed at the USSR and also the PRC--the "Team Spirit 85" maneuvers remind the whole of the world public opinion once again about a question that is very inconvenient for Washington:

What are U.S. forces doing in South Korea 40 years after the end of World War II and in a situation where there have been no other forces in Korea for over 3 decades?

CSO: 2600/721

POLAND

PARTY REPORT-BACK CONFERENCES CONTINUE

AU261006 [Editorial Report] Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish on 22 March on pages 1 and 2 carries a total of 4,000 words of reports on PZPR report-back conferences in Tarnobrzeg, Lublin, and Slups Voivodships and in the Navy and the Frontier Guard, all of which took place on 21 March.

The 23/24 March issue of TRYBUNA LUDU on pages 1 and 2 carries a total of 5,000 words of reports on the 22 March PZPR report-back conferences in Rzeszow, Plock, Bielsko-Biala, and Koszalin Voivodships, and in the Silesian Military District.

Speaking at the Tarnobrzeg conference, Kazimierz Barcikowski, PZPR Politburo member and Central Committee secretary, is reported as noting that party ranks had increased in February, "which shows that the rehabilitation of the party's authority is making progress." He is also reported as saying that the party program for the 10th Party Congress would be presented for discussion after the elections to the Sejm and that the discussion of the 1986-90 national socioeconomic plan would begin "in mid-April and May."

Tadeusz Porebski, PZPR Politburo member and Central Committee secretary, discussed at the Lublin Conference the state of the party and the immediate tasks facing it and stressed that the issues of the country's comprehensive development and of raising our living standards must be given utmost attention by the party.

Speaking at the Slupsk Conference, Central Committee Secretary Henryk Bednarski said that "as an institution of the socialist state, the school must have an unambiguous educational program and must not become an area of a free play of political forces." He also drew attention to the fact that the elections to the Sejm will certainly be an occasion for "another acute clash with the political adversary."

In his speech at the Gdynia conference of the Navy, Wlodzimierz Mokrzyszczak, PZPR Politburo candidate member and Central Committee secretary, is reported as stressing that "in the past period the party has gained in strength internally and has increased its organizational cohesion and ideological unity."

Speaking at the Warsaw Conference on the Frontier Guard, Czeslaw Diszczak, PZPR Politburo candidate member and minister of internal affairs, is reported

as saying that the Frontier Guard continued to implement its tasks "under the conditions of the activities of the political adversary, who has created internal and external dangers for the country" and stressing that it is necessary for the Frontier Guard "to maintain a high degree of combat readiness of troops and to raise the quality of party activities."

Speaking at the Rzeszow conference, Jozef Czyrek, PZPR Politburo member and Central Committee secretary, said that the coming Sejm elections "should close the period of our moral-political crisis and should be an act of national understanding and rebirth" and drew attention to the "reorientation of our policy toward cooperation with the socialist countries, mainly the Soviet Union, which now treat Poland as a partner worthy of trust."

The Plock conference was attended by Jan Glowczyk, PZPR Politburo candidate member and Central Committee secretary, who is reported as saying with regard to the state-church relations that "political clericalism, which in fact tends to harm state interests, sets people at loggerheads, and is against strengthening social and class ties, should be opposed." He is reported as adding that the activities of some clergy amount to harmful politicking, which undermines the interests of the Catholic Church itself and harms Poland's interests.

The Bielsko-Biala conference was attended by Army General Florian Siwicki, PZPR Politburo member and minister of national defense, who is reported as discussing the country's sociopolitical situation and stressing that party members should increase their militancy "in the struggle against all phenomena that harass us and hinder our onward march." He is also reported as stressing that it is necessary "to combat antiparty and antistate rumors and to counter attempts to foster a sense of frustration and helplessness and nihilistic attitudes in the consciousness of people, especially young people."

Speaking at the Koszalin conference, Central Committee Secretary Henryk Bednarski is reported as saying that the party found itself half-way between the 9th and 10th Party Congresses and that it had successfully coped with the threats of socialism in our country. He is also reported as saying that it is important "to further strengthen the worker character of the party."

Speaking at the Wroclaw conference of the Silesian Military District, Tadeusz Porebski, PZPR Politburo member and Central Committee secretary, is reported as saying that "much has changed for the better throughout the party" and that "calm and political stabilization in the country" are the party's primary political achievements.

CSO: 2600/722

POLAND

PZPR'S BEDNARSKI ON TASKS FOR INTELLIGENTSIA

LD261537 Warsaw PAP in English 1412 GMT 26 Mar 85

[Text] Warsaw, 26 Mar--In connection with the forthcoming PUWP CC plenary meeting on the Polish intelligentsia, Henryk Bednarski told RZECZPOSPOLITA there is a substantial interest in the plenum as it is going to define tasks for intelligentsia under the new social and economic situation. The PUWP CC secretary also said that the plenum will determine the means for their (tasks) implementation and remove obstacles hampering the main current of public life.

Recalling that part of the intelligentsia was in passive or even active opposition, Bednarski said:

"The picture of Polish intelligentsia painted exclusively with oppositionist paints has nothing in common with its real image. Most often, it serves blurring and distortion. Common criticism of the signs of evil, mismanagement or erroneous decisions is too often termed oppositionism. The image of an oppositionist intellectual, created on the basis of such premises, is not true. It is propagated particularly in the circles of the real anti-socialist opposition, particularly the one in exile.

Bednarski continued:

"The image of the allegedly total hostility of intelligentsia towards socialism is to serve to support an assertion that the PUWP will never restore its political influences on this ground and to create an illusion of the existence of a broad social base for anti-socialist elements and the following that they enjoy exactly among intelligentsia.

"The PUWP has preserved considerable organizational and ideological influences in the milieu of intelligentsia. The process of regaining impaired confidence also makes headway. The party is keen on profound and lasting agreement, common work for the weal of this country and society," Bednarski stressed.

CSO: 2020/94

POLAND

RETIREMENT OF TU I TERAZ CHIEF EDITOR NOTED

Praise From Editorial Board

AU081539 Warsaw TU I TERAZ in Polish Issue 9 of 27 Feb 85 p 2

[Article signed "The Team": "Kazimierz Kzniewski, chief editor of TU I TERAZ--
Faces From the Cover"]

[Text] Kazimierz Kozniewski ceases to be [przestaje byc] chief editor of
TU I TERAZ. There are publications that carry a clear imprint of the person-
alities of their chief editors. Our publication is certainly one of these.

We have come to know Kozniewski as an unusual human being during our nearly
3-years of work with him. We have gotten to know him as a truly enthusiastic
person who is always ready to take the floor, who is quick in expressing views
and opinions, and who does not hesitate to express them to the end. Kozniewski
has always written what he really thinks and has done so in his own name. He
is a great individualist and skirmisher. It is in his nature always to be
first in going ahead and in taking the floor. He does not write in order to
fulfill someone's expectations. No wonder then that he has been attacked
from right and left and criticized from top to bottom.

He was born on 26 July 1919, which means that he was conceived exactly on
11 November 1918. [Poland was proclaimed independent on this date] He is
a prewar human being, one who is attached to those values that have always
been the most important for his generation and milieu. This means that
state.... Whatever weakens the Polish state is bad and whatever strengthens
it is good.... The raison d'etat should be the basic political beacon.
Progress.... Forging ahead by common efforts. Rationalism.... Realism....
Pragmatism. Dreams about modernity. The [future] Polish republics will de-
velop the way in which their young people are brought up.... There is no bet-
ter upbringing than the one carried out in the virtues of the scout movement.
Fatherland--science--virtue. No doubt Kazimierz Kozniewski expressed most
fully his yearnings and his faith in his recent article entitled "An Empty
Place." In this article he identified himself with a "special ideological and
intellectual formation"--the leftist-liberal formation, one attached to the
humanist-socialist ethos. "It was," he wrote, "group of people of wide-ranging
morality and large-scale internal ideological honesty--a group that consciously
practiced all kinds of tolerance, especially religious tolerance, and that was
clearly antiracist, antifascist, and antitotalitarian."

Kozniewski is a prewar as well as a postwar human being. He has never abandoned the values of that formation. However, he had to come to terms with the complicated requirements of the present times. As anyone else, he had to choose his values, to integrate them in a new way, and to search for a road for himself and for his own generation. He has done this as he did everything else. At times he has gained applause when agreeing with moods and at times he reaped defamation, accusations, and abuse when he opposed moods.

His intentions have been misunderstood from time to time. One reason for this was that, educated in the prewar school, he used to go the whole hog, without wasting his time on nuances, allusions, and subtleties. This is because he thinks that everyone is free to write what they think. Disputes are Kozniewski's life. He loves a fight and loves to provoke it, because he loves the press, which stands for movement, ferment, and stimulation.

Under Kazimierz Kozniewski's management we have published 144 issues of TU I TERAZ since the spring of 1982. He has been a charming person as our chief. He has always been friendly to everyone. He has always been trustful, ready to talk, and perhaps too tolerant of the defects and errors of his coworkers. He has been industrious beyond belief. He prefers to do a job himself instead of driving others to do it. He has always been open to criticism of his own articles and ideas. Whenever he has been criticized by our team he would say: This is very interesting. Put it down on paper and I will publish it. And he did.

Kozniewski has deemed it his duty to publish a leftist newspaper, but one that is open and offering scope for disputes. We have been at one with him that it is the duty of the artistic and intellectual leftwing to win people for the accepted values through discussions. We have also thought that discussions add to the strength and authenticity of the leftwing and that there is no other way to reach common views and agreement. That is why opposing views have often been published side by side in TU I TERAZ. In the times when it is so difficult to develop discussion and when monopoly can be had for the asking, this way of running our weekly was bound to expose its chief editor to attacks from the quarters in which only correct views are proclaimed. Kozniewski has always preserved the calm and cheerfulness of spirit even in the worst of times, of which we have experienced more than enough. He is a brave man.

As no one else he has been able to resolve the tensions and conflicts, which are inevitable in just about any team, through his good nature, kindness, wit, anecdotes, and reminiscences. His tales have always been an attraction during editorial meetings.

We have at times regretted that our chief is not a speculator. What he values most is the simple people-to-people relationship based on openness. He is an open and sincere person, who creates a work climate full of candor. He is unable to understand the rules of intrigue-making, todayism, narrowmindedness, and hypocrisy, because he has always placed in people his best confidence and has taken them for what they claim to be. Born under the sign of the lion, he is unable to play the fox.

He has been a fully loyal chief because is a fully loyal human being. He has always taken blame for our errors on himself and he has faced the music in our stead. He has been loyal not only vis-a-vis his friends, but also vis-a-vis those who have drifted away from him. He has always had something pleasant to say about those he has met. He remembers the good things and forgets the bad. He loves history and understands it. He also understands people.

Cooperation with Kazimierz Kozniewski has been for us a great adventure and a valuable practical journalistic experience. All of us will have something of Kozniewski in us.

Kazmierz Kozniewski ceases to be chief editor of TU I TERAZ, but he remains a writer and publicist. As ever, we are impatient in looking forward to the results of his work.

As Kozniewski, the eternal optimist, says, the situation could always be worse than it is.

Columnist Commentary

AU111626 Warsaw TU I TERAZ in Polish Issue 9 of 27 Feb 85 p 15

[Article signed 'Cyril': "Kozniewski"]

[Text] Kazimierz Kozniewski has ceased to be chief of TU I TERAZ. From now on it will be a different journal, even if the name remains the same. If the matter depended on me, I would begin by changing the name. The journal's title has become entwined with the name of Kozniewski for a long time (if not forever), and it will be difficult to extricate it from the minds of the readers.

If the journal is identified with some person to such an extent, it means that the person who created it is really somebody, and that the journal itself is not just any journal. Under Kozniewski, TU I TERAZ has not been a much-read journal, but even for those people who picked it up, it was identified with Kozniewski and Kozniewski with it. This marriage of journal and chief is important both ways. There are several moderately readable weeklies today which are not identified with anyone because they are not connected with any person whose personality would impart something to them. For example, I do not know to this day who the chief of PRZEGLAD TYGODNIOWY [REVIEW OF THE WEEK] or ODRODZENIE [REBIRTH] is, and this does not bother me at all. But this means that these are journals devoid of an image of their own, because a journal receives its image from a person.

Kozniewski's TU I TERAZ did have its own image, and that is why the weekly's qualities have been so tangible. I have said that this is a question of personality, but not only this. It is also a question of giving up one's own personality for the sake of the journal, which steals it. The analogy with journalism is inevitable, but it is a confusing similarity. Although when one writes one betrays literature, what one has written and what one intends to write remain personal property later on. It is not even what one has written

that is more important, but that which one keeps as one's personal property later on. It is not even what one has written that is more important, but what one intends to write, because (active) writing is always connected with the future. (Last two sentences as published] A writer is quite simply dependent on himself, and that is his advantage over the editor of a journal who is dependent on very many people and on all kinds of circumstances, which are generally against him.

So that this may not sound too sentimental and funereal, let me say that I personally have not been entirely convinced by the present shape of the journal. I never hid what I really thought, and I never had to. Therefore, although, as I say, I did not find the shape of the journal entirely convincing, the form of editorial work stemming from Kozniewski's personality has been most convincing. I would feel a lack of this very strongly.

Kozniewski is not a conceptualist, but an improvising pragmatist. To hold this against him would be the same as criticizing someone for being bald instead of having long, blonde hair.

Throughout this entire period, TU I TERAZ has been the same as its chief. Because Kozniewski is a writer, sociopolitical publicist, columnist, author of reports, a bit of a history enthusiast, and so on, all this has been reflected in the journal in more or less the same proportions as in Kozniewski himself. He knew quite simply what to take out of himself and give to the journal, which does not mean that such contributions were written by him directly. It was quite simply a question of what is topical and what is banal, though not in this case. Kozniewski rejects all formalistic thinking and a formalistic approach toward matters. That is why he is found of everything connected with life, but less concerned with how it is connected.

It is not he who created the column which I have been writing for some time, but this column would not have existed without him. Whether readers like it or not, this column in TU I TERAZ exists (or has existed) thanks to the form in which the journal has existed. This column was invented by Andrzej Jonas, but he could only have received the idea because Kozniewski had shaped the journal in such a way that such ideas came to people of their own accord, influenced by the very nature of the paper. It would certainly have been better for me if Kozniewski had not approved the idea of this column. Then I could have written many things about which I know more than writing columns. But Kozniewski was intent on this column, which joined me to the journal, and via the journal to the chief.

Everyone here regarded him as a democrat, but this was a simplified view. Kozniewski was not democratic, but he did not lack stubbornness. Being stubborn, (and not some kind of Sunday democrat), Kozniewski made the journal an obdurate one, one that opposed the mainstream a little. So perhaps this was a little more than just stubbornness. It was a question of faith. In what? In God, ideas, people? Above all, it was a faith in himself incorporated in his ideas, which do not fall down from heaven nor shoot up out of the ground. Ideas like this are with us and accompany us to the extent with which we delve into the reality which confirms or destroys them. But Kozniewski

wanted confirmation most of all, and that is why he loved this weekly, in which he could see himself and which confirmed him. And that is why it is now going to be a different weekly, because there will be a different image reflected in the shattered mirror of reality which every journal is. Life will once again be expectation.

CSO: 2600/718

POLAND

EXERCISE OF MILITARY AUTHORITY ON VARIOUS LEVELS EXAMINED

Poznan-Warsaw PRZEGLAD WOJSK LOTNICZYCH I WOJSK OBRONY POWIETRZNEJ
KRAJU in Polish No 11, Nov 85 pp 53-58

[Article by Colonel Czeslaw Brylski: "The Significance of the Commander/
Educator's Authority"]

[Text] I became interested in the problem of the commander's authority from the perspective of the opinion, rather frequently expressed in various sectors of society, concerning the hitherto universal decline in functioning authority. Synthetic definitions of authority express the concept as the social recognition and respect enjoyed by individuals, groups, social institutions, doctrines, ideas, values, etc. Also understood under this concept in its current significance are primarily individuals and institutions formally appointed to direct, lead and influence groups of people, circles and nations. Simultaneously, and not so long ago, we were witnesses to the appearance in society of authorities who were not motivated by constructive values, but who arose because of particular interests, without actually bringing any benefit to their temporary adherents.

Our country's armed forces are not indifferent to the questions of why and to what extent their formal authorities became weakened, or what influenced the decline and led to the preservation and strengthening of other authorities. After all, the military must be internally integrated and discretionary if it is to execute its designated duties. The processes implemented in the military, including training and education, as directed and shaped by the proper commanders, have to run systematically, precisely and bring about the anticipated results. This depends to a large extent on the manner in which the mutual relations between a commander and his subordinates are shaped. The commander is the one who should influence decisively the shaping of these relations, inasmuch as he is also the educator of his subordinates. Additionally, he represents the attitudes and observations that arise from the necessity of implementing multiple tasks, that influence and define the significant and far-reaching role of the commander's authority.

Indeed, the concept of authority expresses a specific attitude on the part of the subordinate vis-a-vis the commander; in the aspect of education, however, it is not difficult to perceive that this attitude is always determined by the manner in which relations are maintained after they have been established between the commander and his subordinates. Therefore, authority is a concept which also characterizes the commander, to the extent that he has, or does not have, authority in the eyes of his subordinates.

Authority is gained by attitude and deeds. We run into aspects of authority in every area of social and political life and in the areas of ethics, philosophy, art and education. We can thus label the relations resulting between two people, where one subordinates his will to that of the other and even attempts to anticipate the will of the person whose authority he acknowledges. This is simultaneously a characteristic peculiar and intrinsically inherent in a person, thanks to which he subordinates himself to others more or less voluntarily.

In training and education we meet external authority, which is the imposition of one's will on a subordinate through the utilization of knowledge, physical strength, manner and mode, and internal authority, which results from the subordinate's recognition of one's values, intelligence, character traits, abilities and superior knowledge. External authority transforms itself more and more into internal authority as the worth of the will of the one possessing authority is separated from his person. Voluntary recognition is gained by the commander as he acts effectively for the common good by being honest and impartial, by having organizational abilities and basic expert knowledge in his field. The commander's authority grows as subordinates are persuaded of his profound familiarity with his profession and are convinced that the superior individual is influenced in his behavior not only by his own judgment, but also by legal and socially acknowledged norms to which he consistently adheres in his relations both to his subordinates as well as to himself.

The commander wins his subordinates' voluntary recognition through his just and consistent demands, his pedagogical tact and his great personal culture. Experience shows that authority on the one hand, regardless who represents it, and a certain subordination on the other are phenomena which are imposed on us independently and without regard to political system. These concepts, however, are linked to ideals, values and considerations which change, depending on sociopolitical circumstances.

Practical training and education confirm the thesis that a commander's authority depends primarily on his ability to satisfy his subordinates' intellectual and psychological requirements, as well as their sociopolitical, moral and recreational needs. At different phases of the soldier's service, his relation to authority changes. Initially, he is shaped on the basis of egocentrism and subjectivity for approximately the first 6 months of service. During this period, the soldier is frequently characterized by restiveness and recalcitrance. During a

later period (between 6 and 12 months), the soldier is aware of the authority of the commander, who ensures him that he can satisfy the soldier's intellectual needs, interests and activity. He recognizes this authority voluntarily; the main criterion in this is his conclusion that the commander's behavior complies with moral and philosophic principles.

An element which enhances the commander's authority is also his talent for organization and teaching. This talent is revealed in a commander's knowing how to arouse the soldier's interests and personal involvement while he serves. It is also important for the commander to participate actively and directly in the soldier's life, while that soldier is in the subunit, or squad, which he commands. This is especially true for the soldier's extra-service activities.

Education proves that in attempting to establish his authority, the commander must observe the proper proportions in his contacts with his subordinates, moving between directness and a certain distance. This need arises from the commander's experience, knowledge and duties. The following conclusion is advanced: if the commander whose authority is acknowledged can encourage his soldiers to act independently, he also frees their energy and enthusiasm to act. If, on the other hand, he encourages only imitation, he only hinders the strengths, values and initiative of his soldiers. By acting dynamically and creatively, and representing high moral values, the commander exerts an encouraging influence on his subordinates and inspires them to participate of their own accord; this is a bulwark of independence.

Literature on the subject and pedagogical experience suggests that by being under the influence of a specific authority, we feel "elevated," inasmuch as the splendor of its greatness flows down to us as well. We learn respect for those who surpass us. Such authority has great educational significance, inasmuch as "the individual who does not himself possess the ability to show admiration, also does not possess a totally moral relation to life; he is uncontrollably impetuous and unfair in his judgments" (Professor B. Suchodolski).

Subordinates Deal With a Superior's Authority

Based on the results gained through the research-questioning of 200 people, we can specify the factors shaping the commander's authority and the way subordinates visualize the authority of a model superior. Of consideration are several characteristic answers on the part of the 200 soldiers questioned: "I respect and value people who through their attitude, behavior and knowledge are able to join their subordinates to themselves;" "I value and recognize the authority of those commanders who are different because of their forbearance in relation to their subordinates, who have great general and professional knowledge, and who are just, demanding, resolute and consistent, even if they are severe, provided that this severity is linked to the commander's forbearance and know-how. A commander must be able to maintain his self-control;" "A commander should be honest and clear-thinking, he should be the

personification of everything great and beautiful in man." These answers indicate that primarily a commander's personal traits will have an impact on his authority. Soldiers value most in their commander his fairness, exactitude, conscience, resoluteness, and consistency; a commander may even be severe so long as this severity is linked to forbearance and self-control. These are really traits forming the structure of a personality capable of molding others.

But there were other answers: "The commander needs to be forbearing, intelligent and know how to behave with soldiers as his reason directs and his experience implies"; "More than anything, I value a commander's profound knowledge, cultural manner, impartial fairness and total dedication to the Fatherland"; "The commander whom I would like to have should be an individual with the right character, a person who knows the mind of a young man, is hard, but also forbearing. He needs to be very knowledgeable both generally and professionally; he should be an example of elegance and culture."

These answers prove that the most important feature of the commander's authority in the soldier's estimation is a consciously positive aspect to his behavior; this also has a critical quality in it. An analysis of the soldiers' answers confirms the thesis that the commander's authority grows as he persuades his subordinates of his great familiarity with the principles of direction and command as he runs his subunit (squad), that he is able to implement these principles in training and in education.

In every social grouping, including the military, certain objectives and tasks are implemented. For this reason, authority, as a factor which regulates the internal life of these groupings, is indispensable; it functions genuinely in a specific person who is controlled in his behavior by socially recognized moral principles and accepted models of culture. We distinguish two types of authority: authority which impedes (un-productive) and is expressed by selfish action aimed at winning specific personal advantages, and authority which releases the person who recognizes it. Release authority is socially more desired; it occurs when the newly created pattern in a person's behavior is creative, dynamic and arouses moral and intellectual values. This authority is tremendously advantageous, inasmuch as it radiates the maximum of the person's own creative energy, summons forth his initiative and forcefulness, and motivates him to make an effort to persevere in the implementation of common objectives. This type of authority ensures good results in the realization of the commander's educational responsibilities.

A commander is consciously aware of the role he is playing in release authority. He prevails over his subordinates by virtue of his knowledge and experience, but he does not become conceited. Awareness of success is only an incentive to him to work harder and a stimulus in his attempt to maintain his acquired authority. The proper understanding of the worth of one's own authority influences a positive attitude toward this authority

on the part of other people and results in the service and social ties indispensable for the realization of training and education objectives.

However, even the commander who enjoys release authority should keep in mind that there are factors which can undermine this authority. Subordinates watch very closely every step a superior takes, they evaluate his behavior. An analysis of collected material leads to the conclusion that the undermining of a commander's authority is influenced by factors of a subjective nature, the source of which lies in the makeup of the commander's personality and in his behavior during his service and beyond. Objective factors are also substantive; these factors result from environmental and social relations. This situation is illustrated by the soldiers' answers: "I hate a commander who insults a soldier's dignity. I do not respect him if he does not perform his duties, does not know how to work in his profession, does not speak the truth, but considers himself to be an ideal. His answers questions in 'pig Latin'"; "A commander's authority is shaken by the fact that he does not know how to work with people; he fails to understand that every man is different and has his own individuality. He is hypocritical toward his subordinates, boasts about himself undeservedly and poorly respects his honor, especially when he is giving his word"; "Commanders undermine their authority when they favor their own people and associate with these people in all too familiar ways, e.g., drinking together."

On the other hand, the most important factors undermining the authority of a commander are indecent behavior, swearing, shortcomings in professional and general preparation, an inability to maintain discipline, neglect of service duties and the anxiety associated with it before superiors and then manifested repeatedly in the presence of subordinates, words incompatible with deeds, unkept promises, offenses of a moral nature, and conceit. It basically has to be stressed that the presentation of required moral and social requirements is not a commander's private affair, inasmuch as he implements state objectives by directing teams of people. He bears a duty to be concerned with his own authority as the basis for efficient work and the attainment of desired goals in training and education.

An analysis of the collected materials and personal observations of commanders in action permit one to conclude that the shaping of high moral-combat qualities, the enriching of his professional and general knowledge, are indispensable in the maintenance of every commander's high authority. This fact was confirmed by the answers soldiers gave to the question: "Do you try to win your commander's favor through your behavior?" More than 67 percent of the soldiers questioned answered in the affirmative, stating that they preferred a feeling of their own worth, courage, decisiveness, common sense, forbearance, self-control, discipline, kindness and comradeship, conscience and hard work, good character traits, and universally acknowledged values. To discover which command level enjoyed the greatest authority, the following question was asked: "Which of your commanders exercises the greatest influence on you

and is a model for emulation?" The answers provided indicated that the greatest authority was enjoyed by squadron (company) and squad (team) commanders. This is a typical answer: "I respect squad and company commanders because they are honest, humane, and good superiors, they know how to respect soldiers and how to encourage them to act honestly in their service not only in their words, but also by personal example. They keep their word, know who their subordinates are and are concerned with them." Additionally, the research showed that the greatest influence was exercised by those commanders who are characterized by duty, conscientiousness, resoluteness, tact, justice, self-control, veracity, who have the skill to influence people and organizational abilities, and who try hard to aspire to socially acceptable personal models through proper behavior.

The cited research results indicate the fact that the greatest authority is enjoyed by those subunit commanders who spend time directly with their soldiers, are interested in their service and personal lives, and participate together with them in training and education. Somewhat less authority is enjoyed by squad leaders as opposed to company commanders; this has to be regarded as a certain irregularity, inasmuch as they really are the direct superiors and educators of those in the ranks. We can conclude that squad leaders are not suitably prepared from the theoretical aspect in the performance of their duties. This leads to a need for the training and education in instructor and methodological activities of junior command personnel for the purpose of ensuring their effective influence in shaping the desired personal traits in their subordinates. Subunit flight commanders and subunit quartermaster sergeants do not enjoy a high regard in the eyes of their subordinates. Why is this? Among other things, their problem includes a low level of concern for the soldier's social affairs and living standards, an unfamiliarity with the soldiers' personalities and their problems, and indecision in satisfying their needs, a lack of preventive-educational activity and partner-like regard for the soldiers, inaction in properly utilizing free time and an over-estimation of repressive methods in disciplinary actions. This situation requires that classes to improve the instructor-methodological skills and enhance the sociopolitical, psychological-pedagogical and professional knowledge of these leaders be organized.

In order to gain a comprehensive opinion on authority in the military, a suitable set of questions was given to subunit officers as well. They believe that the authority of commanders is determined by such values as tact and personal culture, general and professional knowledge, skill in influencing people, exactitude--both of himself and his subordinates--, personal example, organizational ability, fairness, decisiveness and hard work. They are convinced that the commander/good educator who enjoys great authority with his subordinates should be characterized by such traits as a humane and reasonable regard for subordinates, appropriate general and professional qualifications, intelligence, tact and great personal culture, love and respect for soldiers, resoluteness and exactitude. The research presented the following opinions: "The authority of a commander depends on a decisive attitude, personal culture, familiarity

with his profession, kindness, exactitude, principle, skill in command during exercises and cultivated behavior with subordinates"; "The commander who enjoys great authority is a fair man with broad horizons of general and professional knowledge, who knows how to evoke positive action and can make great demands on himself and his subordinates."

The research results confirm the thesis that the commander's authority depends primarily on the values he represents and on how he implements them in his behavior with his subordinates. This is agreed upon by the soldiers of basic military service and their officers.

Based on the collected material one can draw the following conclusions:

--Great authority is enjoyed by commanders with extensive general and professional knowledge, socially desired character traits and high moral-professional and personal values; they are expected to utilize these traits in training and educational efforts.

--The commander must "earn" his authority through his behavior and values compatible with socially acceptable personal models. He has to be a model of everything which is beautiful and noble in man, humane and just, moral and compatible with Marxist ideology.

--The commander's behavior, which is compatible with the ideological and moral principles expressed by him, significantly influences how well he can consolidate his authority.

--Subordinates can be motivated to perform exemplary work and service by a commander who always advances in his actions the universal good and not personal or particular interests. Excessive emphasis by a commander on his own will and not on social interests, as he motivates soldiers to fulfill tasks, leads to a lack of motivation in the honest fulfillment of recommendations and obligations. The subordinate must be fully aware of the fact that the demands made on him are not the results of a commander's whim based on his power, but of the necessity arising from the fact that he is serving only one purpose: the defense of the Fatherland.

--The subordinate's dignity must be respected; he needs a certain freedom of responsibility for his own peace of mind, the maintenance of proper proportions between discipline and a lack of restraint with regard to personal actions, effective planning and organization of taskings. Such activity exerts a substantial influence on the social recognition of the formal prestige of the commander.

12247

CSO: 2600/656

POLAND

GENERAL STAFF OFFICER ON ART OF WAR UNDER PRESENT CONDITIONS

Warsaw ZOLNIERZ POLSKI in Polish No 3, 20 Jan 85 p 5

[Interview with Colonel Kazimierz Nozko, research scholar with the Academy of the General Staff of the Polish People's Army, by Tadeusz Oziemkowski; date and place not specified]

[Text] [Question] The art of war in the Polish People's Army and the resulting duties of the army in a socialist state belong to the sphere of your daily research and study, Colonel.

[Answer] The art of war, which is the fundamental discipline of military science, is divided into strategy, operational strategy, and tactics. As far as the countries of the socialist community and their armies are concerned, the art of war is the theory and practice of a country's defensive preparations, including the efficient utilization of material, moral, scientific and military capabilities of the state, in achieving the strategic and operational-tactical objectives and missions designated by policy. The theory and practice of the art of war has continued to develop in our military during the entire 40 years of the Polish People's Republic's existence. I will add that this art has always considered specific circumstances, the political situation at home and abroad, and the achievements of science and technology; the art of war has always belonged to the progressive traditions of our craft of arms. In generalizing the problem, I can say that throughout the postwar period the principles of the art of war, with regard to the Polish People's Army, have been and continue to be closely tied to the development of a socialist Poland and to the theory and practice of the defensive system of the Warsaw Treaty Organization.

[Question] We hear a great deal about two closely associated concepts: theory and practice in the art of war of the Polish People's Army. Can you explain further what these concepts mean?

[Answer] With regard to its theoretical substance, the art of war of our military concentrates on the research and development of principles and provisions, which affect such defensive preparations and such a conduct of operations, battles and combat and which would, according to all probability, take place during any future war, in order to ensure success and victory over the enemy at minimum loss to our own forces.

[Question] And as far as practice is concerned?

[Answer] This important aspect of the art of war is composed of the skills of commanders, staff officers and the troops at all organizational levels to operate practically. I will add that preparations are systematically conducted during peace by the Armed Forces and all of society, which is defensively organized, for the purpose of effectively conducting combat operations during a war both on the internal, domestic front, as well as on the external, defensive frontline.

[Question] Which of these two operational crafts plays the leading role?

[Answer] Practice, whose specific requirements provide the driving force and inspiration for the advancement of theory, is clearly foremost. Upon close scrutinization, we have to understand, however, that the practice of preparing and conducting combat does not always correspond to reality during peacetime. In this case, theory has a fundamental impact on improvements in practice.

[Question] Can one speak of changing or individual phases in the development of the art of war in the Polish People's Army?

[Answer] During the past 40 years we have considered the fact in every phase in the development of our art of war that if an armed conflict were to break out, our armed forces would not have enough state-of-the-art weapons equipment. We have to utilize this equipment most effectively by considering both the difficult and complicated conditions of the modern battlefield.

[Question] When are the excellent pieces of combat equipment and the modern resources for waging war, which our army and the other armies of the Warsaw Treaty Organization have, totally effective?

[Answer] This is answered primarily by modern theories in utilizing combat equipment and to what degree these theories are expanded, along with how this equipment is serviced and deployed in actual operations against a specific and very strong enemy. Of no less importance is the operational-tactical erudition of commanders and staff officers, including their competence and intellectual presence of mind, organizing and planning skills, ability to forecast, strong will, high discipline, sense of responsibility for mission accomplishment, high readiness and the training of their troops.

[Question] The art of war of the Polish People's Army has a history rich in tradition.

[Answer] The basis of the art of war of our military has been laid primarily by the Soviet Union's art of war. But not entirely, because we also consider the combat experiences of all partisan groupings, the 1st and 2nd armies of the Polish Army, and the soldiers fighting on

land, sea and in the air on all the fronts of the Second World War. All of this is part of the magnificent tradition of Polish arms which has been chronicled throughout the 1,000 years of our history.

[Question] To what degree does our geographic location play a role with the development of our national art of war?

[Answer] From the aspect of defense, our geographic location is very advantageous, but on the other hand, from the aspect of the capacity of an attack on our country with missiles and air power, it seems that our relatively secure distance from any probable battlefield is neither great nor secure. In other words, in the event of a conflict, we would be seriously threatened already in the first days thereof.

[Question] What do you mean threatened?

[Answer] I am thinking here about a massive attack against our country by missiles, airpower, forces and resources of so-called electronic and psychological warfare, and the dropping of numerous so-called "special forces" on our country. In the event of war, our country could be threatened simultaneously by sea and air assaults and the so-called "Air-Ground Operations 2000" which would be launched by NATO's leadership. This is specifically what our country would face. Additionally, by anticipating massive air strikes, we have to envision and have such resources at our disposal today which would allow us to paralyze these strikes completely. Hence, our national system of air defense has to be always at a high state of combat readiness and technical efficiency. Our coastal defenses also have to be no less formidable and effective.

[Question] This is a great deal of theory. What about practice?

[Answer] Practical ventures correspond to these theoretical concepts: the systematic introduction into the armed forces of modern equipment, a high level of training, and a permanent state of combat readiness. Of course, this will be done within the framework of a uniform and coalitional system of air and antiair defense. Our country and our army are an important and reliable element of this system.

[Question] Who has played in the past and continues to play further the most important role in generalizing the experiences of World War II and developing new concepts in the art of war?

[Answer] Generally speaking, military training as such, but it is primarily the General Staff Academy of the Polish Army, at which highly qualified command and staff personnel are systematically trained and prepared for operations on the modern battlefield. Additionally, the General Staff Academy conducts studies in the area of modern theory on the art of war with experienced and scholarly personnel.

[Question] For many years, people have been talking about a new qualitative phase in the development of the Polish People's Army's art of war.

[Answer] Together with the emergence of the aggressive NATO bloc and the defensive Warsaw Treaty Organization, many new problems which had to be solved in recent years arose. For this reason, General Staff Academy scholars and other people from other centers have had to answer many complicated and difficult questions: how to utilize a new generation of weapons, how to organize the defense of our forces and society against weapons of mass destruction, how to organize leadership on the battlefield under the new conditions of a nuclear missile threat, how to provide for the operational and strategic deployment of the armed forces, and how to wage a limited war when the enemy launches small, random attacks.

[Question] Have the qualitative transformations in the nature of the battlefield resulted in substantial changes in operational strategy and tactics?

[Answer] We are talking here primarily about the preparations and conduct of defensive and offensive operations. Here we have to face a fundamentally fluid situation on land, sea, in the air, and...on the airwaves. We also have to deal with the massive maneuver of forces, rapid and decisive operations, and possibility of huge losses and, along the same line, the need to restore quickly the combat readiness and capability of our forces.

[Question] As far as the current state of the art of war is concerned, what is the most important element therein?

[Answer] We need the permanent and greatest state of combat readiness on the part of our subunits, squads and tactical formations so that they are able to operate immediately and decisively in repulsing and destroying an aggressor.

[Question] The current state of the art of war also answers the following question: How should we train commanders and staff officers?

[Answer] They need to be excellent organizers of modern battle and combat operations and officers who understand well the specifics of these operations and modern combat equipment. Additionally, they need to consider the mutual connection between the national and coalitional factor in solving problems of the current state of the art of war within the framework of the Warsaw Treaty Organization.

[Interviewer] Thank you for the interview.

12247
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POLAND

RAKOWSKI SPEAKS AT ARTISTS' MEETING

AU122127 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 7 Mar 85 pp 1, 2

[Report signed 'Lut']

[Text] Deputy Premier Mieczyslaw Rakowski attended a meeting of representatives of artistic circles at the Office of the Council of Ministers on 6 March. He delivered an exhaustive report on the latest economic and socio-political situation. He stressed that the state of the economy and the material situation of working people are the basic determinants of our society's attitudes and moods. In the economic sphere, the effects of the heavy winter have made themselves felt particularly strongly. In January alone, daily average sold production was 13 percent less than in January 1984, whereas the export losses amounted to \$80 million. It is essential to make up for the deficiencies and make good the losses in order to satisfy social expectations, including in the cultural sphere.

M. Rakowski discussed the PZPR's political activity, as well as that of the allied political parties, the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth, and trade unions. Speaking about the situation in creative and intelligentsia circles, he said: We must not generalize any attitudes, and we notice a tendency to do so among various circles, for considerable differences exist, for example, geographic ones. The Warsaw community differs from the Krakow, Opole, or Poznan communities. These are differences that are quite visible. One can also see a difference regarding the influence which this or that political organization has on individual milieus.

Presenting mutual contacts between the state administration and society, Deputy Premier Rakowski pointed out that self-management bodies and the legal rules connected with them are still being availed of too little. Next, he presented the current state of relations between the state and the church, stressing the authorities' unchanging desire for constructive partnership on the basis of socialism. The final part of his speech was devoted to the activity of opposition circles and propaganda centers hostile to Poland.

CSO: 2600/715

POLAND

BAR COUNCIL DECISIONS 'STEP TOWARD BREAKING DEADLOCK'

LD181641 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1600 GMT 18 Mar 85

[Text] Political and administrative bodies of our country have many times expressed concern over the situation in the National Council of the Bar [Naczelna Rada Adwokacka]. It was discussed, among other things, at the 18th Plenum of the party Central Committee and during a meeting of the Council of Ministers in February.

A plenary meeting of the National Council of the Bar was held in past 2 days. The social and political situation within the Council was assessed. The motion of the resignation of barrister Maria Budzanowska from the post of chairman of the council was passed. A program resolution of December 1983 was revoked.

These decisions seem to constitute a first step toward breaking the deadlock the bar has been in for some time. At the same time, they create chances for undertaking a business-like cooperation with the authorities, a cooperation serving the interests of the whole milieu of the bar and the interests of the administration of justice as a whole.

As one of the participants of the meeting said, the essence of self-managing activities of the bar has to be its uniformity with the interests of the socialist state.

CSO: 2600/716

POLAND

LEGAL PROCEDURES RAISED DURING TORUN TRIAL EXPLAINED

Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish No 6, 9 Feb 85 p 6

[Article by St. Pod.: "Suggestions for the Court"]

[Text] Court proceedings, which are followed very closely by the public, prove only one sad fact, namely that of the spectators' ignorance of the rules of law. In this respect the degree of personal interest and emotional involvement does not parallel at all the knowledge and understanding of the court's proceedings and the underlying reasons.

Following the arguments of the prosecutors, attorneys and counsels for the defense, questions follow like an avalanche. Can the court go beyond the recommendation of the prosecutor and treat the defendant even more severely? Why did the assistant prosecutors representing the victim's family and the injured party--Chrostowski--not name the sentence they demand? Why this sudden caution? What sense does it make to bar someone from occupying a government position for the next 10 years when that person is close to 50 and according to the prosecutor's demand should stay behind bars for the next 25 years? The idea of "being deprived of civil rights," even though it has been accepted for decades in legislature, is still not clear and a question can be heard: "In general what kind of rights are we talking about here?"

So, let us see:

The arguments of the accuser comprise his own thoughts, evaluation, proposals and conclusions. They represent valuable material for the court, but they are not binding, and there are known cases of court verdicts which were more severe or at other times more lenient than those demanded by the prosecutor.

The assistant prosecutor does not have the right to express his opinion about the nature or severity of the penalty. The commentary on court procedure produced by law professors and judges of the Supreme Court puts it concisely: "He is excluded from matters pertaining to the sentence," and it also mentions the procedural regulation, which even prohibits the assistant prosecutor from dealing with that part of the verdict which pertains to the penalty. Why is that so? It seems to me that the right to a discussion on the penalty was for no apparent reason left exclusively to the prosecutor, defense counsel, and

finally the judges preparing the verdict. On the other hand, it is interesting that in the changes on the criminal procedure which were planned at the end of 1981, this rule was to be rejected, but then the changes were postponed and now once more they are being discussed by the Codification Commission of the Ministry of Justice.

The prohibition of holding public office applies in cases when one "knowingly and willfully abuses" his position and "commits a criminal offense." The court may but is not required to take this step, and in extreme cases of long prison terms and advanced age of the defendant this has obviously a moral rather than a practical meaning. Here, though, it must be remembered that even a long prison term does not deprive a person of the chance for an earlier release, for instance as a result of good behavior (after 16 years in the case of a 25 year sentence) or a result of a special pardon. A study concluded 20 years ago has shown that, for instance, a life sentence in Poland at that time meant....8 years.

"The penalty of depriving a person of his civil rights is an expression of the state's lack of trust in that individual and declares the convicted person not worthy to enjoy the basic rights of a citizen"--so claims with a bit of pathos the commentary to the criminal code. This penalty is given forever in cases of a death sentence, otherwise for the time defined in the verdict, and also in cases which are "despicable or revolting" (commentary).

What rights are we talking about? First of all political, which means to elect and to be elected to people's councils and the Sejm, fulfilling the function of court clerk, but also civic ones, such as military rank, a position in a state or even a social institution. Why should a school building committee or the Polish Red Cross or even a garden plot society accept a murderer in its midst? One also loses his medals, decorations (e.g., the Order of Merit of an Administrative Emoloyee) or honorary titles (like that of a Distinguished Teacher, Miner, honorary citizenship of a town, honorary doctor's degree, etc.). Of what importance can all this be to the defendants in the Torun trial? It is well known that they had rank and official positions, they had state medals and decorations of their own ministry! They stand to lose all that in case the court agrees with the prosecutor's decision, and during the 8 or 10 years following the completion of their sentence they cannot count on receiving those honors again. Here then lies the importance of the decision, clearly in its moral and not practical end. There is a saying that the penal code carries a "minimum of morality." This then is an expression and testimony to this truth.

During his final arguments, the public prosecutor said among other things: "The responsibility of officials of the Ministry of Internal Affairs for breaking the law, for the direct protection of which they are engaged, must be dealt with more severely than a similar offense by any other citizen." I consider this statement important also because the functionaries of public law and order agency enjoy the special protection of the penal law (for instance, in cases of insult or attack), and they also have the right to apply means of physical restraint (for instance, the use of handcuffs or the stick). We have the right

and the duty to demand more from those who receive more. Is this the case in the whole world? Not at all! According to a study conducted under the auspices of the United Nations Organization, in various countries (for instance Italy, France, and the United States) policemen commit crimes as often as ordinary citizens, except that the law enforcement agencies are reluctant to bring charges against them, and quite often look the other way. The reasons for this are obvious. Therefore the voice of this Polish prosecutor should meet with approval.

12470

CSO: 2600/673

POLAND

CONTROVERSY OVER 'LIBERATION THEOLOGY' HEATS UP

Support for Vatican Policy

Katowice GOSC NIEDZIELNY in Polish No 2, 13 Jan 85 p 8

[Article by A.W.: "On the Margin"]

[Text] In the situation which I described in the holiday issue of GOSC, the church in Latin America has been experiencing a dramatic upheaval for many years. Dependent for centuries on the traditionally Spanish (or Portuguese) state power and the established social order, which the renowned Brazilian archbishop Helder Camara called an "established disorder," it was finding its vocation in the new social situation with difficulty. In the majority of countries, particularly in Brazil, Chile and Peru, the church hierarchy and the clergy nevertheless make the choice in general on behalf of the poor, and in defense of human rights, but in other countries things can be different. For example, the Episcopate of Argentina was particularly obedient to military rule and was silent when repressions were heightened. With the trend toward social liberation coincided the trend toward grass roots renewal and animation of the life of the church. Hundreds and thousands of communities are coming into existence, which in the face of an enormous lack of priests in Latin America undertake many religious functions, performed by lay people. For these communities the faith in Christ the Saviour and Liberator is tied closely to the fight for social liberation and the building of a new, just social system. In practice they are often tied in close cooperation with various radical and sometimes even extremist revolutionary groups. I met in 1979 in Mexico a certain fine Catholic activist who in her small native country was the right hand of the local chief of the communist party. The participation of Catholics (clergy and lay people) in the Marxist-oriented government of Nicaragua is known. In Brazil many Catholics involved themselves years ago in Maoist groups more radical than the communists. Some ideologues of this movement, for example, Enrique Dussel, were inspired both by Marxist philosophy and by the practice of the communist bloc countries, and often in those cases the most immediate incentive was a profound dislike of the United States.

The document of the Vatican Congregation for the Doctrine of Faith warning some followers of "liberation theology" against succumbing to Marxist influences does not condemn this theology as such; on the contrary, it denounces glaring social differences, injustice, poverty and misery. At the same time,

however, it also disapproves of the impatience and violence which carry the danger of no lesser miseries and lead to subjecting religion--that is the cult, theology and morality--to the "class struggle," namely political struggle. It warns against mixing religion and politics, religious salvation (from evil and sin) and a salvation tied to a political victory. It defends Catholic social teaching, which some radicals reject, accusing it of defending the system of exploitation.

Latin American episcopates, which in general sympathize with "liberation theology," received this document favorably, but at the same time, as, for example, Brazilian cardinals, they tried to defend the major spokesmen for this trend. Looking from a distance at the very difficult situation of this continent, which still faces serious social upheavals, one cannot overestimate the danger for the Church and lay societies of mixing religion and politics. Therefore, one must probably emphasize the correctness of the concluding statements of the Vatican document, which warns against two dangers: first, it warns against a politicization of man's life which goes beyond the point of recognizing the special nature of the human being that surpasses earthly goals, a politicization which aims at the sanctification of politics in order to exploit the religiosity of the people for the purpose of revolutionary undertakings; second, it warns against passivity, indifference and actual coresponsibility, particularly with regard to clergymen and activists, in front of injustice and misery, while they justify their passivity by efforts to retain religious "purity," and in fact become accomplices to the injustice.

It is worth recalling here the formula of political philosophy which was worked out by some socialist circles in the interwar period. I have already written about it in this column. The formula believed that violence can be used in order to avoid a greater evil, but it must not be used in order to build a good work.

Church Accused of Hypocrisy

Warsaw ARGUMENTY in Polish No 4, 27 Jan 85 p 15

[Article by j.n.: "Two Sides of the Theological Medal"]

[Text] In GOSC NIEDZIELNY (No 2, 13 January), in the column "In the Margin," A.W. worries terribly that liberation theology threatens the church with involvement in politics. A.W. once more recalled the so-called Ratzinger instruction, namely the instruction of the Congregation for the Doctrine of Faith on liberation theology. This instruction passes judgement both on the theologians of this trend and on Marxism, to which the liberation theology refers.

In the opinion of A.W., "The Vatican document of the Congregation of the Doctrine of Faith, warning against the succumbing of some followers of the 'liberation theology' to the influences of Marxism, does not condemn this theology as such. On the contrary, it denounces glaring social differences, injustice, poverty and misery. At the same time, however, it also disapproves

of the impatience and violence which carry the danger of no lesser miseries and lead to subjecting religion--that is, the cult, theology and morality--to the 'class struggle,' namely political struggle. It warns against mixing religion and politics, religious salvation (from evil and sin) and a salvation tied to a political victory. It defends the Catholic social teaching, which some radicals reject, accusing it of defending the system of exploitation."

With regard to the quoted publication and Cardinal Ratzinger's instruction itself, let us recall that the Vatican's shedding of crocodile tears over the fate of the exploited did not begin with that instruction. The Vatican has been doing it for decades. At the same time those tears have always been accompanied by sharp admonitions to those who, fed up with the exploitation, simply wanted to cast it off. For a century now workers have been told that they are not allowed to use revolutionary methods, because they are contrary to the principles of the faith. The agitation is carried out at least where revolutionary struggle threatens the position of the propertied classes. On the other hand, wherever political forces representing the oppressed classes gain advantage, the hierarchy does not hesitate to sanctify military action. It always finds justification for counterrevolution, as, for example, in 1936, during the rebellion of Gen Franco, and words of condemnation for the revolution. This results simply from the place of the church, which in the class sense is today again, of course, on the side of the bourgeoisie. This feeling cannot be changed by the tearing of robes over the fate of the oppressed Latin Americans, since they are not allowed to reach for arms and since the vision of Christ with a gun on his shoulder is being rejected.

Let us, however, put aside the issue of Latin America, liberation theology and other problems connected with it. Let us only note that we are surprised by A.W.'s worrying about the threat of the politicization of the church and clergy on the Latin American continent, since somehow he expresses no dismay with regard to a threat much closer to his turf, namely that of a large group of Polish clergy's dedication to the service of politics. In No 2 of GOSC NIEDZIELNY of 13 January, starting with page one, three full columns were devoted to the report from the trial of the accused in the killing of Father Jerzy Popieluszko. Precisely today, that is, 14 January, the radio announced the submission to the court of a "Pro memoria" issued by the Office on Denominations last year to church authorities in the question of the political, antistate activity of a numerically significant group of priests.

One could, therefore, ask why both A.W. and the editorial board of GOSC NIEDZIELNY worry so much that in Latin America the clergy is striving at tying the church and politics and religion and politics, but in general seems not to be worried that scores of priests in Poland for a long time have been conducting political activity. Is it because in Latin America priests refer positively to the Marxist method, while in Poland priests are usually trying to discredit the Marxist method in a vulgar way? Is it simply the question of such a "trivial" difference? If, however, this is exactly the case, let us, dear editors of GOSC NIEDZIELNY, stop making fools of ourselves and others and let us have the courage to say what you really have in mind.

The truth is that under the slogans of a supposed concern for the working people, efforts are made to subject them to political reeducation and to shape them politically on the basis of the stale and compromised political doctrines of the Polish bourgeoisie, National Democracy, the "sanacja," and Christian Democrats. Efforts are made to reintroduce through the church nave into our social consciousness all that ideological and political filth, which so infamously ended its historical "mission" either during the years of World War II or shortly afterward. On the part of those church circles which have involved themselves in this, it is a dangerous game. If they enter politics, they must be treated precisely as political institutions and milieus, with all its consequence. The attempt to hide political intentions behind the screen of supposedly religious, theological motivations will not do here.

The situation is becoming continually riper for the preparation, assembling and publication of a kind of a black book of a reanimation of political clericalism, which took upon itself the role of the leader of a new crusade against communists and Marxists. A growing number of representatives of this trend try to lean on the papal authority, making the appearance in the political ranks as a certain kind of neopapists, referring to the tradition of papism in the times when it stood in opposition to the lay power fighting for emancipation or its maintenance.

By the end of the past year, in No 52-53 of the organ of the Czestochowa curia, in the weely NIEDZIELA, Father Daniel Olszowski published the article "Backward Middle Ages?" It was the first, since times immemorial, attempt at an ideological rehabilitation of the Middle Ages, which, as we know, was the epoch of the Golden Age for the church. The epoch when the papacy handed out royal crowns. To support the opinion that the Middle Ages where not such a backward time, Father Olszowski quoted the opinion of Catholic philosophers. That seems somewhat insufficient. In any case, that is not my concern. My belief is that the attempt at the rehabilitation of the Middle Ages is closely connected with the attempt to justify the church's rights to occupy itself with politics, as a side of the politics. There are many priests who dream of a contest with "godless communism," followed by a return to the political position which the church occupied in the Middle Ages. In order, however, for people not to take fright at the darkenss of the Middle Ages (and things are growing continually darker in that respect), it is necessary to brighten them up a little, even if artificially. Will this bring results? Well, we shall live to see.

12270

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POLAND

PAX ORGAN SUBMITS OWN LIST OF RELIGIOUS PUBLICATIONS

Warsaw SLOWO POWSZECHNE in Polish 15-17 Feb 85 p 7

[Article by (as): "Polish Catholic Press"; for list of periodicals published in TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY see "Proliferation of Catholic Press in Recent Years Noted" in JPRS EPS-85-031, 6 March 1985, pp 53-61]

[Text] TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY No 3 of 20 January published a list of 31 periodicals which, according to the introduction to the article, comprise the Polish Catholic press. The article appeared under that very title, "Polish Catholic Press." The list, says the introduction, was compiled at the request of the Commission for the Mass Media of the Polish Episcopate and includes journals connected with the church hierarchy. The brief introduction also stated that the number of published titles, especially now that the list has been enlarged by new titles published since 1981, and the total circulation of periodicals that are either published by the church or are regarded as close to it (such as TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY, ZNAK, and WIEZ, all included on the list), "presently equal that of the lay Catholic press which is not connected with the church hierarchy, as well as the press of other churches and religious associations."

No journal published by associations of lay Catholics (except the already mentioned TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY, ZNAK, and WIEZ) were included on the list, most likely for political reasons, although it would seem that when one talks about "propagating Christian values"--a distinctive characteristic of the Catholic press, according to TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY's introduction--every one of these journals plays a part in this effort. These journals constitute one of the areas of social and political activity of a group of lay Catholics who, as the faithful, participate in the life of the church and proselytize the values of Christian outlook in their public activities, including publishing, writing, and journalism. This part of the press, diverse in character, provides information about the life of the church in our country and about the universal Church, disseminates the teachings of the pope and Polish bishops, and transmits Catholic and Christian values to the society.

In reading the article in TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY one gets the impression that only the so-called church press, i.e., publications by institutions of the church hierarchy or connected with the church, performs the task of

propagating its teaching and Christian values. Whatever the errors and stumbles committed by lay editors and writers who, after all, work with responsibility to their knowledge and conscience--and such errors have surely occurred--the experience of recent months, or even weeks, convincingly proves that the mere fact of publishing in the so-called church press does not by itself protect one from expressing views that have little in common with the church's teaching. Such was the case with the views of a well-known journalist representing a prominent Catholic weekly concerning abortion. She was, to be gentle about it, very distant from Catholicism. Such was also the case with an erroneous opinion, expressed during a debate about culture, concerning the essence of the church and of God's people.

Last year, from 25 April to 29 May, there was an exhibition at the Lublin Cathedral devoted to the "Contemporary Catholic Press in Poland," organized by Ministry to Creative Artists in the Lublin Diocese. The exhibit gathered over 70 titles, including all diocese publications with local distribution, internal periodicals published by some monastic orders, which were not included in the article printed by TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY. The exhibition also included all journals published in Poland by lay Catholic groups. In a highly objective manner, the organizers of the Lublin exhibition presented a picture of the Polish press with Catholic or Christian content. They simply included all such press, published by the church, published by lay Catholics connected with the church hierarchy, and those published by lay groups acting on their own--for which, after Vatican II, they find the motivation and encouragement in the church itself--with the intention of serving the church and Catholic, Christian values. The catalog published by the organizers of the exhibition was a clear and factual guide to the Catholic press thanks to the fact that every journal was accompanied by descriptive entry which listed its publisher, place of publication, and circulation. It is true that many among them have very small circulation and have very limited, internal distribution. This is true of the so-called diocese newsletters, i.e., official curial publications of individual dioceses, and periodicals published by certain monastic orders, e.g., CHARIS, published by the Maitri movement; METEOR, published by the Association of Missionary Priests; NOSTRA of the Salesian Priests; and the Information Bulletins of the Academy of Catholic Theology [ATK], or the Catholic University of Lublin [KUL]. Of course, these publications do not play the role or have the influence on social consciousness equal to that of the better known weeklies, but they should nevertheless be included in the general picture of the Polish Catholic press.

The list which we print below is based essentially on the list of journals published in the Lublin catalog (we have omitted the publications of monastic orders and the ATK and KUL bulletins). We have also omitted the Polish language edition of the L'OSSERVATORE ROMANO which, while accessible in our country, is not published in Poland. Data on some publications have been brought up to date.

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APOSTOLSTWO CHORYCH [The Apostleship of the Infirm]. Religious-missionary journal. Monthly. Katowice. Publisher: Polish Secretariat of the Apostleship of the Infirm. Editor: Rev Henryk Sobczyk. Printed by: Typographic Plant in Katowice, circulation 50,000, format 15.2 x 22.5 cm, 16 pp, first published in 1933.

ATENEUM KAPLANSKIE [Priestly Atheneum]. Bimonthly. Wloclawek. Publisher: Higher Theological Seminary in Wloclawek. Editor-in-chief: Rev Jerzy Bagrowicz. Printed by: State Typographic Enterprise RSW "Prasa, Ksiazka, Ruch" in Bydgoszcz, circulation 6030, format 14.7 x 20.5 cm, 184 pp, first published in 1909.

BIBLIOTEKA KAZNODZIEJSKA [Preacher's Library]. Homiletic monthly. Poznan. Publisher: St Wojciech Bookstore (branches in Poznan, Warsaw, Lublin). Editor: Rev Dr Zdzislaw Grzegorski. Printed by: Typographic Plant of the St Wojciech Library in Poznan, circulation 11,300 format 14.5 x 20.6 cm, 64 pp + 4 covers.

COLLECTANEA THEOLOGICA. Quarterly. Publisher: The Academy of Catholic Theology in Warsaw. Editor-in-chief: Rev Henryk Bogacki, S.J., circulation 2530, 200 pp, first published in 1920.

CHRZESCIJANIN W SWIECIE [The Christian in the World]. ODiSS Notebooks. Monthly. Warsaw. Publisher: Center for Documentation and Social Studies, chairman of the Scientific Council of ODiSS: Prof Czeslaw Strzeszewski. Editor-in-chief: Jerzy Skwara; Editor-in-chief of foreign language editions: Rudolf Buchala. Printed by: Typographic Plant in Katowice, circulation 5000, format 14.5 x 20.4 cm, 136 pp, first published in 1968.

CHRZESCIJANIN A WSPOLCZESNOSC [The Christian and Modernity]. Bimonthly. Wroclaw. Publisher: Novum Publishing Institute of the Christian Social Association, Wroclaw branch. Editor-in-chief: Jan Plawnicki. Printed by: Wroclaw Typographic Plant, circulation 5000, format 16.5 x 23.7 cm, 130 pp, first published in 1984.

COMMUNIO. International Theological Review. Bimonthly. Poznan. Publisher: Association of Catholic Apostleship "Pallotinum." Chairman of Editorial Committee: Rev Pawel Goralczyk, SAC. Managing Editor: Rev Kazimierz Kynarski, SAC. Address: Oltarzew, circulation 5253, format 14.8 x 20.5 cm, 144 pp, First year of Polish language edition: 1981.

CURRENDA. Official organ of the Tarnow Diocese. Quarterly. Publisher: Curia of the Tarnow Diocese. Editor: Rev Jan Rzepa. Printed by: National Printing Plant No 8 in Krakow, circulation 1300, format 14.5 x 20.8 cm, 104 pp, 135th year of publication.

CZESTOCHOWSKIE WIADOMOSCI DIECEZJALNE [Czestochowa Diocese News]. Monthly. Publisher: Curia of the Czestochowa Diocese. Editors: Rev M. Mikolajczyk and Rev L. Warzybok. Printed by: Loretan Typographical Plant in Warsaw, circulation 1000, format 14.7 x 20.7 cm, 24 pp, 59th year of publication.

GORZOWSKIE WIADOMOSCI KOSCIELNE [Gorzow Church News]. Publisher: Bishop's Curia in Gorzow Wielkopolski. Editor: Rev Stanislaw Starczynski. Printed by: Szczecin Typographic Plant in Gorzow, circulation 650, format 14.5 x 20.5 cm, 30 pp, 29th year of publication.

GOSC NIEDZIELNY [Sunday Guest]. Weekly. Katowice. Publisher: Curia of the Katowice Diocese. Editor-in-chief: Rev Stanislaw Tkocz. Printed by: Press Typographic Plant RSW "Prasa, Ksiazka, Ruch" in Katowice, circulation 200,000, format 30 x 42.8 cm, 8 pp, first published in 1923.

GWIAZDA MORZA [Sea Star]. Catholic Biweekly in Gdansk. Publisher: Bishop's Curia in Gdansk-Oliwa. Editor-in-chief: Rev Dr Wieslaw Lauer, chancellor of the Curia. Printed by: Typographic Plant in Gdansk, circulation 15,000, format 25 X 34.5 cm, 8 pp, first published in 1983.

HEJNAL MARIACKI [The Marian Clarion]. Illustrated monthly. Warsaw. Publisher: Christian Social Association. Editor-in-chief: Zdzislaw Pilecki. Printed by: Plate Typographic Plant RSW "Prasa, Ksiazka, Ruch" in Warsaw, format 20.4 x 27.5 cm, 24 pp, first published in 1956.

HOMO DEI. Ascetic-Pastoral Review. Quarterly. Warsaw. Organ of the Redemptorist Fathers. Publisher and Editors: Redemptorist Fathers. Editor-in-chief: Fr Czeslaw Kudron, SSR. Printed by: Wroclaw Typographical Plant, format 16.4 x 23.5 cm, 76 pp. Established in 1932.

JASNA GORA. Monthly. Sanctuary of the Madonna from Jasna Gora. Publisher: General Curia of the Order of Paulines and the Jasna Gora Monastery. Editor-in-chief: Fr Rufin Abramek, ZP. Printed by: National Printers, Plant No 8 in Krakow-Nowa Huta, illustrated publication, circulation 3500, format 14.7 x 20.5 cm, 56 pp + 4 covers, first published in 1983.

KATECHETA [The Catechist]. Bimonthly devoted to the problems of teaching religion. Poznan. Publisher: St Wojciech Bookstore in Poznan. Editor-in-chief: Rev Prof Marian Finke. Printed by: Typographic Plant of the St Wojciech Library, circulation 6500, format 14.4 x 20.6 cm, 48 pp, first published in 1957.

KATOLIK [The Catholic]. Sociocultural weekly of the PAX Association. Katowice. Publisher: PAX Publishing Institute. Editor-in-chief: Jan Waleczek. Printed by: Press Typographic Enterprise RSW "Prasa, Ksiazka, Ruch" in Katowice, circulation 65,000, format 30 x 42 cm, 16 pp, reestablished in 1982.

KIELECKI PRZEGLAD DIECEZJALNY [Kielce Diocese Review]. Official Organ of the Curia of the Diocese. Publisher: Curia of the Kielce Diocese. Editors: Rev E. Sztafrowski and W. Wojcik. Printed by: Kielce Typographic Plant, circulation 1250, format 14.2 x 20.3 dm, 48 pp, 61st year of publication.

KIERUNKI [Directions]. Sociocultural Catholic weekly. Warsaw. Publisher: PAX Publishing Institute. Editor-in-chief: Zygmunt Lichniak. Printed by: Press Typographic Enterprise RSW "Prasa, Ksiazka, Ruch" in Warsaw, circulation 20,000, format 37.8 x 55.2 cm, 12 pp, first published in 1954.

KOSZALINSKO-KOLOBRZESKIE WIADOMOSCI DIECEZJALNE [Koszalin-Kolobrzeg Diocese News]. Official organ of the Bishop's Curia. Publisher: Koszalin-Kolobrzeg Bishop's Curia. Editor: Fr Piotr Tadeusz Mlelczarek, OFM Conv., bishop's vicar. Printed by: Typographic and Artistic Cooperative "Intropol" in Koszalin, circulation 750, format 14.8 x 20.8 cm, 62 pp, 13th year of publication.

KRONIKA DIECEZJI PRZEMYSKIEJ [Chronicle of the Przemysl Diocese]. Quarterly. Publisher: Bishop's Curia. Rev Edward Chrzanowski. Printed by: Cooperative of the Disabled "Praca" in Przemysl, circulation 1050, format 14.7 x 20.8 cm, 56 pp, 71st year of publication.

KRONIKA DIECEZJI SANDOMIERSKO-RADOMSKIEJ [Chronicle of the Sandomierz-Radom Diocese]. Monthly devoted to diocese affairs. Publisher: Diocese Publishing House in Sandomierz. Editor: Rev Jozef Krasinski and editorial board. Printed by: Diocese Typographic Plant in Sandomierz, circulation 800, format 15 x 20.5 cm, 48 pp 78th year of publication.

KRONIKA DIECEZJI WLOCLAWSKIEJ [Chronicle of the Wloclawek Diocese]. Journal devoted to diocese affairs. Publisher: Curia of the Wloclawek Diocese. Printed by: Local Typographic Plant in Lipno, circulation 730, format 14.3 x 20.3 cm, 52 pp, 1983 was the 66th year of publication.

KROLOWA APOSTOLOW [Queen of the Apostles]. Illustrated monthly. Warsaw. Publisher: Pallotine Priests. Editor-in-chief: Rev Jan Palyga, SAC. Printed by: Pallotinum in Poznan, circulation 50,000, format 20.6 x 28.6 cm, 40 pp + 4 covers, first published in 1908.

KULTURA OSWIATA NAUKA [Culture, Education, Science]. PAX Association monthly. Warsaw. Publisher: PAX Publishing Institute. Editor-in-chief: Zbigniew Czajkowski. Printed by: Typographic Plant in Torun, circulation 3000, format 14.7 x 20.8 cm, 160 pp, first published in 1980.

LAD [Order]. Catholic social weekly. Warsaw, Publisher: SZP "Libella" Publishing House "Lad." Editor-in-chief (acting): Jacek Bukowski. Printed by: Bialystok Typographic Plant, circulation 30,000 format 42.3 x 58.8 cm, 8 pp. Editorial office branch in Lublin, Rayski St 3. First published in 1984.

LAD BOZY [Lord's Order]. Catholic family biweekly. Wloclawek. Publisher: Curia of the Wloclawek Diocese. Editor-in-chief: Rev Antoni Poninski. Printed by: Local Typographic Plant, Wloclawek branch, circulation 50,000, format 21 x 30 cm, 8 pp, first published in 1945.

MALY GOSC NIEDZIELNY [Little Sunday Guest]. Monthly. Katowice. Publisher: Curia of the Katowice Diocese. Editor-in-chief: Lidia Kalkusinska. Printed by: Typographic Plant in Katowice, circulation 100,000, format 23 x 30.6 cm, 24 pp, first published in 1954.

MATERIALY PROBLEMOWE [Problem Materials]. Monthly. Warsaw. Publisher: "Novum" Press and Publications Institute of the Christian Social Association. Editor-in-chief: Jan Pawlik. Printed by: RSW "Prasa, Ksiazka, Ruch" in Warsaw, circulation 5300, format 14.5 x 20.8 cm, 94 pp, 17th year of publication.

MIESIECZNIK DIECEZJALNY GDANSKI [Gdansk Diocese Monthly]. Publisher: Bishop's Curia in Gdansk-Oliwa. Printed by: Typographic Plant in Gdansk, Gdynia branch, circulation 1250, format 14.6 x 20.6 cm, 100 pp, 1982 was the 26th year of publication.

MIESIECZNIK KOSCIELNY ARCHIDIECEZJI POZNANSKIEJ [Church Monthly of the Poznan Archdiocese]. Publisher and Editor: Metropolitan Curia in Poznan. Printed by: Typographical Plant of the St Wojciech Bookstore in Poznan, circulation 1500, format 14.7 x 20.6 cm, 80 pp, 36th year of publication.

MIESIECZNIK PASTERSKI PLOCKI [Plock Pastoral Monthly]. Official organ of the Plock Diocese. Publisher: Curia of the Plock Diocese. Chairman of the Editorial Board: Rev Zenon Gliner. Printed by: Loretan Printing Plant in Warsaw, circulation 900, format 15 x 20.8 cm, 116 pp, 80th year of publication.

MISJONARZ [The Missionary]. Bimonthly. Information bulletin of the Polish Province of Verbist Fathers. Warsaw. Publisher: Publishing House of Verbist Priests "Verbinum." Director: Rev Antoni Koszorz, SVD. Editor: Henryk Jerzmanski. Printed by: Small Typographic Plant of Verbist Fathers in Pieniezno, circulation 15,000, format 20.5 x 28.5 cm, 32 pp, first published in 1983. This is a continuation of the VERBINUM bulletin; a Verbist journal, NASZ MISJONARZ, was published before the war.

MISYJNE DROGI [Missionary Ways]. Illustrated quarterly. Poznan. Publisher: Misjonarze Oblaci Maryi Niepokalanej [The Oblate Missionaries of Immaculate Mary]. Editor-in-chief: Rev Alfons Kupka, OMI. Printed by: M. Kasprzak Typographic Plant in Poznan, circulation 20,350, format 20.18 x 28.2 cm, 64 pp + 4 covers, first published in 1983.

MSZA SWIETA [The Holy Mass]. Biblical-liturgical monthly. Poznan. Publisher: Christ Society for Polonia Abroad. Editor-in-chief: Rev Michal Kaminski. Printed by: State Typographic Plant, circulation 20,000, format 14.5 x 20.6 cm, 22 pp, first published in 1936.

MYSL SPOLECZNA [Social Thought]. Weekly of the Caritas Catholic Association. Publisher: Main Administration of the Caritas Catholic Association. Printed by: Plate Plant RSW "Prasa," edited by an editorial committee.

NASZA PRZESZLOSĆ [Our Past]. Publisher: Publishing Institute of Missionary Fathers, Krakow. Editor-in-chief: Rev Jan Dukala, CM. Format 15.5 x 19.5 cm, first published in 1946.

NIEDZIELA [Sunday] Catholic weekly. Czestochowa. Publisher: Curia of the Czestochowa Diocese. Editor-in-chief: Rev Ireneusz Skubis. Printed by: Typographic Plant in Opole, circulation 100,000, format 30 x 42.4 cm, 8 pp, first published in 1926.

NOWE ZYCIE [New Life]. Religion, culture, society. Catholic journal in Lower Silesia. Biweekly. Wroclaw. Publisher: Wroclaw Metropolitan Curia. Editor-in-chief: Rev Henryk Szareyko. Printed by: Press Typographic Plant RSW "Prasa, Ksiazka, Ruch" in Wroclaw, circulation 20,000, format 20.8 cm, 16 pp, first published in 1983.

OREDOWNIK DIECEZJI CHELMINSKIEJ [Chelm Diocese Spokesman]. Official journal of the Chelm Bishop's Curia in Pelplin. Publisher: Bishop's Curia. Editor: Rev Bp Zygfryd Kowalski, general vicar. Printed by: Typographic Plant in Gdansk, Gdynai branch, circulation 1270, format 14.5 x 20 cm, 70 pp, 37th year of publication.

NOTIFICATIONES E CURIA METROPOLITANA CRACOVIEWSI. Monthly for internal distribution. Krakow. Publisher: Metropolitan Curia in Krakow. Printed by: National Printing Plant No 3 in Krakow, circulation 1400, format 14.4 x 20.5 cm, 130 pp, 123rd year of publication.

PAPIESKIE INTENCJE MISYJNE [Papal Missionary Intentions]. Bimonthly of the Papal Department for the Propagation of Faith. Warsaw. Publisher: National Secretariat of the Papal Department for the Propagation of Faith. Editor-in-chief (acting): Mother Teresa Kepinska, OP. Address: Editorial Offices of the Publications of the Missionary Bureau. Printed by: Small Typographic Plant in Warsaw, circulation 10,000, format 20.5 x 28.8 cm, 16 pp, first published in 1982.

POSLANIEC SERCA JEZUSOWEGO [The Messenger of Christ's Heart]. Monthly edited by the Jesuit Priests of Southern Poland Province, Krakow. Publisher: Publishing House of the Apostleship of Prayer. Editor-in-chief: Rev Jan Ozog, SJ. Printed by: Press Typographic Plant in Krakow, circulation 100,000, format 19.8 x 27.2 cm, 24 pp, first published in 1872.

POSLANIEC WARMINSKI [Warmia Messenger]. Catholic biweekly. Olsztyn. Publisher: Curia of the Warmia Diocese in Olsztyn. Editor-in-chief: Rev Benedykt Przeracki. Printed by: Workers' Cooperative "Poligrafia" in Bartoszyce, circulation 22,000, format 24.8 x 34.6 cm, 8 pp, first published in 1969.

POWSCIAGLIWOSC I PRACA [Restraint and Work]. Michaelite Fathers monthly. Publisher: Publishing House "Michalineum" of the General Curia of the Gathering of St Michael Archangel. Editor-in-chief: Rev Jan Chrapek, CSMA. Printed by: Polish Word Printers in Warsaw, circulation 30,000, format 2.43 x 36.3 cm, 12 pp + 4 covers; established in 1898, revived in 1983.

PREZBITERUM. Official journal of the Szczecin-Kamien Pomorski Diocese. Publisher: Bishop's Curia. Printed by: Szczecin Typographic Plant, circulation 600, format 14.7 x 20.5 cm, 30 pp, 8th year of publication.

PRZEGLAD KATOLICKI [Catholic Review]. Weekly. Publisher: Publishing House of the Warsaw Archdiocese. Editor-in-chief: Rev Waldemar Wojdecki. Circulation 40,000, format B-3, 8 pp, first published in 1863.

PRZEGLAD POWSZECHNY [General Review]. Monthly. Warsaw. Wielkopolsko-Mazowiecka Province Society of Jesus. Editor-in-chief: Rev Stanislaw Opiela, SJ. Printed by: Warsaw Press-printing Plant, circulation 10,350, format 14.5 x 20.3 cm, 144 pp, first published in 1884.

PRZEWODNIK KATOLICKI [Catholic Guide]. Weekly. Poznan. Publisher: St Wojciech Bookstore. Editor-in-chief (acting): Rev Zbigniew Pawlak. Printed by: PZMGK in Poznan, circulation 100,000, format 24.5 x 34.9 cm, 8 pp, first published in 1895.

ROZPORZADZENIA URZEDOWE LOMZYNSKIEJ KURII DIECEZJALNEJ [Official Orders of the Curia of the Lomza Diocese]. Quarterly. Lomza. Publisher: Curia of the Lomza Diocese. Editor-in-chief: Rev Antoni Boszko. Printed by: Bialystok Typographic Plant, circulation 700, format 14.5 x 20.7 cm, 108 pp, 45th year of publication.

RUCH BIBLIJNY I LITURGICZNY [Biblical and Liturgical Movement]. Bimonthly. Krakow. Publisher: Polish Theological Society in Krakow. Editor-in-chief: Fr Lubomir Bernatek, OFM conv. Printed by: Small Printing Plant in Niepokalanow, circulation 100,000, format 16.5 x 24.3 cm, 32 pp + 4 covers, first published in 1922.

SLOWO POWSZECHNE [General Word]. PAX Association daily. Warsaw. Publisher: PAX Publishing Institute. Edited by an editorial board, editor-in-chief: Jozef Wojcik. Printed by: Press Typographic Plant RSW "Prasa, Ksiazka, Ruch" in Warsaw, Sunday circulation about 130,000; daily circulation 80,000, format 35.8 x 51 cm, 8 pp, first published in 1947.

STUDIA I DOCUMENTY EKUMENICZNE [Ecumenical Studies and Documents]. Quarterly. Journal of the Christian Social Association, Warsaw. Publisher: "Novum" Press and Publications Institute. Editor-in-chief: Karol Karski. Printed by: Typographic Plant in Biskupiec, circulation 1000, format 17 x 23 cm, 95 pp, first published in 1983.

TYGODNIK POLSKI [Polish Weekly]. Christian sociocultural journal. Warsaw. Publisher: "Novum" Press and Publications Institute of the Christian Social Association. Editor-in-chief: Edmund Moszynski. Printed by: Polish Word Printing House in Warsaw, format 36 x 38.5 cm, 16 pp, first published in 1982.

TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY [General Weekly]. Catholic social-cultural journal. Krakow. Publisher: Social Publishing Institute "Znak." Editor-in-chief: Jerzy Turowicz. Printed by: Press Typographic Plant RSW "Prasa, Ksiazka, Ruch" in Krakow, circulation 80,000, format 42.3 x 60 cm, 8-12 pp, first published in 1945.

WARMINSKIE WIADOMOSCI DIECEZJALNE [News of the Warmia Diocese]. Bi-weekly. Publisher: Bishop's Curia in Olsztyn, circulation 725.

WIADOMOSCI ARCHIDIECEZJALNE WARSZAWSKIE [News of the Warsaw Archdiocese]. Bimonthly of the Warsaw Archdiocese, Warsaw. Publisher: Metropolitan Curia in Warsaw. Chairman of the Editorial Board: Rev Zdzislaw Krol; editor-in-chief: Rev Waldemar Wojdecki. Printed by: Loretan Printing Plant in Warsaw, circulation 2000, format 15 x 20.9 cm, 96 pp, 75th year of publication.

WIADOMOSCI ARCHIDIECEZJALNE GNIEZNIENSKIE [News of the Gniezno Archdiocese]. Monthly. Gniezno. Publisher: Metropolitan Curia in Gniezno. Printed by: Pallotinum, circulation 1000, format 14.7 x 20.5 cm, 45 pp, 40th year of publication.

WIADOMOSCI DIECEZJALNE [Diocese News]. Official journal of the Curia of the Katowice Diocese. Printed by: Plant No 2 in Chorzow, circulation 1500, format 14.5 x 20.3 cm, 38 pp, 53rd year of publication.

WIADOMOSCI DIECEZJALNE LUBELSKIE [Lublin Diocese News]. For internal distribution. Publisher: Bishop's Curia in Lublin. Editor: Rev Dr Dionizy Pietrusinski. Printed by: "Intrograf" Paper and Printing Cooperative in Lublin, circulation 1000, format 14.5 x 20.4 cm, 156 pp, 58th year of publication.

WIADOMOSCI DIECEZJALNE LODZKIE [Lodz Diocese News]. Monthly. Lodz. Publisher: Bishop's Curia of the Lodz Diocese. Editor-in-chief: Rev Jan Wiktorowski. Printed by: Opus Printers, Plant No 1, in Lodz, circulation 600, format 14.5 x 20.5 cm, 34 pp, 59th year of publication.

WIADOMOSCI DIECEZJALNE PODLASKIE [Podlasie Diocese News]. Official journal of the Diocese Curia. Monthly. Siedlce. Publisher: Curia of the Siedlce Diocese. Editor: Rev Mieczyslaw Glowacki. Printed by: Loretan Printing Plant in Warsaw, circulation 850, format 14.7 x 20.7 cm, 32 pp, 54th year of publication.

WIADOMOSCI KOSCIELNE ARCHIDIECEZJI W BIALYMSTOKU [Church News of the Bialystok Archdiocese]. Quarterly. Publisher: Archbishop's Curia in Bialystok. Editor-in-chief: Cezary Potocki. Printed by: Bialystok Printing Plant, circulation 650, format 14.5 x 20.4 cm, 134 pp, 10th year of publication.

WIADOMOSCI URZEDOWE DIECEZJI OPOLSKIEJ [Official News of the Opole Diocese]. Publisher: Curia of the Diocese. Editor-in-chief: Rev H. Sobeczko. Printed by the Opole Typographic Plant, circulation 1750, format 14.3 x 20.4 cm, 40 pp, 40th year of publication.

WROCLAWSKIE WIADOMOSCI KOSCIELNE [Wroclaw Church News]. Official organ of the Archbishop's Curia. Quarterly. Publisher: Archbishop's Curia in Wroclaw. Editor: Rev Dr Hieronim Kocylowski. Printing by: Post Office and Telecommunications Typographic Plant in Wroclaw, circulation 750, format 14 x 20 cm, 75 pp, 38th year of publication.

W DRODZE [On the Way]. Monthly devoted to Christian life. Poznan, Wroclaw, Gdansk. Publisher: Polish Province of Dominican Fathers, Poznan. Editor-in-chief: Fr Marcin Andrzej Babraj, OP. Printing by Szczecin Printing Plant, circulation 10,000, format 14 x 20.5 cm, 112 pp, first published in 1983.

WIEZ [The Bond]. Monthly. Warsaw. Edited by an editorial board, editor-in-chief: Wojciech Wieczorek. Printed by: Polish Word Typographic and Printing House, circulation 10,000, format 14.5 x 20.5 cm, 168 pp, first published in 1958.

WSPOLCZESNA AMBONA [Contemporary Pulpit]. Homiletic quarterly. Kielce, Publisher: Bishop's Curia in Kielce. Editor-in-chief: Rev Bp Mieczyslaw Jaworski. Printed by: Kielce Typographic Plant, circulation 5000, format 14.5 x 20.5 cm, 240 pp. Continuation of a journal established in 1923 under the title of HOMILETIC REVIEW, which appeared until 1939. Nine issues of WSPOLCZESNA AMBONA appeared after the war, until 1958.

ZNAK [The Sign]. Monthly. Krakow. Publisher: "Znak" Publishing House. Edited by an editorial board, editor-in-chief: Stefan Wilkanowicz. Printed by: Wladyslaw Anczyc Printers in Krakow, circulation 15,450, format 14.4 x 20.4 cm, 90-180 pp, first published in 1946.

ZA I PRZECIWIW [For and Against]. Weekly. Warsaw. Journal of the Christian Social Association. Editor-in-chief: Janina Blautowa. Printed by: Press Printing Plant RSW "Prasa, Ksiazka, Ruch" in Warsaw, format 24 x 33.3 cm, 24 pp, first published in 1954.

ZORZA [Daybreak]. Catholic family weekly. Warsaw. Publisher: PAX Publishing Institute. Editor-in-chief: Wojciech Janicki. Printed by: Polish Word Press and Printing House in Warsaw. Illustrated journal, circulation 50,000, format 25 x 35.6 cm, 24 pp, first published in 1958.

ZYCIE KATOLICKIE W POLSCE [Catholic Life in Poland]. Monthly of the Center for Studies and Catholic Documentation of the PAX Association, Warsaw. Publisher: PAX Publishing Institute. Editor-in-chief: Jan Wagner. Printed by: Szczecin Typographic Plant, format 12.5 x 19.5 cm, 92 pp, first published in 1982.

ZYCIE CHRZESCIJANSKIE W POLSCE [Christian Life in Poland]. Monthly of the Center for Studies and Catholic Documentation of the PAX Association, Warsaw. Publisher: PAX Publishing Institute. Editor-in-chief: Antoni Kaplinski. Printed by: Szczecin Typographic Plant, circulation 4000, format 14.5 x 20.5 cm, 186 pp, first published in 1983. Editions in Polish, English, French, Spanish, German, Italian.

ZYCIE I MYSL [Life and Thought]. Monthly. Poznan. Publisher: PAX Publishing Institute. Editor-in-chief: Alfred Wawrzyniak. Printed by the M. Kasprzak Typographic Plant in Poznan, circulation 5350, format 16.5 x 23 cm, 202 pp, first published in 1950.

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POLAND

BRIEFS

ALL-OUT REFORM PLAN URGED--The economist Jozef Kaleta [rector of Academy of Economics at Wroclaw], who is closely connected to the government, has appealed for a comprehensive reform of the Polish economic policy. In a newspaper article Kaleta stresses that the primitive methods of the government are completely unsuitable to solve the economic problems of Poland. Poland will have to pay dearly for the centralistic policy suppressing any criticisms and this policy could initiate heavy political and social crises, the economist states. He compares the present situation with the time before the unrest of the years 1956, 1970, and 1980. [Text] [Vienna Domestic Service in German 1100 GMT 18 Mar 85 AU]

KALKUS, ORZECZOWSKI ATTEND CONFERENCE--How to more effectively implement the resolution of the 9th PZPR Extraordinary Congress in the second half of the term? How to implement the Kalisz voivodship party organization's action program? The participants of the voivodship report-back PZPR conference in Kalisz were searching today for answers to these questions. Almost 300 delegates made a critical and substantial analysis of the sociopolitical activity in the first half of the term, as well as the region's socioeconomic situation. Stanislaw Kalkus, PZPR Central Committee Politburo member, and Professor Marian Orzechowski, PZPR Central Committee Politburo candidate member and rector of the Academy of Social Sciences, participated in the debate. [Text] [Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1300 GMT 18 Mar 85 LD]

BEDNARSKI AT REPORT-BACK SESSION--At a PZPR voivodship report-back conference in Torun, 321 delegates represent the over 40,000-strong party membership in Torun voivodship. The conference is being attended by Henryk Bednarski, PZPR Central Committee secretary. [Summary] [Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1105 GMT 20 Mar 85 LD]

OLSZOWSKI AT GDANSK CONFERENCE--Three hundred and four delegates representing the almost 70,000-strong party membership in the voivodship, attended a report-back conference in Gdansk today. Taking part in the deliberations were among others, Politburo member and Minister of Foreign Affairs Stefan Olszowski and head of the Central Committee Ideological Department Wladyslaw Loranc. Candidate member of the Politburo and first secretary of the PZPR voivodship committee in Gdansk Stanislaw Bejger stated that party members in the Gdansk voivodship are aware that they are facing difficult tasks, whose implementation will require an increased effort from all of them. [Text] [Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2100 GMT 23 Mar 85 LD]

POLITBURO MEMBERS AT LODZ MEETING--Representatives of the LODZ voivodship's 77,000-strong party organization gathered in conference. The proceedings were opened by Comrade Tadeusz Czechowicz, member of the Politburo and first secretary of the voivodship echelon, who presented the Lodz Committee's report. During recesses in the proceedings, textile workers discussed their problems with Professor Edward Grzewa, the minister of chemical and light industry, who was present at the conference. The proceedings were attended by member of the party Politburo Zofia Grzyb, candidate Politburo member and Central Committee Secretary Jan Glowczyk and Deputy Premier Mieczyslaw Rakowski. [Excerpts] [Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 23 Mar 85 LD]

MOKRZYSZCZAK, OTHERS AT KIELCE MEETING--The party leads and serves the nation is the slogan of today's PZPR voivodship report-back conference in Kielce, where party Central Committee Secretary Wlodzimierz Mokrzyaszczak, minister and government plenipotentiary for economic reform, Professor Wladyslaw Baka and General Secretary of PRON National Council Jerzy Jaskiernia are taking part. Delegates representing the over 70,000-strong voivodship echelon are raising both intraparty matters and social and economic issues. [Excerpt] [Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 23 Mar 85 LD]

KATOWICE REPORT-BACK SESSION--For several hours now a voivodship report-back conference of the PZPR has been in session in Katowice. Members of the central authorities Zbigniew Messner, Jerzy Romanik, Kazimierz Morawski, and Manfred Gorywoda are taking part. Miroslaw Wojciechowski, chairman of the Radio and Television Committee, is also taking part. The report of the executive, which was presented by Bogumil Ferensztajn, first secretary of the voivodship committee, stated that the voivodship party organization in Katowice, which numbers close on 25,400 members and candidate members, is effectively overcoming difficulties and defeats. The number of members of the voivodship party organization is growing. Close on 1,500 candidate members were accepted into the ranks of the PZPR in the voivodship during the report-back campaign alone. [Excerpts] [Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1105 GMT 23 Mar 85 LD]

BARCIKOWSKI, KALKUS IN POZNAN--Initiatives and achievements half-way through the term of office are being summed up today by the participants of voivodship report-back conferences in Gdansk, Katowice, Kielce, Lodz, Poznan, Wroclaw, and Zamosc. In evaluating the implementation of the Ninth Congress Resolutions so far, it was stressed that a lot has been achieved in the period gone by, especially in the ideological and political fields and in consolidating the party ranks. Also the working-class nature of the party has been strengthened. Her is our report from the confence in Poznan. Today's proceedings of the PZPR voivodship report-back conference in Poznan took place under the slogan: "The Interests of People's Poland Require a Disciplined, Uniform, Creative and Critical Party." Members of the Party Central Committee Politburo, Secretary Kazimierz Barcikowski and Stanislaw Kalkus, who belongs to the Cegielski Enterprise Party Organization, took part, among others, in the proceedings. After the introduction to the discussion by Edward Lukasik, first secretary of the PZPR Voivodship Committee, almost 400 delegates representing the nearly 90,000-strong Poznan party organization--one of the country's largest--began a debate on the state of implementation of the Ninth Congress Resolutions and on tasks for the next party congress. [Excerpt] [Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 23 Mar 85 LD]

PZPR DELEGATION IN GREECE--A delegation of the PZPR Central Committee led by Jan Glowczyk, which is visiting Greece at the invitation of the Greek Communist Party [KKE], held a meeting with Kharilaos Florakis, secretary general of the KKE. Issues of international communist and workers' movement were discussed, and the importance of communists' struggle for peace was underlined. Kharilaos Florakis was decorated with the Grand Ribbon of the Order of Merit of the Polish People's Republic, which was conferred by the Council of State in recognition of his outstanding achievements and particular contribution to friendly relations between the Polish and Greek nations. [Text] [Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0200 GMT 19 Mar 85 LD]

INCREASING COURT APPEALS--Last year, citizens lodged appeals with the Supreme Administrative Court against nearly 12,000 administrative decisions out of the total of nearly 12 million that were issued. This shows that only one decision out of a thousand is appealed. However, from the complainants' point of view, every appeal gives rise to generalizations about bad work of the entire administration. Also disturbing is the fact that during the last 4 years the number of appeals has doubled and every third one is justified. These matters were discussed at a joint session of the Council of State Commissions for Control Bodies and Sociovocational Affairs, legal affairs, and for people's councils and local self-government. [Text] [Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1806 GMT 15 Mar 85 LD]

SUPREME COURT UPHOLDS APPEALS--The PPR prosecutor general submitted 149 civil, administrative, and contract-of-employment cases last year to the Supreme Court for special retrial. The Supreme Court upheld 115 of these appeals, which shows this is an effective way of controlling court rulings. Matters connected with the subject of special retrials were discussed during a meeting in Warsaw between representatives of the Department of Law Observance and Civil Cases of the prosecutor general's office and journalists. [Text] [Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 15 Mar 85 LD]

ILLEGAL ASSOCIATION INDICTMENTS--The voivodship prosecutor's office in Szczecin has submitted an indictment against Edmund Baluka and Jan Kostecki to the district court. From 30 November last year to February, they were leading in Szczecin an association called Regional Civic Committee for the Rule of Law in Western Pomerania [regionalny Spoleczno-Obywatelski Komitet Praworzadnosci Regionu Pomorza Zachodniego], which was refused legalization by the decision of the socio-administrative department of the voivodship office in Szczecin. Edmund Baluka and Jan Kostecki already have criminal records and had been released [from prison] due to the amnesty. They are both unemployed. [Text] [Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1830 GMT 22 Mar 85 LD]

POLISH-HUNGARIAN COOPERATION--On 7 March, Benon Miskiewicz, minister of science and higher education, met with Bela Koepeczi, Hungarian minister of culture and education, who is visiting our country. The cooperation between both ministries so far was discussed, as well as its chief form and paths for 1986-90. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 8 Mar 85 p 4 AU]

GREEK DELEGATION--A delegation from the Greek Ministry of Social Security headed by Undersecretary of State Mrs Rouli Kaklamanaki visited the Polish Ministry of Labor, Wages, and Social Affairs from 4 to 8 March in order to settle some social security problems involving former Greek immigrants to Poland who are returning to Greece. [Summary] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 8 Mar 85 p 4 AU]

BEJGER VISITS GDANSK--Stanislaw Bejger, Politburo member and first secretary of the Gdansk Voivodship PZPR Committee, chaired the 9 March plenum of this committee, devoted to preparations for the coming voivodship report-back conference. [Summary] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 11 Mar 85 p 5 AU]

RAKOWSKI MEETS AUTHORS--On 11 March, Deputy Premier Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski met with the Presidium of the Society of Authors at the seat of the Union of Artists and Theatrical Composers. During a discussion, he stressed that despite the difficult socioeconomic situation, the state will do everything possible to protect the material status of authors so far. Expressing the positive wishes of the state authorities, he pointed out the need for the union to join in legislative work involving the social and working conditions of creative milieus, and in particular work on amending the law on authorship. [Excerpts] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 12 Mar 85 p 5 AU]

NEW AUSTRALIAN AMBASSADOR--On 6 March, State Council Chairman Henryk Jablonski received at an audience in the Belvedere Palace Max William Hughes, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Commonwealth of Australia, who presented his credentials. [Excerpt] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 7 Mar 85 p 1 AU]

TARNOW DEPUTY VOIVODA RECALLED--The chairman of the Council of Ministers has recalled Zenon Musial from his position as deputy voivoda of Tarnow Voivodship because of behavior incompatible with the dignity of his office while under the influence of alcohol. This decision was made following a statement by the voivoda and after obtaining a report from the presidium of the voivodship People's Council, in line with Article 132 of the law of 20 July 1983 on the system of people's councils and local self-management. [Text] [Warsaw Television System in Polish 1830 GMT 26 Mar 85 LD]

OLSZOWSKI IN WLOCLAWEK--Foreign Minister Stefan Olszowski attended a working meeting with the party and administrative leadership and workforce of the J. Marchlewski Cellulose Plant in Wloclawek in order to assess the economic and social situation of the plant and its workforce. The plant has suffered losses because of the winter, but it is possible to make good these losses thanks to the workforce's efforts. The modernization of this plant was also discussed; new machines for the production of school notebooks will shortly become operational. [Summary] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 18 Mar 85 p 2 AU]

IRAQI DELEGATION--An Iraqi delegation visited Warsaw from 10 to 18 March to hold talks on an agreement between the PPR and Iraq on legal aid in civil and criminal cases. During these talks, the text of an agreement covering legal proceedings in civil cases was agreed on. The remaining subject matter will

be discussed during a second round of talks. [Excerpts] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 19 Mar 85 p 2 AU]

KALKUS VISITS POZNAN--PZPR Politburo member Stanislaw Kalkus attended the 15 March report-back conference of the PZPR factory committee inside the H. Cegielski metallurgical plant in Poznan. [Summary] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 16-17 Mar 85 p 2 AU]

CZECHOWICZ IN LODZ--The 15 March plenum of the Lodz PZPR Committee was chaired by Tadeusz Czechosicz, PZPR Politburo member and the committee's first secretary. The plenum discussed preparations for the voivodship report-back conference. [Summary] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 16-17 Mar 85 p 2 AU]

MICHALEK ATTENDS CIECHANOW CONFERENCE--PZPR Central Committee Secretary Zbigniew Michalek attended the 9 March Ciechanow Voivodship PZPR Committee accountability conference, which dealt with agriculture and the food economy. [Summary] [Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 11 Mar 85 p 4 AU]

CSO: 2600/720

YUGOSLAVIA

SERBIA, PROVINCES DISAGREE ON NEW DRAFT LAW

AU141601 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 1 Mar 85 p 2

[D. Ivanovic and D. Bujosevic report]

[Excerpts] At its session yesterday the Chamber of Republics and Provinces of Yugoslavia's Assembly noted that all documents indicate that the "trend of lagging relative development of the territory of the SR of Serbia without the territories of the provinces has not changed essentially."

For the reason the Chamber of Republics and Provinces emphasizes the need for the responsible federal organs to even more actively work for a consistent and full implementation of the conclusions and orientations incorporated in the Resolution and other documents on the 1985 economic policy to ensure that these problems will be solved more quickly and effectively. It is on the basis of the 1981-85 Social Plan of Yugoslavia that other measures, too, must be considered and proposed. The Chamber of Republics and Provinces also believes that Serbia's development problems should be considered separately within the procedure of the drafting and adoption of social plans for the 1986-90 period.

Delay or Inconsistent Implementation of Measures

Prior to the adoption of these conclusions, Milovan Markovic, head of Serbia's delegation, spoke during the discussion at the Chamber's session and explained and supported with sound evidence the attitude of his republic. He first pointed out that this is not the first time that the relative lagging of Serbia was being discussed because, after all, the current social plan and the Long-Term Economic Stabilization Program also deal in a certain way with this problem. "However, it is only today," he continued, "that is, 50 months after the current 5-year plan had come into effect, that we have included this problem in the agenda of the Chamber of Republics and Provinces, even though we are duty bound to discuss it every year."

"The territory of the SR of Serbia without the socialist autonomous provinces," he said, "now objectively finds itself in a position where, by the level of the development of production forces, it is approximately at the level of the three undeveloped republics and, by its per capita social product, is about five percent below the country's average, but it is ranked among the developed republics and provinces in term of its material obligations."

Views on Plan

Following the proposal by the Committee for Social Plan and Development Policy, the Chamber of Republics and Provinces adopted an opinion on the Draft Law on the Foundations of Social Planning System and on Yugoslavia's Social Plan.

The opinion states that the orientations incorporated in the draft law are in accord with the Long-Term Economic Stabilization Program but that they are not completely and properly elaborated in some individual parts of the draft. The draft is criticized for many omissions of precision as regards such questions as the role of workers of basic organizations in planning, the coordination of plans of self-managing organizations and communities, the character of self-managing agreements and social accord at the mandatory basis of the planning system, the character and contents of medium-term and long-term plans, the contents of directives as a special act for the preparation of plans.... It is proposed that the Federal Executive Council and not federal organizations should determine the indexes for planning and that the law should stipulate that the Federation must determine the mandatory association of organizations of associated labor into communities whenever this is required by general interests and the technological unity of the system. The opinion also includes different views of held by Serbia without provinces and by the provinces on Articles No 33 and No 34 of the draft law. Whereas Serbia proper agrees with these articles, the provinces resolutely oppose them because, as Dusan Vlatkovic (from Vojvodina) explains, these articles regulate the relations which are subject to Serbia's Constitution and not to a federal law.

The unusually extensive opinion (11 pages) of the Chamber of Republics and Provinces, including the aforementioned differences of view of Serbia proper and of the provinces, has been forwarded to the Federal Chamber under whose jurisdiction this law falls.

CSO: 2800/268

YUGOSLAVIA

GRICKOV ADDRESSES ROUNDTABLE ON LIBERATION MOVEMENTS

LD220045 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1316 GMT 21 Mar 85

[Excerpts] Skopje, 21 Mar (TANJUG)--Liberation movements are an integral part of the struggle for comprehensive liberation of the nations and people in present-day conditions. This struggle has a much broader meaning today and includes struggle against the remnants of colonialism and all forms of hegemony and domination over the peoples which want to achieve their national equality and their minority rights in individual states. This was said by Dr Aleksandar Grlickov, member of the SAWPY Federal Conference Presidium, at the roundtable meeting in Skopje on liberation movements in the world. The 2-day meeting, which opened in Skopje today, is attended by 90 sociopolitical and scientific workers from Yugoslavia and by representatives of liberation movements.

Noting that it is difficult to speak today about any exclusive or absolutely dominant character of the liberation or emancipating struggles, he pointed out that the circle of participants in these struggles is growing wider, because, in addition to classical political parties, national liberation movements and trade union organizations, peace, feminist, ecological, religious, and other movements were also emerging. In conditions of transnationalization of the mechanisms of unfreedom and domination which takes the form of domination of the underdeveloped by the industrially developed, South by North, and peripheral areas by the center, it is necessary to overcome the Eurocentrist logic and proceed from global orientations to deeper analysis, based, among other things, on the identification of new participants in the struggle for the universal freedoms of people and nations.

Grlickov went on to analyze the influence of the exacerbated international relations, the crisis of detente, and the world economic crisis on the course of the liberation struggles of nations.

Reagan's strategy of "crusade against communism" is aimed against all liberation movements which seek national liberation, Grlickov stressed. This explains the influence of the U.S. administration on the settling of the problems of Namibia, the Saharan Democratic Arab Republic, or the creation of an independent Palestinian state and all the way to the direct overthrow of the government in Grenada and direct and open threats combined with demands for a change in the democratic system in Nicaragua.

Furthermore, the high level of indebtedness and high rates of interest have jeopardized the economic development of third world countries and are forcing them to agree to conditions which do not suit them either economically or politically. The economic segment of Reaganism also exercises a powerful influence on mutual relations inside the liberation movements, both those which have created their own independent states and those which are still fighting for liberation.

Unfavorable international conditions during this last decade are a notable reason why not one single hotbed of crisis has so far been eliminated. Grlickov stressed: Foreign domination is also being joined by the relatively new phenomenon of "internal colonialism," which as a rule is in collusion and alliance with the already well-known neocolonialism. Its champions are the alienated rulers who, in collusion with the foreign factor, appear in the role of the colonial power in relation to the people of their own countries and a part of it. The oppressor is no longer identifiable by the color of his skin or country of origin.

In conclusion Grlickov stressed the importance of the emancipatory potential of nations and people in the liberation movements at today's crossroads of civilization, which can go forward or destroy itself or achieve progress. These movements should have their own visions and with these visions they should oppose those who seek change through renewing what already exists. For this one needs a new type of solidarity between the [word omitted] of man, independence, and autonomy of the people--values which cannot be destroyed, Dr Aleksandr Grlickov said.

About a dozen speakers in the discussion dealt with many aspects of the liberation movements in various regions of the world.

Miran Obrenovic paid particular attention to the conflict in Cambodia, drawing attention to the danger of spreading the conflict in the region. Nano Ruzin analyzed in detail the attitude of African countries, especially those south of the Sahara, to the doctrine of pan-Africanism and the Nonaligned Movement, as well as relations with the former colonial countries and the great powers. Laslo Tot, who witnessed developments in Lebanon for himself, dwelt on Israel's behavior in the occupied territories.

The roundtable meeting continues.

CSO: 2800/268

YUGOSLAVIA

TANJUG CONDEMNS BULGARIAN DENIAL OF ETHNIC MINORITIES

LD172140 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0134 GMT 17 Mar 85

[TANJUG banner headline: "Bulgarian Leader on Minorities"; Headline: "How Mehmed Became Vasil"; Subhead: "According to Official Sofia, Change To Bulgarian Names Is 'Voluntary and Spontaneous'"]

[Text] Sofia, 17 Mar (TANJUG)--Any kind of interest in the fate of Bulgaria's national minorities is interpreted by official Sofia as "an interference in its internal affairs." It has been clearly stated that "there is no one section of the Bulgarian people which belongs to a different nation. As was explained here, this is a firm and unchangeable standpoint of the People's Republic of Bulgaria and of its party and state leaderships,

The claims that there are no national minorities in Bulgaria are nothing new. They are the same old ones but repeated and stressed now that the world media, particularly the Turkish media, have suddenly expressed an enormous interest in, as well as concern about, the destiny of members of the Turkish minority in Bulgaria. Stating that Bulgaria is conducting an enforced assimilation of the Turkish minority the foreign press refers to various sources: letters, appeals, and even personal statements by, primarily, members of the Turkish nationality in Bulgaria.

Interpreting all this as very alarming, the Turkish Government has officially made several unsuccessful attempts to hold Turkish-Bulgarian talks on the position of members of the Turkish nationality in Bulgaria. Just as it used to do before, when its other neighbors raised the question of their own national minorities, Bulgaria failed to respond to the Turkish proposals. Any statement which described the Muslims in Bulgaria as Turkish citizens' fellow-countrymen, Sofia interprets as "claims against Bulgaria."

Bulgaria has, in fact, remained irrevocably consistent to its attitude which has not altered for decades, about "a compact Bulgarian nation living in Bulgaria." At the same time, describing the interest of the world public opinion as "a new anti-Bulgarian campaign with the ill-intentioned aim of discrediting Bulgaria on the international scene, in particular in Islamic countries, "Sofia describes the assertions about the assimilation of the Turkish nationality as 'inaccurate and tendentious.'"

Bulgaria bases its refusal to discuss with any country the position of minorities in its country on the well-established theoretical hypothesis about "all citizens of Bulgaria being exclusively Bulgarians."

By negating that there are in Bulgaria people who belong to other nations, the leadership here, in fact, tries to prevent the launching of any intervention on the basis of the Helsinki document which refers to the position of national minorities and to which Bulgaria puts its signature.

According to the 1965 census--when the official counting of members of other nations in Bulgaria was carried out for the last time--of the total number of population, there were 9.5 percent Turks, about 2 percent Romanies, and a little under 1 percent of Greeks, Romanians, Armenians, and "other nationalities." Today it is, however, officially asserted that all these Turks, Romanies, Greeks and "others" have never been a nationality but "an inseparable part of the Bulgarian people and the state."

"Two Approaches to the Same Goal"

On the basis of the well-known official Bulgarian attitudes about negating the identity of the Macedonian people, the rights attributed to the Macedonian national minority in Bulgaria in the first postwar years have been taken away and "thus as there are no Macedonian people, there cannot be a national minority in Bulgaria either."

As regards the Turkish minority, another method was applied. Since the existence of the Turkish minority could not be denied, its members have been proclaimed as "Bulgarian citizens of Muslim religion" who are "an inseparable part of the Bulgarian people and the state." And when these Bulgarians--Muslims--"voluntarily and spontaneously" decided to change their Turkish-Arabic names, as is asserted today, this represents merely "a revival" of the Bulgarian names and "strengthening of patriotic consciousness."

"Population Census Without Column on National Affiliation"

Since this entire process of changing the Turkish-Arabic names in Bulgaria is proceeding "without difficulties and problems, and relatively quickly," as explained here, the Bulgarian leadership in all likelihood believes that there is no need to acquaint the domestic public with everything which is presented in a different light outside Bulgaria's borders.

It is difficult, however, to believe that Bulgarian citizens do not come into contact with their fellow-countrymen of Muslim religion who do not accept the official state and party version about the "voluntary and spontaneous" change of names. It is therefore assumed that at gatherings in many parts of the country, party and state leaders are explaining to citizens the official attitudes by which they refute the assertions about the forcible annexation of foreign ethnic groups to the Bulgarian nation and proving "that brothers and sisters, whose ancestors had been forced to become Turks, are returning to the joint Bulgarian family."

Observers here estimate that domestic public information media refer to this only when broad support for the official attitudes becomes necessary in order, above all, to parry that which is written and commented on in other countries, in particular in neighboring Turkey.

By the "comprehensive and voluntary" process of changing Turkish-Arabic names to Bulgarian ones, the present Bulgarian leadership is trying to bring to a conclusion this stage of forming "a compact Bulgarian nation." In other words, the forthcoming population census, planned for 4 December this year, should prove "even more convincingly" than earlier postwar census the hypothesis about the "monolithic state of the Bulgarian nation."

[Signed] Sava Mijalkovic, TANJUG correspondent

CSO: 2800/268

YUGOSLAVIA

SUBNOR ACTIVISTS PROTEST NATIONAL STRUGGLE MEMORIAL

LD192353 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1445 GMT 19 Mar 85

[Text] Nova Gorica, 19 Mar (TANJUG)--Due to increasingly frequent attempts by individuals and groups to undermine our national liberation struggle, the municipal board of the Federation of the Associations of National Liberation War Veterans (SUBNOR) in Nova Gorica strongly condemned such phenomena and their exponents and supporters at its last session.

The SUBNOR activists and national liberation struggle war invalids of Nova Gorica municipality appeal both to working people and citizens and to sociopolitical organizations and organs to resolutely prevent the spreading of malicious claims aimed at planting half-truths and lies about the national liberation struggle.

"We strongly protest and condemn all such phenomena. With full moral and political duty and right we demand the ending of open and secret hostile activity against our socialist self-managing society," it is stated among other things in a protest lodged by Nova Gorica war veterans.

As the participants of the national liberation struggle and members of generations which, at the price of great human losses, achieved freedom and carried the burden of restoring and constructing socialism, we cannot reconcile ourselves to "perfidious" attempts to rehabilitate war criminals, traitors to the people and Croat home guards, who together with the occupying forces, committed the worst crime against their own people in the history of the country. Individuals even dare to go as far as to propose [word indistinct] some kind of "reconciliation" between the war veterans and the traitors of the people. They demand a joint commemorative monument--an obelisk--to the fallen for the homeland and to those "fallen for the homeland," who, in the most difficult period, when the fighting was going on for national survival, betrayed their homeland and people and fought on the side of the occupying forces. A number of intellectuals, even among creative authors, carry out this shameful campaign in a very perfidious way. They even exploit the public information media for the sake of their crimes. By resorting to pressure in the name of democracy and freedom of artistic expression they make sure that their dogmatic polemics are published in the public information media, reviews and so forth. We, the war veterans, know how to assess such discussions and writings, as well as their aim, which is highly dangerous and harmful to the democracy and freedom

of our social community, to the brotherhood and unity of our nations and nationalities and to the development of socialist self-management. We demand an end to the planting of distorted and malicious views and speculations and spreading half-truths and lies about the national liberation struggle. Such negative phenomena are rejected by all working people because we are aware of the extent of our sacrifice for freedom, as well as of those people who truly fought for it and those who betrayed their homeland and country, the war veterans of Nova Gorica municipality point out.

CSO: 2800/268

YUGOSLAVIA

DALMATIAN SUBNOR CONDEMNS NATIONALIST 'EXCESSES'

LD211236 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1750 GMT 20 Mar 85

[Text] Split, 29 Mar (TANJUG)--When it is a question of struggle against nationalism and other forms of hostile activity Dalmation War veterans demand concrete and energetic action and not just proclamations, slogans, and generalized conclusions on the need for action. All our reactions to nationalist excesses, provocations, and sabotage, it was stressed at today's annual assembly of the board of the Federation of the Associations of National Liberation War Veterans (SUBNOR) of the community of Dalmation municipalities held in Split, mainly amount to public condemnation of such excesses and measures pronounced on the individual perpetrators for their offences. But today it is clear to everyone that by means of mere verbalism and campaign actions little can be achieved in the struggle against nationalism. The Dalmation veterans, therefore, particularly point out the need for strengthening the educational function of our society.

As Vuk Kovacic, president of the Dalmation SUBNOR, stressed in his introductory report which was supported by a large number of those involved in discussion, war veterans have reached the conclusions that the main struggle should be conducted in kindergartens, student centers, schools, and other institutions for the education of children and youth, which require substantial material resources of society.

The Dalmation war veterans consider that even despite the present economic situation these resources exist and the veterans recall various manifestations such as Split Games, and university games and numerous other uneconomic and failed economic investments whose certain benefit no one is negating, but they are proof that we are not all that poor and at the same time that priority over providing these resources should be given above all to children and youth education. Insufficient attention is devoted to their education and therefore it is not only accidental that it becomes influences by other tendencies with a hostile attitude toward our socialist society. The Dalmation veterans consider that church organizations, in the first place the Catholic church as a dominant one in the Dalmation area, carry a large part of responsibility for nationalist excesses, because they have not condemn them at all.

Dalmation war veterans point out that a few years ago they criticized the growth of republican statisms, liberalism, nationalism, weakening of unity, unjustified enriching, and other dangers for our society, and that they had therefore been described as orthodox radicals, advocates of the strong arm, unitarists, and people who were putting a brake on the development of self-management. Now it has been shown, as the debate on the proposed conclusions of the 13th session demonstrated, that veterans' demands for more energetic intervention had not been without foundation. This is also demanded by other social organizations under pressure from grass roots which unanimously and with impatience expect a turning point to take place in eliminating weaknesses in the party and in society. Along with pointing out nationalistic and other enemy activity, veterans also express their disagreement with the unscrupulous preference for one-sided interests at the expense of the community's interests in our internal relations. Of course, nobody who is on the side of socialist forces wants to stimulate consciously the opponents of unity and socialism but it is a fact, Vuk Kovacic said among other things, that with the federalization of some elements of society this is unconsciously done. The session also pointed to the phenomenon of our self-managing and humane democratization being used by forces aiming at undermining our social community. The veterans, therefore, sound a warning that self-managing socialism and democracy as well as brotherhood and unity must be defended with all available means.

Marinko Papic of Sibenik was elected new president of the SUBNOR of the community of Split Municipalities.

CSO; 2800/268

YUGOSLAVIA

SERBIAN COMMISSIONS DISCUSS NATIONALISM AMONG YOUTH

LD152354 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1511 GMT 15 Mar 85

[Excerpts] Belgrade, 15 Mar (TANJUG)--How much nationalism is there among the young? Although it is difficult to give a precise answer to this question, the answer is not the most important thing anyway. Because nationalism, even when there is very little of it, leaves the most difficult consequences precisely on the young generation which is the one which should continue the revolution.

This was the point of departure of the debate at the joint session today of the Serbian LC Central Committee Commission for Intranational Relations and of the Serbian Socialist Youth Federation Republican Conference Commission for Ideological Work, which was devoted to the young people and to the development of intranational relations. The main message of the introductory report by Zoran Petronijevic, member of the Presidium of the Socialist Youth Federation Republican Conference, and of the 5-hour debate is that in reacting to nationalistic excesses, the struggle against nationalism among the young should not be exhausted. What is at stake is a much broader aspect of activity of the young and of their organization.

Petronijevic was entirely definite: The Socialist Youth Federation, when it comes to intranational relations, chiefly reacts to some forms of nationalistic incidents "by decorating the political everyday life with well or badly compiled statements of accusations against individual events and people."

He looked for the causes of nationalism among the young first of all, in their general position in society. Economic difficulties and unemployment affect the young generation particularly gravely, although it is conscious that it must bear the burden of stabilization. What emerges is a feeling of lack of prospects and even of frustration, apathy, and destructiveness, which creates a climate in which nationalism among a section of the young people can emerge as an alternative view of the world.

According to figures obtained in an opinion poll presented by Petroijevic, asked what they thought about nationalism, 38 percent of young people gave inadequate answers, 33.1 percent only verbally condemned it, while 4.4 percent had a positive attitude to nationalism. Hence, a good section of young people cannot penetrate the political and class content of nationalism. The events in Kosovo have perhaps shown most eloquently the level of ideological consciousness

of the young and the extent to which they are subject to nationalistic indoctrinations and manipulations.

The uniform view voiced in the debate was that the deepest causes of nationalism must be looked for above all in the strengthening of statism.

Speaking in the broader context of the causes of nationalism, Dr Ilija Rosic mentioned the population growth in Kosovo. This uncontrolled growth, in his words, is not at all coincidental and has a deeper background as well as far-reaching consequences for intranational relations.

Dragan Bisenic expressed dissatisfaction about the fact that statism is talked about in too generalized terms as a cause of nationalism. The formula about the link between statism and nationalism, nevertheless, does not resolve everything because in the first postwar years we had too much statism and very little nationalism.

Vuk Zugic observed that there are many cliché-like views among young people. This is, for instance, the case with rock music which truly has a Yugoslav character as opposed to the forms of classical culture which remain closed within republican and provincial frameworks. When the texts of the nationalistic songs were published in papers following the recent excesses, the only thing that happened was that these songs began to be sung even more. What meaning, however, is there to the fact that the same small group also sings Ustasha and Chetnik songs? It escapes the analyses of these phenomena.

In summing up the debate in which Snezana Aleksic, Dragomir Pantic, Dragan Glusac, Dr Miroslav Djordjevic, Branislav Tiodorovic, Naser Hiseni, Dragomir Vucic, and Vitomir Petkovic also took part, Zika Radojlovic, chairman of the Serbian LC Central Committee Commission for Intranational Relations, stressed that the struggle against nationalism could be a waste of time if its roots are not cut. Hence, what is necessary is the struggle to demolish statism which has the gravest consequences at the republican and provincial level, and for the development of self-management, that is, for the principle of the working class becoming the master of the entire social reproduction. This principle is being much repeated and this could be a nuisance, but the risk of repetition cannot be avoided until we actually implement it.

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YUGOSLAVIA

STRUGA TAKES STEPS AGAINST 'DEVIATIONIST PHENOMENA'

LD220534 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1925 GMT 21 Mar 85

[Text] Struga, 21 Mar (TANJUG)--The Presidium of the Struga Municipal Committee of the Macedonian LC adopted at its session today the attitudes of the presidium of the Macedonian LC Central Committee on the well-known deviationist phenomena and deformations in the cadre policy and the use of the green plan resources in the housing and communal sphere. It was decided to expel Veli Saipi from the municipal committee and Kire Srbinovski, Pero Baljukoski, Mustafa Abedinoski, Kenan Bajrami, Fuad Cazimoski, and Vlado Gjorgonovski from the bodies and commissions of the Macedonian LC Municipal Committee.

The presidium of the Struga Municipal Committee of the Macedonian LC also adopted the recommendation to be sent to the municipal trade union council and the municipal SAWP conference about setting in train the initiative to recall the leaders of these organs and the exponents of functions who had been the perpetrators of negative phenomena in Struga Municipality. The initiative was also launched that the same be done at the municipal assembly and executive council. The perpetrators of deviationist phenomena, it was decided, would not be able to be either delegates at the Macedonian assembly, at self-managing interest communities, and at other associations.

By the end of the month, as decided, 18 basic organizations of the Macedonian LC in organizations of associated labor in Struga Municipality, in which exponents of negative phenomena work or hold managing posts, should, in line with the Macedonian LC statute, also pronounce appropriate measures.

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YUGOSLAVIA

OFFICIAL CRITICIZES BELGRADE MONTHLY ARTICLE

AU182131 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 13 Mar 85 p 6

[R. Kljajic report]

[Excerpt] The expanded session of the Commission for Information of the Belgrade LC City Committee, which was held yesterday, discussed the circulation and distribution of the newspaper KOMUNIST in Belgrade.

In the continuation of the session, the commission also touched upon an editorial mistake in the latest issue of NIN'S KNJIZEVNI GLASNIK--the text by Milan Kangrga entitled "Criticized or Devalued Marxism."

Speaking about Kangrga's text, Prvoslav Ralic, member of the Belgrade LC City Committee Presidium, said among other things:

"A certain alibi for carrying such a text is the rubric itself, which is entitled 'Disputes.' In addition, the text contains very few significant insights into the roots of the crisis of Marxism today, of this offensive of anti-Marxism."

However, there would have been no problem had this text been open for criticism, polemics, and dialogue, Ralic pointed out. The judgments Milan Kangrga expresses are apodictic, and absolutized to such an extent that they already have the character of dogmatic judgments. At the same time, because of a special apology--"an understanding" of Marxism--the text is closed to dialogue and polemics.

"Such texts are not 'analytic' and 'polemical' articles. It is a pity that there is so. Kangrga has written many good books. What is at stake this time, however, is a strange pamphlet which is untenable from the point of view of critical thought," Ralic said.

If the nationalist tendencies are continuing, and they are, they have not "swallowed" us in such a way that there is no one to oppose them. On the contrary, the criticism of nationalism is developed in our country. The confederalist tendencies in the LCY were active yesterday more than today, but the criticism of these tendencies is outstanding. There is a crisis, but there are also forces that are waging an organized struggle against it.

"At least the following points are not true: That the situation in our country is insecure in every aspect, that our revolutionary communist idea is at the zero point, that there is an absolute calm in creative criticism in our country, and that only 'critical philosophic intelligentsia' can wake up and lead the revolutionary subject in society," Ralic noted, saying that all this is being said and published in the midst of the critical general party debate, preparations for the LCY Congress, and organizing oneself in implementing the Long-Term Economic Stabilization Program.

Ralic then added that it is clear that this is not a text that advocates the renewal of critical Marxist thought. "This is a text which contributes to the constitution of another political line. One should have paid attention to this."

Members of the commission agreed to Ralic's assessments and concluded that one should talk about the controversial text with the communists of the NIN editorial board and the editorial board that prepares KNJIZEVNI GLASNIK.

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YUGOSLAVIA

POOR LC STATUS AT ZAGREB UNIVERSITY

Zagreb DANAS in Serbo-Croatian 5 Mar 85 p 25

[Interview with Dean Ajdukovic, executive secretary of the Presidium of the Zagreb City Committee of the Croatian LC, by Jelena Lovric: "Dead Souls at the University"; date and place not specified]

[Text] When the Zagreb City Committee of the Croatian LC recently debated the situation at Zagreb University, it noted that there is no reason to be satisfied with the ideological equipment of the party members there, nor with their ability to act. But that assessment, which incidentally is often pronounced for the League of Communists as a whole, does not mean that the party does not have certain specific features at higher educational institutions: the position of and prospects for the overall activity of upbringing, education and science--and the reference here is not only or at least not primarily to financial position, but more to the social aspect of evaluation of their work--inevitably reflect on the activity of party members as well.

A certain number of our members of the League of Communists who previously made up the core of activists have withdrawn, have become passive, so that today in the party leadership forums at the university we no longer have the most prestigious people there, nor those who are readiest to act. On the one hand this is the cause, while on the other it is the consequence of the present situation, a closed circle which is difficult to break, but from which we must certainly break out, says Dean Ajdukovic, executive secretary of the Presidium of the Zagreb City Committee of the Croatian LC.

[Question] Doesn't the party organization at the university have some effect on that; I am specifically referring to the linkage of the basic organizations to the opstina committees?

[Answer] Those organizational changes do not bear the sole blame for the fact that discontinuing the university committee led to a vacuum in party action at the university, since they only demonstrated the real state of affairs in party organizations, which were not capable of carrying on independent party life. And unfortunately it has also turned out that most of the opstina committees were unable to properly monitor and assist the everyday party effort at the university. This does not mean that there have not been constructive results; some committees have been quite resourceful in improving the

organization and efficiency of the network of scientific and teaching organizations, and that ongoing action has yielded very impressive results already.

[Question] And the bad experiences?

[Answer] It has turned out that we lack unity of thought and action on the part of party organizations at the university, which inevitably have a number of common points of contact both in their activity and then in the problems as well. And it is quite clear that the activity of a university school exceeds the interests and needs, and often even the capabilities, of an opstina committee, it in fact goes beyond the city of Zagreb, and in certain respects even beyond the republic. That is why the idea developed a year or two ago to attempt to unify that ideological-political aspect of the specific nature of the university through some working body, and last year we set up the Coordinating Commission of the League of Communists at the University. It has already affirmed itself as a place for bringing people together, for mutual discussion, for disputation if necessary--we have had such cases--and for the crystallization of joint positions. But it has also turned out that the members of the commission (it is made up of the secretaries of the basic organizations and the chairmen of the standing action conferences at the university along with members of party forums whose work connects them to the university) have not responded equally or made an equal contribution in terms of work; some of them have been absent even physically. The tone is set for us by the party leaders who are instructors, students are less common, and even the members of higher bodies of the LC are not participating as much as one would have expected of them.

[Question] As far as I know, they are also doing little in their own basic organizations at the schools of the university.

[Answer] That is a rather typical phenomenon. One can understand it to some extent, since the higher the rank of the leaders in the party, the greater the burden they have, but they cannot be granted an amnesty from the obligation to work in their own basic organizations, and it is altogether unacceptable when they are not involved even in organizations which are especially inactive or which have a great many problems.

[Question] To what extent is the dead calm among students a reflection of the status of young people? That is, it cannot be said that young workers are very active either; for example, they usually sat out the general party debate in silence.

[Answer] That is a direct reflection and consequence of the position of young people, and the roots can, of course, be sought in opening up prospects for young people.

[Question] There has been no purge of party ranks at Zagreb University recently?

[Answer] No, not a real purge. Although we are not satisfied with the way party members and people at the university generally are (the emphasis is on

on the "and") are being differentiated with respect to their work and their ideology and politics. Still less are we satisfied with the clearly evident tendencies of a decrease in the number of young people who are present throughout the LC and also in our own case. Introduction of the new party record system has shown us the true state of our ranks; in some places there are quite a few dead souls, mainly university students who have long ago graduated, gone away, but they are still there on paper. This means that a good portion of them are not continuing with the party, which in part is certainly a consequence of work in the organization they were a member of up to that point. Thus at the end of last year the total number of our party members at the university was 560 less than a year previously (from 6,914 in 1983 to 6,353 in 1984). That attrition is not the same everywhere, but the School of Economics provides a drastic example; in 1 year the number of its recorded members dropped from 1,062 to 778. We will have a definitive picture in a month or two, but on the basis of certain estimates we expect that the number of party members at the large schools of the university will drop off quite a bit; it is difficult to state precisely how much, but perhaps even as much as some 20 percent.

[Question] To what extent is that also a consequence of the reduced interest of young people in entering the LC?

[Answer] There is some of that to be sure. That is confirmed by the figure that the number of party members in the first year of studies was 14 percent smaller last year than the year before. That is no small drop. The symptoms are very serious when all the data show us a drop in the number of university students and secondary students in party ranks. That is why we are preparing to enroll them, not as a kind of drive, but as an intensification of a permanent commitment.

[Question] How are you preparing for that?

[Answer] The preconditions have to be created so that the young person feels that through the party organization he can act toward solving his own essential problems. When the party organization again has that dignity and that influence which it should have under the Program, young people will also show greater interest. I think that these sad figures do not by any means demonstrate a different ideological orientation of young people than that of the party, than that of the system of socialist self-management. Young people have a very keen sense of which organizational forms can serve for changing things and where the time spent yields no results.

[Question] Do you think that those different ideological orientations really do not exist?

[Answer] The ideological-political differentiation over the specific program for party revitalization at the schools of the university ought to show where people stand, what ideological position they take. What I think we dare not lose sight of is that the party must make additional efforts to rally all the progressive forces--that is something we have neglected quite a bit--and to mobilize them around altogether specific issues. Instead of a real purge, I think there will be a real rallying for us in the future.

7045

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YUGOSLAVIA

NEW LAW ON SERVICE IN ARMED FORCES DISCUSSED

Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 2-3 Mar 85 p 5

[Article by Mijo Vlastic]

[Text] Seven days ago (on 23 February) the new Law on Service in the SFRY Armed Forces took effect; it has regulated in a new way certain important issues in the life and work of members of the armed forces.

If one is to speak briefly about the most significant innovations in the new law, they are the details related to enlistment, work in the armed forces, evaluation of work and discharge from the service.

According to the new law, in future noncommissioned officers will be required to take an examination to a higher sergeant rank; second lieutenants graduating from a 3-year military academy will wear the star of a second lieutenant only 1 year; and the criteria which colonels must meet to obtain the rank of general have been spelled out more precisely.

In addition, the position of officers enlisted by contract will be improved, since in the future they will be enrolled in regular active service under more favorable conditions, if, of course, they are found in their work and schooling to be capable of the relevant posts.

Work and the results of work are becoming the basic criterion for personal income, which is replacing the previous salary of military personnel. Personal incomes will be determined according to the average personal incomes of workers in the SFRY economy in the previous 6-month period, not from the average of earnings of personnel of federal administrative agencies. In addition, the position of civilian employees in the YPA will also improve and be brought more fully into conformity with the needs of the service. Instead of a salary they will receive personal incomes, which in future will be adjusted to the personal incomes of workers, that is, by applying the so-called basin principle.

Soldiers--Team Leaders

All of the issues which the law regulates in a new way are a reflection of the up-to-date organization of the armed forces, the material capabilities and

democratic relations in society, and they will contribute to making the country's defense mechanism still more effective and harmonious in carrying out the conception of nationwide defense and social self-protection.

The new Law on Military Service devotes quite a bit of space to the question of replenishing the armed forces. One of the possibilities the law envisages is that soldiers can become team leaders. Instead of exchanging their uniform for civilian clothes, then, after he has completed his military service, the squad team leader merely signs a contract whereby he agrees to stay in the YPA for another 3 years. If after those 3 years the evaluations show that the team leader has been satisfactory, and if he himself desires to establish an employment relation for an indefinite period, this team leader will be given a permanent job in the armed forces.

Squad team leaders, tank commanders, gun crew commanders, and operators of expensive pieces of equipment or parts of complicated technical systems will be able to apply for the principal team leader positions. These team leaders would equip themselves for their positions during their military service, so that after they complete basic training or training that lasts a bit longer, they would attend courses depending on the complexity of the job they would be doing.

This category of military personnel would be governed by the rights and duties related to wearing the uniform, foreign travel, leaving the town where they are stationed, living in the garrison, and material and disciplinary responsibilities in keeping with the regulations which apply to soldiers. They would be subject to promotion to ranks of enlisted men (private first class, corporal, and the lowest sergeant rank), and their personal income would depend on the complexity of the jobs and tasks which they perform, which would be set forth in the contract. Rights arising out of old-age, disability and health insurance and related to performance of service, as well as the family supplement, would be exercised in the same way as in the case of persons enrolled in active military service for a fixed period of time.

Of course, all these matters still have to be spelled out in detail, but there has been some experience in this respect, since it was already possible to enlist for service in the armed forces for a specified period of time, which could be no more than three 3-year hitches.

Another innovation now is that persons who enlist for a specified period of time can establish the employment relation for an indefinite time after 3 years if they fulfill the qualifying conditions and acquire the appropriate professional competence. They may be enlisted for a permanent employment relation by virtue of their promotion to the corresponding rank of a noncommissioned officer or commissioned officer.

This solution, it is believed, is more sensible, since it is considerably more expensive because of the longer schooling to fill those jobs in the YPA with active officers, and there is also a broader social interest in providing employment for young people as soon as possible.

The Best Would Become Generals

The provisions regulating promotion in military service also contains certain innovations, but the main thing is that promotion to a higher rank has been adjusted to length of service, which is to say that every second lieutenant has an opportunity to become a general if he moves up through the ranks at the pace envisaged for the best officers. Provision has therefore been made for a colonel who has the highest formal education, which means that he has completed the highest military school (the national defense school, the school of operations, or some other corresponding school), or that he has a doctor's degree in a scientific field that corresponds to the service he belongs to, can be promoted to the rank of major general. In addition to that, he must have been a colonel for at least 5 years and must have received the service evaluation "especially distinguished," or 6 years with the evaluation "distinguished." For promotion to the ranks of lieutenant colonel general and colonel general an officer must have spent 5 or 6 years (depending on the service evaluation) in the immediately lower rank.

Enactment of the new Law on Military Service has not definitively shaped all the details. They will take shape only with enactment of several dozen sublegal regulations which will make it possible to apply the legal provisions which have been adopted creatively.

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CSO: 2800/257

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