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# East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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1 April 1985

EAST EUROPE REPORT  
POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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BULGARIA

SFRY MAGAZINE ON BULGARIAN TREATMENT OF TURKS

AU072255 Zagreb DANAS in Serbo-Croatian No 159, 5 Mar 85 pp 34-35

[Article by Tat Kolar: "Invisible War in Bulgaria: How Hasan Became Asen"]

[Excerpts] Sofia (specially for DANAS)--In the southeastern part of Bulgaria, everybody fears everybody else, is suspicious of others, and an occasional foreigner, a tourist, provides the only opportunity to the Bulgarian Turks to send a report to the world--despite explicit prohibitions--about the actual situation, a situation in which in the past 60 days armed clashes between the members of the Turkish minority and Bulgarian authorities actually occurred. On our way from Istanbul to Nis, some people in the very first little town of Svilengrad quite openly replied in Turkish to our greeting. As we learned later, this was a passive, but open revolt against the treatment of the Turkish minority in Bulgaria. In previous years, Turkish could be heard in a whisper, but now everybody is using it loudly, so as to show his proper identity to everybody, without fear that reprisals may be provoked.

"Tell the world that our children have suffered," a woman said in Svilengrad. "The suffering continues. The army and the militia here are pitiless, they exceed every limit, but we will stand it. We are used to suffering; it is our daily life. We shall certainly try again in some way, today or tomorrow, to get what we have been deprived of and what belongs to us," 30-year-old Emina, her cheeks flushed with work in the fields, cut short any discussion. Since recently she has to use a new name (which she did not want to tell).

Khaskovo--Concentration Camp

It was only in Khaskovo that we discovered the deeper meaning of her words. Among the shoppers in a well-supplied store we immediately noticed a man in his fifties, with a beard, and his two sons who boldly came to us when we beckoned to them and immediately explained the essence of the Turks' problem. The older son, Ibrahim--Ivan since recently--told us that we can check with every Turk in Bulgaria that a putsch had been prepared here among them in great secrecy. More precisely, they had prepared to create a special republic and its secession, as in Cyprus. The Bulgarian Government learned about it toward the end of 1984 at the last moment, and it carried out a broad action to destroy any organization of a rebellion, explaining that the Turks in the country must renounce their origins. These two youths added that fortunately a part of the leadership of their secession organization fled to

Turkey in time, and the others are hiding in various places in Bulgaria, constantly changing the places where they stay.

The two frankly warned us that since recently Khaskovo has been "an infamous concentration camp." We heard the same from two workers in a shop. We left them to look after our car, so that we might collect additional reports, but one of them quickly came after us and warned us in a friendly way that we should quickly leave the place because the militia in Khaskovo had been informed about our arrival and our questions. He told us by the way that electricity restrictions in Bulgaria are very strict and that there is power from the beginning to the end of the working day, and again from 1900 to 2200, when life, monotonous and quiet as it is, dies off.

In Plovdiv we learned from passersby of Turkish origin, who were even less shy of very loudly talking in Turkish, that in November 1984 "the infamous concentration camp" in Khaskovo was expanded and that it contains those who are suspected to have been leaders of the open resistance to the new wave of assimilation. The reports were also confirmed that in the past 2 months, after the first unexpected wave of arrests and confinement of several thousand Turks in that camp, the peasants in some villages offered armed resistance to the militia when they search the houses and led away the inhabitants. The "procedure" in these actions was always the same: The militia and the army--in keeping with well-tried prescriptions--cordoned off a place and gathered all the peasants for a "roll call." They then selected those who were suspected of belonging to the New Turkey organization or those with whom arms were found. In addition, it was demanded on the spot that the peasants declare, and forcibly sign, that they will not request emigration from Bulgaria, that they voluntarily ask for their names to be changed to Bulgarian ones, and that they renounce their religion.

It Began in 1950

However, such disorders are not happening in Bulgaria for the first time, and they are a logical consequence of the preceding disorders.

[AU072256] Sentence: Contact With Foreigners

The essence of the problem lies in the Constitution of the People's Republic of Bulgaria adopted in 1971, which does not mention the minorities at all and does not say anything anywhere about any special minority rights. Prof Dr Georg Burner, in a well-documented study, "The Protection of Ethnic Minorities in East Europe," says that Bulgaria is the only country, along with Poland to some extent, which neither theoretically nor practically recognizes any minorities and does not allow them to develop their national culture, the use of their mother tongue, or any minority organizations.

The situation and the feelings of the Turks in Bulgaria at this moment confirm this, and it was not too difficult to check this in several places in that country.

When we pushed to sell "drekhi" (clothes), a woman in Stanke Dimitrov invited us to her house, in fact a small room with a wardrobe and an iron bedstead, on which her husband, mumbling something, and her child were sitting. When they heard what we were asking about, they asked us at once to get lost, for any contact with foreigners on these questions meant for them that a sentence would be meted out.

In Ikhtiman and Samokov we also obtained information that the Turks in Bulgaria are treated below any criteria for human behavior.

"I and other Turks in Bulgaria are angry with the Bulgarian Government, but we are equally angry with Turkey because it has not helped us as much as we hoped it would do," a passerby said to us when we started a conversation. "The majority [as published] of our young people paid for this misunderstanding with their heads, and we will need much time to organize ourselves for secession, until the Bulgarian Government comprehends once and for all that the Turks in this country have the right to select their own names, to have their own religion, cultural traditions and everything that belongs to us.

"Since recently, my name from the government is Asen, but to my friends, to myself, and in myself I will always be Hasan."

I admitted only to this man that I am a journalist and that I wanted to check on the spot how accurate the rumors are that an "invisible war" is being waged in Bulgaria against the Turkish population. On our departure, on the road to Sofia, a Turk stopped us and advised us in a brotherly fashion that we should leave the country at once, because the militia in several places which we visited suspected our tourist intentions, and it could happen that we would soon get an obligatory escort and be accused, "on the basis of documents," of having been undermining the integrity of the country.

CSO: 2800/253

BULGARIA

METHODS TO OVERCOME RADIO INTERFERENCE IN TANK COMMUNICATIONS

Sofia SERZHANT in Bulgarian No 1, 1985 pp 11-12

[Article by Lt Col Todor Chompalov: "Tank Control Under Conditions of Intense Enemy Radio Interference"]

[Text] It is known that radio receivers receive not only useful signals but also deliberate interference transmitted by the enemy. Therefore tank crews will oftentimes have to operate under conditions of intense enemy radio interference.

Under present-day conditions an indicator of the degree of tankmen's training is their ability to operate in the presence of intense radio interference.

Let us share the experience of tank commander Senior Sergeant Vasilev in controlling the operations of a crew in platoon strength in the absence of radio communication as a result of intense enemy radio interference.

A tactical exercise with a tank company was under way. After issuing the combat order, the commander of the 1st tank platoon gave the tank commanders instructions, from which Senior Sergeant Vasilev made the following notes: "Departure from the area to take place on the white signal flare given by the company commander. Intervehicular distances on the march 25-30 m, march speed 30 km/hr. In the absence of the enemy I will be in the turret and will give flag signals in accordance with the Drill Regulations. In the event of an air attack all hatches are to be closed, and speed and intervehicular distances to be increased. Immediately before deployment of the platoon in combat formation, on the signal 'Projector' turn on infrared projectors in order to suppress the enemy's electron-optical PTURS [antitank guided missile] guidance and control systems and, depending on the wind direction, at the signal 'SMOKE' turn on smoke thermal generator. In the event of radio transmission of commands, without responding crews are to proceed at once to practical operations, which will be confirmation that the mission is understood. Radios are to operate at reduced power with tuning to the emission needed to reach only the perimeter of the battalion. In the event that the enemy suppresses radio communication, switch over at once to reserve radio wave. In the event of final loss of radio communication, do not halt execution of mission, but intensify observation of visual signals given by my tank. Infantry targets to be designated by a number of tracer bullets, gun targets by tracer shells. Switch from

march formation to combat formation after my tank's turret suddenly swings to the left and right, and switch from combat formation to march formation after repeated sudden raising and lowering of my gun. A red flare signal will be given to break off the combat formation. In the event of enemy use of chemical weapons and passage through zones contaminated with radioactive substances, a three-star green flare signal will be given by the crew exposed to the chemical agents. The signal for exhaustion of ammunition will be three 5-second emissions from the smoke thermal generator in a 20-second interval. I will signal an air attack with a blue flag."

On his return from the organization of battle the tank commander assigned crew members the mission of preparing for the offensive and familiarized them with the signals and the ways of executing them. He gave special attention to the organization of observation in the tank, ordering the driver-mechanic to conduct forward observation, the gunner forward and port, and the loader forward and starboard.

At the specified time on the signal given by the company commander the move out to the enemy's main line of resistance began. On crossing the line for deployment into columns of companies, Senior Sergeant Vasilev heard a peculiar noise in the earphones like the sound of running water. It was a sign of the suppression of radio communication. The tank commander at once switched over to the reserve wavelength, but the same noise was audible there too. The following commands and announcements ensued over the tank interphone: "Crew, this is the commander. Intensify observation of the platoon commander's tank and neighbors." "Commander, this is the loader, blue flag is being displayed by platoon commander's tank." "Crew, this is the commander, close hatches; driver-mechanic, increase intervehicular distance to 100 m."

As the line between the stone quarry and the sheep pen was crossed, the turret of the tank moving in front swung sharply to the left and right. On this signal the driver-mechanic turned his vehicle to the right and assumed his position in the platoon's combat formation. In the area of reference point 4 a target appeared. A fire command followed: "Tracer shells, road fork, to the left 50, less 100, recoilless gun in the area of the white rocks; fire on the move!" A spray of fire showered the target. Spotting it, the neighboring tanks likewise opened fire on it. "Commander, this is the gunner, shell burst in the area of the triangular clearing; I observed an antitank gun on its western edge," the gunner reported further. "Fragmentation shell, on antitank gun 800; fire on the move!"

Advancing into the depth of the enemy's defense, the company commander gave the red flare signal. Taking advantage of the accidents of the terrain, the vehicles took up advantageous firing positions for delivering fire from a halt. A white flag was displayed from the hatch of the commander's tank. Coming out through the escape hatch, the loader made his way by rushing and crawling to Senior Sergeant Vasilev's tank. He reported the following: "The platoon commander orders me to tell you that a strong enemy counterattack is going to have to be repelled. Platoon's band of fire: on the right--sheep pen, two hills; on the left--excluding the river, watchman's hut. Main sector for observation and delivery of fire by your tank: on the right--two hills, and on the left--cutting area in the woods. Additional sector on the right--curve in the highway."

The tank commander designated the landmarks, determined the distance to them, made up a fire capabilities chart and organized observation.

The enemy's counterattack was repelled and he began to withdraw in a westerly direction. Pursuit began at first in combat formation and later in approach march formation after the platoon commander gave a signal by suddenly raising and lowering his gun. During the pursuit the tank loader noticed a three-star green flare and without losing time to report to the tank commander gave the command "Gas!"

At the end of the pursuit the company once again deployed in combat formation and consolidated its position on the line it had reached. Attention was attracted by the white flag displayed by the company commander's tank, whose gun was turned backwards. To the crews this signified, "Do you have any ammunition?" The smoke thermal generators of the six tanks belched forth smoke three times.

The exercise convinced the platoon and tank commanders that when missions, signals and methods of executing them are known and observation in the tank and platoon is well organized, the lack of radio communication must not be a reason for nonperformance of an assigned mission.

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1 April 1985

## BULGARIA

## EFFORTS TO IMPROVE TRAINING OF AIR FORCE PILOTS

Sofia ARMEYSKI PREGLED in Bulgarian No 1, 1985 pp 83-88

[Article by Maj Gen Dimitur Karadzhikov, honored pilot, chief of G. Benkovski VNVVU [Higher People's Air Force School]: "Military Professional Purposiveness of Cadets"]

[Text] The higher requirements set for the training of military professionals, necessitated by the present-day military and political situation, increasingly intensify the role of military schools in the development and strengthening of the Bulgarian People's Army.

In his concluding address to the training-methods assembly in October 1983, member of the Political Bureau of the BCP Central Committee and minister of national defense, Army General D. Dzhurov, observed that ". . . elevation of the army's fighting efficiency and combat readiness begins with the military educational institutions. The army's mentality is in maximum measure determined by the mentality of the military educational institution."

The military professional training of cadets by our aviation school is a basic indicator of the future officer's qualifications, of his ability to apply military science creatively in army life.

The command and teaching staff works single-mindedly and systematically on the military professional molding of the cadets throughout the entire course of training at the school. Two stages are observable in the process.

During the first training state, which conventionally includes the first and second year, we endeavor in the course of combined-arms, general-educational and other classwork to cultivate in the cadets the fundamentals of such military professional qualities as ideological conviction, love for the military profession and the aviation specialty they have chosen, love for weapons and combat materiel, for the soldier's occupation.

The introduction of flight practice into the training plans during the very first year has proved very effective for the military professional purposiveness of aviation cadets. There has been a heightening of interest in and emotional and inner mental attitude toward theoretical classwork in aerodynamics and aircraft radio and electrical equipment.

Accelerated adaptation of young cadets on their entry into the school is an important prerequisite for intensification of their military professional training. The work of the core departments in this respect has shown definite growth. During this stage military professional qualities are developed in first- and second-year cadets principally in the course of classwork in combined-arms, general-educational and some special aviation disciplines that provide first-hand flight training.

Characteristic of the classwork conducted in combined-arms disciplines are heightened purposiveness and intensity, in the course of which commanders regularly take up questions relating to the immediate and future activity of unit commanders.

Classwork in the general-educational and general-engineering disciplines also has its share in the development of cadets' military professional qualities. In the course of these classes the basic foundation of knowledge is created, on which the military professional qualities of the future officer will develop and take shape later. Theoretical classwork in mathematics, physics, mechanics, philosophy and history is related to the specific activities of the air-defense and air-force officer. Extensive use is made of phenomena and examples from flying practice. Mandatory elements of the lessons that contribute to the development of military professional qualities are the ideological motives and clear theoretical and practical validation of the phenomena, facts and objective laws that are taken up.

The cadets' moral and political qualities are intensely shaped in classwork in military history, history of the BCP, etc., in which an atmosphere is created that evokes patriotic and international experiences, sentiments of national pride, comradeship, etc.

The period of the second and especially the third training stage is aimed at the military professional molding of an officer ready to work under the specific air-defense and air-force conditions of his profession, flight commander, political worker, IAS [engineer aviation service] engineer.

The training-methods assembly at the G. Benkovski VNVVU in 1982 discussed the abilities of the military special disciplines to shape the military professional and command qualities of cadets. The accumulated experience in this regard and the changes ensuing in the course of the preparation and conduct of the National Party Conference make it possible to assess what has been achieved with its favorable and poor aspects.

The avalanche-like growth of the volume of information in the area of military aviation and the limited instruction periods compel us to seek an increase in the efficiency of teaching effort through improvement in the organization of classes. It is no accident that the teacher of today increasingly is changing from a source of information into an organizer of its mastery and use. This accounts for the great significance that we attach to the organization and conduct of these classes. Irrespective of the specialized academic discipline and the class format, we seek a scientific, ideological and practical relation with the activity of air-defense and air-force aviation units in order to maintain

high combat readiness, reduce the accident rate and enhance the reliability of combat aviation equipment in operation. It is best to achieve this in training sessions conducted with aviation cadets during flying practice. These training sessions are included in the training plan and assure first-hand performance of the cadets' flying missions, as well as intensify their knowledge of aviation equipment and its combat use.

It has been found especially useful to conduct flights with aviation cadets against a tactical background, in which the flight exercise makes possible to the highest degree the development of the aviation cadets' professional military qualities--namely, with pilots excellently piloting aircraft, with future aviation commanders using aircraft most skillfully as combat means to destroy the enemy in coordinated action with all branches of the army--which will ensure a victorious outcome of the operation and battle. We are satisfied that even with foreign aviation cadets we have succeeded in achieving this level in their military professional training.

Our aspiration is that flight training and the military professional training of cadets and NCO students in senior classes should culminate with a flying training exercise in air squadrons. By improving training plans we have arrived at successful participation by graduate cadets with a Communications and RTO [Radiotelegraph Equipment] specialty in comprehensive communication exercises in air-defense and air-force troops, while cadets with fourth-year specialties do their military professional training as platoon leaders and every year actually provide individual training for young soldiers in the school's units.

In addition, we conduct the military professional training of fourth-year cadets on the specific aviation equipment which they will use on graduation from the school, and for their probationary training in air units we try to assign graduate cadets to posts which they will fill immediately on graduation from the school. In this way a shortening of the time for full realization of the military professional potential of our graduates in air-defense and air-force units is achieved.

The TNTM [Youth Technical and Scientific Creativity] Movement is an additional stimulus to intensification of military professional purposiveness of training. The cadet design bureau set up in our school channels the activity of the TNTM sections toward work on significant timely topics offering a real contribution to raising the combat readiness and potentialities of combat-aviation and aircraft-servicing equipment.

The physical plant of the school and the way in which it is used play an important role and are of great significance in graduates' full-fledged military professional purposiveness and realization of their potential. The available physical plant is used efficiently by our instructors to mold professional qualities in cadets in the course of classwork. This year we began to introduce microcomputer equipment in the teaching process. At the moment, training is under way which, in the course of classwork with the help of individual microcomputers, aims at creating interest in modeling and solving a wide range of problems in the air training of cadets.

Practical exercises in the special military disciplines further develop and mold the military professional mentality of our graduate. In the course of these exercises specific aviation equipment and its combat use and operation are studied. Here extensive use is made of operating models, cross-sections, special-purpose rooms and training systems. The Tactical Training, Communications and RSTO [Radiotechnical and Illuminating Engineering Support], Social Sciences, Aircraft Radio Engineering and RO [Electronic Equipment] and other departments are doing a good job of promoting the military professional formation of their trainees. We encourage and support classwork which does not seek to simplify the situation but, on the contrary, seeks to approximate the actual situation. Such are the classes we conduct at the training TECH [Technical Maintenance Unit] (center for training in technical maintenance of aviation equipment). The experience in using it in the teaching process has been very useful. The foundation thus constructed contributes directly to the molding of military professional qualities in cadets. That is why we have started building another such center--a field facility for training cadets with the Communication and RSTO specialty. Two such centers conduct classwork directly related to a number of the skills the young officer needs if he fills a specific post in air units. The practice of using cadet platoon commanders as instructors in practical exercises has proved especially useful. For the present we have succeeded in effecting this only for the following specialties: Communications and RSTO, Aviation Equipment, and Radio Equipment.

The degree of cadets' independence and creativity of thought and action is also raised by setting up problem situations involving military practice in classwork. This enables cadets to actualize their personal qualities and capabilities while still in the classroom. Inner motives are awakened in them; love of their chosen profession is inculcated. A favorable example in this regard is the training and the conduct of classwork in specialized disciplines in the Aviation Equipment, Air Armament and other departments.

Apart from the achievement of basic goals, classwork in the military specialties affords abundant opportunities to form the qualities of the military pedagogue, organizer and leader. In keeping with the plan we have adopted for forming these qualities, skillful use is made of the form of methods exercises. The exercise itself represents a realization of the military professional training that has been achieved and is an opportunity to confirm and check the organizational, pedagogical and command qualities already formed. The setting in which cadets conduct methods exercises before younger classes or before NCO students from the SSVVU [Noncommissioned Officers Secondary Air Force School] is very favorable and approximates reality. This form is successfully used in the Aircraft Radio Engineering and RO, Communications and RSTO, Aviation Engines and other departments and has a proven favorable effect on the education not only of the trainees, but also of the cadet leader. During methods exercises cadets have an opportunity to learn to organize their activity as senior flight technicians (for the Aircraft and Engine specialty) and group chiefs (for the Aviation Armament, Aviation Equipment, and Radio Equipment specialties), with a continuous watch kept during the exercise on the first-rate performance of all operations in conformity with the documents regulating the maintenance of aviation equipment. At the end of the exercise a critique is conducted with an evaluation of the performance by individual subordinates,

thus directly contributing to the molding of the aviation specialist as a commander as well.

To form the necessary military professional qualities in cadets, the educational function of the instructor during classwork must be intensified consciously and in a scientifically grounded way. Our constant concern is to make effective use of all possible measures aimed at the improvement of instructors' qualifications. For this purpose the faculty is assigned to postgraduate study and to courses to improve themselves at the G. S. Rakovski Military Academy and the Academy for Social Sciences and Social Management, as well as to training periods in air-defense and air-force units. Teaching-methods work in the departments is also focused on improvement of activity in developing military professional qualities in trainees and on activation of the faculty's knowledge and know-how for the comprehensive solution of related problems. Advance preparation for every class is assisted and checked on, with special attention directed to comprehension of the military professional qualities that must be developed further in trainees in their upcoming classwork. To assist teachers in the departments, at the training-methods assembly, held at the school in March 1984, we decided to define concretely the activity of every teacher and commander, clarifying and planning what goals and what tasks out of those indicated in the proficiency ratings must be achieved by every teacher, discipline and class. In this way conditions were created for the unfolding of creative opportunities for the command and teaching staff for first-rate implementation of the requirements of the proficiency ratings, which in this way become an indispensable guide for working with trainees and play a valuable role in their military professional formation.

In summarizing the school's effort at military professional purposiveness, we acknowledge also that there are some lapses. Analysis of these shows that thus far we have not succeeded completely in assuring the comprehensive formation of all the military professional qualities at a level measuring up to the high party requirements. We still have not achieved the necessary combination of the formation of high military professional training with the formation of high military discipline and mental readiness to overcome the difficulties of the military profession.

One of the basic reasons for these weaknesses we see in the inadequate command and instructional-and-pedagogical work of individual commanders and teachers in discovering the content, significance and specific character of the military professional molding of cadets--the future air force officers. This limits and lessens the effectiveness of their practical activity in shaping the personality of the graduates of our aviation school.

The directions in which we focus our practical activity for the military professional purposiveness of cadets in the course of classwork are as follows:

--Competent comprehension of the goal and specific educational content of every exercise for the molding of military professional qualities in the cadets.

--Intensification of the military practical purposiveness of classwork in keeping with the requirements of the proficiency ratings.

--Improvement in the organization of the labor and of the system for the continuing education of command-instructional and instructor staff.

--Establishment of a probationary military training period with cadet graduates in units where they will be assigned to certain posts as young officers.

--Extensive study and introduction of the progressive experience of Soviet military aviation schools.

The military professional molding of cadets is an official and party duty of commanders, instructors and political workers. It must be the center of attention of cadet party and Komsomol organizations.

Further enhancement of the quality of military professional inculcation in the activity of our military educational institutions through improvement of the instructional and educational process will contribute to the creation of officer and NCO personnel selflessly devoted to our socialist homeland and to the BCP, who will master Marxist-Leninist theory as methodology in their activity and, nurtured in the communist spirit, will possess high combat morale, organizational capabilities and pedagogical expertise, physical stamina and mental stability.

6474

CSO: 2200/118

BULGARIA

COMMENTARY ON DECISION TO IMPROVE SOCCER TEAMS

Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 11 Feb 85 p 1

[Editorial: "New Manifestation of Party Concern"]

[Text] Examples of the Bulgarian Communist Party's great, timely and constructive concern for the development and popularization of physical education and sport in our country are numerous. And this is natural--our party considers its efforts in this area an inseparable part of the purposeful efforts of our socialist society for the all-round development of the personality, an important component element of the ideological, political and moral upbringing of young people. Therefore the Bulgarian public welcomes now with very great interest the latest manifestation of paternal party concern for the future of our sports--the decision of the Political Bureau of the BCP Central Committee "On a Change in the Development of Bulgarian Soccer," published on Saturday.

Especially noteworthy is the fact that the latest party document is the third in the past 15 years that in an analytical spirit and with communist rigor and concern gives direction for change in the development of Bulgarian soccer (leading article in the newspaper RABOTNICHESKO DELO of 13 June 1970 and the decision of the Secretariat of the BCP Central Committee of 1979).

But what has been contributed by the 5 years that have elapsed since the decision of the Secretariat of the BCP Central Committee in no way measures up to the broad program of action it outlined. To begin with, the end result. For we continue every year to be confronted with the unsatisfactory level of our championships at home, the unconvincing representation of our national team and our leading club teams on the international field, the examples of violation of socialist sportsmanship. And besides this, we continue to witness two very illustrative discrepancies, namely, between many great Bulgarian wins in dozens of sports and the pallid performance of the soccer players and between the great popularity of soccer in our country and the low level of skill in it as compared with the countries most developed in this sport.

The decision of the Political Bureau of the BCP Central Committee of 8 February 1985 expresses once more the general dissatisfaction with and concern over the state of Bulgarian soccer, emphasizing the existence of an outdated mentality in the training and conditioning process, the lack of a professional attitude on the part of soccer players toward their duties, the serious distortions in the

management and organization of soccer, the deviations from socialist principles of moral and material incentives, the signs of corruption, and the continuing unscrupulous intervention by figures of differing rank. But just as in other similar party documents, all this is the occasion for laying down specific directions for reorganization. And these, it points out, are where the whole of party policy in the area of sports centers, namely, the popularization of soccer on a large scale and decisively more mass participation among student youth and workers and in local soccer clubs. For this, precisely, is the broad base of the pyramid whose apex is called "world-class soccer expertise."

Special attention is directed also to the overall organization of soccer life in our country. The new party requirements for soccer clubs and the establishment of the contractual principle in the appointment of soccer players are unquestionably aimed at providing incentive for soccer clubs to train their own key personnel, at building up abundant reserves of young talented athletes and creating opportunities for them to realize their potential. In this regard the role of the intra-army soccer group is indeed crucial. But organizational reinforcement of all these directions of change quite naturally also necessitates the presumption of the creation of a Bulgarian soccer union to assume the complete care and responsibility for the development of this sport in our country. For the fundamental party requirement of a change in the development of Bulgarian soccer consists precisely in the following: greater demands, more extensive use of scientific achievements, mass participation and expertise. And there is only one way to that end--concrete deeds with concrete results!

6474

CSO: 2200/118

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

CHNOUPEK BRATISLAVA SPEECH NOTES WORLD SITUATION, ARMS TALKS

Address to Consular Corps

LD082038 Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 1700 GMT 8 Mar 85

[Text] Foreign Affairs Minister Bohuslav Chnoupek met members of the Consular Corps in Bratislava today. He stressed in his speech that the current situation in Czechoslovakia is marked by political stability, broad public and working developments activity, the national economy's continuing high living standards, and rich cultural and spiritual life. He added that we have achieved our successes within conditions of a worsened international situation when imperialism continues to strive to gain military superiority by stepping up the arms race and by making various efforts to transfer it [the arms race] into space.

He also recalled the growing activity of revanchism and the dangerous attempts to question important international legal documents including the Yalta and Potsdam Agreements, treaties concluded between the socialist states and the German Federal Republic, as well as the Helsinki Final Act.

Minister Chnoupek voiced the conviction that it is especially important in the current situation to continue the efforts aimed at easing international tension. He welcomed the fact that thanks to the Soviet initiative, talks between the Soviet Union and the United States on a whole set of questions concerning space and both strategic and medium-range nuclear weapons will take place in Geneva beginning 12 March with all these issues to be discussed and tackled in their mutual connection. At the close of the speech, Bohuslav Chnoupek thanked members of the Consular Corps in Bratislava for their work and assured the diplomats that Czechoslovakia will continue to work actively for bringing about progress in tackling the most topical international issues.

Other Attendees Noted

AU120846 [Editorial Report] Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak on 9 March carries on pages 1 and 2 a 500-word CTK report, titled "Meeting With the Consular Corps in Bratislava; Minister Bohuslav Chnoupek's Statement." CTK reports the "traditional meeting between the Bratislava Consular Corps and the CSSR minister of foreign affairs, Bohuslav Chnoupek," which "took place on 8 March in Bratislava and was also attended by Jan Janik, presidium member and secretary

of the Slovak Communist Party (CPSL) Central Committee; Daniel Futej, CPSL Central Committee department head; Jaroslav Kinsky, deputy premier of the Slovak SR; and Jan Gregor, deputy chairman of the Slovak National Council."

Comparison with the referent item reveals that the radio report covers all pertinent points of Chnoupek's speech as rendered by Bratislava PRAVDA, which concludes its report as follows:

"Minister B. Chnoupek concluded his statement by thanking the members of the Consular Corps in Bratislava for their work, in which we see not only the domain of a purely consular agenda, but primarily the weighty aspects of a primarily political, economic, and cultural significance. He assured the diplomats present that Czechoslovakia will continue its highly active and engaged fostering of the achievement of progress in resolving the most topical international issues in all international forums.

"Dzhenyu Enev, consul general of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, spoke on behalf of the Bratislava Consular Corps as its doyen," the CTK report in Bratislava PRAVDA states, adding that he emphasized the CSSR's successes in economy and culture and its peace activities internationally; expressed gratitude for the state and party bodies' support to the members of the Consular Corps and their activities; and "conveyed their resolve to continue contributing toward developing all-round cooperation for the benefit of preserving peace."

CSO: 2400/310

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

JAKES ADDRESSES JOURNALISTS ON ECONOMY

LD141343 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1730 GMT 13 Mar 85

[Report by Miroslav Langr on the Journalists' Wednesday (a weekly meeting of journalists with officials) held in Prague with Milos Jakes, member of the Presidium and secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee]

[Text] The first 4 years of the Seventh 5-Year Plan can be characterized as a successful period, Comrade Jakes said. Providing the demanding tasks laid down by the 12th CPCZ Central Committee session are fulfilled, the complete fulfillment of the intentions of the Seventh 5-Year Plan and the 16th Party Congress should also be achieved.

Since 1983 the growth of the dynamism of our economy has continued and we are going to maintain this in the Eighth 5-Year Plan. This positive development has been aided not only by economic tools but also by the activity of the party, trade union and youth organizations. Comrade Jakes praised the important role of the initiative of the working people which had been motivated by the appeal issued by our central bodies on the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the liberation of Czechoslovakia by the Soviet Army.

Comrade Milos Jakes went on to say that all the good results notwithstanding we must put emphasis on raising the effectiveness and quality of work and on a faster application of the results of science and technology. This was the purpose of both those structural changes in industry which were being either implemented or planned.

We want to insure the growth of the national income through reducing production costs, mainly power and materials. This is the key question of the growth of the national income. Therefore it will be necessary to refine the system of economic tools which, in turn, will consistently lead to better management.

Another fundamental requirement is that production must be in line with planned use, i.e. that which is meant for the home market should stay at home and that which is meant to be exported must be of such standards that it can really be sold. Frequently our products lack the quality necessary for competing on world markets. For this reason exports of engineering products, for

example, are substituted with less effective exports of metallurgy material. It is therefore necessary to make further progress in improving the quality of exports so that everything that is made also finds a buyer.

These are fundamental questions which will benefit from the further improving of the management of the entire national economy, said Milos Jakes, member of the Presidium and secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, at today's Journalists' Wednesday in Prague.

CSO: 2400/310

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

TRIAL OF THREE CATHOLICS POSTPONED UNTIL 19 MARCH

LD070019 Vatican City International Service in Slovak 1845 GMT 6 Mar 85

[Text] According to AFP, court proceedings against three young Slovak Catholics, who were arrested in December 1983 at the Polish-Slovak border because they attempted to smuggle religious literature from Poland to Slovakia, have been postponed to 19 March. The court proceedings were due to take place yesterday in Bratislava. The case involves three young Slovak Catholics, university students Branislav Borovsky, Aloiz Gabaj and Tomas Konc. They were detained in Poland on 12 December 1983, and handed over to Czechoslovak authorities, who released them to temporary freedom on 31 August 1984.

According to a report by the Committee for the Defense of Unjustly Persecuted Persons, they were charged with illegal emigration. The charge was then changed to an economic crime, which can carry a prison sentence of up to 5 years. According to this committee, Borovsky and Konc were already expelled from Bratislava Technical University.

From diplomatic sources in Canada, the United States, Great Britain and Italy, it has emerged that representatives of these embassies tried in vain to enter the courtroom. Borovsky, who is of poor health, was unable to attend the court proceedings. [Not further specified] The Committee for the Defense of Unjustly Persecuted Persons regards these three young Slovak Catholics as victims of persecution and oppression because they attempted to take religious literature into Czechoslovakia.

Exactly a month ago, CSSR Deputy Premier Matej Lucan declared: The CSSR government fully respects the fact that both the Church and believers need relevant literature. We regard the key way to acquire it, both today and in the future, to be by publishing it in domestic conditions, even though we import not a small amount of it from abroad.

The court proceedings against the three young Catholics--a mere month after this statement was made--only because they wanted to bring in religious literature, which is permitted both by the Constitution and the present government, shows that there is a big difference between what is officially written and said about religious literature, and reality.

CSO: 2400/310

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

ACCEPTANCE OF GERMANY'S PAST, STATUS DISCUSSED

Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 9 Feb 85 p 6

[Article by Miroslav Kubin]

[Excerpts] William Pfaff, commentator for the American paper INTERNATIONAL HERALD TRIBUNE, recently wrote: "It is necessary to celebrate this year the fact that Britain, France, Holland, Belgium, Greece, Denmark, the United States and Canada have made peace with the Germans..." The only shadow in Europe the American journalist sees is that the socialist countries "have not made peace with the Germans." Right now there would be an opportunity to organize the celebrations of reconciliation in which the delegations from the "East" would also take part in order to have a chance to give thought to the significant contribution Germany has rendered to our civilization."

Pfaff has a program ready: "Bach's St Matthew's Passion, Beethoven's Ninth Symphony and Mozart's Requiem..." "The goal of all this is to modestly state that bygones are bygones, that the future can be secured only through permanent reconciliation and that vengeance is wrong..."

It is striking that while Pfaff already proposes a specific musical program for the "reconciliation" celebrations, he does not say anything concrete about what the socialist countries are to reconcile. He praises the FRG's membership in NATO and its consequences. According to him the socialist countries should reconcile themselves to the fact that precisely in the "German question" the Western powers violated the basic agreements whose purpose was to make sure that no future war would ever start from German soil. These agreements--at Yalta and Potsdam--clearly determined the principles of the denazification, democratization, decartelization and demilitarization of Germany.

After the initial, almost fantastic, ideas about "destroying" Germany, about dividing it into a number of small states, and its transformation into a "deindustrialized," so-called pastoral country to which the American and British representatives subscribed in Tehran and Yalta, the Western powers shifted gears following World War II in the direction of an eager reconciliation with the former Nazis. This was done at the time when the Western powers decided to include the former Nazis in their plans--to misuse part of defeated Germany as their future ally against the Soviet Union in their effort to "roll back" the Soviet influence.

One of the most cynical manifestations of this "reconciliation" was a decision to remilitarize Germany, made by the United States as early as 1950. The Paris Agreements signed on 23 October 1954 also contained the so-called Treaty on Armed Forces, which transformed the occupation troops into "allied forces for common defense." A real honeymoon began after the admission of the FRG into NATO.

Today, the FRG possesses a vast military-industrial complex which influences--as shown after all in the present Flick affair--the political circles in Bonn and the entire FRG economy. The Federal Republic has gradually become a significant arms exporter and continues to expand its arms production because it received a "green light" from the Western European Union last year, which permitted the Federal Republic of Germany to produce offensive rocket weapons and long-range bombers.

The past is past, writes W. Pfaff, and one should now concentrate on "reconciliation" at these celebrations. According to him, the past is a closed chapter and one should not talk about it any more. Should the European nations then forget the lessons stemming from World War II, the blood-thirsty militarist adventure launched by Hitlerite fascism which caused so much suffering? Should they forget the immense sacrifice which the defeat of the fascist tyranny required? After all, even today we are witnessing a dangerous development and war preparations which clearly alarm other nations and force them to remember forever the lesson learned and to do everything to prevent the threat of a new, and this time nuclear, war.

One cannot close one's eyes to the lessons of the past. One of the lessons of World War II is the fact that the policies of individual governments should aim not at a fierce arms race and attempts to gain superiority and act from a position of strength, but should aim at mutual understanding and improving cooperation among nations. One has to oppose war before its start.

Let us remind Mr Pfaff that the socialist countries do not need his advice to "reconcile" themselves with the Germans. The treaties they concluded with the FRG have opened the way toward normalizing relations between these countries and toward their constructive development. Not to mention the fact that a firm, principled alliance and friendship between the German Democratic Republic and other socialist countries has existed since the very inception of the GDR.

The shadows of the past are cast at this "reconciliation" in Europe by the notorious revanchists who at their rallies in Munich continue to state and openly declare their territorial claims over certain countries--even if they themselves consider the realization of these claims as "premature." They make no secret of the fact that they are waiting for an opportune moment, for some wishful weakening of the Soviet Union, to replay, for example, the Munich conference.

The relations of the people of Czechoslovakia and other socialist countries vis-a-vis the German people have never been permeated by a desire for revenge for the wrongdoing, violence and suffering at the hands of Hitlerite fascism and militarism. They have also never identified fascism with the German (as

well as Italian) people. This is illustrated by the relations of sincere friendship and cooperation between the CSSR and other socialist countries on the one hand and the German Democratic Republic on the other, as well as by their efforts for the development of multifaceted and mutually beneficial relations with the Federal Republic of Germany.

The attitude of the socialist countries toward prewar Germany was not determined by a desire for revenge, either. Even at Yalta, the Soviet Union believed that a democratic and peaceful transformation of Germany both internally and externally could be realized on the basis of a unified Germany which would not endanger security in Europe but, on the contrary, which would be part of the system of collective security. After all, already on 9 May 1945 J.V. Stalin confirmed in his statement that the USSR was preparing neither the division nor the destruction of Germany.

The subsequent development fully evidenced the efforts and struggle of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries to observe the agreements and principles that the victorious powers had agreed upon at Yalta and Potsdam to secure permanent peace and an atmosphere of security and mutual confidence in Europe.

One of the most significant initiatives of the Soviet Union was its proposal addressed to the Western powers concerning the German peace treaty, submitted on 10 March 1952. According to this proposal, there could again be a sovereign unified German state, on an equal footing with other countries. The proposal presupposed the prevention of the militarization of Germany. The Western powers, however, rejected this proposal.

It was characteristic that at that time Chancellor Adenauer stated: "The best path to reunite with the German eastern territories is by arming West Germany." In his interview with North German Radio of 6 March 1952 he stated: "When the West is strong will be the opportune time for negotiations for peace..." He also added that the goal of such negotiations will be "not only to liberate the Soviet zone (i.e., the GDR--author's comment) but all of captive (!) Europe east of the Iron Curtain."

His Foreign Minister Brentano offered an even more revealing comment: "We will do everything in our power, we will use the most extreme measures--I emphasize the most extreme measures--to get back the Soviet occupation zone."

Hallstein, the famous father of the "Hallstein Doctrine" (which gives the exclusive right to the FRG to speak on behalf of the "entire Germany"), at that time also openly called for the "liberation" of the so-called East German territory and for building a "free Europe" reaching up to the Urals.

It is only logical that the believers of these doctrines today willingly volunteer to serve under the banners of Reagan's crusade against socialism.

Should the socialist countries close their eyes to all this? Should they also close their eyes before the fact that the Federal Republic also contributes to the fierce arms race and consents that its own territory be

transformed into a launching station for first-strike rockets? What happened to its solemn declaration that it will do everything in its power to prevent the launching of a new war from German soil?

From many speeches delivered by federal representatives in the FRG and even from officially adopted documents such as the so-called decision of the Constitutional Court concerning the legal existence of the German Reich within its 1937 territory, it is clear that especially these circles do not wish to reconcile themselves with postwar reality, with the world in which they live. They do not want to accept the existence of an independent, sovereign state, the German Democratic Republic. They do not want to reconcile themselves to the Oder-Neisse border; they do not want to reconcile themselves to the "lost territory in the East" and the existence of the socialist countries.

It would be appropriate for those American authors like William Pfaff who appeal for reconciliation to change the targeted audience in their pamphlets. In the NATO countries there are obviously many who have not learned a lesson from the results of World War II and the defeat of Hitlerite fascism and who have not accepted the course of postwar development in Europe.

1277

CSO: 2400/281

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

IMPERIALIST PSYCHOLOGICAL WARFARE CONDEMNED

Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 21 Feb 85 p 3

[Article by Josef Skala: "Psychological Front of War Preparations"]

[Excerpts] Ideological confrontation has unprecedentedly sharpened. It is no longer solely the tilt yard of the forces of progress and reaction. It has a completely unprecedented significance even in the struggle in which decisions are made pertaining to the cardinal question of the day--the question of war and peace. As was stressed at last year's June session of the CPSU Central Committee, as well as at the November session of the CPCZ Central Committee, "to a considerable extent, the very future and existence of mankind depends on ..." the further growth of our ideological offensive.

Imperialism has unleashed a global "psychological war." Where does its essence lie? Let us first look at how those who are active participants see it. The leading "theoretician" of imperialist propaganda and ideological subversion, M. Choukas, says: "We must change thinking man into a victim of manipulation, change an informed man into a disinformed individual, a convinced person into such a person who is plagued by doubts. It is necessary to rid people of their sympathy for communist goals."

Pierre Nord, in a book issued recently in Paris under the symptomatic title of "Manipulation--The Absolute Weapon of Subversive Warfare," says: "The means of ideological influence must become the weapon of aggression against human common sense. Under conditions of direct confrontation it is necessary to change the concepts of the enemy regarding real material and moral factors and orient his policies and procedures in the direction which is desirable for us so as to blind him in the beginning and paralyze him in the end."

P. Linebarger, in his work "Psychological Warfare," says: "The mission of psychological operations ... is to achieve wartime goals without the direct massive use of military force."

J. Scott, writing in the publication POLITICAL WARFARE, says: "Political warfare is a synonym for psychological warfare. Its goals are attained with the help of diplomatic maneuvers, economic pressure, disinformation, provocations and intimidation, sabotage and terror...."

The CIA handbook for the "conduct of psychological warfare against the government of Nicaragua" says: "It is necessary to carefully liquidate selected groups of people such as judges, members of the police, clerks and others.... Where an individual is shot, the populace must be convinced, come what may, that the individual was an enemy of the people."

It would be possible to list tens of additional indiscretions through which the enemy--in the words of one of Lenin's appropriate sayings--"blurted out the most clandestine thoughts of the kulaks and capitalists which we have already uncovered a hundred times." Their originators know very well who was the first to break trail for them. The "psychological warfare" apparatus of the United States formed itself along the example of the Goebbels idea of "spiritual warfare." It all began with a study entitled "German Psychological Warfare." In 1941 the study was issued in New York by Ladislav Farago, an officer of the OSS (direct predecessor of the CIA). Let us list at least at random which portions of the Nazi credo this individual was already offering as a basis for U.S. procedures:

"The mission of propaganda is ... to primarily affect the emotions and only marginally also affect so-called common sense.... There exists a deeper strategy--warfare conducted with psychological weapons" (A. Hitler: "Mein Kampf").

"You must bring about explosions of anger, bring people to a state of rage, plant hatred and suspicion.... This capability of our press is a manifestation of the strength of the German spirit" (J. Goebbels).

"Psychological warfare" is not only a form of ideological struggle. It is a gross interference in the internal affairs of the socialist and other sovereign states. It strives for destabilization of their social and political systems. It combines propagandistic aggression with coordinated and aimed actions in the diplomatic, economic, and military sphere and subversive actions conducted by the espionage services. The goals and arsenal of "psychological warfare" of imperialism are in steep conflict with the standards of relationship between states and with international law. The Soviet proposal for resolution, presented to this year's session of the UN General Assembly, therefore rightly states: "Psychological warfare" is a component of the policy of state terrorism.

Today, it is not only driven by visions of the "peaceful devouring" of socialism and other anti-imperialistic forces. Their "psychological disarmament"--in the words of British anticommunist theoretician R. Conquest--is the purpose of the "crusader campaign" which does not merely join in the bloodthirsty traditions of "spreading Western values" by accident but rather completely as a matter of a program. "Psychological warfare" has become a component of the preparations for the type of adventure which specifically broke the neck of Hitler's fellow countrymen. This policy is not only repulsive on account of its cannibalism with respect to class hatred. The fears and resistance which it arouses in the entire world have essentially targeted even the internal front of "psychological warfare." American scholar Noam Chomsky, who counts among the more leftist bourgeois liberals, hit the nail on the head. In a

paper entitled "Who Needs the Cold War?" published in the British GUARDIAN, he said: "It is a means of feverishly mobilizing the populace in support of aggressive and interventionist policy."

"Psychological operations" of imperialism did not decline even in the years when the Cold War was losing its momentum. Significant testimony was presented by the Church Committee of the American Senate, which in the mid-seventies was investigating the activities of the American Special Services: whereas under Truman the CIA had organized only 81 such operations, and 170 under Eisenhower, the numbers rose to 163 during the much shorter Kennedy government and there were 142 "covert actions" during Johnson's administration.

The espionage services carry the principal word in these operations even today. However, they are no longer dependent solely on their own agency. The conduct of "psychological warfare" was elevated to a qualitatively higher level. At the head of the pyramid stands the so-called Committee for Planning Foreign Propaganda. It is subordinated directly to the president of the United States. It is headed by the secretary of the National Security Council--the supreme organ for deciding questions of foreign and military policy of the United States. Its members are also the secretaries of defense and state. All institutions of the United States having "ideological effect abroad" are subordinated to this body. Through its composition and its jurisdiction--domestically as well as in the area of international coordination of "psychological warfare"--the committee outranks even the staffs conducting these operations during the years of the Cold War and during the period of struggle against fascism.

"International terrorism" is even today a stigma which is used to blacken every revolutionary action against imperialism. Even today it is intended to sully international solidarity which is rendered these actions unselfishly by the socialist states and by other progressive forces. However, the principal task of the crusade is to defend state terrorism which is growing stronger in all directions of imperialist policy--beginning with a series of military interventions and military support for all reactionary regimes and aggressors up through repressions against fighters for peace and human rights. As was reported once in the American weekly SPOTLIGHT, the United States is actually building 10 new large "internment camps" for these people.

The attack of imperialism on human rights--this is not only tens of thousands of human lives which the Reagan state terrorism has ruined. It is not just tens of millions of unemployed and foci of illiteracy, life with degrading and constantly shrinking philanthropic support and hopelessness, swarming all over the map of the United States itself, or the horrifying balance of neocolonialist plundering. The aggressive preparations of the United States and of NATO--that is the sword of Damocles suspended over the most fundamental human rights of the whole world. And tears of lament over a handful of "dissidents" with dollar accounts in the bank will hardly give these events the semblance of being a "moral credit." Socialism--the first real people's government in history, which is transforming the ideals of social justice into everyday life--is therefore being branded with the mark of "totalitarianism." Forty years after the defeat of the totalitarian vanguard of world reaction, this follows

yet other of its most acute goals. Come what may, the fact that fascist totalitarianism capitulated primarily as a result of the merits of the first socialist nation is to be shouted down.

The economic crisis of capitalism, whose social effects have no parallel after the war, is now already in the second decade. However, the oracles who foretell a "crisis" in the economy of socialism are no longer being asked only for a band-aid to cover the hangover which has occurred among the proponents of "free enterprise." The crusader Blitzkrieg failed even at the time when the potential of socialism was a mere fragment of its current strength. And it is precisely in its mirror that we fully recognize the adventurism with which the current "crusader campaign" is being conducted. Even the more perceptive bourgeois circles are realizing this. Out of fear of reactionary self-delusion, to which they fall prey at the levers of imperialist policy, even these forces are arguing today for that which they themselves but yesterday were disparaging. Even Stephen F. Cohen, one of the leading figures in "Sovietology," recently said in a work entitled "The Myth of the Crumbling Soviet System":

"Every generation of the Western public is exposed to the new myth regarding the USSR and its allies. Now it is the 'fall and crisis' of the Soviet system.... If this image of a crisis-beset Soviet regime teetering on the brink of the precipice were not so dangerous, we could let it out of our head as yet another transitory foolishness. However, unfortunately, it is the basis of a thought, which is so popular in the Reagan government, that American policy based on the armaments race and total economic warfare will ruin the Soviet Union and its allies or, at the very least, to 'bring it to its knees.'"

In actual fact, an author of Cohen's caliber finds that "communism at home actually means social welfare from cradle to grave, a better material life for every new generation, law and order ... guarantees free education, health care, social security, subsidized housing and food for practically all citizens.... For example, in 1950 through 1980 real consumption per capita at least tripled."

The current tasks of the ideological struggle increases the requirements upon the entire ideological front. Counterpropaganda cannot be only its isolated sector. It is--and must become so even to a greater extent--an indivisible component of the progress made by all institutions and cadres who are coreponsible for ideological education. Its principal weapons are the facts demonstrating the historic initiative and superiority of socialism, its class character and the historical place of the capitalistic system, the completely contradictory approach between our and the bourgeois society with respect to fundamental interests, requirements and goals of the working class and all working people.

In this argumentation there cannot be any room for superficial declarations. And even less for concessions with respect to "criteria" through which the historical dispute of our era measures the petit bourgeois tastes and the bourgeois ideology. There is a need to purposefully react to arising unclaritys and enemy demagoguery. The uncovering of the goals of these slogans, their place in the plans to weaken and paralyze the guarantees of our security and successful socialist development, peace and social progress in the entire world are of primary importance for the further growth in the resistance of our people against their influences.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

BRIEFS

BILAK, RAU 11 MAR TALKS--Duesseldorf, 11 Mar (DPA)--According to a Dusseldorf government spokeswoman, in addition to economic relations the Geneva disarmament talks took a prominent place in the exchange of views, lasting approximately 1 hour, between Rau [minister president of North Rhine-Westphalia] and Bilak this evening. The most topical subject for the two politicians was the USSR political situation following the death of Konstantin Chernenko. No details were given. Earlier, Bilak was received by John van Nez Ziegler (SPD) president of the Dusseldorf Landtag. The politicians spoke about scientific, technological and economic subjects against the background of a North Rhine-Westphalian environmental protection exhibition which van Nez Ziegler will open in Prague next week. It is the first exhibition of this type by a Western country in an East European country. [Text] [Hamburg DPA in German 1720 GMT 11 Mar 85]

POWER PLANT AT AUSTRIAN BORDER--Vienna--In the wake of the recent political rapprochement between Prague and Vienna, the CSSR has launched a large-scale diplomatic offensive in support of a joint Danube power plant instead of the controversial Hainburg power plant project. The Czechoslovaks now want to leave prefinancing and construction of the plant to the Austrians and, on their part, offer a complete river bed and water improvement of the March River. Some of the obstacles that caused the failure of earlier CSSR-Austrian talks on such a power plant project near Wolfstahl in 1957 have been removed by Prague's new initiative. Thus the former demand to make the building site more or less extraterritorial so as to keep Czechoslovak workers under control on the Austrian river bank, has now been replaced by the CSSR offer to put Austrian firms in charge of the construction works. And the offer to repay Austrian prefinancing by power deliveries from the CSSR share of the output is also quite interesting. However--as was the case during the original talks--the question of the CSSR's percentage share in the produced power is still controversial. Although the actual plant would be directly at the border, the dammed-up water would be mostly on Austrian territory, so that a 50:50 sharing of the output would be unacceptable for Austria. [By Andreas Unterberger] [Excerpts] [Vienna DIE PRESSE in German 11 Mar 85 pp 1-2]

TOURIST GROUP DEFECTS TO FRG--Bad Reichenhall, 11 Mar (DPA)--On the journey home from a 1-week vacation in Austria, a Czechoslovak tourist group of 11 has used a short stop in Bad Reichenhall to defect to the Federal Republic. As the border police stated on Monday, the 20- to 25-year-old men and women are still being sought. They had come on Saturday from St Martin bei Lofer in the

1 April 1985

Salzburg region by bus and with 22 other passengers. Shortly after crossing the frontier at Bad Reichenhall, the driver stopped for a rest at a gas station, where the vacationers also supplied themselves with food for the journey. After this, the 11 tourists were missing. The tour leader notified the frontier officials. Officials suspect that the young people had contact with Germans and Austrians, with whom they organized the escape. The escapees took their luggage with them and disappeared without trace in a very short time. Also over the weekend, according to the frontier police, nine Czechoslovak nationals crossed the frontier at Bad Reichenhall illegally. They were arrested and have meanwhile made applications for asylum. [Text] [Hamburg DPA in German 1657 GMT 11 Mar 85]

DELEGATION RETURNS FROM BRUSSELS--Prague (CTK)--A Czechoslovak delegation led by Bohuslav Kucera, chairman of the Czechoslovak Committee for European Security and Cooperation, CSSR Federal Assembly deputy chairman, returned yesterday to Prague from Brussels, where it took in the International Forum for Peace and Security in Europe. [Text] [Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 6 Mar 85 p 2]

CSO: 2400/310

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

BICYCLIC PHOSPHORUS ESTERS AS CHEMICAL AGENTS DISCUSSED

East Berlin MILITAERTECHNIK in German No 1, 1985 (signed to press 9 Nov 84)  
pp 43-43

[Article by Dr M. Baesig: "Bicyclic Phosphoric Acid Esters - Potential Chemical Warfare Agents"]

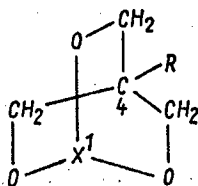
[Text] In 1973 Bellet and Casida reported for the first time on bicyclic phosphate esters whose peculiarity consists of the fact that despite greater toxicity they do not inhibit choline esterase. (1) This group of compounds apparently recently aroused the interest of the military chemists of the imperialist countries since in the case of the possible use of these substances as chemical warfare agents completely new conditions for their detection and the application of antidotes would be needed by those concerned. In contrast, the detoxification of the bicyclic phosphate esters might be similar to the detoxification of Sarin and VX.

Thus it is not surprising that in 1979 a study requested by the Foreign Ministry of Finland appeared under the title "Identification of Potential Organophosphorus Warfare Agents" (2) which gave suitable attention to the analytical methods for the bicyclic phosphate esters. In this study it was emphasized that the bicyclic phosphate esters are potential chemical warfare agents and that they have gained military interest because of their strong toxicity and their ineffectiveness on choline esterases. Accordingly, they would not be detectable by the biochemical methods in use to date. It is, therefore, desirable to continue the development in this field of military chemistry.

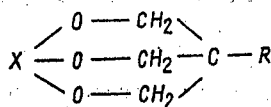
Within the scope of this article the reader shall be made particularly aware of the toxic properties of these compounds of military chemical interest. Furthermore, the possibilities of detection and detoxification will be shown, to the extent that data on this subject can be obtained from available literature.

## 1. Chemical Constitution and Physical Properties

The general formula for the compounds is



or simplified:



depending upon X these can be defined as bicyclic

- phosphites (X = P),
- phosphates (X = P [O]) and
- thionophosphates (X = P [S]).

In the general formula R represents an alkyl group.

All of the bicyclic phosphites, phosphates, and thionophosphates are solid, crystalline compounds. The 4-methyl derivatives have the following melting points (3):

Phosphite: 97-98°C

Phosphate: 249-250°C

Thionophosphate: 224-225°C.

The 4-ethylphosphate has a melting point of 202°C.

On the basis of their physical properties these compounds could be applied  
-in the form of aerosols for atmospheric poisoning and/or  
-in a mixture with suitable solvents that promote skin penetration for terrain poisoning.

Since according to the reports in the available literature (3), (4), (5) the synthesis of these compounds apparently offers no difficulties, the bicyclic phosphoric acid esters can, in principle, be produced on a large scale. The mass production synthesis, as is well known, is a prerequisite for the qualification of a toxic compound as a chemical warfare agent.

## 2. Toxic Properties

In the first paper published by Belet\* and Casida 4-isopropyl-2,6,7-trioxa-1-phospha-bicyclo[2.2.2]octane 1-oxide-1 was described as the most active of a

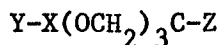
\* For simplification this compound can be called 4-isopropylphosphate.

group of 4-alkyl derivatives. The LD<sub>50</sub> of this compound was determined to be 0.18 mg/kg in the mouse by intraperitoneal injection. In this paper the first structure-activity relationships of bicyclic phosphate esters were already reported. In Table 1 the toxicity values of the 4-alkyl derivatives are summarized.

The compounds cause convulsions and death in test animals within a few minutes after application. The bicyclic phosphites, phosphates, and thionophosphates with the same alkyl substitution have similar toxicity values. The activity above all is dependent upon the type of the 4-alkyl substitutions. The maximum toxicity was found in the compounds with the isopropyl group as the substitution. The 4-isopropyl- or 4-propylphosphates show slightly higher toxicities than the corresponding phosphites and thionophosphates.

In the table the toxicity of the tert-butyl compound was also included which was reported by Casida et al in 1976 (6). This compound with its LD<sub>50</sub> of 0.053 mg/kg (mouse, i.p.) is about 3.5 times more toxic than the isopropyl compound. This toxicity is comparable with that of VX (7).

In the first experiments Bellet and Casida could show that barbiturates are effective antidotes for the control of the acute convulsions induced by the bicyclic phosphate esters. Supplemental to the results reported in 1973, Casida (8) in a paper published in 1974 indicates that sublethal doses of bicyclic phosphate esters do not show a cumulative effect. In 1976 a comprehensive report appeared by Casida et al. on the structure-toxicity relationships of bicyclic compounds (9). It was reported that trioxabicyclooctanes of the general formula



are highly toxic in animal tests (mouse) when

X = phosphorus

Y = oxygen or sulfur or is absent, respectively, and

Z = ethyl, n-propyl, or isopropyl.

Once more it was shown experimentally that the toxicity of the compounds is not based upon the inhibition of acetylcholinesterase and that barbiturates are effective antidotes for the control of the acute convulsions. The structure-toxicity investigations were expanded to a greater number of compounds. The results are listed in Table 2.

From the values of Table 2 it can be seen that a remarkable agreement exists in the activity of the corresponding phosphites, phosphates, and thionophosphates for any given Z-group. In the n-alkyl series the optimum toxicity is reached where Z = n-C<sub>3</sub>H<sub>7</sub>. A two to threefold greater toxicity is provided by the compounds with the isopropyl group as Z.

The phenyl group yields the same toxicity as the n-butyl group. Compounds containing a hydroxymethyl group are inactive up to 500 mg/kg.

The poisoning symptomology after intraperitoneal application in the mouse with all the compounds described is similar or identical. Thus, a doubling of the LD<sub>50</sub> does induce alternating contraction and expansion of the muscles with severe flexion of the posterior extremities. The convulsions occur with increasing intensity until the appearance of generalized motor attacks that peak with death after three minutes to one hour. Death results more quickly with higher dosages.

The prior treatment of the test animals, especially with barbiturates, reduces the toxicity of the compounds. The results of these experiments are shown in Table 3.

The use of the following substances for the prior treatment of the test animals had no effect on the toxicity of the bicyclic phosphoric acid esters:

- atropine sulfate (100 mg/kg)
- 2-PAM

The application of these substances was carried out five minutes before the exposure to the toxic compounds.

From these experiments it can be learned that with the use of bicyclic phosphate esters as chemical warfare agents, the present day antidotes (atropine, choline esterase reactivators) for nerve gases are ineffective.

In a Yugoslavian paper the subcutaneous LD<sub>50</sub> for 4-ethylphosphate for the mouse was found to be 1.25 mg/kg (10). Of the antidotes tested phenobarbital can be given particular mention. The i.p. injection of 150 mg of this substance 10 minutes before the injection of 4-ethylphosphate yielded a protective index value of 7.2. Whether or not the barbiturates effective in animal experiments can fulfill the function of antidotes in humans too, cannot be learned from the literature.

### 3. Detection

In the published papers (11) on the analytical methods for bicyclic phosphate esters the combination of gas chromatography and mass spectrometry (GS/MS) in particular was described. Of the present day suitable methods for the field detection only data on thin-layer chromatography are found in the literature (12). Since this method in the meantime in various countries has been adopted as an analytical method in the field (mobile field laboratories), accordingly the possibility exists for the detection of the bicyclic phosphate esters with this relatively simple technique.

In this paper silica gel F<sub>254</sub> was used as the adsorbent. The solvent system used was

- (A) 1-propanol: 1-butanol: 0.17 N NH<sub>4</sub>OH (2:1:1)
- (B) ethanol: ethyl acetate (4:1)

\* For details of these methods see MILITAERTECHNIK No 3, 1983, pp 153-155 and No 4, 1983, pp 200-202.

The identification was carried out with the aid of smoke (brown spots), ammonium molybdate-perchloric acid reagent (blue or sometimes white spots), and phosgene reagent (blue spots). The resulting Rf values are found in Table 4.

Since the biochemical methods based on the inhibition of choline esterase for the detection of organophosphate warfare agents fail in the case of the bicyclic compounds described here, at present for atmospheric poisoning there are no possibilities for detection by means of indicator capillaries and automatic warfare agent warning devices.

#### 4. Detoxification

In the literature there are only a few papers in which the difficulty of detoxification of bicyclic phosphoric acid esters is presented. Milbrath, Eto, and Casida determined that 4-methylphosphate and 4-tert-butylphosphate are relatively stable phosphoric acid esters (13).

The half-life values during hydrolysis come to  $t_{1/2} = 13-14$  min in 0.1N NaOH and  $t_{1/2} \gg 28\alpha$  in 1 N HCl or water. This hydrolysis velocity is too low for field detoxification. On the basis of the constitution of the compounds it can be assumed that, for example, the hydrolysis can be accelerated by the catalytic action of the hypochlorite ion. In this case the detoxification would be possible with the use of relatively readily available detoxification materials.

In contrast to the bicyclic phosphates the phosphites should be rapidly cleaved by hydrolysis (14).

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- (13) Ibid., p 415.
- (14) W. S. Wadsworth. W. D. Emmons. Bicyclic Phosphites. Op. Cit., p 611.

Table 1: Toxicity of bicyclic phosphites, phosphates, and thionophosphates in comparison with VX (mouse, i.p.)

Tabelle 1 Toxizität von bicyclischen Phosphiten, Phosphaten und Thionophosphaten im Vergleich mit VX (Maus: i. p.)

Verbindung (1)	LD <sub>50</sub> (mg/kg)		
	X = P	X = P (O)	X = P (S)
CH <sub>3</sub> C (CH <sub>2</sub> O) <sub>3</sub> X	—	32	34
C <sub>2</sub> H <sub>5</sub> C (CH <sub>2</sub> O) <sub>3</sub> X	1,1	1,0	1,1
CH <sub>3</sub> (CH <sub>2</sub> ) <sub>2</sub> C (CH <sub>2</sub> O) <sub>3</sub> X	0,39	0,38	0,79
(CH <sub>3</sub> ) <sub>2</sub> CH C (CH <sub>2</sub> O) <sub>3</sub> X	0,22	0,18	0,26
(CH <sub>3</sub> ) <sub>2</sub> CC (CH <sub>2</sub> O) <sub>3</sub> X	—	0,053	—

— tertiäre Verb.: 0,05 mg/kg (2)  
VX — quaternäre Verb.: 0,026 mg/kg (3)

Key:

1. Compound
2. - tertiary compound: 0.05 mg/kg
3. VX - quaternary compound: 0.026 mg/kg

Table 2: Toxicity of bicyclic compounds of the general formula Y-P(OCH<sub>2</sub>)<sub>3</sub>C-Z (mouse, i.p.)

Tabelle 2 Toxizität von bicyclischen Verbindungen der allgemeinen Formel Y — P (OCH<sub>2</sub>)<sub>3</sub> C — Z (Maus, i. p.)

Itd. Nr. der Verbindung (1)	Y	Z	LD <sub>50</sub>
			(mg/kg)
1	O	CH <sub>3</sub>	32
2	S	CH <sub>3</sub>	34
3	—	C <sub>2</sub> H <sub>5</sub>	1,1
4	O	C <sub>2</sub> H <sub>5</sub>	1,0
5	S	C <sub>2</sub> H <sub>5</sub>	1,1
6	—	n-C <sub>3</sub> H <sub>7</sub>	0,39
7	O	n-C <sub>3</sub> H <sub>7</sub>	0,38
8	S	n-C <sub>3</sub> H <sub>7</sub>	0,78
9	—	i-C <sub>3</sub> H <sub>7</sub>	0,22
10	O	i-C <sub>3</sub> H <sub>7</sub>	0,18
11	S	i-C <sub>3</sub> H <sub>7</sub>	0,26
12	O	n-C <sub>4</sub> H <sub>9</sub>	1,3
13	O	n-C <sub>5</sub> H <sub>11</sub>	37
14	O	n-C <sub>6</sub> H <sub>13</sub>	500
15	O	C <sub>6</sub> H <sub>5</sub>	1,5
16	—	CH <sub>2</sub> OH	> 500
17	O	CH <sub>2</sub> OH	> 500
18	S	CH <sub>2</sub> OH	> 500

Key:

1. Compound number

Table 3: Effects of phenobarbital on the LD<sub>50</sub> values (mouse, i.p.) for bicyclic compounds

Tabelle 3 Wirkung von Phenobarbital auf die LD <sub>50</sub> -Werte (Maus, i. p.) für bicyclische Verbindungen (1)	
lfd. Nr. der Verbindung (nach Tabelle 2)	(2) LD <sub>50</sub> -Verhältnis (mit Phenobarbital behandelte Tiere/ Kontrolltiere)
3	4,5
4	5,0
5	4,3
10	5,3

Phenobarbital 100 mg/kg; verabreicht (i. p.) vor der intraperitonealen Injektion der toxischen Verbindung. (3)

Key:

1. Compound number (as taken from Table 2)
2. LD<sub>50</sub> ratio (Animals treated with phenobarbital/control animals)
3. Phenobarbital 100 mg/kg; applied (i.p.) before the intraperitoneal injection of the toxic compound.

Table 4: Rf values of 4-methylphosphate and 4-t-butylphosphate

Compound	Rf values in Solvent	
	A	B
4-Methylphosphate	0.44	0.55
4-t-Butylphosphate	0.59	0.59

12446  
CSO: 2300/283

HUNGARY

TRADE UNIONS' ROLE CHANGING DUE TO NEW CONDITIONS

Budapest SZAKSZERVEZETI SZEMLE in Hungarian No 11, 1984 pp 3-10

[Excerpts from newly expanded book, "In the Service of the Working Class," by Sandor Gaspar; part 1 of 2]

[Text] Last year saw the publication of Sandor Gaspar's book "In the Service of the Working Class," which will be reissued during the year in an expanded edition. Through expansion of the volume, Sandor Gaspar--in concert with the party's trade union policy--seeks an answer to this: how can the trade unions perform their sociopolitical role under changing social and economic conditions, how can they protect and promote their independence, how can they perform successfully their tasks of representing and safeguarding interests, and how can they contribute to the renewal of socialist building? In the chapters which conclude the book, nearly all the topical issues of the trade union movement are taken up: the author interprets and develops, in part, concepts which point to a solution and, in part, time-honored principles of the party's trade union policy. Our journal is publishing in two parts excerpts from the new chapters of Sandor Gaspar's book.

[Question] What do you consider the most important thing, from the trade unions' viewpoint, in the standpoint which was adopted at the 12 October 1983 session of the Central Committee and which deals with continued development of trade union work?

[Answer] If I were to answer in one sentence, I would say that I consider the standpoint itself the most important thing, because a document with historical value was drafted and its significance lies in the fact that it summarized and constitutionalized the guiding principles of the party's trade union policy.

The standpoint sums up and vindicates the experiences so far of the party's trade union policy and indicates the direction of our subsequent activity. It establishes that with regard to the general principles of trade union activity there is no need for change; and it confirms the acknowledged viewpoint on the trade unions' independence and role in safeguarding interests. Our activity proves that what happened

in Hungary in the interest of improving the role of the trade union movement was correct. I have already spoken about this but I repeat: in that period--after 1956--new trails had to be blazed, ossified views had to be changed, and Lenin's trade union doctrine was and has remained the one and only foothold for this.

It is well-known that the Political Committee's 1966 and 1974 resolutions were concerned with the party's trade union policy. Now the Political Committee's report, the accepted standpoint, facilitates our work to a significant degree. It is of great importance in itself that the topic turned up on the agenda; after all, the Central Committee has not extensively discussed the trade unions' activity during the last 38 years. Implementation of the standpoint is a long process, and it requires that we define our subsequent tasks in the spirit of the ideas contained in it. I regard this as one of the most important issues.

[Question] The Central Committee's standpoint and the changing domestic conditions alike require more exacting and higher-level work from the trade unions. How do you see it? Can this requirement be met?

[Answer] As far as the Central Committee's standpoint is concerned, we had to answer the very vital question of whether the trade union movement is able to perform its tasks of today and tomorrow at a higher level. The answer is unequivocal: yes. This is not just my personal opinion. The response of the 17 November 1983 session of SZOT [National Council of Trade Unions]--in which the statement prepared on implementation of the resolution of the 24th congress played a role--and subsequent tasks, the concrete issues of the trade unions' efforts at renewal, also came up.

A trade union movement imbued with the spirit of class struggle can only be worthy of its name and the trust of the masses if it is always capable of growing and taking on new tasks, if it has the capacity to perceive the membership's ambitions accurately, if as a socialist trade union it is able to realistically discern society's possibilities as well as--on this basis--formulate and represent the membership's interests. The Hungarian trade union movement has the background for this work: this is the party's policy, the wide-ranging legal guarantees, and the support of our membership of 4½ million.

It is no accident that the standpoint was reached precisely now. Qualitative processes which are more dynamic must now be launched in our activity, and they will do trade union work which has an even greater effect on the life of society. In this spirit, we are formulating the things which remain for us to do. In order for us in practice to be capable of this--over and above the foregoing--we must understand especially well two spheres of thought, highly topical at present and very profound, from our experiences, from the standpoint and from Lenin's teachings: the questions of trade union independence and the safeguarding of interests.

[Question] You are aware in all likelihood that various views and opinions about the slowdown and loss of importance in trade union activity can be heard which are in opposition to what you said a little while ago, that the trade unions' role in our society continues to grow.

[Answer] I can only say it again: the activity of the trade unions, despite all assertions to the contrary, continues to develop and expand. Party policy and the interests of the buildup of a socialist society require it. This also follows from the practice of the continued development of macroeconomic management. These opinions nevertheless have a realistic basis; the only problem is that the current situation must not be projected into the future, because then we get a distorted picture, and this can be found in those viewpoints.

Because it is true that the restrictions imposed by our country's economic situation today indisputably influence the trade unions' daily activity and work. A certain loss of intensity--a dwindling, in fact--in the management of basic trade union tasks was bound to occur. Adjustment to the new tasks and to the macroeconomic management methods evolves slowly in work competition and in assistance of production. Preoccupation with wage policy, social policy and even the cultural sphere is inevitably weakened because of the lack of material resources. All this is felt by the workers.

It is possible to blame the trade unions for the situation, but the problems basically do not derive at all from within the trade unions. The economy and the standard of living developed smoothly and at a respectable rate after 1957. Unfortunately, we are not living in such a period now. For years the greatest concern of the trade unions--and their activity is guided by it--has been to help alleviate our economic problems and safeguard the standard of living. Our goal is to contribute with even better work so that as few commotions and failures as possible befall us due to unfavorable external influences or the shortcomings of our own work. Unfortunately, however, we have not been able to avoid them completely so far.

Disquietude is plainly becoming stronger in the workers because of the strained international circumstances as well as the course of their own lives and standard of living. Their anxiety over the continued development of socialist building is also growing. All these feelings spring fundamentally from economic worries. The workers have become accustomed to more or less harmonic and dynamic growth. Over a long period of time they have come to expect a steady improvement in their living conditions, and they have experienced the fruits of growth. But what was natural before has become uncertain during these years. So the misgivings and doubts are understandable.

On the basis of--and with full knowledge of--all these things, I emphasize that in our membership a powerful stabilizing factor and reliable political capital continue to be the trust which has been created since 1957 as a result of our party's policy. A significant part of the workers know that--though their situation has become more difficult--our economic power and our living conditions provide security in life. On the basis of these things, we succeeded in getting the general public to accept the economic and living-standard policy measures as an involuntary necessity.

We must count on the fact that the factors which shape the present situation--with regard to their movement and their effect--will probably remain unchanged for a few years; we cannot count on a radical change, some kind of "economic miracle." Our difficulties and our tensions will only slowly subside, and indeed

new ones will arise in the future alongside the existing ones. Thus, for example, conflicts of interest among various strata can openly or covertly become more serious.

We have done all kinds of things to make the general public understand that we can basically solve our problems only by improving our own work. This must be understood primarily not as a quantitative but as a qualitative task, and we have to get others to accept it.

It is understandable perhaps that if we measure the trade union possibilities to the distributional sphere of previous years and decades, then the workers perceive some sort of "narrowing down." If, however, we turn our attention to things which remain for the trade unions to do, then we can hardly speak about a dwindling of the far-reaching field of our activity.

[Question] The trade unions' work of representing and safeguarding interests has come up several times in this conversation of ours, on the one hand, as the strengthened trade union function in the Central Committee's standpoint and, on the other hand, as a characteristic trade union activity described as extremely important from the viewpoint of the future. But this subject also came up at the SZOT session on 17 November 1983. Why has this now become such an important issue?

[Answer] Yes, this issue did come up at the mentioned session of the Trade Council but not as if there were some kind of acute illness in the trade unions' safeguarding and representation of interests. Rather with the requirement for elucidation of concepts, for rethinking, for adjustment to probable changes.

I begin with a statement of principle: the specific "character-giving" function of the trade unions is the safeguarding of interests. This extremely important role derives from the fact that among all the social organizations they are most generally linked to the actual and authentic interests, those which can be observed and analyzed directly for the leadership. Maybe even more important than this is the fact that it is a matter of interests which are recognizable and identifiable for the working masses and at the same time essential, too; they do not become too "remote" and difficult to perceive, and they are not of a peripheral nature and significance.

We know that in socialism not only the trade unions but also the state agencies, legal regulation, party and even employer organizations perform a role in safeguarding interests in the narrower and broader sense. Often, for this reason, some people consider the measures which aim at the trade union's assertion of interests as a sign of mistrust.

It is worth recalling how Lenin formulated the dialectic of "mutual safeguarding of interests."

"Our present state is such that the proletariat organized in its entirety must protect itself, and we must use these worker organizations in order for us to protect the workers vis-a-vis our state and in order for the workers to protect their state." According to Trotsky, there is no longer any justification for

the function of safeguarding interests as the fundamental function of trade unions in socialism. Lenin responds in this manner: "...the trade unions have lost their basis for existence as an economic class struggle, but they have not by any means lost--and unfortunately for a long time yet will not lose--the basis which means the economic struggle (of a nonclass character) in the sense of the fight against the bureaucratic growth of the Soviet apparatus, in the sense of protecting the material and spiritual interests of the working classes with tools which are inaccessible to this apparatus."

The crisis in Poland, still earlier the events in Hungary of 1956 and other examples vividly prove what a terrible price we have to pay if the activity of organizations which carry out social supervision, counterwarning and assertion of interests becomes formalized.

Representation of the interests of the working masses as well as aid and protection for the ruling power of the working classes can often cause conflicts. This double linkage always conceals within itself contradictions which are not completely solvable. In the long run, if we do not keep an eye on it--as far as the trade unions' prestige and influence are concerned at least--the "collapse" can induce a real danger.

There must be sufficient courage in the trade union agencies to have the various interests clash with each other at the open discussions conducted with the workers. Let them say how they see the solution to the clashes and conflicts of interest so that the national economic goals are not neglected. This does not happen, however, without debates. Nor does even the interest of society assert itself adequately if we are unable to interlink the interests of groups and strata, because a societal interest completely independent of group and individual interest does not exist "in itself."

Naturally, we must not conceive that the work of safeguarding interests is good if it represents every demand equally. Nor can the basis of assessment be whether we are able to satisfy every demand. Safeguarding interests does not just mean submitting claims. The trade unions must also undertake development of the conditions necessary for the satisfaction of interests, because it is possible to give more only from what we ourselves have procured. The safeguarding of interests accompanies from beginning to end every phase of activity which aids in implementation and development of trade union policy. What is more, at debates and forums the affected workers personally experience the conflicts of agreement and the restrictions on the assertion of interests. Thus the workers at the workplaces can see the two sides of democracy in the debate on every issue affecting the small community: the possibility for assertion of interests and the need for reconciliation of interests.

The conditions are still lacking, unfortunately, for the fulfillment of legal demands and for assertion of the legal interests of those who live on wages and salary. This precipitated in the "leveling policy," in the freeze on satisfaction of individual and group demands, and because of this the trade union agencies' responsibility for safeguarding interests often becomes an empty catchword to the membership.

These unfavorable features indicate that very important tasks await us in the sphere of interest-safeguarding work. But by virtue of the increase in enterprise independence the main problems appear on the lowermost level, in the work of union stewards. A strong improvement in the daily safeguarding of interests is necessary in this area.

The trade unions reject the fomentation of conflicts. The danger of demagoguery exists even now, at any time and in any place. Demagoguery means that the demands derive more from wishes, from a hypothetical and not an authentic situation; the possibility is neglected. On the other hand, we must guard against describing every demand as demagoguery, because this would be the other extreme. It is evident that the load-bearing capacity of the economic units is limited; it always has been and will be. But the trade unions must critically accept permanent reference to this.

It is not an infrequent occurrence that the activity of safeguarding interests comes up rather only as a general demand. This is why the lowest-level trade union agencies often do not receive enough help to be able to utilize adequately the asserted principles in practice at the workplaces. This weakness is worthy of attention, because with the increase in enterprise independence the daily tasks of safeguarding interests must be performed on the spot.

A survey of the country's and the economy's problems is fairly often to be found in our resolutions. Our resolutions are more and more cut-and-dried, and often they hardly differ from similar standpoints of state and economic agencies. The trouble is not that we agree with each other but rather that we do not show how, to what extent and with what the trade unions contributed to the decision on the given issue. Our membership never objects to the fact that the trade unions speak in a common tongue with state and economic agencies and leaders, but it expects them to work and negotiate while representing and asserting its interests.

Nowadays the concept is rather widespread that when our economic situation is so difficult, then the work of safeguarding and representing interests cannot be carried out, because the material possibilities are lacking. It is impossible to agree with this concept. This is tantamount to saying: someone has nothing to eat, then he should not breathe because this makes him tired. The trade union movement must always engage in this activity. The vital task of representing and safeguarding interests is for us to work hard with every means for the growth of the country's economic power. The primary task in safeguarding interests is to safeguard what exists.

[Question] According to these, a wage adjustment on a greater scale is not to be expected in this situation, even where the tightening of the wage scale is the most oppressive?

[Answer] No, there is now no possibility for the leaders of the government and SZOT to decide in a spectacular way that wages are raised by the central government to such and such a degree in this and that industrial sector.

In connection with the mentioned independence of the workplaces, however, there are more opportunities; this depends on the profits and success of the given enterprise's work.

At the same time we are improving--if not to an enormous degree--through the central government the basic wages and the social allotments even in this tight situation. I note that in the next few years, alongside preservation of the allotment proportions and the real value of social allocations, we are aiming first and foremost at the improvement of wages.

So the safeguarding of interests does not come to a stop.

I would like to stress one thing in connection with prices, wages and the standard of living. Two fundamental social goals stand before us: improving the balance of payments and preserving the standard of living. I believe that these two can be satisfied by a third one, and this is the operation of Hungarian industry. Because if we are unable to guarantee the operation of industry, if we are unable to guarantee the raw materials, imported materials, energy and everything which is necessary for it, our balance of payments will not improve. We can maintain or raise the standard of living only if we are in good condition in this area. The efforts we have made to improve our balance of payments have not been unsuccessful. Everything must now be subordinated to these goals, because strictly speaking this is in the vital interest of every Hungarian citizen. If a slow development begins here, then there will be a realistic chance to satisfy the concrete and feasible demands.

[Question] Comrade Gaspar, what is your opinion of the income disproportion among the various groups in society?

[Answer] By making use of its own specific possibilities, the trade union movement must speak out even more clearly than before about price increases. Our ability to keep industry running and to improve the balance of payments makes the price increases decisively necessary today. We must overcome our problems by bearing the burden collectively. We cannot secure money from anyone but our membership, or the general public. The general burden must be placed on those who are this country's "load carriers," i.e., the workers. It must also be made unambiguous that we have to live with this for some time to come, but in spite of this we will protect the standard of living.

We are often concerned with the development of retail prices from another viewpoint as well. We take notice of their increases. We consider it important, however, for the state agencies to work out their concepts for a longer time frame and to weigh more carefully the justification for and the likely effect of every single price change. The goal must be that retail prices rise only to the most necessary degree and, if justified, let the opposite take place. Price control must be made more effective, and arbitrary manipulations in connection with prices must be prevented.

To answer the question, we know there are bulging incomes. If they are obtained by work and the creation of something of value and if the general sharing of taxation is borne in proportion to the incomes, then that is as it should be. But

we also know that alongside them we find classes of workers who are struggling with daily problems. We must perceive and keep track of this very carefully, and we must help with our resources and facilities. These are first and foremost low-income workers with several children, young persons just starting their careers, and pensioners living alone. These are the three large classes whose situation must be improved when there is a way to do it. I am convinced that the time is not far away when we will not only take notice of these occurrences but also be able to seek a method of solution. For example, I consider it a particular task to help young persons starting their careers obtain housing. In the interest of this, we have done a lot with credit modifications and other subsidies but this possibility must be examined further: how, in what way it might be possible to alleviate their problems further.

Let us not forget, however, that in the past few difficult years we have succeeded in maintaining the national economy's equilibrium, we were able to preserve a comparatively high level of supplies and indeed we even achieved an improvement in a few areas of living conditions.

What do we aim for in safeguarding the standard of living?

We have made an effort in wage policy to enforce the principles which were laid down by the 24th congress. Implementation has been influenced significantly by the fact that the influx of manpower has not taken place precisely in accordance with the national economy's expectations. So far we have not succeeded in satisfying the demands of some classes, the technical intelligentsia, for example, but we did raise the wages of teachers, for instance, by 10 percent on the average starting 1 September 1984.

It must also be said that certain undesirable "wicket gates" have opened up so that people obtain income which does not derive from work. Our wage system has become distorted because of this.

We recommended at the 24th congress that a long-term plan for wage development be worked out. This has not happened yet. We know that it is not possible to achieve spectacular changes in the coming years, but a well-considered long-range plan would favorably affect our daily and practical measures. For the development of this concept it would be advisable to initiate a social debate. This would also help to create greater harmony between wage policy's stimulative and distributional functions.

Today the trade unions can hardly avoid the minimum wage issue: what is the minimum amount of money an adult citizen can live on? We are concerned with where the tolerance limit is beneath which no kind of full wage is conceivable. How much is the income difference which is still tolerable for the various strata?

In the development of their standpoint, the trade unions must proceed from a twofold basis: the immediate and the long-term interests of the workers. There is a need for an increased reconciliation of interests between these two. The economic plans more or less express the long-term interests. We must strive more consistently, however, to express the immediate interests. If we do not do this, we create an endless wage-demand process.

The trade unions consider social policy a tool which produces financial security for some groups and individuals and prevents their financial problems from becoming burdensome. We consider as primary the preservation of those benefits and their value which amount to an indispensable source of livelihood. In the long run we must therefore clarify how to maintain the real value of pensions, how to increase the real value of the lowest pensions and the allotments for assisting in child rearing, and how to support the founding of families. Enterprises must be encouraged to implement local social-policy measures dependent on their successfulness. The enterprise's social provision should help create more congenial working conditions. With adequate sensitivity, the lives of some persons can be improved immediately in those cases for which the central bases do not assure the possibility.

In my opinion, this trade union conduct with respect to safeguarding and representing interests is in harmony with the changes and the possibilities of the forthcoming years.

12327  
CSO: 2500/194

HUNGARY

ENGLISH LANGUAGE MEDICAL SCHOOL, 15 STUDENTS FROM U.S. INTRODUCED

Budapest MAGYAR HIREK in English 16 Feb 85 pp 28-29

[Article by Adam Balazs: "English Language Medical School at Pecs"]

[Text]

Following the German language medicine course at the Budapest Ssemelweis Medical School a medicine course in English started this academic year at the Pécs Medical School. The thirty-eight first-year students came from five countries: Australia, Iran, Great Britain, Sweden and from the United States. Most of the US contingent of fifteen are of Hungarian descent.

"The professor will be here in a minute, would you please come back after the lecture?" Marian Fráter, one of the American students asked me. No matter that I had professional leave to interview her, she did not want to miss even a single lecture. "You know, I can really only use my own notes"—she explained.

"The foreign students work very hard"—said Professor András Tigyí, head of the Institute of Biology, who is in charge of the 'English Programme'. We have altogether one hundred and eighty first-year students, thus those from abroad account for barely a fifth, but their presence is very important. Our international connections have always been systematic, but now we've got into the lime-light. There are few universities offering courses not only in the language of their countries. The lectures and seminars will

be held in English right through the six years, but our students from abroad will also learn Hungarian in order to establish as direct as possible relations with patients which start in the third year."

"The English programme is regarded by all as of great importance" Dr. József Szeberényi, a research biologist who recently returned after two years at the Warly University of St. Louis (USA), added. He had done research into molecular genetics.—"One of the advantages of Hungarian medical training is that students may enrol at the age of eighteen, and master the four-year curriculum of American colleges within one or two years. We have five students at the moment, who graduated from such colleges, and we take their qualifications into account in setting their schedules."

"The other advantageous feature of our university is"—continued Professor Tigyí, "that it gives an opportunity for doing research towards a Ph. D. besides obtaining MD qualifications. Several Hungarian scientific institutes—such as the Institute of Anatomy, those of Bio-Physics, Biology, and Neurobiology—offer research facilities to the students."

The tuition fees are \$300 a month not including board and lodgings. Since Hungarian students fill the student hostels to capacity, those from abroad live in rented rooms. The canteen of the university is, however, open to them, at subsidized prices. As a consequence, they can

keep themselves for around \$5-600 a month."

"Doctors with Hungarian qualifications enjoy a high reputation in the United States"—said Marian Fráter, after the anatomy lecture ended.—"My father, István Fráter, a radiologist graduate of the Budapest university, has lived in the United States since 1956. I came from Providence, Rhode Island, and feel at home in Pécs, which is a city of similar size. I barely have any time off right now, but when I have, I do my best to get to know the town; I already visited the Vasarely Museum, and been at the Pécs National Theatre. I like to travel very much, and hope I will soon go to Austria."

"My father is also a doctor, and he as well has lived in America since fifty six"—but in Sandy Horváth. I come from Philadelphia, where I graduated from the Gwynedd-Merce

College. I visit my grandmother on Sundays. She lives at Fertőd, and helps me much in learning Hungarian."

"I read the enrolment notice of the Pécs University in *Magyar Hírek*—said Zoltán Schmidt. I also graduated from college, majoring in biology and physics at Duke University (Colonia, New Jersey). My parents are Hungarian. They went to Austria in 1945, then to the United States in 1949. I was born in 1962. This is my first visit to Hungary. My father and I arrived here two weeks before the course started. We travelled all over the country, visiting relations. I do my best to explain the rules of American football to my Hungarian colleagues here at Pécs. I miss my parents, but the new friends I made here help a lot.

CSO: 2020/91

HUNGARY

BRIEFS

LABOR FORCE SHRINKING--The labor force declined by 17,000 workers in 1984 in comparison with 1983, states the Central Statistical Office in its publication "The Workforce Balance of the People's Economy." The number of active earners also fell: 4.94 million people in all were employed, i.e. 83.5 percent of men and nearly 75 percent women. In the period reported the number of manual workers fell and the number of people in various white-collar jobs increased. The number of manual workers and direct production managers involved in cooperative farming also increased in 1984, while the number of people carrying out real agricultural work has significantly diminished. Owing to the spread of private ventures, the small producers' and small traders' sector has grown slightly, but the overall percentage of people belonging to this group is still not significant; they formed only 4 percent of the population eligible for work in 1984. [Excerpts] [Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 0400 GMT 85 LD]

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POLAND

HOSTILE RECEPTION OF PRICE CHIEF AT LODZ PLANT DETAILED

Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish No 6, 9 Feb 85 p 5

[Article by Krzysztof Krubski: "Of Bread and Nil"]

[Text] Minister Zdzislaw Krasinski began by saying that he liked tough questions, and he did indeed get them. He also promised to knock down some myths that our minds had been stuffed with for 30 years, and not say anything just to please the ladies, and he kept his word.

The [ladies] struck at him immediately. They preferred continued rationing. "How come you approve the most immoral situation any Europeans could imagine?" the minister was indignant. Only in Poland have we had ration coupons in two installments, once immediately after the war, and now again. Out of 40 years, we have lived no less than 8--that is to say, a fifth part of the entire history of People's Poland--with rationing. "One should be ashamed of it," he argued.

Europe and cool were in the air. But the women quickly regained their senses. "What about cooking oil, why there is no cooking oil again?" one of them asked. "How are we supposed to believe that without rationing we will get enough sugar and butter, if we are short even of the silly cooking oil?" another one added. "That is it, we have such large stocks of butter!" the third one shouted. "If there are stocks, what was the idea of cutting one cake of butter? Perhaps we do not have all those stocks one keeps hearing about?" a fourth one added.

Stocks, allegedly, are all there, and even without rationing there should be no shortage, but trust is in short supply. "We were promised crisp rolls, and what have we got." the audience recalls. At the end of the table a Lodz female textile worker hands out a piece of bread wrapped in cellophane. The bread is dark and clayey. They say it is the flour's fault, usually it gets better than that. "Who will assure us that, once rationing is abolished, the bakers will not buy out white flour?" they ask one another. The explanation that bakers buy flour by tons, not by kilograms, and not in shops but wholesale, reaches the audience. But does it convince them?

Professor Krasinski tries to sound their opinion about the options. "Why are the same products differently priced?" the audience returns to everyday life. The minister explains, using cement as an example. We have factories which turn out [cement] for 1,400 zlotys a ton, and others where a ton costs 3,700 zlotys. The more up-to-date the factory, the more expensive the cement. We cannot close down the more uneconomic factories, because the older ones would not be able to cope with production.

"It is the same with pastries. Each confectioner charges different prices." One hears voices: "Order should be restored." "By no means," the minister replies. "Let people find out why a given factory produces at such high costs." Not everyone shares his view. In Rzeszow doughnuts used to cost 8, 9 or even 10 zlotys. "Well, just imagine," says one woman. "The provincial governor fixed one price for everybody-- 10 zlotys." "That was good, very good, but why not 9 zlotys?" the audience wants to know.

The soundings carried out by the League of Polish Women in Lodz workplaces indicated that if price hikes were really unavoidable, they should follow the first option, but under one condition: the quality must be improved.

This time the minister concurs. Last summer he ordered that a factory which achieves the [quality] grade "Q" or "1" could charge for its products whatever it wished, all bans notwithstanding. "We have in our country 7,000 factories which turn out 1 million products. How many applied to avail themselves of this privilege? Not a single one!" the minister announces. The audience keeps quiet.

"Might we not leave food prices alone, and discuss prices of industrial goods instead?" one of the ladies suggests. "So how much would an automatic washing machine have to cost then? One hundred thousand?" retorts another one.

The minister goes on discussing the various options. The audience assails the 200-zloty recompense. The calculation made people extremely angry. "What about price hikes for pastry, preserves, stewed fruits, factory and school lunches, heating gas, electricity, rents?" one hears questions. "Even now we barely make ends meet. Rents, too, went up recently." "How much rent do you pay now?" the professor asks. No less than 1,115 zlotys instead of 508, no less than 1,908 instead of 560, 1,498 instead of 575 zlotys. The professor is shocked that rents used to be so cheap. The audience--that they are so expensive.

Perhaps the recompense, as calculated, was not such a good idea? In the same document the government quoted the expected sum total of all the price hikes: 403 billion zlotys. "Divide it by the number of Poles and the number of months in a year, and you will get the real magnitude of the monthly per capita increases," advises the professor.

A woman makes laborious calculations. She is confused by the long line of zeros. Finally she gets some 900 zlotys per capita. "Together with my husband we earn 24,000, with 2 kids. Multiply it by 4, you get 3,600. This equals 15 percent of all we have got," she whispers.

The ministers consoles her: they are not the only ones who cannot manage till payday. In the West, too, it is hard to make ends meet. "Then give us their supply and their worries," an elderly lady remarks in a corner, and some others repeat it more loudly. The professor recalls that, when young, he used to eat wet bread with sugar. "So did we," replies the audience, "but we are 40 years after the war."

Do we not realize where we live? The guest uses his professorial prerogatives and keeps asking the audience what--according to the central annual plan--the real wage increase will amount to this year. Not nominal, but real wages. One hears isolated voices: not much. "Nil, simply nil," the professor answers his own question.

If hikes are unavoidable, could we not at least cut the mess? Rationed meat is still in short supply, but more and more is available on the black market. How do they know? They shop themselves: cut pork for 330 zlotys, pork roast for 550, sausage for 650, black pudding for 250. The minister reminds them that it is a felony. "He treats us like kids!" the audience seethes. The professor calmly replies that in Poznan Province nobody shops the black market because it violates the law. Nobody believes him.

There are going to be more price hikes, and I shall not even earn enough to go on vacations with my kids!: "The hell with vacations, we do not have even enough to go to the movies!" Among the audience there are younger women, too. "Each workplace has its social fund. They have money to subsidize leisure!" "Less and less of it, since vacations are getting more expensive." There might not be enough for everybody.

They read a leaflet signed by Stomil members of the League of Polish Women: Can the economy be saved by price hikes alone /.../? "If they are unavoidable, then perhaps not so steep?" adds a director of the Lodz price Office. He has received from Stomil four or five suggestions for increased pricing of some of their products.

The minister keeps returning to the various options. He says that the poll results are now being analyzed. He then asks how many among the audience have replied. Out of some 50, 4 hands are raised. "And we hoped it would be a representative poll," the guest complains. The audience gives an immediate repartee. "If the poll is the most important, what did you need the consultation for? Here you deal with live people. Each one of us has already polled her friends, we do not speak in our own name only."

It gets close to 4 pm. Nervous glances. Some people leave the hall on the sly. It is time to prepare dinner at home.

Professor Krasinski closes the meeting, and wishes all of them shopping without rationing.

12485  
CSO: 2600/625

POLAND

CENSORED COVERAGE OF TORUN TRIAL CONTINUES

Krakow TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY in Polish No 7, 17 Feb 85 pp 3-6

[Abridged account of Jacek Ambroziak, emissary of the Press Office of the Episcopate of Poland, sixth in a series of articles: "The Trial for the Murder of the Rev Jerzy Popieluszko"]

[Text] Testimony of Witness Barbara S., 36 Years Old, MSW [Ministry of Internal Affairs] Employee, Secretary-Typist:

"My occupation is that of a secretary-typist. I worked in the section headed by Grzegorz Piotrowski, over which supervision was exercised by Deputy Director Adam Pietruszka.

"Monday 20 October I started work as usual. Every morning when I arrive there is a large number of various chores to attend to. I no longer remember which ones exactly. At any rate, Chief Piotrowski entered my office, gave me a card with a telephone number and issued an official instruction. That was in the morning, I'm not sure exactly at what time. At any rate, he instructed me to leave the building and make a call from a public telephone. I was to call the number written on the card. That was the number of an officer at the Militia Headquarters which was given on TV the previous day--Saturday or Sunday. I was to tell him that on 19 October, in the late evening hours, I and my husband were in the environs of Torun. Our car broke down and we tried to stop other cars to get help and saw a light-colored Fiat resembling the one mentioned on the TV communiques; it slowed down somewhat but didn't stop, and I saw inside it three persons whose description was given on television. Precisely because of their behavior I noted the license tag number of that car and was to give it to that officer. Such was the instruction I was to carry out.

"I left the building, made the call from a public telephone in accordance with the instruction, then returned and gave the card back to the chief. On that day work seemed to proceed normally."

Judge Maciejewski: "At the instruction of Grzegorz Piotrowski you called an officer at the Militia Headquarters. When making that call, were you already familiar with the news of the Rev Popieluszko's abduction?"

Witness: "I already heard of it from the daily TV news broadcast but, to be sure, while at work on Monday, I didn't notice any particular atmosphere of nervousness in the section, and I myself regarded the chief's instruction as an official order."

[-----] [Decree of 31 July 1983 On the Control of Publications and Entertainment, Article 2, Point 1 (DZIENNIK USTAW No 20, Item 99; revised in 1983 DZIENNIK USTAW No 44, Item 204).]

Attorney Olszewski: "Did Chief Piotrowski tell you what name you were to give?"

Witness: "I was to give one of the more common Polish names should the officer want to know my name, or eventually to say that I didn't want to give my name."

Attorney Wende: "Were you previously telephoned or instructed to make a telephone call for the purpose of giving false information?"

[-----] [Decree of 31 July 1981 On the Control of Publications and Entertainment, Article 2, Point 1 (DZIENNIK USTAW No 20, Item 99; revised in 1983 DZIENNIK USTAW No 44, Item 204).]

Testimony of Witness [Gen] Zenon P.[Platek], 58 Years Old, MSW Employee:

"I was first informed about this matter, i.e., about the abduction of the Rev Popieluszko, on 20 October in the morning, at 0700 hours, at home, where I was called by the chief of the Torun Province Office of Internal Affairs, who told me that Mr Chrostowski was abducted by some people but succeeded in escaping, jumping out of a car, entered some training center and thence called the ambulance and the militia, and was now in a MSW clinic in an extremely agitated and shaken condition, taking drugs, under medical care and that, in Mr Chrostowski's opinion, according to his initial statements, the Rev Popieluszko escaped into the forest.

"Since this was in the line of my official duties, I of course then issued appropriate instructions. I ordered that Mr Chrostowski be kept in custody until all the circumstances are cleared up. No outsiders, not even outside officials, were to be admitted to his presence. Only specially assigned persons would take up this case, because by then I already knew that one of the kidnapers wore a militia uniform. My next order was to secure the car and check all possible clues on the scene, in the car and in the environs.

Yet another order I issued was that searches of the surrounding forests be initiated on using every available man as well as tracking dogs. Should it become necessary to recruit additional personnel and equipment I was to facilitate it insofar as possible. In addition, I ordered the Criminal Section

to join in the operation. Furthermore, I ordered that all new developments be instantly reported to me at my office, to which I immediately drove.

"After arriving at the office I asked whether there were any messages or coded dispatches from Torun. In addition, I summoned to my office Adam Pietruszka and all the other deputy directors. Normally we held such conferences every morning, but this time we met much earlier. I asked whether anyone had information on the subject. They answered no. In turn, I summoned Grzegorz Piotrowski, who was charged with supervising the Popieluszko case. I asked whether anyone from his section had been to Bydgoszcz? He or his associates? They may have been there in view of the Rev Popieluszko's sojourn in Bydgoszcz. They were taking care of this matter, among their other tasks. Piotrowski declared that 'No one has left [Warsaw],' including himself. I wanted to notify my superior, but the hour was still too early, so I issued appropriate instructions. Adam Pietruszka and Grzegorz Piotrowski were to investigate whether anyone had left Warsaw, and if so where, and did he return or perhaps was hiding himself. Next, I ordered dispatching two experienced functionaries to the Bydgoszcz or Torun area. I dispatched the colonels G. and L. I instructed them to go there by car, investigate the situation thoroughly on the spot and keep me posted as to what was happening and what findings were made there. In addition, I designated a special functionary for collecting the whole of the incoming information and filing it, as well as for analyzing it and inferring the further steps to be taken.

"Upon the arrival of my immediate superior, I informed him of all that had happened and reported on my actions and the orders I issued. He concurred with them. In addition, I suggested to him that the heads of the Church be notified in order to avert any disinformation or uncoordinated statements.

"During that day I also informed three bishops, who later were in continuous contact with us, of what happened. A problem arose, because Bishop Miziolek asked that Chrostowski be released. I told him that Chrostowski was ill, and that he had to be safeguarded as the only witness as otherwise something might happen to him, too, and that would be still another calamity.

"Later the search operation was conducted. In the afternoon my superior asked me to organize an operational team and prepare a communique for the daily TV news broadcast and the Polish Press Agency [PAP], as well as to develop a plan for our further activities. In the evening, highly important information arrived from Bydgoszcz about the KZC-series license plate number of the light-colored Fiat seen near the church. Besides, even earlier, at our morning conference, we activated the entire nationwide system, since the situation demanded alerting our forces in the appropriate direction. Within the department, each section chief was in charge of several provinces. They contacted the provinces, issued instructions, and received appropriate information from them which they then transmitted to me or to my deputies. While my superior was still in my office, a coded dispatch was sent via a two-channel system to our offices in the entire country, because then the criminal department was also activated, since it was not certain whether that abduction was a political provocation or a kidnapping for ransom. Other proposals also were made, but they have no major bearing on the matter.

"We drafted a press communique for the TV and PAP; we wanted to interest the entire society in this matter because we expected that the Rev Popieluszko may have gotten lost in the forest or perhaps, out of nervousness, refuse to admit his identity and hide himself somewhere; this concerned drawing the attention of the entire society to this matter.

"I returned to my office at 1200 hours. Then information began to arrive, but none of it was specific. Besides, all that time I was in contact with Torun. Later, increasingly specific information began to arrive. I left my office for home at 2300 hours, leaving another top administrator on duty. I was aware that the next day would be much more difficult. I took sleeping drugs and wanted to lie down and sleep. But the moment I dozed off, a telephone rang from Torun, or from Bydgoszcz. It was from Col G., stating that he reported there as per order but didn't discover anything new; the local investigation was proceeding on its course. All that was known at the moment was that a car with a KZC-series license plate number had been seen near the church. Various reports were coming in, but none of them was substantial and, since the next day was a Sunday, he, Col G., and his associate wanted to return to Warsaw. He also said that, to be sure, there was a report from Bydgoszcz that a similar car, a light-colored Fiat, with Warsaw license plates, had been seen near the church on 19 October and that it contained three men. In the meantime the officer on duty called me with some information and I picked up a second receiver. Col G. was saying something, and I asked him to trace that license tag number and inform the department accordingly the next morning. I talked with the officer on duty. In the morning, when I got up, I pondered the report from Col G. about that Warsaw license plate. Somehow I conceived the idea that it was a deliberate provocation. I had had that idea, because I was aware of that signal lamp and the strange shelf seen by Mr Chrostowski in the car, and I thought that it might be a concealed radio station, and the lamp might be part of it, and I also thought that only the ministry's cars may contain radio stations. Such were the free associations I was making in my mind.

"I showed up for work on 21 October. I arrived in the ministry's courtyard a couple of minutes before 0800 hours. While crossing the parking lot from the private car in which I had arrived, I noticed a car with the license tag number WAB 6031 and, on entering the building, I asked the officer on duty whether a car with such a number belonged to our department. He denied it; besides, I checked that out on the list under the glass cover on the desk and it didn't contain that number. I had on hand a record of our official license tag number of that car. I asked whether Director Pietruszka was in, and besides earlier I demanded a report from Col G. Just then my superior called me and asked me to report him on any developments relating to the search for the Rev Popieluszko. In the meantime, Pietruszka arrived. I showed him the report from Bydgoszcz and said that I saw a similar car parked in the courtyard while crossing it. I instructed him to clear up that matter. He began to trace all the possible Warsaw license tag numbers seen near the church in Bydgoszcz, while I practically rushed to see my superior. I reported to him on all the information received since last night, told him of the KZC-series car and the situation, and I also told him of the cars with Warsaw

license plates and said that everything was being investigated and that I prepared detailed instructions. Mention of appointing an operational team was also made.

"At 1300 hours the operational team gathered: the director of the Criminal Bureau was its deputy chairman. I presented all the reports received during the night. That was a special conference. Following the conference I remained alone with my superior. Then I returned to my office. Pietruszka informed me that the KZC-series tag was phony because, as reported from Kalisz, that series was to apply only a year later. I asked about the WAB-series number. He said that he didn't know about it, that Piotrowski was attending to it, and that there were more such numbers to be traced. I asked about G. and L., but Pietruszka said that they were no longer there, and that their reports contained nothing special. I asked about the WAB-series number and told him to trace it. At the same time I called Bydgoszcz and ordered that the color of the car be verified, and that, after the team from the Criminal Section arrived there, it should compare notes and transmit them to me. That was on Sunday evening. At 2300 hours I returned home.

"Monday our attempts still hadn't produced any definite results, and I ordered that the scope of the investigation be expanded. Helicopters were dispatched and the Militia Headquarters joined in the search. Still no information about the priest was forthcoming.

"Various reports on cars with Warsaw license plate numbers were coming in, and we decided to draft an appropriate communique for the mass media.

"Various conflicting information arrived and had to be checked out. Even the ecclesiastics reported that perhaps the Rev Popieluszko was scared and hiding himself in some little church or monastery—this information we also checked out.

"During that time I was in contact with nearly every member of the operational team. We agreed to hold daily conferences at 1800 hours.

"The operational team included Adam Pietruszka along with other directors and deputy directors of departments and bureaus of the MSW.

"At that conference at 1800 hours tasks for the next day were assigned to each of us. So far as the cars were concerned, no new information arrived, because Pietruszka said that the car numbers to be traced were many.

"Following the conference Col J. said that he had information for me. He closeted himself with me and said that the car with the license plate number WAB 6031 was verified in Bydgoszcz, and that it was the same car that bore the KZC-series tags. He gave me a card with that number and commented that if this was a MSW number then tracing it had to be postponed so as not to complicate the matter. I said: 'Well, no, Comrade J., this too has to be looked into.'

"I summoned Pietruszka and told him that one of our department cars was seen in Bydgoszcz on 19 October. I told him to get Piotrowski, because the matter had to be cleared up as it looked suspicious, to say the least.

"I called my superior and asked to see him about a highly important matter. It seems that by then Piotrowski had arrived and I said to him in the presence of Pietruszka: 'Chief, you were seen with that car in Bydgoszcz.' He said that it must have been a misunderstanding. I told Pietruszka to leave with him and have him write a statement.

"I went to see my superior and reported on the matter to him. In the meantime I ordered that the car be inspected for that special signal lamp and characteristic shelf mentioned in Mr. Chrostowski's deposition. I instructed Pietruszka to perform the inspection. After some time Pietruszka came and said that he had inspected the car in the garage and found it to contain some red signal lamp, but the dispatcher commented that such diodes are found in many cars and can be readily installed. He said that he didn't see any radio station in the car.

"Next, we checked whether Grzegorz Piotrowski wrote his statement, and it seems that Adam Pietruszka himself carried that statement to our superior.

"In his statement Piotrowski declared that he felt fatigued and decided to drive on a mushroom-gathering trip, but failed to report it as he feared the consequences. Then it became clear to me that the matter looked suspicious, to say the least, and that a more detailed statement should be collected from Piotrowski. At the same time, he was ordered to stay in the building, because in the morning he would be needed to provide additional explanations. We didn't tell him in more detail what was involved, in order not to arouse his suspicions. That was on Monday 22 October.

"In the evening of 22 October I telephoned the chief of the Bydgoszcz Office of Internal Affairs and asked him to send next morning to the ministry for questioning those agents who had seen the car in Bydgoszcz near the church. Following that call, we agreed that in the morning I would present a description of the persons seen in the car with the WAB-series tags and that Piotrowski would provide additional explanations.

"On 23 October in the morning the functionaries from Bydgoszcz reported to me and my superior on their observations. They said that the car with the WAB-series tags resembled the car with KZC-series tags and the silhouettes of the men sitting in these cars were similar, although they could only describe their silhouettes, not their appearance. They were instructed to write a detailed statement on the matter.

[-----] [Decree of 31 July 1981 On the Control of Publications and Entertainment, Article 2, Point 1 (DZIENNIK USTAW No 20, Item 99; revised in 1983 DZIENNIK USTAW No 44, Item 204).]

"At the same time it was decided to summon the entire personnel of Piotrowski's section and inform them of Piotrowski's arrest. They were ordered

to write statements on their activities during 19 October, including any contacts with Piotrowski on that day. I said that D. was to collect these statements and bring them to me at 1500 hours.

"Following that conference Pietruszka was told of the entire situation. I left, because I had spent the greater part of the day in my superior's office. I stayed with my superior until 1600 hours. On returning from my superior, I asked Pietruszka about any new developments. Pietruszka said that these statements contained nothing revelatory, except that some people wrote needlessly long statements. I looked over these statements and was struck by three: one concerned a medical release. I passed on these three statements to the Investigation Bureau. At the time we were in regular contact with the Investigation Bureau. I gave the entire dossier with documents to Col B., whose task it was to accumulate all material and pass it on. It was then that the statements of Chmielewski and Pekala, as well as of one more employee, attracted my attention. That happened probably after Barbara S. had already been interrogated. I suggested to the Investigation Bureau that it interrogate her.

"On that day the activities were focused on the search for the Rev Popieluszko. Several helicopters were taking part in that search. It was probably then also that Chmielewski and Pekala were arrested. In the next few days their confessions were transmitted to me. Only later we realized that we had been needlessly straying through the forests near Torun and in the environs of Wloclawek or Bydgoszcz.

"The next development in the investigation was the finding that the Rev Popieluszko was near a dam. This was followed up by the Criminal Bureau, because by then Chmielewski apparently identified that particular dam. The initial search was unproductive. Only a second attempt led to the discovery of the corpse of the Rev Popieluszko. Only afterward could the corpse be recovered and transported to the Forensic Medicine Laboratory in Bialystok, where further investigation could be made.

"In addition, questions were asked [by the Episcopate] about Mr Chrostowski, whom we had brought to Warsaw under a special escort."

Presiding judge: "In his pretrial deposition the witness referred to a conversation with Archbishop Dabrowski during which it was stated that the question of the coming trip of the Rev Popieluszko [to Rome] had been resolved."

Witness: "That was a rather typical conversation whose subject was different. It was, of course, an official conversation. We had been discussing many questions, e.g., the safeguarding of pilgrimages and some other things. Actually, it was the Rev Archbishop Dabrowski himself who raised this issue. He said: 'Mr Director, you will no longer worry about the Rev Popieluszko; the Primate has already taken a decision: he will be assigned for study abroad within the next few days.' That conversation took place between 9 and 11 October, during that interval of time."

Presiding judge: "Several days earlier the matter had still looked completely different."

The contents of Card 22 from Vol 15 were read:

"Record of conversation between the director of the Office for Religious Denominations, Municipality of Warsaw, and the Rev Prof Dr Kazimierz Romaniuk, suffragan bishop of Warsaw, held on 1 October 84. Prior to my question concerning the manner in which the Curia attends to issues raised during previous meetings between municipal authorities and bishops, Bishop Romaniuk declared that the question of the reverends Popieluszko and Malkowski is in the process of being resolved. This matter is extremely troublesome to the Church, and difficult to resolve in view of the publicity with which the Western press and radio surround the activities of these priests. Thus, this has to be resolved in a manner not entailing even greater harm to the Church and the state authorities. It is not possible, however, to specify the time limit for its resolution, since the matter is being personally handled by Primate Glemp. On Thursday Bishop Romaniuk will speak with the Primate and once more discuss with him the anxiety felt by the authorities over the activities of these priests. Signed: Director Jerzy S. of the Office for the Capital City of Warsaw.'

"That is, as ensues therefrom, this matter was making extremely rapid progress."

Witness: "Yes, I believe that Archbishop Dabrowski is a most close associate of the Primate, and I did, with unconcealed joy besides, transmit that report to my superior and Pietruszka, considering that this presaged solving the problem existing in Warsaw, at the Church of St Stanislaw Kostka."

22 January 1985, 17th Day of the Trial

Witness Zenon P. continued his testimony.

Judge Maciejewski: "If an employee is assigned a particular task but fails to perform it, can any official consequences be drawn therefrom concerning that insubordinate employee?"

Witness: "This can happen in day-by-day activities. But in such a case the employee should offer a justification, e.g., to the effect that other tasks were more important. On returning he should report on the fact to his superior and justify his conduct."

Judge Maciejewski: "I'm thinking here specifically of the Gdansk trip."

Witness: "I'm familiar with the situation. It began to be protracted and I instructed D. to handle it. The matter was not resolved and that precisely was why I assigned it to D."

Judge Maciejewski: "Which of the two tasks was more important, the one assigned to Piotrowski or the one he undertook himself, i.e., the surveillance of the Rev Popieluszko?"

Witness: "As regards the Rev Popieluszko, the matter was important; besides, I had information that a meeting with Lech Walesa was to take place, or took place, in Gdansk, and that Zbigniew Bujak himself was to be present there. In this event the matter was important and Piotrowski was justified in altering the purpose of his trip."

Judge Maciejewski: "When that assignment was altered, was a written report on the new assignment required?"

Witness: "In the more serious cases written reports are required on principle."

Judge Maciejewski: "Has the witness seen a report by Grzegorz Piotrowski on his Gdansk trip?"

Witness: "No."

Judge Maciejewski: "Does the witness recall a conversation held in the office of the witness concerning the Rev Popieluszko's stay in Gdansk on 13 October?"

Witness: "Yes. That was a ridiculous situation. My secretary notified me that D. wanted to come on very urgent business. D. entered in the company of Z. He said that this concerned 'the Gdansk affair' and that they wanted to report on it. Since it was a principle with me to summon the department supervisor in such cases, I summoned Adam Pietruszka. When Pietruszka entered, D. began to report on the matter. He said that 'the Gdansk affair' was serious, and that the Rev Popieluszko had left, or was to leave, for Gdansk. Then Pietruszka said, 'Don't make a fuss. I know about the matter.' Then Z. left the office and Pietruszka further said something to the effect that Piotrowski was in Gdansk and the matter was taken care of. Let me explain that even earlier, before 13 October, we had received reports that the Rev Popieluszko was going to travel to several places in Silesia as well as to Bydgoszcz, Gdansk and Stalowa Wola. The dates of his trips were to be established later. I ordered that all local chiefs [of offices of internal affairs] be instructed to collect information on the dates of his [Popieluszko's] arrival and the meeting places as well as to reconnoiter the area in order to determine whether any flyers are being distributed or disturbances prepared. For it should be pointed out that some of the priest's trips have involved public unrest and disturbances. Whether the Rev Popieluszko traveled there or not, I don't recall."

Judge Maciejewski: "Did Adam Pietruszka state explicitly whether or not the report [on Popieluszko's trip to Gdansk] was genuine?"

Witness: "Properly speaking, Director Pietruszka was supposed to have better and more detailed information on this subject, since he knew more about it. Besides, the division of labor was such that D. was in charge of the center, of the Warsaw area, while Piotrowski attended to the entire country. To D. such news could have been revelatory."

Judge Maciejewski: "D. had stated that Popieluszko was in Gdansk, but Pietruszka claimed that he was in Warsaw. What does the witness know on this subject?"

Witness: "Their conversation was becoming tense. Afterward I even drew Pietruszka's attention to the tone in which he had spoken to D., pointing out that D. meant well 'but you comrade talked to him in that manner.' It seems that Pietruszka then claimed that the Rev Popieluszko was still in Warsaw or at any rate couldn't have left Warsaw yet. That conversation took place in the morning."

Judge Maciejewski: "Is the witness familiar with the repercussions of that conversation?"

Witness: "D. took over the case. I didn't want any further repercussions. I've no other information on this subject."

Judge Maciejewski: "Was or wasn't the report on that trip of the Rev Popieluszko important to the department director?"

Witness: "In the light of what I stated with respect to notifying local units [offices of internal affairs]--and on that day so-called 'Kazimierz' festivities were held in Bialystok in the presence of the entire Episcopate, festivities whose renown even reached abroad to some extent--those festivities were more important to the ministry, whereas the question of that trip to Gdansk was merely a 'parochial' matter. It wasn't considered an important problem at the time."

Judge Maciejewski: "But still, shouldn't an employee notify his superior about that trip?"

Witness: "I believe so, if only to check whether his superior is already familiar with the subject."

Judge Maciejewski: "Did D. and Z. do the right thing, in the opinion of the witness?"

Witness: "I believe they did the right thing. They did it to ease their conscience, so to speak."

Judge Maciejewski: "I've a couple more questions relating to the events following 19 October. Is it correct that G. and L. were dispatched on 20 October?"

Witness: "Yes, one was to go to Bydgoszcz and the other to Torun."

Judge Maciejewski: "When did they first contact the witness following their trips to these cities?"

Witness: "On the night between 20 and 21 October."

Judge Maciejewski: "Until the moment when Col G. contacted the witness, did the witness have any information on the presence of a car near the church?"

Witness: "The only information I had received previously was that cars with Warsaw license plates were seen in the neighborhood."

Judge Maciejewski: "Exactly when did the witness learn of the car bearing a KZC-series license tag?"

Witness: "I learned of it in the evening, before night fell."

Judge Maciejewski: "What specific information concerning that car was transmitted to the witness by Col G.?"

Witness: "I had been notified earlier about the KZC-series tag. Later I was informed that that car was seen parked near the church. [Subsequently,] the lead car left the area, followed by the Rev Popieluszko's car, which in turn was followed by precisely that KZC-series car containing those three men. I was also informed that a car with WAB-series Warsaw license tags had been seen, but its exact tag number was not reported to me."

Judge Maciejewski: "This conflicts with the statement of the witness made during the pretrial investigation. Isn't the witness aware of the conflict?"

Witness: "Something was bothering me. When I awakened in the morning I thought again of that WAB series. At this moment it is difficult for me to explain it."

Judge Maciejewski read a passage from the pretrial deposition of witness P. on this subject, from which it ensued that from the report transmitted to him during the night he noticed that the license plate number pointed to a Warsaw registration of the car, although only the letter part of the number, was reported to him.

Witness: "I checked on this latter, because this matter kept bothering me and I arrived at the conclusion that I had probably been notified that the letter part of the tag number was WAB."

Judge Maciejewski: "Next morning, what happened next?"

Witness: "My attention was focused on that car with the KZC-series tag. Every car was then considered. On awakening I considered that information and linked it with the lights mentioned by Mr Chrostowski in his deposition with respect to the possible presence of a radio station and a shelf in the car. As I was about to enter the ministry building, I noticed a car parked in the courtyard that bore WAB-series license tags. I immediately asked the officer on duty, and myself checked the list, and found that no such number was registered with us."

Judge Maciejewski: "The witness was aware of the possibility of double registration."

Witness: "Not every section used cars with double registration. We had only a couple of such cars."

Judge Maciejewski: "What did the witness conclude when he saw that car with the WAB-series tags?"

Witness: "At any rate I concluded that if it was parked in the MSW's lot then it may have been a ministry car and that this should be looked into."

Judge Maciejewski read an excerpt from the testimony of the defendant Pietruszka concerning his conversation with Gen P. about the car parked in the MSW lot, and the instructions issued in this connection [-----] [Decree of 31 July 1981 On the Control of Publications and Entertainment, Article 2, Point 1 (DZIENNIK USTAW No 20, Item 99; revised in 1983 DZIENNIK USTAW No 44, Item 204)]. He then asked the witness: "How do you comment on this testimony?"

Witness: "On that day I issued a number of instructions. One of my instructions was to the effect that I had seen the car and this should be cleared up, because I associated this in my mind with specific facts. I said: 'Please find out whether that car was or wasn't taken on an out-of-town trip, and trace all the cars with similar tag numbers.' I said that that car was parked in our lot and must be our car, and that it all had to be checked out. The fact [inspection of the car] itself as it was described by Pietruszka I don't recall. I certainly didn't issue the instruction mentioned in Pietruszka's testimony. I ordered that this matter be immediately investigated."

Judge Maciejewski: "Who prepared lists of the cars whose alibis were to be verified?"

Witness: "I can't say. The list was quite long and I don't remember."

Judge Maciejewski: "Did that list contain, did it include, the WAB-series number?"

Witness: "Apparently not. Besides I regarded that as an extra task, because it was a MSW car."

Judge Maciejewski: "When did Cols L. and G. return?"

Witness: "I remember this from Pietruszka's report. I returned from the conference at 1900 hours and on Sunday 21 October Pietruszka reported that to me. The operational team had a conference at 1300 hours and Adam Pietruszka was then its member. But that later conference was of a completely different nature. After 19 October, in my office, at my request, Adam Pietruszka reported to me on the visit of the colonels to Torun and Bydgoszcz. His report was extensive."

Judge Maciejewski: "Did he state that the colonels informed him of that license tag number, that the car with the tag number WAB 6031 had been seen in Bydgoszcz?"

Witness: "When I asked him about this, he said they didn't tell him that."

Judge Maciejewski: "Was it important to the investigation that information is provided that, e.g., Popieluszko was swimming in the Vistula and that Piotrowski was the informant?"

Witness: "If this information was provided in such a form, and if it was provided by Grzegorz Piotrowski, that was highly important information."

Presiding judge: "Was Piotrowski immediately interrogated?"

Witness: "Interrogated? I don't know about that."

Presiding judge: "Was he questioned?"

Witness: "Yes."

Judge Maciejewski: "When, on being asked about Popieluszko, Piotrowski answered that the priest was swimming in the Vistula, was it permissible to withhold that information from the witness?"

Witness: "I believe that it was not permissible to withhold such information. I was supposed to be kept informed of everything, including such information."

Judge Maciejewski: "How does the witness view this as a lawyer?"

Witness: "I know nothing about penal law. It's a long time since I completed my legal studies."

Presiding judge: "Perhaps it would be easier for the witness to judge it from the standpoint of official regulations."

Witness: "From this standpoint it is a highly important matter. However, Piotrowski was--I must emphasize this--a jokester who sometimes made pungent jests. It is difficult for me to say, because that depended on the manner in which he made that statement. At any rate, that information should have been transmitted to me."

Judge Maciejewski: "Did the failure to transmit this information complicate the conduct of the investigation?"

Witness: "Yes, but not very much. The search period lasted only 3 days anyway."

Presiding judge: "When did the suspicions of the witness focus on a particular individual?"

Witness: "After reading Grzegorz Piotrowski's statement about those mushrooms there couldn't have been any doubt that the matter had to be clarified, and not operationally but as a formal investigation at that. [-----] [Decree of 31 July 1981 On the Control of Publications and Entertainment, Article 2,

Point 1 (DZIENNIK USTAW No 20, Item 99; revised in 1983 DZIENNIK USTAW No 44, Item 204)]."

Judge Dabkiewicz: "Did Piotrowski say to the witness anything about the alibi which Pietruszka was to secure for him?"

Witness: "I can't recall."

Juror: "How did the witness report and transmit the information he had received from the reverend archbishop concerning [Popieluszko's coming] trip to Rome?"

Witness: "I have to elaborate on this. Quite often we had a great many important problems, e.g., during the pope's pilgrimage, as well as with regard to the frequent pilgrimages to Czestochowa during which some slogans and banners were carried. That was horrid. We even showed a documentary film on these pilgrimages in order to dispel the doubts of the Church's representatives. In this way we solved many important problems. Hence, I treated seriously that information, too, all the more so because the reverend archbishop is the closest associate of the Rev Primate and is moreover the secretary of the Episcopate of Poland. In this connection, I transmitted his information to the entire administrative collective of the department, including Pietruszka. We had discussed the question of that trip to Rome, and we all breathed a sigh of relief. Besides, let me give an example [of how we solved problems with the Church]: when there was that problem with the Rev N. from URSUS [tractor plant], it was settled and solved."

Juror: "Did you receive that information before or after 13 October?"

Witness: "Definitely before 13 October. Let me add besides that I had shared that information with the entire department, for its use, but only the top department administrators knew about its source."

Judge Dabkiewicz: "The witness received a certain document [Piotrowski's trip authorization] from M."

Witness: "That document astonished me, to say the least. My secretary reported that Col M. was asking to see me. He came and said he had something for me."

Judge Dabkiewicz: "Could the defendant Adam Pietruszka have had access to that document?"

Witness: "I told and complained to M. because he had brought me some document showing traces of erasures and alterations and said that it should have been immediately passed on to proper hands rather than kept and mutilated. I also complained because he was so late in bringing that document. I immediately carried it to the Investigation Bureau."

Judge Dabkiewicz: "Did the witness observe any traces of erasures on that document?"

Witness: "Yes. There were notations on the back. There were traces of erasures near the Roman numeral X [i.e., the 10th month, October]."

Judge Dabkiewicz: "Did the witness draw the attention of M. to these erasures?"

Witness: "I pointed out to Col M. that, while acting as a mediator, he was bringing a document that looked like it had been extracted from a dog's snout. I wanted to summon K., but M. said that he had already left work. M. said that K. passed on that document to him by accident, after rummaging in his pockets, finding it, and later showing it to M. and even requesting him to bring me that document, because he either feared or was unwilling to bring it to me himself. At any rate, I carried that document immediately to the higher-ups. That was probably on 28 or 29 October."

Judge Maciejewski: "Witness M. denied seeing any obvious alterations on the document."

Witness: "I stated that there were some postscripts."

Prosecutor: "What is the legal status of the witness?"

Witness: "I've been suspended from my post as department director as of 2 November 1984."

Prosecutor: "Is this suspension linked to the case being tried in this courtroom?"

Witness: "Yes."

Prosecutor: "It once happened that the witness was absent from work for a prolonged period of time. When did that happen?"

Witness: "I had been absent on outside assignments from 7 June until about mid-September."

Prosecutor: "During that period did Adam Pietruszka deputize for the witness?"

Witness: "Yes, he was then the acting director."

Prosecutor: "Following the return of the witness, had there been a conference with the participation of W.?"

Witness: "There were several conferences attended by chiefs of [the internal affairs offices in] the most important provinces, who reported on their performance. I had to familiarize myself with the situation following my prolonged absence. Besides, they were working meetings. I wanted to familiarize myself with the entire situation. There also were meetings with W. Piotrowski reported on cases, whereupon W. asked certain questions. This concerned the general situation in the Nation's Capital, and particularly the Rev Malkowski and the Rev Popieluszko with respect to progress in obtaining

evidence for use in court proceedings as well as for use by the administrative authorities with the object of exerting influence on the superiors [ecclesiastical, of these priests], as well as reports on the activities performed."

Prosecutor: "What was Pietruszka's position on the reports and statements of Piotrowski and W.?"

Witness: "He didn't make any remarks concerning on Piotrowski's report and W.'s comments. Only specific questions dealing with solution of the problems were discussed. In general, besides, during that period the Rev Malkowski had been active instead of Popieluszko, as it were, but he was mentally very unbalanced, as was common knowledge. The only problem was the documentation, because it didn't always convince their ecclesiastical superiors and we had to provide films or at least videotapes in order to demonstrate our assertions to the representatives of the Church and convince them. Besides, at that meeting no mention was made of any trips by the Rev Popieluszko."

Prosecutor: "The witness spoke of conversations which he had held in the department concerning work absenteeism. Was the work absenteeism of Grzegorz Piotrowski on 19 October also discussed?"

Witness: "All top department administrators were present at that meeting. I asked Grzegorz Piotrowski whether he was familiar with the Rev Popieluszko affair. He said that he wasn't. I asked him whether he was at work then, and whether did anyone from his section take an out-of-town trip in that connection, or was it he himself who had taken that trip. He said that no one, including himself, had left [Warsaw]. Pietruszka made no comment then."

Prosecutor: "Did Pietruszka at that time take a position on that fact?"

Witness: "No, he didn't say anything."

Prosecutor: "Did Adam Pietruszka check on the presence of Grzegorz Piotrowski in the ministry on 19 October?"

Witness: "This subject was not mentioned."

Prosecutor: "By then the witness was aware that the car bearing the Rev Popieluszko had been stopped by uniformed functionaries."

Witness: "Yes, but at our department no one wore a uniform. Besides, we had interpreted that fact as an attempt to lay a red herring."

Prosecutor: "The witness wanted to acquaint himself with the report of G. and L."

Witness: "First of all, Pietruszka recounted that report to me. He didn't mention at all that a car with WAB-series tags had been seen. It was only the next morning that I had read that report myself. I couldn't have done it earlier as the report was not accessible and L. and G. were absent."

Prosecutor: "Did the witness investigate why the report did not contain the information that had been telephoned to the witness at home by G. and L.?"

Witness: "I kept this fact to myself and ordered an investigation of this matter through another channel, because I had by then certain suspicions, and the matter was investigated by the Criminal Bureau at the Militia Headquarters."

Prosecutor: "Why did colonels G. and L. telephone the witness at home at night instead of telephoning the officer on duty at the ministry?"

Witness: "Because I had instructed them to inform me personally about all the findings they might make in Torun and Bydgoszcz."

Prosecutor: "Did anyone claim to the witness that those license tag numbers were a provocation, a deliberate slander of the ministry?"

Witness: "Most often that was the assumption. Pietruszka even adopted it as a working assumption. I too had such assumptions. That was one of the many hypotheses we had considered."

Prosecutor: "When did you begin to suspect that Pietruszka was personally involved in that affair?"

Witness: "He was my closest associate, my deputy. He took part in many activities. I found it difficult to suspect him. However, he was rather slow in performing certain duties I had assigned to him, he performed them rather sluggishly, as was the case, e.g., when elucidating the question of that license tag number was concerned, and because of this I began to be somewhat wary of him."

Prosecutor: "When was defendant Pietruszka arrested?"

Witness: "On 2 November, on the same day when I was suspended."

Prosecutor: "Is it true that the witness accompanied Pietruszka to the Investigation Bureau?"

Witness: "I had telephoned the Investigation Bureau and said that I was coming with Director Pietruszka and that we had to clear up some basic questions. I hadn't been aware that I was accompanying him to witness his arrest."

Prosecutor: "While on the way to the Investigation Bureau, did you discuss that WAB-series tag number with Pietruszka? Did you coordinate with him your statement on the subject? Meaning, did you agree mutually on specifying the date at which you had learned about the WAB-series tag?"

Witness: "At the time we didn't discuss that subject and we did not make any agreements concerning it, because there was no need."

Prosecutor: "Has the witness seen the anonymous letter sent to Bishop Miziolek?"

Witness: "During one of our conversations--and at that time we had frequent contacts with bishops--Bishop Miziolek said that he had received an anonymous demand for a ransom. Accordingly, I asked that this document be transmitted to me. I sent Col B. to Bishop Miziolek, and he brought me that letter. Besides, that was not the only ransom demand. Once before, a ransom was to be left in the church of the Jesuits in Kalisz. We even set up an ambush there in order to eventually catch the perpetrators."

Prosecutor: "To whom did the witness pass on that anonymous letter?"

Witness: "It was Col B.'s duty to collect material, analyze it, and transmit it to appropriate addressees."

Prosecutor: "As regards 1 May 1984--and here I'm referring to the local situation in Warsaw--did the Rev Popieluszko play any role on that day, and what was that role?"

Witness: "I'm aware that 1 May produced an unpleasant echo throughout the country. In Warsaw, in the Church of St. Stanislaw Kostka, banners with slogans were hung and flyers distributed. There was also an attempt to exit onto the street [so as to make a street demonstration]. We had reported these details in the material transmitted to the Office for Religious Denominations, which was subsequently transmitted to the Church."

Prosecutor: "Has the witness seen the protest letters from the Secretariat of the Episcopate of Poland concerning the press articles about the Rev Popieluszko?"

Witness: "Yes, something like that."

Prosecutor: "What was the position of the Secretariat of the Episcopate of Poland on that matter?"

Witness: "The Secretariat of the Episcopate of Poland was underinformed and tried to minimize the problem. It was extremely mistrustful."

Prosecutor: "Were the ecclesiastical authorities likewise informed about similar subsequent activities of the Rev Popieluszko?"

Witness: "We transmitted records of every sermon and utterance to the Office for Religious Denominations which, on its part, sometimes surprised us with information that it had obtained on its own."

Prosecutor: "That was besides the principal purpose of the activities of your department: the gathering of that material and information."

Witness: "Yes, of course."

At that moment the prosecutor rose and petitioned that documents substantiating the background for the decisions relating to the events mentioned in the reports transmitted to the departments be included in the dossiers of the case being tried in this courtroom, in order to prove the credibility of the testimony of the witness. He asked for a reading of the letter of Minister Lopatka to the Rev Primate [Glemp] as well as of the three "pro memoria" [protest letters] of the Office for Religious Denominations to the Secretariat of the Episcopate of Poland.

The presiding judge at the trial read the letter of 2 May 1984 of Minister Adam Lopatka to His Eminence the Rev Primate:

"Warsaw, 2 May 1984

"Your Eminence, Rev Primate!

"The state authorities have repeatedly notified the Church hierarchy about the perils ensuing from the acceptance by certain clergymen of requests for politically intentioned prayer services and the organization of ecclesiastical ceremonies, the distribution of indulgences or, e.g., examinations of children preparing themselves for the communion, at times conflicting with 1 May parades.

"The authorities appreciate the attitude of those priests who, prompted by their concern for the good of the society, have on May 1 postponed holding prayer services until the afternoon hours, and who during previous prayer services appealed for keeping peace and resisting provocations. It also deserves a gratifying emphasis that many priests have refused to accept requests for holding on 1 May politically intentioned prayer services designed to incite the public mood.

"Noteworthy is the greater--than in the previous years--commitment of clergymen, including bishops, to calming excited groups of churchgoers, appealing to them to go home quietly and resist provocations and various appeals for counterparades [counter to official 1 May parades]; instances of direct intercession by clergymen with persons attempting to disturb peace in front of churches have taken place. Such instances have been recorded in cathedrals and churches in, among other places, Szczecin, Czestochowa, Nowa Huta-Bienczyce, Walbrzych and Gorzow.

"During prayer services, the sermons and utterances of many bishops and priests contained references of a positive nature, sometimes couched in religious language.

"However, it also ensues from the course of church services on 1 May 1984 that the Church hierarchy has not quite effectively considered the aforementioned reservations. A number of priests failed to consider legal and sociopolitical consequences and created a climate favorable to political excesses during and immediately after prayer services. This was reflected in the unfolding of banners bearing political slogans inside churches as well as in attempts to organize so-called counterparades and disturb public peace.

"Particularly drastic events took place in:

"Warsaw:

"--The Rev J. Popieluszko in the church on Hozjusz Street caused, owing to the nature of his sermon and the suggestiveness of his statements, demonstrative behavior during a prayer service and a demonstrative departure of a large number of churchgoers from the church into the street, which led to a disturbance of public order;

"--in the Cathedral, priests failed to react to the unfolding of two banners bearing political slogans and the provocative behavior of a part of those assembled there. Persons leaving that church attempted to disturb peace by appealing for organizing a counterparade.

"Czestochowa:

"--the authorities warned the curia about preparations to exploit a prayer service on 1 May at 1000 hours in the cathedral with the object of organizing a so-called counterparade. Despite this, the prayer service was held and afterward the departing churchgoers organized a demonstrative march in the direction of Jasna Gora.

"Krakow:

"--The Rev F. Skupien in the Parish of Nowa Huta-Bienczyce accepted a request for a politically intentioned prayer service. This happened despite the warnings of the authorities, which sent notice of preparations for utilizing that church as the place for starting a demonstration. In such a situation, the Rev Skupien's appeals for going home quietly produced no effect and a part of the churchgoers formed a parade.

"The state authorities have information that preparations are being made to exploit church services on 3 May 1984 [anniversary of the first Polish constitution] as an occasion for antistate demonstrations, just as had happened a year ago. We have observed such preparations in, among other places, Warsaw, Lublin, Krakow, Plock, Gdansk and Wroclaw.

"Certain groups of political troublemakers intend to make tendentious historical references and predict demonstrations in churches and, following the services, demonstrative marches to national shrines.

"The state authorities expect of the Church hierarchy that it take all the necessary measures to assure that 3 May 1984 would pass without political disturbances in the churches and their neighborhoods. Such disturbances might imperil Church-State relations. A calm course of church services on 3 May would strengthen the credibility of the declarations made by the Church hierarchy to the effect that it desires good relations with the state.

"The state authorities cannot remain forever passive in face of evident breaches of the law. This concerns in particular the conduct of the Rev J. Popieluszko (Warsaw) and the Rev H. Jankowski (Gdansk). Should these clergymen continue to make inciting statements, the state authorities will be compelled to hasten the completion of the penal proceedings in progress against them and transmit their cases to the courts.

"The state authorities expect that the Church hierarchy will pay proper attention to the concerns stated above and dictated by national interest.

"Respectfully yours,

"-/ / Adam Lopatka, Minister, Director of the Office for Religious Denominations."

Next, Attorney Wende rose and asked whether these documents were copies of the originals, and if so, whether they were certified copies, as there were doubts concerning their authenticity.

The presiding judge decided to continue reading, and next he read the "pro memorias" of 22 March 1984, 1 August 1984 and 27 January 1984, from the Office for Religious Denominations to the Episcopate:

"RK-531/4/84

"Warsaw, 22 March 1984

"Pro memoria, in reply to the pro memoria of 6 February 1984 of the Secretariat of the Episcopate of Poland concerning the Rev Jerzy Popieluszko.

"In undertaking political activities the Rev Jerzy Popieluszko should bear in mind that he will become of interest to the mass media.

"As I am aware, neither the Church hierarchy nor the Rev Popieluszko has ever questioned the constant and continuing interest of the Western mass media in the person of that priest, despite their frequent departures from truth. On the contrary, the Rev Popieluszko willingly avails himself of the services of Western journalists in order to attack the state authorities.

"Hence also your reaction to the discussion of the Rev Popieluszko in the domestic mass media is surprising. Your 'pro memoria' claims that supposedly the Polish mass media are defaming the Rev J. Popieluszko, but it does not specify the nature of that defamation.

"If the Rev J. Popieluszko believes that he has been defamed, he--and only he--can chose personal litigation on the grounds of Article 178 of the penal code or a summons for a civil proceedings on the grounds of a libel under Articles 23 and 24 of the civil code.

"Regarding the provision of Article 255 of the penal code cited in your 'pro memoria,' it should be considered that the dissemination of knowledge about a

proceeding or an investigation, when permitted by the investigating agency, is not considered a crime.

"The press notices about the actual status of the case against the Rev J. Popieluszko have been published in view of the propagation of various rumors and lies on this topic in this country and abroad.

"In this connection, mention should also be made of the criticism of legal restrictions and the information on penal proceedings contained in TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY (article by Maciej Kozlowski, "Comments on the Draft Press Law," No 8-9, 1982).

"Your 'pro memoria' also contains the surprising statement that 'the Rev Popieluszko is being once every few days summoned for an interrogation and subjected to a kind of harassment.'

"In this connection, it should be stated that the weightiness of the accusations justified a provisional arrest of the Rev Popieluszko but it had been waived solely owing to a request by the Secretary of the Episcopate. I regret to note that the immediate steps to inhibit further criminal activities of the Rev Popieluszko, promised by the ecclesiastical side, have not been taken. Continuing to abuse the pulpit, he is making statements of a punishable nature. This may necessitate taking the preventive measures envisaged in the code of penal proceedings.

"However, the state authorities are still hoping that the Secretary of the Episcopate shall adhere to the pledges made.

"Team Director, Office for Religious Denominations."

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"Warsaw, 1 August 1984

"Pro Memoria

"The state authorities are pained to establish facts of exploitation of the benefits of the amnesty decree for purposes contrary to its humanitarian premises, owing to the incitement by certain clergymen of a politically harmful atmosphere on exploiting places of worship for this purpose.

"A festive welcome is being organized in churches for persons released from penal establishments by virtue of that decree--persons who had engaged in illegal political activities. Below are certain instances:

"--on 24 July of this year at the St. Klement Dworzak Church in Wroclaw, during a prayer service, a festive welcome was extended to Piotr Bednarz, a member of the illegal Lower Silesian Solidarity RKS [Regional Solidarity Committee] who has been discharged from prison. A mass was held to celebrate

'the release of political prisoners, in connection with the release of P. Bednarz.'

"In his sermon the Rev A. Wiktor spoke of 'the sufferings and torments of the Polish nation, of brothers who are persecuted and imprisoned for their just views and struggle against the present reality.' The Rev A. Wiktor pointed to P. Bednarz as a model to be followed. A Solidarity banner was displayed in the church. Toward the end of the mass P. Bednarz was handed a bouquet of flowers and loudly applauded.

"--Similar festivities were held on 21 July of this year at the St. Kostka Church in Zoliborz.

"--On 25 July of this year a similar festive prayer service was held at the Church of the Dominican Fathers in Poznan on the occasion of the release of P. Kozacki, a novice of the Dominican Order, from detention. During the mass a prayer 'for the return of Pawel to cooperation' was held.

"Activities of this kind are bound to meet with resistance, since they are aimed against the efforts of the society and the state authorities to promote the successful development of our country. It is to be stated that such activities do not promote the cause of the dialogue and a successful development of State-Church relations.

"The state authorities express the hope that the Church Hierarchy shall prevent further instances of this kind and, to this end, take appropriate measures.

"Office for Religious Denominations"

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"Warsaw, 27 January 1984

"RK-531/1/84

"Pro Memoria

"The state authorities have repeatedly raised the issue of politically harmful activities and statements of clergymen and their provision of places of worship to lay persons for purposes inconsonant with their religious purpose.

"Activities of this kind, at a moment when peace and accord are being built with such tremendous effort, are bound to elicit a justified protest.

"Below are certain examples:

"--at the Parish Church of the Holy Family in Pila the Christmas creche contained a number of elements with negative political connotations.

"--on 11 January of this year, at the Church of the Holy Virgin in Warsaw, Barbara Zbrozyna stated that the church should be the forum for the activities of and contacts among graphic artists. Of course, that lady meant oppositionist activities with respect to the state authorities.

"--on 12 January of this year the Rev J. Majder, a parish curate in Gdansk Przymorze, organized in the parish church a meeting between L. Walesa and the youth of supraelementary schools, at which the continuation of the activities of the former Solidarity was suggested.

"--on 13 January of this year a meeting was held at the Museum of the Warsaw Archdiocese, with the participants including Przemyslaw Gintrowski and Hanna Skarzanka; at that meeting, texts with a definitely negative political orientation were presented. Proper for that facility is the presentation of the achievements of Catholic culture rather than its conversion to a meeting room for political purposes.

"--on 18 January of this year Stefan Bratkowski was again enabled to deliver an address at the St. Christopher Chapel of the Jesuit Church in Lodz; his address contained a number of highly negative political elements.

"--on 14 January of this year religious exercises for the activists of the former NSZZ [Independent Self-Governing Trade Unions] Solidarity and the former NSZZ Solidarity RI [Private Farmers] were again held at the church in Kraszyczyn, where the Rev Bishop I. Tokarczuk announced that social science seminars were under way in Rzeszow and that, on the decision of the Przemysl Curia, persons completing that course would receive canonical mission diplomas, which would authorize them to present lectures in parishes.

"--on 13 January of this year the Rev L. Rusinski at a parish church in Gniezno declared that, among other things, '...the present authorities don't deserve recognition, the persons for whom we are to vote cannot be trusted... we have no reason for fearing missiles from FRG territory. The Germans had to decide on it [on permitting the installation of United States cruise missiles], because they have long been menaced from the territory of the GDR....'

"--the Rev J. Biela, during a mass at the Przylek parish church in Czestochowa Province, declared that '...there exist ruthless individuals who shove innocent people into prisons and cut off their hands and heads. Defenseless people cannot be attacked with tanks and sabers. We shall not permit the introduction of martial law in Poland. We shall not permit food price increases. So long as I'm here, I'll struggle against it....'

"--the Rev E. Lesniak at the St. Peter and Paul Church in Czestochowa referred in a speech to the so-called 'Miracle on the Vistula' [in 1920, when Polish armies drove back the Bolshevik armies], stating that '...you aren't told about it in school. With Mary's aid, Poland can withstand the might from the East.... The time of freedom had arrived, but it has been tragic to our Fatherland, because then we became threatened by an enslavement greater than

militarism. The individuals who wanted to rule our country decided to destroy God. The entire postwar history reduces to the great struggle against God and the Church....'

"--Father Mizera of the Capuchin Order declared in the Stara Kornica Parish, Biala Podlaska Province, that '...in shunning God, communists and atheists become animals, resemble primitive beings....' He criticized the abortion decree, accusing the authorities of being worse than Hitler, because they are responsible for the murder of 25 million Poles.

"--on 13 January of this year at the Jesuit Church in Kalisz a mass was held and intentions were declared for, among others, the souls of Grzegorz Przemysk and B. Wlosik, may they rest in peace, who were murdered during the martial law era, as well as for all those imprisoned and murdered in the years 1956, 1970, 1981-1983.

--on 1 January of this year the Rev J. Tischner declared as follows in the address on the past year 1983 which he had delivered at the parish church in Lopuszna: '...it was a year of lies, a year which had many days of injustice despair and the weeping of the imprisoned. It was a year in which instances of fratricidal struggle took place in our country.....'

"--on 8 January of this year, in Glogowiec, the Rev M. Lipski held a prayer service to which he had invited several score activists of the former Solidarity and a group of actors (including M. Voit and B. Horawianka); in his sermon he criticized, among other things, the changing Polish administrations for their 'internal power struggles, infighting for a place at the trough, reliance on lies and trickery' and also stated, '...it seemed that this (Solidarity) was destroyed by regulations, nightsticks and prisons, but it lives on, because what is good is eternal and shall grow and gain in strength despite repressions....' Next, he prayed for, among other things, the martyred Fatherland, those imprisoned for the cause, those who shed their blood.

"--on 11 January of this year at the Church of the Holy Virgin's Visitation in Warsaw, a special prayer service was held to bless the Rev J. Popieluszko. The mass was celebrated by the Rev S. Malkowski, who intentionally prayed for sparing the Rev Popieluszko from the worst, that is, from prison. Toward the ceremony's end the Rev Popieluszko arrived (in mufti) and joined the priests celebrating the mass. This generated a negative atmosphere (shouts, slogans, etc.).

"--on 15 January of this year the Rev J. Popieluszko preached at the St. Kostka Church in Warsaw a sermon on a life of sobriety during the Holy Year. He accused the censors of deleting the sentence '...for the prisoners, and for putting an end to repressions' from the text of the vows published in the weekly GOSC NIEDZIELNY. He stated: 'As if there were no prisoners in our Fatherland, as if there were no repressions of various kind, and I don't mean just physical repressions....' He prayed on behalf of: greater spiritual

strength for the arrested attorney M. Bednarkiewicz and also on behalf of those unjustly imprisoned, fired from their jobs and humiliated as well as their families.

"--on 13 January of this year, at the Jesuit Church in Bydgoszcz, the Rev Cz. Chabielski criticized the Polish mass media for their serving the propagation of Marxist and party ideology on behalf of a small group of individuals, and for their disregard of religion and the Church. Both the decor of the church and various passages from the mass contained a number of highly negative political elements. Similarly, the attitude of the clergymen fostered activities of a politically harmful nature. Eighty leaflets containing an altered text of 'Rota' [Vows] and two leaflets with the text of the 27 November 1983 homily of the Rev J. Popieluszko were discovered outside the church.

"Dialogue and the striving to eliminate mistakes reflect the process of accord and a particular alignment of [church-state] relations. The instances presented above promote destabilization and unrest and obstruct progress in developing our Fatherland.

"The state authorities demand of the Church hierarchy that it take resolute measures to eliminate negative political elements in the activities of clergymen and discontinue the practice of making places of worship and ecclesiastical facilities available for purposes inconsonant with their function.

"Should this not happen, the state authorities reserve for themselves the adoption of measures provided for by the law."

After reading these documents, the presiding judge declared a recess.

Following the recess, the prosecutor took the floor and declared that the documents read were photocopies and he fails to understand why the representative of the attorneys for the prosecution has reservations about their originality and authenticity. Moreover, he wishes to declare that they reflect the scope of the activities initiated by [Gen Platek's] department, which is of unusual import to the present trial, and also they reveal why the Primate had decided to assign the Rev Popieluszko abroad, as already mentioned here by witness P.

Attorney Olszewski: "I request the prosecutors to state whether they have the complete set of the correspondence linked to the documents read by the presiding judge."

Prosecutor: "I don't have these documents in their entirety, but the point merely was to establish what did the Office for Religious Denominations do on the basis of the information received from the department whose director was the witness. The point is to prove that this originated from the department. As for the missing documents, they are the property of the Episcopate and I don't know whether it desires to publicize its own documents. As for us, we have been authorized by the competent state authorities to submit the above documents."

Attorney Ilasz: "These documents are of extraordinary importance to the defense, since they also reveal the motives and reasons prompting the defendant Piotrowski. In this connection, I support the prosecutor's statement. There is no importance whatsoever, in my opinion, to the fact of the absence of replies from the Episcopate among these documents, as otherwise that entire correspondence would have to be presented for the period starting in 1945, which is hardly of concern to the present trial."

Attorney Olszewski: "The position of the prosecutor's office is totally mystifying to me, because if that is part of the official correspondence then the entirety of that correspondence must be provided to the court. Herewith we submit a certified copy of a pro memoria letter written by the Secretariat of the Episcopate, the reply to which from the Office for Religious Denominations has been read by the presiding judge. In this connection we request that this letter too be read. As for the prosecutor's statement, we shall take a position on it after the letter is read."

Attorney Wende: "I also am in favor and wish to state that documents from one party only have been submitted and hence the resulting picture is quite incomplete. In this connection, I request that our plea be considered."

Prosecutor: "I see no reason for not reading that letter."

Accordingly, the presiding judge read the letter of 6 February 1984 of the Secretariat of the Episcopate of Poland:

"Warsaw, 6 February 1984

"Pro memoria concerning the Rev Jerzy Popieluszko:

"It has been the practice in the press so far that, pursuant to the provisions of the penal law (Article 178 of the Penal Code) the publication of defamatory and discrediting information on individuals is a crime.

"Moreover, pursuant to Article 255 of the Penal Code, the unauthorized dissemination of news about a pretrial investigation, or so-called investigative proceedings, is punishable by deprivation of freedom for up to one year, curtailment of freedom or a fine.

"Hence also, until such time as a judicial verdict is pronounced, the press generally publishes only the initials of the name of the suspect under pretrial investigation.

"Yet, in the case of the Rev J. Popieluszko, not only have his name, surname and occupation been published, but also a defamatory article signed by Michal Ostrowski has been published in EXPRESS WIECZORNY of 27 December 1983 under the title 'The Garconniere [Bachelor Apartment4] of Citizen Popieluszko.'

"Moreover, defamatory information has been repeated on television and at a press conference by press spokesman J. Urban.

"There is no doubt that this has been an organized campaign against the Rev Popieluszko, based on the calculation that he would have no chance to defend himself, and intended to intimidate him as well.

"It is to be observed that article 14 of the draft new press decree enjoins the press from publishing personal data and likenesses of suspects under pretrial investigation or judicial proceedings, and likewise it enjoins the press from publishing personal data and likenesses of witnesses and plaintiffs, unless these persons give their consent thereto.

"Unfortunately in the abovementioned case as well as in the cases of other persons deprived of the possibility of being published or heard in the Polish mass media, any means is admissible and the letters sent to editors with the object of rectification or explanation either remain unanswered or are answered in a devious manner avoiding the publication of the rectification. This concerns, e.g., the case of the Dominican Fathers in Poznan.

"As ensues from the additional explanations of the Rev J. Popieluszko, once every few days he is summoned for an interrogation and subjected to a distinctive harassment.

"Mr Minister, you are requested to be so kind as to instruct those interested in writing about the 'activities' of the Rev Popieluszko to observe the law vouchsafed by the legislation of the Polish People's Republic.

"/s/ The Rev Jerzy Dabrowski  
"Secretariat of the Primate of Poland."

Following the reading of this document, Attorney Grabinski took the floor and declared that this is the second if not the third time that the same issue is raised: that of recognizing documents which are to concern, if not the Church, then certainly the Rev Jerzy Popieluszko. The prosecutor is submitting documents in order to demonstrate, as it were, that what had been done is an excess against the background of the department's activities as a whole. But that is something that hardly anyone has questioned during the present trial.

After a recess the presiding judge announced the decision that, first, he was returning the documents to the prosecutor so that their authenticity would be certified, and second, that as regards their recognition as part of the material evidence, that will be considered after certified copies of the documents are submitted and in conjunction with other materials to be added to the material evidence.

The cross-examination of witness P. was resumed.

Attorney Olszewski: "The witness declared that the matter of the Rev Popieluszko lay within the sphere of interests of the defendant Piotrowski. What is the meaning of the 'sphere of interests'? What was the scope of his competences? What is that expression supposed to mean?"

Witness: "The sphere of interests included the Rev Malkowski, the Rev Jankowski, the Rev Jancarz and the Rev Popieluszko. That was in the sphere of

supervisory interests, because all these matters were directly investigated by local units [local internal affairs offices]. In employing this expression I meant the sphere of supervision, because normally the matter of the Rev Popieluszko was handled by the Internal Affairs Office for the Nation's Capital. That was a 'parochial' matter, if I may say so."

Attorney Olszewski: "In this connection, can it be said that Chief W. specifically handled the matter of the Rev Popieluszko?"

Witness: "He did handle this problem, but he also handled the problem of the Rev Malkowski, and previously the Rev Nowak."

Attorney Olszewski: "The witness had declared that the activities of the Rev Popieluszko had to be 'secured,' in the sense of recording and gathering evidence. Did I understand this properly?"

Witness: "Yes. This was to be done by the cell under W., but Piotrowski's section could support and reinforce these activities."

Attorney Olszewski: "Is the witness aware that, concerning the matter of the Rev Popieluszko, it was decided that Piotrowski would assist W., aid him by providing him with personnel and equipment?"

Witness: "These were details with which I, by virtue of my functions, did not familiarize myself."

Attorney Olszewski: "Could Chief Piotrowski independently decide on this matter?"

Witness: "He could. It depended on the situation, on the gravity of a case or event."

Attorney Olszewski: "The witness said that the Gdansk case was attended to, and that Piotrowski traveled to Gdansk several times. During what period of time did Piotrowski attend to that case?"

Witness: "It's difficult for me to say. That was a rather difficult, inconvenient and protracted matter, which lasted for quite a long period of time."

Attorney Olszewski: "Where did the witness obtain information on the manner in which Grzegorz Piotrowski handled that case?"

Witness: "It was decided to resolve the matter. I don't remember whether it was I or Piotrowski, but the date of completion of that case was difficult to predict."

Attorney Olszewski: "Was the matter resolved independently or with the assistance of other units?"

Witness: "It was resolved partially in cooperation with others and partially independently by Piotrowski's section and our department."

Attorney Olszewski: "The witness felt that the matter was not resolved, and transmitted it to D., because it was regarded as an unimportant matter. Did that, in this connection, justify Piotrowski's personal decision to alter his assignment?"

Witness: "My assessment may have differed from that of Piotrowski in view of the different levels at which we operated; he may have regarded the matter as important in view of the meetings that were held in Gdansk."

Attorney Olszewski: "Who exercised surveillance over the out-of-town trips of the Rev Popieluszko? The Warsaw internal affairs office or the internal affairs offices in the localities to which the Rev Popieluszko traveled?"

Witness: "General information such as the dates of prayer services was conveyed to both the local offices and the Internal Affairs Office for the Nation's Capital, it being the office for the locality [Warsaw] from which the trips were undertaken. Each office participated in surveillance and activities, with local surveillance being the duty of the local offices unless these had important reasons for requesting assistance from the central office."

Attorney Olszewski: "The obtained information was to the effect that Lech Walesa was to attend that meeting, as was even Zbigniew Bujak. Was that information important or unimportant?"

Witness: "Operational information and the prepared report are two distinctly different things. To this day the information about the meeting with Bujak has not been verified."

Attorney Olszewski: "In the morning of 20 October the witness heard the news about the abduction of the Rev Popieluszko."

Witness: "Yes, I received a telephone call about it, and I said that Mr. Chrostowski stated that the Rev Popieluszko escaped into a forest. Such was, more or less, the nature of the coded dispatch from Torun."

Attorney Olszewski: "Did that dispatch mention any cars, or was there no mention of them as yet?"

Witness: "Of course, it did. By then it became necessary to order an investigation of the car mentioned by Chrostowski. The person who sent me that dispatch informed me that he had at the same time ordered a blockade of the province."

Attorney Olszewski: "The witness testified that surveillance was handled by the local office, i.e., Bydgoszcz. It is a fact that after 0730 hours but before 0800 hours the witness summoned all department deputies and discussed the matter of the Rev Popieluszko. Did the witness consult the Bydgoszcz office, which was in charge of the surveillance of the Rev Popieluszko's

'spectacle' there? Was the license plate number of the car parked in front of the church in Bydgoszcz recorded there? I'm asking because, as we know, activities of this kind were routine."

Witness: "I instructed Bydgoszcz to reconstruct all the circumstances of the Rev Popieluszko's spectacle and transmit all documents and specific details established there."

Attorney Olszewski: "Was such a report received?"

Witness: "I don't know; it's difficult for me to say now."

Attorney Olszewski: "Witness, this concerns the priest's abduction. That information was very important after all, yet the witness doesn't know whether it was received from Bydgoszcz."

Witness: "The information about the prayer service had already arrived in the morning."

Attorney Olszewski: "My point is whether [more detailed] information about the cars parked in front of the church was demanded of the persons who had engaged in surveillance of the area."

Witness: "The chief of the Bydgoszcz office said that he had to get together the persons who engaged in that surveillance, because they were off duty just then and it was hard for him to track them down."

Attorney Olszewski: "The witness stated that he had learned on Saturday night about the car and its license plate number."

Witness: "Except that information about the KZC-series tags was known even earlier."

Attorney Olszewski: "When did the witness learn that the KZC-series tags, about which he had known earlier from the coded dispatch and the report from Bydgoszcz, were forged tags?"

Presiding judge: "The witness already explained that he had learned this in the evening, on returning from his superior and after Pietruszka received the report from G. and L."

Witness: "That's so."

[-----] [Decree of 31 July 1981 On the Control of Publications and Entertainment, Article 2, Point 1 (DZIENNIK USTAW No 20, Item 99; revised in 1983 DZIENNIK USTAW No 44, Item 204).]

Attorney Olszewski: "The witness states that information on that matter couldn't have been obtained earlier from the concerned offices."

Witness: "The concerned official was finally tracked down, but it took some time."

Attorney Olszewski: "Subsequently the witness instructed Pietruszka to investigate that car, which he had seen in the ministry parking lot in the morning. How did the witness respond to the information provided by Pietruszka, who handed in a lengthy list of various license plate numbers with Warsaw registration which, however, didn't include the number of precisely the car seen by the witness in the parking lot?"

Witness: "I passed on that matter through another channel."

Attorney Olszewski: "To whom did the witness pass it on, and at what hour?"

Witness: "I passed it on to the Bydgoszcz Province Internal Affairs Office."

Attorney Olszewski: "Perhaps the witness can explain how could the chief of the Bydgoszcz office trace a car belonging to the ministry at which the witness was a department director?"

Witness: "I said that it was to be investigated by the Criminal Bureau personnel who were on location in Bydgoszcz, and the chief of the Bydgoszcz office was to transmit the report to me."

Attorney Olszewski: "When did the witness demand a report on the implementation of that order?"

Witness: "I said that if they were returning the next morning they should immediately notify me, and it was precisely the card with the tag number WAB 6031, registered in the name of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, that was handed to me by the director of the Criminal Bureau. Even then he wondered whether this matter should be kept under wraps."

Attorney Olszewski: "Was the car traced to Piotrowski?"

Witness: "I demanded and asked for information. I received a complete list of official and unofficial license plate numbers [of ministry cars], which was waiting for me after I had returned from my superior's office."

Attorney Olszewski: "In view of this, Pietruszka didn't carry out your order within 24 hours. In this connection, didn't the witness feel like blaming or even suspecting him?"

Witness: "Yes, he was tardy in carrying out an order."

Attorney Olszewski: "Did the witness believe that the most suitable person for tracing that vehicle, which belongs to the department, to the section supervised by Pietruszka, was precisely [Deputy] Director Pietruszka?"

Witness: "To tell the truth, no one else was available. Everybody was busy with various matters, assignments to be performed. And I had no reasons for mistrusting Pietruszka."

Attorney Olszewski: "Then why did the witness ask another office to join in the investigation? After all, the witness himself had stated that he began to entertain certain suspicions concerning the defendant Pietruszka. Then why did the witness send Pietruszka to inspect that car?"

Witness: "It had seemed to me very simple."

Attorney Olszewski: "Couldn't the garage dispatcher, for example, have been asked to perform that inspection?"

Witness: "I couldn't ask him that, because the dispatcher was dutybound not to abandon his post."

Attorney Olszewski: "But as we know, the dispatcher left his post and went together with [Deputy] Director Pietruszka to inspect the car."

Witness: "Yes, but a driver substituted for him."

Attorney Olszewski: "Witness, I can't believe that the garage dispatcher at the MSW would not carry out an order from the witness to inspect that car, considering that the witness then used to be the chief of the operational group handling one of the most important cases at the ministry."

Witness: "I'm not the garage supervisor; that isn't within my competences and I lacked the power to issue orders of that kind."

Attorney Olszewski: "But, witness, who ordered the inspection of the car?"

Witness: "That was the decision of the deputy minister, and it is difficult for me to say which one of us issued that decision." [as published]

Attorney Olszewski: "Does the witness believe that a decision of the deputy minister of internal affairs would not be obeyed by the garage dispatcher?"

Witness: "That's difficult for me to say. At any rate, I had believed that Pietruszka could handle that job perfectly well, and at the time there was no reason yet for me to mistrust him."

Attorney Olszewski: "Does the witness believe that sending Piotrowski home at a moment when all kinds of suspicions arose--after the witness already knew that the car was Piotrowski's and that Piotrowski hadn't been on any mushroom-gathering trip yet wrote a statement claiming so--was a decision helping the investigation?"

Witness: "The fact that he claimed in his statement that he went on a mushroom-gathering trip was still no proof that he was the perpetrator of the

crime. Besides, I must explain that we did everything to keep him under surveillance."

Attorney Olszewski: "Thank you. This will suffice to evaluate the worth of these two documents."

[Decree of 31 July 1981 On the Control of Publications and Entertainment, Article 2, Point 1 (DZIENNIK USTAW No 20, Item 99; revised in 1983 DZIENNIK USTAW No 44, Item 204).]

Attorney Olszewski: "Did the witness summon chief W. to his office on 20 October?"

Witness: "I can't recall. That was hardly feasible."

Attorney Olszewski: "Does the witness happen to know whether Adam Pietruszka or Grzegorz Piotrowski talked with Chief W. on that day?"

Witness: "Nothing is known to me on this subject."

Attorney Olszewski: Does the witness remember the exact details of Pietruszka's report on his inspection of the car?"

Witness: "While Piotrowski was writing his statement, Adam Pietruszka left to inspect that car. His report was satisfactory to my chief and myself; it stated that the car did contain the signal light mentioned in Chrostowski's testimony, but that light is present in various car makes, and that he didn't see anything special inside the trunk. Such was more or less his report."

Attorney Olszewski: "Did Pietruszka tell the witness that the car was in repair?"

Witness: "Yes."

Attorney Olszewski: "Did he express the assumption that the signal light could have been installed during the repair?"

Witness: "That would be impossible as the car's repair didn't yet begin."

Attorney Olszewski: "In view of this, was Pietruszka's report satisfactory to the witness and his superior?"

Witness: "Yes, he carried out the order."

Attorney Olszewski: "But might not that cause suspicions concerning Pietruszka?"

Witness: "Somebody mentioned that diode, that light, but it was not the signal light of a radio station."

Attorney Olszewski: "Did Pietruszka report on the then license plate number of that car?"

Witness: "No, he didn't. Besides, he wasn't asked to check on it."

Attorney Olszewski: "But shouldn't he have checked on it?"

Witness: "Properly speaking, no, because the car was known to belong to Piotrowski's section."

Attorney Olszewski: "But what about the fact that previously a car with the license plate number WAB 6031 had been seen, and that the witness had seen it on the parking lot, whereas the tags on that car when inspected by Pietruszka had been replaced? Is this fact considered unimportant by the witness?"

Witness: "That's normal procedure. The tags have been replaced more than once, on some special occasions."

Attorney Olszewski: "Does the witness know what was the occasion at that time?"

Witness: "This is done as part of various operational assignments. This isn't so important. Normally, our cars should bear their registered license plate numbers."

Presiding judge: "Then the current license plate number of your car wasn't asked about?"

Witness: "No such question was asked."

Attorney Olszewski: "When did the witness learn that these tags were replaced?"

Witness: "That was of no importance whatsoever to me."

Attorney Olszewski: "In view of this, what was the nature of that occasion?"

Witness: "I didn't ask at all about that license plate number."

Attorney Olszewski: "But the witness contacted his superior especially in order to express to him his suspicions of Piotrowski."

Witness: "I personally went to see my superior."

Attorney Olszewski: "In that event, was Piotrowski's statement conveyed to your superior?"

Witness: "Of course, yes."

[-----] [Decree of 31 July 1981 On the Control of Publications and Entertainment, Article 2, Point 1 (DZIENNIK USTAW No 20, Item 99; revised in 1983 DZIENNIK USTAW No 44, Item 204).]

Attorney Olszewski: "When did the witness discuss the 'W' pass with his deputy [Pietruszka]?"

Witness: "I can't say exactly when, but it happened already after Piotrowski was arrested."

Attorney Olszewski: "Did the witness investigate the circumstances under which the pass was issued to Piotrowski?"

Witness: "Well, from Col Pietruszka's answer I deduced, and he said so himself, that Piotrowski needed it for some assignment within Warsaw city limits and that was why Pietruszka let him have this pass."

Attorney Olszewski: "When did the witness learn of it?"

Witness: "It's difficult for me to say."

Attorney Olszewski: "After the trip authorization was carried to the Investigation Bureau, did the witness discuss that subject with Pietruszka?"

Witness: "I can't recall."

Attorney Olszewski: "Until what moment did Pietruszka remain a member of the operational group?"

Witness: "Until 2 November, when I too was suspended."

Attorney Olszewski: "[-----] [Decree of 31 July 1981 on the Control of Publications and Entertainment, Article 2, Point 1 (DZIENNIK USTAW No 20, Item 99; revised in 1983 DZIENNIK USTAW No 44, Item 204).] Perhaps one more question: Did Barbara S. come to discuss with the witness the contents of her statement, and if so, when?"

Witness: "Barbara S. was in tears when she came to see me. She said that she had been to the Investigation Bureau, where she was asked a barrage of questions and that she kept crying, didn't know what she said, and didn't know what to say. I told her not to cry and to tell the truth and only the truth to the Investigation Bureau. She was terribly upset and distraught and didn't know what she was saying. Therefore, I called Col P. and told him that Barbara S. didn't confess everything and that she should be further questioned as she still had something to say."

Attorney Olszewski: "Did Barbara S. tell the witness what she had omitted to say at the Investigation Bureau?"

Witness: "She was agitated and sobbing, and I told her what I stated here a moment ago."

Attorney Olszewski: "Witness, please be reminded once more that the witness had been the chief of the operational group. How come, then, that the witness had no interest in knowing what Barbara S. omitted to say and why was she so agitated and sobbing?"

Witness: "I was the chief of the operational group, but all investigative activities were conducted by the Investigation Bureau, and it was in charge of interrogations."

Attorney Olszewski: "Did Barbara S. tell the witness that she had been instructed by Adam Pietruszka to alter her original statement?"

Witness: "Can't recall, but am inclined to preclude this possibility."

Attorney Olszewski: "Would the witness be dutybound to take note of such a confession and such words?"

Witness: "Most certainly yes."

Attorney Olszewski: "When did the witness conclude that one of the section chiefs was undoubtedly the perpetrator of the deed and that the deputy director, that is, deputy to the witness, was a suspect? When did the witness decide to exclude him from handling the case?"

Witness: "My actions followed the behest of my conscience. I hadn't suspected Pietruszka and, in my opinion, I made no mistake. The perpetrator was identified within 3 days anyway."

[-----] [Decree of 31 July 1981 On the Control of Publications and Entertainment, Article 2, Point 1 (DZIENNIK USTAW No 20, Item 99; revised in 1983 DZIENNIK USTAW No 44, Item 204).]

Attorney Olszewski: "Does the witness believe that the fact that Adam Pietruszka had until 2 November access to all documents was of no importance to the case and its investigation?"

Witness: "Not all the members of the group had access to these documents. Adam Pietruszka didn't have access to all documents; some I handled directly."

Attorney Olszewski: "Is it certain that Adam Pietruszka didn't have access to these documents?"

Witness: "Adam Pietruszka didn't have access to some of the documents."

Attorney Olszewski: "Did the witness refrain from giving him some documents owing to suspicions or just because of procedural rules?"

Witness: "That was due to procedural rules."

Attorney Olszewski: "Does the witness view his conduct as erroneous in any way?"

Witness: "I don't."

Attorney Olszewski: "In that case, thank you. I've no further questions for the witness."

The court decided to recess the trial until 23 January 1985.

23 January 1985, 18th Day of the Trial

Witness Zenon P. [Platek] continued his testimony.

Attorney Wende: "The mass media report that, owing to neglect of duty, the witness has been suspended from his post."

Presiding judge: "The witness is not on trial. I don't understand the purport of this question."

Attorney Wende: "Yesterday's cross-examination revealed something different."

Presiding judge: "I don't think so."

Attorney Wende: "In other words: did witness M. tell the witness who had given the authorization to K.?"

Witness: "He didn't. At the time I wanted to summon K., but Col M. said that K. was no longer there."

Attorney Wende: "Why did the witness need as long as 6 weeks to recall such an important event as the information provided to the witness by G.?"

Witness: "I was interrogated for the first time after a month. I wish to add that there were so many events, facts and reports that I found it difficult to reconstruct them all in my memory."

Attorney Wende: "The witness engaged in operational activities until 2 November, as chief of the operational group at the MSW [Ministry of Internal Affairs]."

Witness: "Operational activities meant: search for the corpse, the conduct of all search arrangements, and all organizational activities relating to the search for the priest and subsequently for his body."

Attorney Wende: "During the Monday evening conference the witness said that nothing had changed so far as the number WAB 6031 was concerned."

Witness: "I explained it all yesterday."

Attorney Wende: "It took 2 days to determine that the car belonged to the department headed by the witness."

Witness: "I simply was convinced that everything was being properly cleared up. I waited for the report of the Criminal Bureau on that subject. Besides, I already mentioned this."

Attorney Wende: "The witness stated that Col J. provided that information following the conference."

Witness: "He was instructed by his superiors to give me that information in person, and he handed it to me on a card bearing the license plate number. He even added at the time that there was no need to worry about it, or something like that."

Attorney Wende: "Is Col J. your subordinate?"

Witness: "There seems to be a misunderstanding. There are three J.'s altogether, and I assume that those meant here are the J. who is my deputy director and the J. from the Criminal Bureau, and it was precisely the latter who handed me the card with the license number."

Attorney Wende: "As you stated yesterday, the statement of Barbara S. was important to you."

Witness: "I said differently: Her interrogation was important to the Investigation Bureau, because after all she was Piotrowski's secretary, and usually secretaries know a great deal about their bosses."

Attorney Wende: "Was the form of the statement written by Barbara S. consonant with the order issued on that matter by the deputy minister?"

Witness: "I transmitted the entire file folder for investigation to the Investigation Bureau."

Attorney Wende: "You said that you don't remember what information was conveyed to you by Col G."

Witness: "That was somewhat different. I already explained this, but let me repeat. He said that he had no revelatory news for me. The most important question was that KZC-series license tag number. Later he added that the comrades had seen a car with WAB-series tags in front of the church. I asked him to verify that information and provide it in complete form."

Attorney Wende: "G. has testified that he had reported that number twice to the witness."

Witness: "That may be, but I don't recall it. I probably jotted down that Kalisz-registration [KZC-series] number given me by the officer on duty."

[-----] [Decree of 31 July 1981 On the Control of Publications and Entertainment, Article 2, Point 1 (DZIENNIK USTAW No 20, Item 99; revised in 1983 DZIENNIK USTAW No 44, Item 204).]

Attorney Wende: "According to the witness, Adam Pietruszka must have xeroxed the 'W' pass."

Witness: "This is the first time I hear of it."

Attorney Wende: "Has the witness ever personally urged Piotrowski or Pietruszka and reprimanded them for tardiness in connection with the activities of the Rev Popieluszko?"

Witness: "That was the spirit in which we acted, as Attorney Grabski put it yesterday. Church-State relations are an unusually sensitive issue and we never wanted to take any hasty measures but always attempted to proceed cautiously and tactfully."

Attorney Ilasz: "Did you read that part of Piotrowski's testimony which was subsequently termed revelatory by Pietruszka and the prosecutor? The question is, were the facts mentioned by Piotrowski in his testimony known or not known to you as the department director?"

Witness: "I understand that you are referring to the matter of Archbishop G., Bishop W., Bishop T. and the funds at the disposal of the Rev Popieluszko. That was no revelation. I must state that the Italian newspaper SETTE GIORNI reported that the Zlotow vicar betrayed [to the Germans] seven Poles, who were executed by a firing squad. We investigated that matter and had it evaluated from the legal standpoint but, first, direct participation in the execution was not involved, so that the commission refused to accept the material and as for the other aspects of the matter, they were no longer current under the law. As regards the question of the 80 million zlotys in the custody of Archbishop G., that matter was known to us. As for the case of Bishop W., that is an intimate question and I'd not want to publicize it. As regards that 65 million zlotys said to be at the disposal of the Rev Popieluszko, that was operational information and not all knew of it."

Attorney Grabinski: "The witness referred to the newspaper SETTE GIORNO. What kind of newspaper is that?"

Witness: "I don't know much about it."

Attorney Grabinski: "Is every item published by the foreign press investigated by you as regards its origin, source, credibility and the accuracy of the facts it reports?"

Presiding judge: "As I understand it, you had refrained from checking its credibility."

Witness: "That's so."

Attorney Grabinski: "The witness used the expression 'operational information.' How does the witness interpret it?"

Witness: "That means information which must be verified and investigated."

Attorney Grabinski: "Has it ever happened that, having on hand credible information about a crime and its attendant circumstances, you refrained from notifying the proper law enforcement bodies competent to investigate that crime?"

Witness: "I don't recall any such instance."

Judge Maciejewski: "Since that was 'a parochial matter,' as the witness put it, that matter of the Rev Popieluszko, could the witness explain whether what was done about it should have been done?"

Witness: "I have asked myself this question and I couldn't answer it. I can't understand what was its purpose. [-----] [Decree of 31 July 1981 On the Control of Publications and Entertainment, Article 2, Point 1 (DZIENNIK USTAW No 20, Item 99; revised in 1983 DZIENNIK USTAW No 44, Item 204)]."

Judge Maciejewski: "Did your ministry cooperate with academics from Catholic higher educational institutions and did they evaluate the opinions, homilies and sermons of priests, including the Rev Popieluszko?"

Presiding judge: "Let me complement this question. Did you consult experts?"

Witness: "I don't know. Pietruszka should have had several experts and probably such contacts did exist."

[-----] [Decree of 31 July 1981, Article 2, Point 1 (DZIENNIK USTAWA No 20, Item 99; revised in 1983 DZIENNIK USTAW No 44, Item 204).]

Testimony of Witness Stanislaw L., 39 Years Old, MSW Employee:

"On the morning of 20 October I and Waclaw G. were ordered by Gen P. to travel to Torun. We departed by car at about 0930 hours. We arrived at about 1200 hours. The purpose of our trip was to analyze the material of the investigation and transmit reports to the department director. This was done by G. in view of his seniority by age. On the same day at about 2300 hours, while in the offices of the Torun Province Internal Affairs Office, I witnessed the arrival of information on the license plate numbers of cars seen in the vicinity of the church in the Wyzyny district of Bydgoszcz. There, a light-gray Fiat containing three men, with the license plate number WAB 6031, had been seen. These functionaries commented that the same or similar car, containing the same men but by then bearing the license plate number KZC 0423, had also been seen. Since the WAB-series car belonged to our department and was known to me, I convinced G. to inform Gen P. immediately of this fact. At that time, when I realized that this was a car belonging to our department, I didn't tell that to G. but merely asked him to inform Warsaw of that tag number so that appropriate steps could be taken there. I was certain besides

that it was the same number as that of our department car. I had thought that somebody might have observed that number and forged it in order to utilize it on the scene.

"G. dialed Gen P. at about 2330 hours and reported that number to the general. At first he had called the general at his office in the department, but later he called him at his home. G. reported both numbers, that is, both the WAB- and the KZC-series numbers. He also mentioned the color of the cars, declaring that it was similar, and that both contained three men. There was a pause during which, as G. told me, the general looked for paper to jot down this information. We continued to perform our duties until 1500 hours, when G. was notified that we were to return to Warsaw. We prepared and wrote the report while still in Torun, in the form of a handwritten note, which we both edited. We had no instructions to write it, but such was the custom when on out-of-town trips. I no longer remember the contents of that note, but it did summarize our observations in Torun. It was besides in the form of an overall assessment. In handwritten form it was about four pages long. We brought it to Warsaw. It wasn't copied on a typewriter."

Presiding judge: "Were both tag numbers specified in that note?"

Witness: "No, they weren't, because we did report these numbers by telephone the previous night, and besides details were transmitted by Torun directly to the ministry in the form of a series of coded dispatches. In our report we described the assumptions adopted in the investigation, the evaluations of Chrostowski's testimony and Torun's opinions on that event."

Presiding judge: "But the pivotal point for the investigation could have been and was the tag numbers of these cars."

Witness: "Yes. But that information was already reported to Gen P. I don't know whether these numbers were reported by Torun or by Bydgoszcz, but there too a note had been drafted on the subject, as I had seen personally. Since we assumed that our note was to be in the nature of an overall assessment, we omitted this detail, as at the time we had regarded it as superfluous. Of course, at the time I had viewed this fact differently than I can now in the light of the subsequent events."

"We arrived in Warsaw at 1800 hours, and by 1900 hours we had already submitted all our reports and could go home. I remember that hour, besides, because it was an important one to me. We wanted to see Gen P., but he was not in. We learned that Adam Pietruszka was in, and G. asked whether we could see him. We entered [Gen] P.'s office, where Pietruszka and one other deputy director were officiating. G. made a verbal report, whereupon I read the contents of our note. The verbal report contained more details, including the license tag numbers, which we reported in their entirety to [Deputy] Director Pietruszka. G. verbally reported the WAB-series number and mentioned that a car bearing that number and containing three men had been seen in Bydgoszcz, and that it was of a light gray color. Half an hour later the same or similar car, this time bearing the number KZC 0423, had reappeared. At the time when G. was specifying these numbers, Pietruszka was jotting them down--I saw it

clearly. We did give him both numbers. After he read the note which we left on the desk, he let us go. In that written note I didn't specify these numbers, because I believed that Pietruszka was familiar with them, since the car belonged to our department. That other deputy director was nearby. I can't tell whether he heard our report or was interested in it. At the time neither of these two deputy directors asked us any questions.

"On the morning of 22 October I was in my office. No one summoned me about this matter, or about any other matter. I engaged in my routine work. I was in my office all day. In the evening of 22 October, while at home, I received a call from Grzegorz Piotrowski saying that Gen P. instructed him to tell me to take a train to Torun by myself in the morning of 23 October. He didn't tell me the purpose of my trip. I assumed that it was the same as before. I took the train to Torun and arrived at about 1000 hours. I reported to the Province Internal Affairs Office in Torun. I'm not certain whether they were surprised to see me, probably not. I received various kinds of information although on the whole there were no new developments. The numbers of some cars also were left, but I have no idea why. There was a note saying that such numbers as KZC-.... and WAE 8031 were seen, but the number WAB 6031 was not mentioned."

"Returning to the first day, we had learned of these numbers from the functionary in Torun who was called by a functionary from Bydgoszcz. I didn't ask about these numbers, as that wasn't my task. While we were with [Deputy] Director P. [Pietruszka], I saw him jot down both WAB- and KZC-series numbers in their entirety. I'm not sure whether he had jotted them down on a sheet of paper or in a notebook, but it seemed to me that he was somehow correcting these numbers or even altering a digit in them, but I couldn't be certain. He was thus scribbling on the numbers we had previously given him."

Judge Maciejewski: "The previous night, did G. report the KZC- and WAB-series numbers only once, or twice?"

Witness: "He did report them once and then again, after a pause, the second time, from the beginning."

Judge Maciejewski: "Were you both instructed to report directly to Gen P.?"

Witness: "That was our instruction. We even were instructed not to listen to any suggestions in Torun and report to him alone about everything. I did eventually tell G. that that tag number was the number of a car from our department, but I told him only after that second visit to Torun."

Judge Maciejewski: "Were three men present both times?"

Witness: "Yes."

Judge Maciejewski: "Did you observe an expression of surprise on Pietruszka's face?"

Witness: "I didn't. Besides, we reported those numbers to Pietruszka only once."

Judge Maciejewski: "Was the witness struck in any way by the WAE 8031 number?"

Witness: "What struck me first was how Pietruszka altered those original numbers, the digits, it seemed, in the WAB-series number. The second time, I was struck by the similarity of these numbers and the ease with which they could be shifted around or altered."

Judge Maciejewski: "What does the witness know concerning the WAB-series number?"

Witness: "I know nothing on the subject."

Judge Dabkiewicz: "Were you aware that other license plate numbers with Warsaw registration also had been observed in Bydgoszcz?"

Witness: "I received no such information."

Prosecutor: "In this courtroom we heard Gen P. state that one of you two, you or G., was to travel to Bydgoszcz and the other to Torun."

Witness: "That's not true. We both were to go to Torun. It was Col M. who traveled to Bydgoszcz on 22 October."

Prosecutor: "The first information received from Bydgoszcz at the time when you arrived in Torun concerned the WAB-series number."

Witness: "Yes, it was the first information. It arrived at about 2300 hours."

Attorney Grabinski: "The witness observed that that WAB-series number was not mentioned in that note and lay outside the interest of the higher authorities, perhaps also including the investigation agencies. Didn't you consider it necessary to inform your superiors?"

Witness: "I only saw the note. I didn't verify it."

Attorney Grabinski: "You worked in Piotrowski's section?"

Witness: "Yes."

Attorney Wende: "At the moment when these numbers were verbally reported to [Deputy] Director Pietruszka, do you think that he jotted them down without making a mistake?"

Witness: "Yes, I think so. G. pronounced those numbers very clearly."

Attorney Olszewski: "Was Jozef M. dispatched by the general at the same time as you?"

Witness: "I don't know."

Attorney Olszewski: "What about that note received by the officer on duty in Torun, was it to be transmitted to Warsaw?"

Witness: "I think so. Such matters were immediately transmitted to Warsaw."

Attorney Olszewski: "Does the witness know where at the ministry was such information received?"

Witness: "I don't."

Attorney Marczuk: "On what grounds does the witness claim that he had seen Pietruszka write down these numbers?"

Witness: "At first he made no notes, but once G. mentioned those license tag numbers, he wrote them down."

Attorney Olszewski: "Your Honors, I've a request. In connection with the testimony of the witness Zenon P. concerning the trip authorization, I request that the prosecutor name the place where the original of that document is being kept at present, because only a xerox copy of it is in the dossier of the case. I believe that it would be relevant to keep the original in the dossier and, precisely in this connection, I've a second request, namely, that the witness M. and the witness Zenon P. be permitted to confront each other concerning the condition of the trip authorization document, because their testimonies on this subject differ distinctly and in this connection it appears obvious that the truth has to be established. It is hardly necessary to justify any more broadly these requests."

Prosecutor: "Concerning the counsel's request, let me state that the original of that document is kept by the Ministry of Internal Affairs and, inasmuch as it bears identifying numbers that are a state secret, it has not been appended to the dossier of this case. As regards the counsel's second request, I'm not opposed to it."

Attorney Wende: "It seems to me that these numbers could be somehow pasted over, secured, so as not to reveal any state secret. For the original of such a document should be included in the dossier of this case, the more so considering that the Code of Penal Proceedings requires submitting such originals to the court."

Attorney Ilasz: "I support this request."

Attorneys Graczyk and Pubanc asked that the request be admitted by the court.

Attorney Kwietnicki demanded that the document be included.

Testimony of Witness Waclaw G., 50 Years Old, MSW Employee:

On 20 October L. and I were in Torun. We left Warsaw at about 1000 hours and arrived in Torun at about 1300 hours. On 20 October at 0830 hours Gen P. asked that I see him. He informed us about the purport of reports from Torun

on the abduction of the Rev Popieluszko. Director P. stated that the purpose of our trip was to examine the material at the Province Internal Affairs Office in Torun, keep track of the progress of the investigation and provide every assistance to that office, as well as to keep the Department heads posted about any new facts established.

"Following our arrival in Torun we examined the material and I regularly conveyed the relevant information by phone to whichever of the top Department administrators happened to be in P.'s office. The information I conveyed was diverse and sometimes highly conflicting, both noteworthy and trivial. Whatever, we transmitted it to Gen P.

"One noteworthy bit of information was, as pointed out to me by L., the report that a car bearing the license plate number WAB 6031 had been seen in Bydgoszcz on 19 October in the vicinity of the church visited by Rev Popieluszko, and that either the same car or a similar car containing the same three men but now bearing the license plate number KZC 0423 was again seen in the same area. L. drew my attention to this and said that these numbers could be of vital importance to the matter and that I should notify the Department heads immediately about them. At 2330 hours I telephoned Director P. at his office and was told that he was not in. Hence, I called him at home and said that I had urgent news to report. I said that this concerned certain cars seen outside the church and that I wanted to give him their license plate numbers, which I did. P. asked me to wait a moment, because he just woke up and wanted to write that information down. A couple of minutes later he spoke again and it was then that I repeated my report and again spelled out to him the numbers KZC 0423 and WAB 6031 seen outside the church in Bydgoszcz. In addition, I reported to him less significant news, namely, that the Rev Popieluszko was allegedly seen on 20 October in a parish near Bydgoszcz. I wanted to ask the general whether we should wake up the curate of that parish and verify that report or eventually wait until the morning, until 0600 hours."

Presiding judge: "While on the phone, did the witness hear another phone ring at the home of the witness P.?"

Witness: "It's difficult for me to say; that pause was for the purpose of finding pen and paper. I reported the tag numbers to the general twice. I remember those numbers and I hardly could have mixed them up. During the conversation the general didn't give me any directive concerning these numbers."

Presiding judge: "What were the circumstances under which the witness reported that information?"

Witness: "I was in the office of a section chief in Torun and happened to see a handwritten notation about these numbers. I asked him where he got that information and he said that he had recently received it from a unit in Bydgoszcz. Previously, before departing for Torun, I had asked Gen P. about the scope of my duties. P. said that I was not to get involved in any activity, that is, in the criminal investigation, and hence I didn't contact the local criminal investigation bureau. L. voiced the opinion that that license plate number could be of major importance to the investigation,

because he was familiar with it. I also passed on L.'s comment to Director P. I didn't ask L. why that number was already known to him, because anyway in our jobs we sometimes don't ask too many questions. I reported that number to the director, feeling that he would take appropriate steps on the matter.

"The next day, 21 October, after we received from Gen P., at 1400 hours, the permission to return, we came back to Warsaw, to the MSW, and reported at the director's office. Just then Deputy Director Adam Pietruszka and one other deputy director were present there. We immediately made our report; that was between 1800 and 1900 hours, I believe, rather around 1830 hours. That conversation ended before 1900 hours. I made the report, and had various news to convey. I also reported to Pietruszka on those license plate numbers, WAB 6031 and KZC 0423, just as I did the previous night to Director P. In addition to our verbal report, we read to Deputy Director Pietruszka the text of our handwritten report containing overall conclusions. Adam Pietruszka kept that note and let us go. L. read that note aloud, because it was he who wrote it, although we had edited it together. Our verbal report contained specific information, some of which later turned out to be incorrect. Our written report contained no specifics; we confined ourselves in it to generalizations and our conclusions."

Presiding judge: "You knew that the Rev Popieluszkowas abducted by car. Weren't these numbers important?"

Witness: "Yes, they were. But we didn't include them in our written report because I had thought that the [Torun Province Internal Affairs] Office included everything in its own report to the department of Director P. and, secondly, P. already knew about these numbers, because we did inform him of them by telephone, whereas our written report was, as I stated previously, in the nature of an overall assessment, presenting our opinions and evaluations of that affair."

The court in this connection read a passage from the pretrial deposition of the witness which quoted the witness as stating that P., Piotrowski, L. and the witness were present in the office at the time when the witness and L. were instructed to go to Torun. Once in Torun, he happened to see the notation with the WAB and KZC numbers, showed it to L. and immediately telephoned P. Following their return to Torun, Pietruszka and J. met them in [Gen P.'s] office, and he, the witness, verbally reported these car numbers to them. At the time, Pietruszka was clearly shaken by that information, began to fidget on his chair and said: "Repeat, comrade, please repeat this." The witness repeated those numbers at his request.

Witness: "Yes indeed P., Pietruszka [as published], Piotrowski, L. and I had been present in P.'s office when we received the assignment to leave for Torun. That was on 20 October. I did indeed have the impression that after our return from Torun Pietruszka was shaken, fidgeted on his chair and made some gestures with his hand. It seemed to me that the report had shaken him visibly. While I was reporting to P. by telephone I couldn't have given him incorrect information about the car license numbers, because I had copied them on paper. Upon being subsequently interrogated before the trial, however, I no longer had the piece of paper with those numbers, because I destroyed it. It

may be that I had copied those numbers incorrectly. But I did have that piece of paper with the numbers, copied from that notation I had seen in Torun, while reporting on them to P. and then to Pietruszka. I was sent only to Torun, and together with L. at that."

Judge Maciejewski: "When you dialed P., did you have to wait long for him to answer the phone?"

Witness: "I believe the phone rang several times."

Judge Maciejewski: "About that voice which the witness heard on the phone, was it the voice of a man who had just awakened and was still disoriented?"

Witness: "It's hard to say. Gen P. said that he had just awakened."

Judge Maciejewski: "Did the witness report only those two tag numbers, or did he report any others as well?"

Witness: "I reported only those two numbers, as I didn't know about any other numbers."

Judge Maciejewski: "Did you report any other registration numbers, or even only the letter part of those numbers, indicating that these cars were registered in, for example, Warsaw Province?"

Witness: "No, I didn't."

Judge Maciejewski: "During that conversation, did you specify the number of persons seen in those cars?"

Witness: "I can no longer recall that."

Judge Maciejewski: "On 20 October did you speak with the general on the phone several times from Torun?"

Witness: "Of course, I had several phone conversations with the general as well as with other top department administrators present in his office, but on the phone I reported these numbers only to the general, as during my previous phone conversations I hadn't known about them."

Judge Maciejewski: "Do you know if these numbers were reported in coded dispatches [by the Torun Internal Affairs Office]?"

Witness: "I didn't read the coded dispatches."

Judge Maciejewski: "Did that information reach the Department via another channel?"

Witness: "I don't know."

Judge Maciejewski: "You were confronted with the defendant Pietruszka?"

Witness: "Yes, and I said the same thing as now. At the time I had been very unpleasantly surprised, because the defendant Pietruszka didn't comment on the details of my testimony but launched into a tirade, which he began by claiming that 'witness G. has the cheek to lie so impudently.' He also claimed that I as his subordinate was taking advantage of the situation to revenge myself on him and either lying or being frivolous by not realizing the significance of my testimony. At the time I answered that the subordinate-superior relationship could not influence the nature of my testimony, which I deposed in accordance with truth and with what I remember and what I had seen. At the time I was extremely surprised by his reaction."

At that moment the defendant Pietruszka rose and testified that G. and L. did not specify these tag numbers in their handwritten report and that the other deputy director who was present while they had made their verbal report does not confirm their testimony and that to him, Pietruszka, precisely these facts are self-evident rather than what the witnesses G. and L. were stating.

Attorney Wende: "How much time would be needed to trace the user of a vehicle belonging to your ministry? I'd like to know the opinion of the witness on this subject."

Witness: "I can't answer this question. It has never lain within the scope of my interests."

Attorney Wende: "Is the witness familiar with the list of cars available at the office of the Department secretary?"

Witness: "I'm aware of the existence of that list, but it has never been of interest to me."

Attorney Wende: "Does the witness know the identity of the person [MSW emissary] who was dispatched to Bydgoszcz?"

Witness: "I don't, but I know that somebody was dispatched there."

Attorney Ilasz: "While speaking with the general on the telephone, did you hear any voices, ringing of a bell or sounds of a conversation?"

Witness: "I heard neither the ringing of a bell nor the sounds of any other conversation."

Attorney Grabinski: "Was audibility good during your conversation with P.?"

Witness: "Yes, it was good."

Following the cross-examination of the witness the presiding judge declared that the witnesses M. and M. failed to appear; they sent in medical certificates of illness. The presiding judge asked the parties to take a position on the absence of these witnesses.

The prosecutor asked that the pretrial depositions of these witnesses be read in the courtroom and included in the material evidence. Should there be any objection to this from the other parties, he would drop this request.

At that moment Attorney Wende rose and declared that the prosecutor has, to be sure, the right to relinquish cross-examining these witnesses, but the other parties have their rights, too, and they can ask that these witnesses be cross-examined and demand that the truth be established. In this connection, he requested that these witnesses be summoned and cross-examined, and in addition, he requested summoning additional witnesses: Ryszard M. and Jerzy P., the militiamen who had recorded the tag numbers of those cars in Bydgoszcz, as well as the witness Zbigniew J. who was present during various conversations held with Pietruszka. Furthermore, he requested summoning witness J. from the Militia Headquarters who passed on a note to Gen P.

Attorney Marczuk declared that she was opposed to reading the deposition of the absent witness Beata M., but she was ready to assent to dropping that witness and deleting her name from the list of witnesses to be cross-examined. Concerning the other witness M., she was opposed to reading his deposition and demanded that he be summoned personally, and the witness J. also. As regards the remaining witnesses, she left the decision up to the court.

Attorney Pubanc declared that he acknowledges the presence of the witness Beata M. as necessary, while as for the remaining witnesses he leaves the decision up to the court. He declared that he was speaking both for himself and for Attorney Graczyk.

Attorney Ilasz expressed his consent to reading the depositions of the witnesses M. and M. In the event that these witnesses do not appear, he is willing to drop the second M. witness, but he definitely asks that the witness J. of the Criminal Bureau and the witnesses M. and P. be cross-examined.

The defendant Piotrowski requested that the opinion of the Criminology Laboratory be included in the evidence. In his opinion, those erasures on the trip authorization show traces of handwriting and he would like experts from the Militia Headquarters and the Criminology Laboratory to perform an additional investigation in order to determine whether the crossed-out passage contains the same handwriting as the remaining text of the authorization.

The prosecutor adhered to his position concerning the witnesses M. and M. but at the same time he asked that these witnesses be omitted, because in his opinion they contribute nothing new to the case. As regards the witnesses P. and M., after all nobody is denying that they had seen those car license numbers outside the church, and besides the defendants themselves also do not deny having replaced the tags on the car, and therefore, in the opinion of the prosecutor's office, there would be no point to that cross-examination. As for the deposition of the witness Zenon J., the court can read it, because the matters it mentions have been sufficiently cleared up. But as regards the other witness J., the director of the Criminal Bureau at the Militia Headquarters, he, the prosecutor, sees no reason why he should be summoned

here, and the interested parties have not stated cause why the witness should be cross-examined. In other words, this seems to concern the same circumstances as those already deposed by the witnesses M. and P., that is, the recording of the car numbers outside the church, which can be of no importance to the case. That is, unless the attorneys for the prosecution are interested in learning about techniques of pretrial proceedings, as then these cross-examinations can of course be carried out, although it is not known to what end should this kind of information be used and whom it should serve.

Attorney Grabinski declared that the request of the defendant is extremely valid, because resolving this question is of cardinal importance to the trial. He, Attorney Grabinski, disagrees with the supposition presented concerning the witnesses P. and M., because he believes that they should be cross-examined in order to provide information on the details of their report and the date and time these reports were transmitted, and hence this request is completely valid and is of major importance to the trial. In his opinion, proceedings which concern such an important matter should not be shortened.

Attorney Wende declared that he considers the witness Zenon J. necessary, because that witness was present at many conversations and his testimony is important. As for the other witness J., he was the person who had handed Gen P. the card bearing the WAB number, and this circumstance also should be thoroughly elucidated. He is at a loss to understand the prosecutor's accusation that any such intention is inconsonant with the prosecutor's desire.

The prosecutor was opposed, arguing that he could not assent to these requests, because all the facts have already been sufficiently elucidated and, in his opinion, militiamen who had stood outside the church and recorded some license plate numbers could not have any additional information to offer. As regards the witness J., he is familiar with his testimony and does not understand why it should be of interest to anyone. He is surprised that the attorneys for the prosecution, whose duty it is to cooperate with the public prosecutor, are making such requests.

At that moment the presiding judge declared that for the time being they [the attorneys for the prosecution] seemed to be collaborating with one of the defendants.

Attorney Wende said that he wanted to make one final statement on the matter, namely, that the witnesses proposed are not to serve some or other ends but, as the prosecutor has once stated himself, to perform a particular task, to help uncover the material truth.

On listening to this exchange the defendant Piotrowski declared that he wanted to state that the opinion [of experts from the Criminology Laboratory concerning the trip authorization document] does not address the question of whether the alterations on that document were done in the same handwriting.

1386  
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POLAND

#### TRAINING OF PILOTS ON MIG-23 AIRCRAFT DESCRIBED

Warsaw ZOLNIERZ POLSKI in Polish No 2, 13 Jan 85 pp 6, 7

[Article by Tadeusz Oziemkowski: "The Fastest Group--Young People in Mig-23s"]

[Text] There is a lot of activity at the pilots' hut. Young officers, mostly lieutenants, come into the room where the pressure suits are kept and emerge a few minutes later suited up and ready for flight.

To an outside observer it may seem strange that on flight day there are few colonels or captains here to prepare for the ordinary airwork training exercises. One sees mostly lieutenants, members of the 1983 and 1984 graduating classes of the Janek Krasicki Higher Air Force Officers School (WOSL) in Deblin. They are called "the fastest group," but this is no mere nickname. They came here right after promotion -- they are all volunteers! -- and began flying the modern Mig-23s. They were housed in a nicely appointed residence, and they are only a few dozen steps from the airport. Literally! They are going through the training program at a very accelerated pace. They fly several times a day, regardless of the weather.

One member of this group of a dozen and some volunteers is Lt pilot Wieslaw Radziewicz, son of a stone mason from Orneta. He has not yet reached his 24th birthday. At the air college he "logged" nearly 300 hours of flight time in three types: the Iskra TS-11, the Lim-2, and the Lim-5. There have not been any other aircraft in his flying career, just jets!

After promotion he wound up in a group of officers assigned to a unit with Mig-23 jets.

Here the training pace was intense, the time condensed. It is true that the first flights on the "23s" consisted mainly of making a successful takeoff, flying the regulation circle over the airport -- larger or smaller circle, depending upon the situation -- and then approaching to land.

Time and time again, always with an instructor, who after every flight took a piece of chalk and patiently cleared up any doubts on the blackboard, because right there in the air there was not much time to correct the errors made in flight. Of course, if things went badly the instructor could take over the controls at any moment and perform the necessary actions in the student's place, but, after all, this is not the point.

The most important thing is that neither the unit commander nor any instructor has been disappointed with the new arrivals. Now the young people have behind them several months of solid training and many flights. Today some do not even recall exactly when they stopped flying in the company of an instructor.

Lt pilot Radziewicz carefully recounted that he began flying solo after less than 5 hours flight time with his instructor.

During his first solo he took off in good weather. The wind was calm and the sky was clear. He made a good takeoff, then circled over the airport, and made the approach to land. That was all there was to the first solo. Romance? It was more a question of concentration and the pedantic performance of well-instilled actions.

"It was not difficult," he says briefly. Up until 1979 Piotr Kanclerz was peacefully studying in senior class XIV at the Klement Gottwald LO [Liceum Ogólnokształcące = General Secondary School] in Warsaw. Many of his classmates went on to study at the polytechnic on graduation. Aware that he would have substantial competition from graduates of the aviation secondary school, he applied for admission to the WOSL in Deblin. There he made it through the physical, which was the most important hurdle, passed the entrance examinations. Now he has behind him 4 years of study and several hundred hours in the air, and he is a pilot lieutenant on a "23."

Slawomir Kaluzinski's road was a somewhat easier one. He was 15 with a diploma from an elementary school when he left his native village of Suljow for the aviation secondary school in Deblin. There he received his high school diploma and, more important, he learned to fly. Right out of high school he was sent to the WOSL, from which he graduated ranking right after the valedictorian. Today the title of salutatorian is past history. Here in his new unit he is starting on a new page. The most important thing is the years on the "23," successful years.

The young pilots are aware that with each passing day the training becomes more difficult. They have gone from daytime flights in good weather to more complicated conditions, to low visibility, fog, and clouds, to high-altitude flights in formation with more experienced colleagues.

They are aware that they must meet increasingly greater demands, the sort of demands which modern warfare may impose on them.

Lt pilot Jan Sztolpa too is one of the men making flights into the stratosphere and reaching targets there. The young pilot lieutenants will soon begin night flights in bad weather. Nobody has dropped out yet.

The daily flights made according to the annual training plan are being conducted as planned. Each day there is an increase in the young pilots' knowledge and skill, in the flying unit's ability to perform various sorts of complex tasks. What is most important, the youngest pilots will soon join the group of older, experienced, and well-trained pilots, after they acquire a higher

level of piloting skill and competence. Even today it is absolutely certain that they, Lt pilots Radziewicz, Kanclerz, Kaluzinski, Sztolpa, and many of their classmates, can be counted on. After all, this is what has been expected of them since the first day they came into the regiment. This has been the goal of the intensive theoretical and practical training, in the air.

[Captions over photographs] The Soviet Army became equipped with the Mig-23 aircraft in the 1960's (the Polish Army, in the 1970's). It is a single-place aircraft, but there is also a two-place version for combat-training flights. It is a single-engine fighter jet aircraft with a changing-angle wing. The aircraft has a tricycle landing gear with a nosewheel that retracts in flight. The aircraft is of stressed-skin all-metal construction. The Mig-23 is equipped with an automatic gun, guided and unguided air-to-air missiles. The wingspan in takeoff position is 14.2 meters, at maximum swept-back position, 8.2 meters. The length is 16.8 meters. Maximum speed (at high altitude) is about 2500 kilometers per hour. Its ceiling is 18,000 meters, and its maximum range is about 3,000 kilometers.

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The airport is almost completely overcast. A cold unfriendly wind blows. Every once and a while the sun peaks indifferently through a break in the thick cloud layer. But the aircraft take off one after another...

10790

GSO: 2600/659

POLAND

WIDER KNOWLEDGE, IMPLEMENTATION OF SELF-MANAGEMENT SOUGHT

Warsaw TYGODNIK ROBOTNICZY in Polish No 6, 10 Feb 85 p 8

[Article by Kazimierz Malecki: "Under Consideration"]

[Text] The law governing work force self-government in a state enterprise has been in effect for over 3 years. This is a short period in both the legal and the socioeconomic context. It does, however, allow us to look at this law (and at other laws in the realm of economic reform) from a distance, to see its virtues and flaws. The action of time allows, in confrontation with daily practice, a better evaluation of some of the specific solutions, or the clarity of individual regulations. In evaluating the self-government law from this perspective one can conclude that some of the regulations or institutional solutions are responsible for multiplying the many difficulties already present in the functioning of the self-government organs. This mainly concerns the faults that appear in the law. These can be eliminated, though not all of them, through explanations or interpretation. Such actions are often taken via the mass media. This sometimes leads to a quick clarification of matters which have caused doubts. Such actions are also helpful in solving various complicated problems but do not necessarily eliminate them. It is not possible to eliminate, in this way, all the faults in specific regulations of the law. Among these are some which are a danger to the functioning of the work force self-government. Some should be given a little attention.

Let us consider several examples of matters connected with the expression of the work force through a referendum, the realization of rights given to the general workers' assembly, the filling of positions on the workers council, and the term of office for members of the work force self-government organs.

1. In article 2, paragraph 2 it is stated that "the work force can express itself on specific matters in the enterprise through a referendum." This, except for article 24, paragraph 1, point 14, is the only reference to a referendum in the law. There are no specific methods given for conducting it, no officials who would interpret it, or the actions that the referendum results could initiate, are mentioned. No mention is made of the conditions which should exist for the referendum to function.

The above-mentioned examples and other matters concerning the referendum could, of course, be settled in the statutes of the work force self-government. But

this would be equivalent to agreeing to having many different forms of the referendum. Such variety, in my opinion, could be eventually acceptable, if not for the lawfully executable results of such a referendum. For example, would the results be binding on the organs of self-government and the enterprise director? If so, then to what extent: only to the principles of the intended solution, or to its specifics? Linked to this is the question of the type of issue on which a referendum should be held. That is whether it concerns only the intentions of the specific decision in a "specific enterprise matter" or the detailed method for carrying out the decision? Moreover, there is the fundamental problem, that is, can the work force use the referendum to express its opinion in all specific matters or only those which fall under the authority of the self-government organs?

The matter becomes more complicated when, for example, in an enterprise with up to 300 employees the workers express themselves in a general meeting on a matter. Can a referendum still be held? Or conversely, after the work force decides a matter through a referendum can the general meeting still take a stand on it? Can there be a difference of opinion in such a situation?

These examples, which demonstrate the various problems that can occur in the course of implementing the regulation in article 2, paragraph 2, show the variety of legal form and result in a referendum. This variety I do not consider desirable. We are talking about a specific matter, namely the management of the economy. The participation by the work force of a state enterprise in this management through, among other things, a referendum should not be characterized by too much variety, which cannot be avoided since almost all questions connected with the referendum are, by necessity, regulated by the statutes of the work force self-government. The lack of even a general regulation in this part of the self-government law is, in my opinion, a legal loophole. Its removal, as in the case of any such loophole, can be accomplished only through a change in the law. It is apparent, however, that the referendum, as conducted in a government enterprise, is one of the forms of social consultation, and could be, as to general principles, regulated in the proposed law on social consultation.

2. The regulation in article 5 authorizes the members of the workers council to collect compensation for the time they spend performing their duties during regular work hours. The members of the general assembly are not mentioned, which means that whenever such a meeting takes place during work hours the participants, unlike those on the workers council, are not entitled to pay for performing duties in another organ of self-government. This rule makes difficult, often impossible, the holding of a general meeting during work hours. This concerns, of course, those instances where due to practical considerations such meetings cannot be held outside regular work hours. It concerns specifically those enterprises which have facilities in several locations or employ a shift work system.

A delegate, or a worker, if not authorized to collect pay for time spent in meetings held during work hours, will not be interested in participating in meetings, since he would lose part of his pay. This can effectively paralyze the activities of the general workers' assembly (delegates), one of the three

organs in the enterprise. This loophole, which can occur, will not be filled since the organ exists in a given enterprise without putting any of its rights into effect, even those from article 10.

The difficulties encountered by the general assembly in carrying out its activities can also be caused by article 8, paragraph 1 specifically in enterprises which have 300 or less employees and have facilities in various parts of the country. How can there be a general workers' meeting? The law has no answer to this question.

This problem concerns a small number of enterprises, but even if it concerned a single enterprise it still would be a problem. This loophole can be closed in the course of amending the regulations in article 8, paragraph 1, so that the regulation would allow enterprises with less than 300 employees and multiple facility locations the possibility of electing delegates.

Also troublesome is the situation arising from delegates foregoing the general meeting as a party in the action on the question of a director's decision not to execute the resolution of the general assembly. In the light of the applicable regulations--article 41, paragraphs 2 and 3; articles 42 and 45, paragraphs 2 and 3--this omission is obvious because these regulations are specifically related to actions taken in case of a decision which withholds the performance of a resolution by the workers council. This condition can produce a situation in which the execution of the general assembly's resolutions will depend on the director's or the workers council's good will. To effectively prevent such a situation, up to the time that the regulations are changed, the Council of State should postulate an interpretation.

3. According to article 19, the workers council can initiate the function of an electoral commission to conduct supplementary elections. The council is authorized to do so only when its membership drops to half of its intended number. The workers council, in this situation, is not compelled to act, it merely has the right to do so.

A council with only half its members can still act in a normal fashion and make important resolutions, according to article 30, paragraph 1, but is threatened with the loss of authority to undertake such resolutions.

The principle expressed in article 19 is very much at odds with what appears later in article 30, paragraph 1, second sentence. There it is stated that for resolutions which halt the execution of a director's decision in cases described in article 40 to be valid, it is necessary to have the presence of two-thirds of the council members at the meeting. From the regulation in article 19 it appears that in certain situations the council can lose its ability to act on these matters (from article 40).

Allowing only the workers council to hold the supplementary elections does not permit effective action, in the legal sense, to the electors in this area. The circumstances, regardless of interpretation, unilaterally demand an appropriate correction of the regulation in article 19 to eliminate the contradiction. At this time, taking into account the demands on the authority of the resolutions made by the council, it may be considered if the matter of

completing the council membership may not be best left to the electorate. Then the workers council should have the duty of initiating elections only when completing its membership is absolutely necessary to assure the continuing of its functions.

The activity of the electorate in selecting representatives to fill vacant seats on the council should give weight to the duty of organizing and conducting such elections by the council through a selected election committee. The voters should have this right since only they (at the request of one-fifth of the electorate, for example) should decide, as in the case of the recall of a council member, about initiating the election process and the selection of a representative for a vacant position. It is not in the principles that the workers council, persons who are not part of the immediate surroundings or members of the electorate, should decide whether to have an election or not, making the decision in fact for the voters.

4. According to article 13, paragraph 3 the length of the term of office for a workers council member is 2 years. This 2-year term means that often the workers council, as an organ of work force and enterprise self-government, does not become fully mature, capable of making optimal decisions. It seems that the 2 years is time spent in learning and preparation for making important and difficult decisions. The total changeover of the council in successive elections, not an unusual occurrence, causes the management learning process to begin nearly from scratch. Economic and legal reasons (this refers to making decisions which violate the law) suggest that the work force self-government organs, especially the workers council, should quickly solidify as a mature decisionmaking organ in the enterprise.

This is why a better solution to this problem would be lengthening the term to 4 years with changes made to half the positions every 2 years. This would permit a continuity of function since at least half of the members would remain on the council for 2 years until the end of their 4-year term. New members of the council would more or less automatically learn how to co-manage the enterprise from those who have had at least 2 years on the council. This solution would be favorable for establishing the authority and position of the workers council in co-managing the enterprise, and thereby the entire economy.

I have presented some uncertainties that have cropped up during the application of the regulations in the law concerning work force self-government in a government enterprise. These examples show the constant need for clarifying the regulations, and when necessary the postulating of official interpretations, and in the worst case making changes to the regulations. A specific part in this falls chiefly, by the law's authority, to the Commission for Workers Self-Government in Enterprises. It seems that the commission should inspire broader activities which explain the law as realized through various forms. It should also more firmly postulate the regulation made by the Council of State which obligates the interpretation of all those regulations in the law about work force self-management which raise many factual uncertainties.

What do the self-government activists think about this? We are waiting for their comments.

YUGOSLAVIA

LCY VIEWS ON WORLD CP CONFERENCE REITERATED

AU092050 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 9 Mar 85

[Excerpts] Today's issue of RINASCITA, the weekly theoretical-political review of the PCI, carries an article by Giancarlo Pajetta, member of the Secretariat of the PCI Central Committee Directorate, which discusses some questions pertaining to relations in the workers movement. Branislav Canak says in this connection:

Since last July when the Communist Party of Argentina made a proposal to convene a world conference of communist parties, and especially since the same subject was stressed at the meeting of the editorial board of the journal PROBLEMS OF PEACE AND SOCIALISM in Prague a few months ago, the question of whether such a conference would be useful has generated many polemics. This article by Pajetta in essence aims at recalling the well-known positions of the Italian communists which have not changed essentially since 1956, when in response to the facts revealed at the 20th CPSU Congress, new views were adopted in the ranks of the PCI primarily toward the Yugoslav communists and, more broadly, toward relations among parties in general.

Yugoslavia has always advocated such a search for cooperation among the progressive parties of various ideopolitical orientations which is opposed to any sectarianism. In recent years objective reality has put on the agenda essential questions of the struggle for socialism. Polemics have developed and relations between some parties have become aggravated.

The LCY has always advocated a frank, free, principled and constructive discussion among the forces of socialism, and it has considered it very important in order to overcome the tendencies of ideological monopoly and to insure the creative development of socialist thought and practice. However, we do not believe that any institutionalization is necessary in these discussions, searches, polemics and dialogues, because it would lead into sectarianism, dogmatism and ideological exclusiveness.

The LCY bases its relations with all the parties and movements with which it cooperates on strict respect for the principles of independence, autonomy, equality, noninterference and responsibility to one's own workers class and people, and on mutual respect for individual differences and interests. Precisely on these foundations the LCY seeks and offers a dialogue in the struggle for the implementation of the common aim--socialism.

YUGOSLAVIA

MONTENEGRINS DISCUSS ANTISOCIAL BEHAVIOR

LD142208 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1442 GMT 14 Mar 85

[Summary] Titograd, 14 Mar (TANJUG)--At a discussion about the security situation in Montenegro, the Presidency of the Socialist Republic of Montenegro and the Montenegro LC Central Committee Presidium stated that a high increase in the cost of living, a fall in the standard of living and a high inflation rate seriously jeopardize the results achieved so far in the implementation of the long-term program of economic stabilization. They also stated that the possibilities for productive employment are not exploited in an organized and resolute manner and that some collectives exercise isolationism.

"Although there are no organized forms of hostile activity in Montenegro, there have been and there are attempts to take advantage of the democratic atmosphere in order to display foreign political attitudes. Because of this, and because of the insufficient activity of the organized socialist forces, the presidency and the presidium stress the need for consistent and persistent struggle against all forms of antisocialist and--to the League of Communists--ideologically unacceptable behavior. Ideological action against nationalism, clericonationalism, bureaucratism and bourgeois anarcholiberalism should particularly be intensified."

Frequent thefts, destruction of property in fires and other accidents, illegal acts of enrichment in an illegal manner are the source of justified reactions by citizens.

The writings of some papers about this have been assessed as not true and tendentious, aimed at the moral and political discrediting of organs and a number of eminent republican political and state officials. This caused political damage because the authors of these articles betrayed social and political trust.

"The presidium and the presidency gave full support to the assessments, activities and standpoints of the Executive Council of the Assembly of the Socialist Republic of Montenegro in connection with these issues and pointed out the need for their more consistent and efficient implementation."

CSO: 2800/252

YUGOSLAVIA

MACEDONIAN LC PRESIDUM ON 'NEGATIVE PHENOMENA' IN STRUGA

LD080004 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1808 GMT 7 Mar 85

[Excerpt] Skopje, 7 Mar (TANJUG)--At its session today the Macedonian LC Central Committee Presidium is reported to have been informed of the implementation of the conclusions of the presidium, which charged the Struga Municipal Committee of the Macedonian LC to analyze the sociopolitical situation in the municipality which has been marked by negative phenomena in the fundamental issues of its socioeconomic development for some time. At today's session efforts and activities of the membership, basic organizations and the Struga LC Municipal Committee to overcome deviationist phenomena were endorsed. It was stressed that through the ideopolitical activity as a whole and through constructive and democratic atmosphere the LC membership in this municipality has established that there have been numerous omissions, weaknesses and negative phenomena, in particular in the cadre policy waged for a long time in narrow circles of those in the most responsible sociopolitical functions in the municipality. The communists of Struga Municipality also discussed the major errors in connection with approving and using credits for the development of private agriculture. In this context credits have been granted to people who do not engage in agriculture. The existence of deformations in the sphere of housing and communal policy was also pointed out.

All these negative phenomena that have aroused justified indignation and dissatisfaction among LC members working people and citizens of Struga must be firmly cleared up. The Macedonian LC Central Committee Presidium decided that activities in this sphere should be continued and that specific ideopolitical and other measures should be taken against all exponents of these deviationist phenomena.

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BRIEFS

PUBLISHING, MEDIA APPOINTMENTS--Belgrade, 6 Mar (TANJUG)--At the proposal of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, the LCY Central Committee decided to appoint Miljan Radovic, member of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, president of the "Socijalizam" publishing council. Veljko Milatovic, hitherto president has been relieved of this duty. At the same time it has been decided that Vitomir Sudarski, the director of DNEVNIK newspaper publishing and printing work organization in Novi Sad, should be appointed director of KOMMUNIST publishing work organization and Vljako Krivokapic, up to now deputy chief and executive editor of all KOMMUNIST editions, chief and executive editor of all KOMMUNISTS editions. Veljko Miladirovic, director of KOMMUNIST publishing work organization and chief and executive director of all KOMMUNIST editions has been relieved of these duties. The LCY Central Committee has paid tribute to Veljko Miladinovic for his work so far. [names as received] [Text] [Belgrade Tanjug Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1857 GMT 6 Mar 85 LD]

TRIPARTITE RAILWAYS AGREEMENT--Subotica, 6 Mar (TANJUG)--Due to existing technical differences, the representatives of Yugoslav, Hungarian and Soviet railways agreed today to carry out the necessary steps to adapt railcars to different gauges, with the aim of avoiding reloading of cargo and speeding up the rail traffic between the three countries. A protocol on this was signed in Subotica, Yugoslav province of Vojvodina. It is technically possible for Soviet broad-gauge freight cars to be adapted to the Yugoslav and Hungarian standard-gauge, so that cargo from the Soviet Union could in the future arrive at its destination without being reloaded. This is expected to considerably reduce the transport costs of the three countries' economies. This would, at the same time, clear up bottlenecks and ease up the constant congestion in cargo traffic from Yugoslavia to the Soviet Union and vice-versa, which goes through Hungary. [Text] [Belgrade TANJUG in English 1709 GMT 6 Mar 85 LD]

SFRY, GDR WRITERS PROTOCOL--Berlin, 14 Mar (TANJUG)--The writers' associations of the German Democratic Republic and Yugoslavia signed a protocol here today of their cooperation in 1985. The protocol provides for exchange visits during which writers will participate in various literary gatherings. Yugoslav writers will take part in a colloquium in April marking the 40th anniversary of victory over fascism, and at a meeting on topical problems of literary publication this fall. Student exchange programs are also foreseen. German Democratic Republic writers will participate in international literary gatherings in Yugoslavia. [Text] [Belgrade TANJUG in English 1510 GMT 14 Mar 85 LD]