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# East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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23 September 1985

EAST EUROPE REPORT  
POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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CZECHOSLOVAKIA

CSSR DAILY ON RECENT CHNOUPEK-GENSCHER TALKS

AU281016 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 27 Aug 85 p 7

[Bedrich Zagar article in the "Word on Events" column: "Joint Responsibility")

[Text] Last week, CSSR Minister of Foreign Affairs, Bohuslav Chnoupek paid a two-day official visit to the FRG. Minister Chnoupek's talks with his host and partner Hans-Dietrich Genscher concentrated on the assessment of the development of mutual relations and the current international situation, particularly on the European continent.

Regarding bilateral relations, the two ministers agreed that the balance sheet of the CSSR-FRG relations since the signing of the Treaty on Mutual Relations in 1973 and the Joint Declaration during CSSR President Gustav Husak's visit to the FRG in 1981, despite certain ups and downs, is convincing proof of the possibilities of dynamic development in the interest of the two neighboring countries as well as reinforcing security in Europe.

Not long before this visit, a meeting of ministers of Foreign Affairs of the signatory states was held, marking the 10th anniversary of the signing of the Final Act in Helsinki. The meeting noted in general that the deente process has positively influenced international relations. In the spirit of the Helsinki conference, Czechoslovakia is prepared to go on with its efforts aimed at the continuation of political dialogue and thus contribute to the further deepening of relations with the FRG and other capitalist countries. In the talks, however, Minister Chnoupek noted that the hitherto undoubtedly positive balance sheet is being disturbed by the plans of the reactionary circles to gain military superiority. The deployment of new American nuclear first-strike weapons in the FRG continues, and doubts are being cast on the postwar arrangement in Europe. These are actions that jeopardize security, and the security issue is for Czechoslovakia and its allies of primary importance.

An important part of the relations between the two countries has been the development of political dialogue, a contribution to which was recently made by CSSR President Gustav Husak's meeting with FRG Federal Chancellor Helmut Kohl in Moscow, and the visits by CPCZ Central Committee Secretary Vasil Bilak and Chairman of the Central Trade Union Council Karel Hoffman to the FRG, as well as this year's meetings of ministers of foreign affairs in Vienna and Helsinki.

A favorable development has been registered in the sphere of economic cooperation. The volume of bilateral goods exchange reached a record, amounting to almost DM5 billion. And there still exists an untapped potential. Examples of cooperation in production cooperation indicate that there exist prerequisites for purposefully utilizing this potential. There is an upward trend in the development of cultural, educational, scientific, tourist, and sports activities as well as in the sphere of health.

When exchanging views on topical international issues, the two ministers did not agree on all points in their assessment of the causes of the deterioration of the current international situation, but they noted in agreement the necessity of adopting concrete and mutually acceptable measures, aimed at averting the threat of nuclear catastrophe, and at strengthening peace, security, and cooperation on the European continent. The two ministers depicted the process that began with the 1975 Helsinki conference as a positive and viable factor.

They also praised the fact that there will be a Soviet-American meeting at the highest level, which will be the dominating political event of the year. From that meeting the nations expect a positive impetus for a peaceful solution of issues of key importance for mankind's future. This applies above all to limiting and halting the feverish arms buildup on earth, and banning the militarization of outer space.

The CSSR and the FRG have a common border in the heart of Europe. Since relations between our two countries are of particular importance for peace on the continent, they are responsible for adhering to the principles arising from the treaty on mutual relations and from common standpoints. Czechoslovakia supports the Soviet initiatives which show the way in the sphere of disarmament, especially the moratorium on all nuclear explosions. Minister Bohuslav Chnoupek depicted it as a concrete example of the reliable direction toward an absolute ban on nuclear tests, halting the modernization of nuclear weapons and ultimately scrapping them completely. The arguments about the problem of verification of nuclear tests which the United States, and partially also the FRG government, put forward in an attempt to weaken the Soviet proposals are without foundation because the possibility of verification exists.

CSO: 2400/575

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

PSYCHOLOGY SERVES SOCIETY

Prague TVORBA in Czech 7 Aug 85 p 15

[Article by Josef Khol, docent PhD, doctor of sciences: "Psychology and Society"]

[Text] The Psychological Institute of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences in Prague, together with the Collegium of Pedagogy and Psychology of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences, organized an international colloquium on "Psychology in a Class-Divided World." Its purpose was, on the one hand, to outline the possibilities and ways of utilizing psychology in solving the most important tasks of our current socioeconomic development and, on the other hand, to introduce psychology to the broader public as a science which does not deal with phenomena which are full of secrets but deals with substance, with ways people think and act. In other words, it deals with facts which individual encounters in his daily life. Through this means psychology should attain a better acceptance in practice. From the other viewpoint, psychology must become more open with respect to the topical needs and tasks which are being fulfilled in various sectors of our national economy, in the educational system, in culture, science, and even in the armed forces. In some areas of the psychological sciences this means a reevaluation of customary ways and means of working. Even psychologists are greatly concerned with overcoming inertia which prevents both the acquisition and creation of new, topical, and rapidly utilizable findings as well as their transposition into real life situations.

The 40th anniversary of the liberation of Czechoslovakia by the Soviet Army presented an advantageous opportunity for the recapitulation and evaluation of the existing developments in psychology from this standpoint. The colloquium provided several significant suggestions which are of practical use to psychology.

Psychology was oriented predominantly toward the individual and, more often than not, toward his private life rather than his social and work environment. Consequently, the most developed portions of the science are health psychology and the psychology involved in individual counseling which help people to overcome various difficulties and cares, be they of a health nature or of social character. However, psychology has access to findings which are significant even for deciding problems of importance to all of society. A connection with the statutory growth of the role of subjective factors, the sphere of

applied psychology in solving societal processes is expanding further, in other words, the sphere of psychological counseling for representatives of management systems involved in various regions of social practice and for various collectives, be they brigades of socialist labor or comprehensive rationalization brigades or management collectives.

The historical development of the dominant position of clinical psychology gives rise to the fact that psychology as a whole continues to seek its nearest sources and examples among the biological and medical sciences. The growing need to apply it in the nonprivate sphere of people's lives, however, raises the requirement to support psychological research through social science findings, particularly through Marxist-Leninist philosophy, historical materialism, economics and the theory of management. Besides, this also stems from one of the fundamental findings of Marxist-Leninist philosophy and psychology, namely that the substance of man, his personality, is represented by the aggregate of societal relationships.

A closer connection between psychology and social events and social sciences, however, requires that psychologists see the problems which they help solve as problems which are specifically and historically conditioned: both society as well as the individual--and even every individual practical problem--have their history, that is to say, their past, which is reflected in their topical thinking and actions, as well as their future, in view of which people make topical decisions and take actions. Consequently, it is necessary to develop specific historical approaches in psychology with respect to research work, rationalization work and counseling. This requires substantial effort, because existing developments in the psychology sciences on a world scale were based essentially on the abstract and historical view of man. The human psyche, that is to say, that about which man thinks, that which he has anchored in his memory and on the basis of which he solves problems, makes decisions and takes actions, however, is the result of the historical development of human society and man's individual development from birth, that is to say, his individual history.

Many psychological investigations, research efforts and analyses depend primarily on description and categorization, on the proposal of various typologies and classifications and on the seeking out of quantitative relationships between psychological phenomena and various factors in the biological, technical and social environment. However, practice needs to find out where it is erring as far as man--the subjective factor--is concerned and how it should eliminate these mistakes. Toward this end it is necessary for psychologists not only to describe and categorize but also to clarify so as to be able to estimate the causes of incorrect and ineffectual human actions in work and societal relationships. Only then can they propose realistic measures and help assure their fulfillment. Naturally, in contemporary psychology, there is maximum concern for the ability to help in solving today's most important societal problems which transcend the borders of our society, which have an international impact and, many of them, are universal in character: the maintenance and strengthening of peace, the struggle against psychological warfare conducted by the imperialist powers, support for the development of the socialist social conscience, the struggle against various forms of antisocial and antisocietal actions, etc.

The content of the negotiations of the colloquium, which was opened by a speech by Academician Zdenek Snitil, the deputy chairman of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences, is characterized by the titles of some of the papers: "The Unity of Science-Mindedness and Party-Mindedness in Marxist-Leninist Psychology," "Psychology and the Universal Problems of Mankind," "Psychologists Against the Danger of Nuclear Catastrophe," "Reflections of a Class-Divided World in the Psychological Model of the Personality With Respect to Some Aspects of Psychological Warfare," "Psychology and Educating People Toward a Scientific World View," "Psychology in Contemporary Religious Propaganda," "Ideological Sources for Interpreting Children in Contemporary Bourgeois Psychology," and others.

The attainment of an action-capable psychology to solve these questions requires the concentration of forces at psychological work sites and of individual psychologists working both on theory as well as in the field to undertake many a change in the orientation of the traditional contents of psychological work, and to even change its methods and forms. This will be a task not only for the organizers of psychological research but also for the Czechoslovak Psychological Society, whose convention will be held under the slogan: "Psychology in Peacetime and the Development of Man."

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CZECHOSLOVAKIA

DAILY CALLS FOR DISCIPLINE

AU271224 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 24 Aug 85 p 1

[Editorial: "Citizen, Morale, Laws"]

[Text] In our society the principle is applied that only honest, socially useful work can be the source of its citizen's riches. The absolute majority of our people have adopted this principle as their own; they have identified themselves with it fully and unreservedly, and they follow it in everyday life. They work honestly and conscientiously for the benefit of our society.

We also have many citizens who are voluntarily, of their own free will, accomplishing a lot of work for the public benefit in their free time, without a claim for personal material remuneration. This, too, is one of the qualitatively new moral features of the citizens of socialist society which is gradually infiltrating the social consciousness, attitudes, and acts of many people. At the same time it proves that the goals of the ideo-educational activities pursued by the party and the socialist state do not remain mere declarations and unfulfilled resolves, even in the sphere of moral upbringing and of consolidating the socialist moral norms.

The ideo-educational effort remains a process which leaves, and will leave, no time for intermissions. Our society is striving to cultivate in every working person, in every citizen of our country, both high personal culture and a sense of respect for and adherence to the socialist moral values, and also an uncompromising attitude to manifestations of the violation of these values in social and private life and to those responsible for them.

This is also the spirit in which the party's document of February 1983--the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium's Letter on Deepening the Efficacy of the Fight Against Violations of the Principles of Socialist Legality, Morale, and Discipline--was drawn up; it has long-term validity, and the party is justly returning to its ideas again and again. The 15th CPCZ Central Committee session, too, emphasized that we must systematically consolidate party and state discipline exactly in the sense of the measures following from the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium's letter. This is one of the issues with which the coming annual member's meetings and conferences of our party must deal specifically.

The suggestions and ideas contained in the letter are, naturally, topical in the all-social sense. They express the moral demands placed on party members and also on other citizens of our country. The antisocial phenomena, which the document points out, are finding themselves in increasingly sharp and noticeable conflict with the honest everyday endeavors of the overwhelming majority of the working people. And this applies both to the behavior of those who shamelessly enrich themselves in various ways at the cost of society or of their fellow citizens, and also to other manifestations of antisocial behavior and the conduct of certain citizens which grossly contradict the valid laws of our country and the norms of socialist coexistence, and which--deplorably--do not always meet with emphatic and effective condemnation and punishment. As was said at the 15th CPCZ Central Committee session, even in the party itself we find leniency toward shortcomings against which we must fight more resolutely, and which we must overcome by rousing the strength of both party organizations and working people.

The CPCZ Central Committee Presidium's letter recalls these tasks by saying: An effective fight against all kinds of shortcomings demands that the party bodies and organizations not only discuss instances of a violation of state and party discipline, but also resolutely resolve them in a principled manner, consistently insisting on their elimination and drawing the appropriate conclusions. According to the party statutes they should call to account every communist who lowers party authority by his behavior and conduct. Inconsistency in drawing conclusions and in calling people personally to account, or regard for the position of certain functionaries and leading staff, or even the granting of protection to them all evoke distrust in the party's work.

The new and exacting period which our society is now entering, and which is characterized by the effort to intensify our economy and to make it more efficient and by the effort to be more flexible in introducing modern progressive production and [passage indistinct] and discipline in all places and on all levels. Quite naturally, it envisages an energetic struggle against all abuse and shortcomings which stand in its way and which dissipate our strength, which undermine the enthusiasm and creative involvement of the people.

This is no time for marking time or for benevolence. From the viewpoint of the present and future needs of society nothing is more harmful than to draw back in the face of various disorder and abuse in all social sectors.

In his concluding speech at the 15th session, Comrade Gustav Husak expressed the conviction that the conclusions of the session would meet with general approval in the party bodies and organizations. And he added: "But verbal approval or applause is not sufficient. We must go over from words to practical deeds, everywhere."

Any manifestation of an antisocial orientation in the working, economic, or moral sphere and any violation of legal or moral principles of our society is the result of human activity, by an individual or a group of people in which each person has a first and a family name. That is also why, after all, the struggle against negative phenomena is not one against some anonymous force. It requires specific attention on all levels of our social life,

in the activity of all responsible bodies, but also social organizations, and last but not least, among the working collectives. And it also requires specific and consistent conclusions.

The fight against violations of socialist moral norms and of valid legal stipulations, and the political-educational work aimed at preventing socially undesirable phenomena is all, last but not least, a weighty social and moral issue, too. We are conducting a struggle for socialist man, for his dignity and honor, to cultivate his best civic qualities, for his moral maturity. It is a struggle conducted on the broadest social scale, and its results are and will be determined and dependent on the active participation of us all.

CSO: 2400/575

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

MOTIVATION SEEN LACKING IN BORDER TROOP PERSONNEL

West Berlin DER TAGESSPIEGEL in German 13 Aug 85 p 3

[Article by Michael Mara: "Only the Guardians Are not Perfect"]

[Text] The eastern barriers at the inner German borders have by now been largely perfected--but not their guardians. Consonant with this perception, agitation and propaganda have lately been put in high gear and on a broad front among the border companies. The authorities are prepared to go all out after the barriers to, so to speak, "perfect" the struggle on the ideological front.

The border troop leadership is quite worried about the danger of political unreliability. After all, despite the sophisticated barrier and surveillance system at the borders, each year around 10 border soldiers defect to the West: 9 in 1983, 10 in 1984 and 5 so far this year. This persistent desertion is no advertisement for either the border troops or the SED regime.

Defecting border soldiers report that many guardians of the GDR borders lack the proper motivation for their service. This is reflected in slackness and frustration as well as disciplinary problems and inadequate vigilance in the border service. According to the reports by the deserters, checks in the border regions have been increased to inspire the soldiers to greater vigilance.

Of course the border troop leadership is well aware that checks alone will not do, and that the lack in motivation is primarily an ideological problem. It has done everything possible to ideologically motivate the guard service and to expand the opportunities for influencing the personnel. Evidently not considering adequate the former extensive training system (daily topical-political information, weekly information, monthly political instruction), the leadership dreamed up new types and methods of agitation and propaganda in the units.

The border companies have, for example, been equipped with transmitters and receivers which shower the soldiers with encouraging and motivating programs on a daily basis. They are compiled under the guidance of the political deputy of the units. Moreover, the company leaders receive complete agitation programs from the political administration of the border troops, and these are repeatedly broadcast.

The company radio offers the political administration an opportunity to directly influence the mood of the border units and more quickly respond to topical events, problems and dispositions. To ascertain the state of morale in the border units, the political administration of the border troops carries out regular "central agitation campaigns."

Many specially trained generals and other officers are always involved in these campaigns. According to defecting border soldiers, the "central agitation campaigns" proceed something like this: Several officers respectively attend political instruction sessions in selected companies, inspect the border installations, and conduct "comradely" discussions with the border soldiers. On those occasions, pertinent questions are asked with regard to the mood in the troop or the problem of vigilance.

The "authentic" information gained thereby constitutes the basis for detailed situation reports and mood analyses. The leaders of the border troops and the army then arrive at conclusions on necessary agitation and propaganda efforts, for example to intensify the "enemy image."

Evidently this image still does not coincide with the ideas of the border troop leadership, because lately propaganda against the FRG, and especially against the Bundeswehr and the federal border protection service, has been heating up once more among the border troops. Soldiers listening to the company radio or participating in political training are told that members of the FRG services are "incited to anticommunism and anti-Sovietism." They would obey any "order to commit aggression" and fight "with the utmost brutality." Motivated by "hatred for the GDR," they would not hesitate in the least "to fire on us in case of war."

What are border soldiers likely to think about this outrageously inflammatory propaganda, given that they are supposed to fire on GDR citizens in peacetime only because the latter wish to escape to the West? It is a definite fact that such propaganda is having less and less effect on the young in the GDR, despite some reservations they may have with regard to some aspects of life in the West. The border troop leaders are therefore indefatigable in their efforts to warn their personnel of "illusions about the enemy."

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CSO: 2300/492

POLAND

POLAND'S JARUZELSKI SPEAKS AT BELGRADE LUNCHEON

AU161000 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 10 Jul 85 p 2

["Text" of speech by PZPR First Secretary Wojciach Jaruzelski at the 9 July Belgrade luncheon given in his honor by Milka Planinc, president of the SFRY Federal Executive Council]

[Text] Greatly Esteemed Comrade Planinc, dear Yugoslav comrades and friends, I thank you for the cordial welcome you have given us in your fine country and hospitable Belgrade. We are pleased to have studied your achievements in socialist construction.

I am sincerely pleased to have met you again, Comrade Planinc, and to have talked with you about our common achievements to date. We have also examined in the spirit of friendship the further development of comprehensive cooperation between our countries.

The history of our mutual relations is long. Ivan Gundulic and Adam Mickiewicz, Teodor Jez and Ivo Andric were ardent champions of our relations and depicted the liberation struggles, customs, and cultures of our two peoples.

The memory of our heroic epic struggles against the Hitlerite invader lives on. It was not long ago that we solemnly celebrated the victory of these struggles.

We are proud that our countrymen took part in the liberation struggles of your peoples and we cordially recall the presence in our country of the brigades of young Yugoslav people who came to help raise Warsaw from the ruins to which it has been reduced by the German fascists.

Comrades, our two peoples did not participate in getting rich through colonial exploitation. For considerable periods of their history they continued to fight to survive and to suffer under alien yokes. That is why it is all the more natural that today they are so close to one another and that they understand one another.

Our mutually advantageous cooperation has lasted for 40 years since the last war and is now entering a new stage. In particular, we positively evaluate the consultations between the planning bodies of our countries on the subject

Polish-Yugoslav cooperation in the coming 5-year period. The decisions they have made provide for extended production specialization and co-production and for considerable increases in our mutual trade and services.

This is a good foundation for even a closer approachment between us and for creating stable and mutually beneficial ties, which, as we think, can be tightened and intensified still further to a considerable extent. The comprehensive multi-year program for our economic and scientific-technological cooperation could be especially instrumental in this regard.

Our common participation in CEMA work is another favorable factor in this connection. The recent CEMA session in Warsaw reaffirmed that it is possible to expand bilateral and multilateral ties in the important sectors of our two economies such as electronics, machine-building, including farm machinery, raw materials, and energy.

Esteemed Comrades, the present-day world is experiencing a very complicated and dangerous period, in which two trends are continuing to clash with obvious clarity.

The first trend, which is represented by the community of the socialist states and the nonaligned movement and which is viewed with understanding by some realistic circles in the West, seeks to permanently settle international relations on the principles of equality, noninterference, and mutually beneficial cooperation. This trend advocates peaceful coexistence, the policy of detente, and the transformation of international economic relations on equitable and democratic foundations.

The second trend, which has been produced by the vain expectations that "socialism can be defeated," has induced the leading centers of imperialism to pursue the policy of comprehensive military, economic, and propaganda confrontation. This is precisely why the international situation has been deteriorating for several years and why conflicts and tensions have proliferated.

The arms race, which has been imposed by the United States and which is proving an increasingly heavier burden for all nations, has recently created the danger of the militarization of space. The authority and importance of the United Nations and of the specialized UN agencies are being openly questioned. Economic weapons are being used against countries, and the countries that refuse to kowtow to [word indistinct] are being discriminated against. Poland is having an especially painful experience with this.

Another offshoot of this trend is the negative attitude of some Western countries toward the nonaligned movement and the attempts to push this movement aside as something exotic and insignificant.

It is with concern that we continue to watch the growth of dangerous trends in international relations. Treaties and accords, which are of the utmost importance for peaceful coexistence, are being undermined with increasing frequency or expediently interpreted. The forces that seek to revise the existing

territorial-political order on which European peace and security have been based for the past 40 years, are becoming increasingly militant.

It is not only necessary, but still fully possible to halt the arms race, to promote disarmament, to peacefully settle conflicts, to transform international relations on mutually beneficial foundations, and to consolidate the principles of peaceful coexistence.

On innumerable occasions people predicted that the existence of socialism "was coming to an end" and that socialism would not survive the challenges and trials to which it was subjected. However, each time history has proved that it is the typical products of capitalism such as colonialism, racism, and fascism that are doomed to annihilation and that our system and ideology continue to endure and to be victorious. In the same way peace should and must be victorious.

Poland, which is a permanent element of the socialist community, wants to continue to make its creative contributions toward improving the international atmosphere. We have always been for an equitable dialogue and cooperation with all countries, regardless of their systems. We treat with respect, socialist Yugoslavia's international militancy and importance in the Nonaligned Movement. This is the undeniable achievement of Josip Broz Tito, your great leader, one of the authors of nonaligned policy, and an outstanding activist of the International Communist and Workers Movement.

Comrade Planinc, we remember what you said in Warsaw a year ago: "Yugoslavia is actively in favor of a world in which peace is ensured and stabilized and in which there is greater security, cooperation, and development opportunities for all." We fully share your view.

We are convinced that a close cooperation among European nations could bring about a favorable turn in the present unfavorable situation. The coming 10th anniversary of the CSCE Final Act and the 40th anniversary of the United Nations are opportunities for energetic actions to halt the negative processes of international cooperation. Poland and Yugoslavia can achieve much in this regard.

Esteemed Comrade Planinc, esteemed comrades, we met a year ago in Warsaw, at a time when the process of strengthening and expanding Polish-Yugoslav friendship and cooperation was making further progress.

In addition to progress in our economic relations we want to expand our social, scientific, and cultural ties in all their forms and richness. The opportunities for this are great, and we think that cultural cooperation thrives best when the partners know and understand each other well.

With this in mind, I raise a toast to the friendship and fruitful cooperation between the PPR and the SFRY; to the prosperity of the Yugoslav peoples; to your health, Esteemed Comrade Planinc, and to the health of all our Yugoslav comrades present here; and to peace and socialism.

CSO: 2600/1033

POLAND

CZYREK SPEECH AT RZESZOW-AREA ELECTION MEETING

LD261732 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0615 GMT 26 Aug 85

[Excerpts] [Announcer] Good morning from Rzeszow Polish Radio station to the listeners of the national program. In southeast Poland, as in the whole country, many consultative meetings between electors and candidates for deputies to the Sejm of the Polish People's Republic were held yesterday. Over to our reporters:

[Begin recording] [Reporter] The recent days have been very busy for people competing for deputy seats. Almost every day each one takes part in civic consultation meetings to gain the support of the voters.

[Another reporter] One such meeting was held in Bialobrzegi, in Rzeszow Voivodship, yesterday. Jozef Czyrek, candidate for Sejm deputy, Politburo member and secretary of the Party Central Committee, participated in it. [passage omitted]

[Reporter] The hosts of the voivodship who were taking part in the meeting, answered questions concerning the village and the parish and Comrade Jozef Czyrek presented in an extensive manner, the current socio-political situation in the country, and the SEJM's probable directions for action in its next term in office.

[Czyrek] I would like to begin on a personal note. I think that the fact that I am present in my home village allows me to do that. When the party secretary suggested I participate in electoral meetings in various places, I asked him for a meeting in Bialobrzegi. I told him that if the meetings are supposed to provide a possibility for assessment of candidates for candidates [as heard], there are people in Bialobrzegi who have known me since I was a child. I went to school with them and if somebody was supposed to say something about me, my fellow countrymen would be the best to do it.

Every term in office of the Sejm has, apart from solving issues of the state and the issues most important to the state, some special tasks. The Sejm that has just finished its term had a task, in order to emerge from the difficulties in which the country has found itself to create legal and political regulations, which would insure that we will take the road of socialist renewal, that we will start to develop again and, that if we don't raise the living standard,

at least we shall stop it from dropping. So, in a way, that Sejm took upon itself the enormous task of stabilizing and normalizing the situation and creating the legal and political framework for further development.

The present Sejm should first of all take upon itself a task, of course, of continuing this policy, as well as the agricultural policy. It should also be concerned with the urban area. However, just continuing policies is not enough for us. This Sejm must also become a Sejm that accelerate socio-political development of our homeland. At the current pace of development of three percent a year we shall not be able to solve many issues, including these that were raised and discussed here, in this hall. We must speed up this pace. When it comes to the Polish countryside, one must respectfully admit that during that difficult period it made sure that we would emerge from that difficult period in our history, sometimes very dangerous..[sentence imcompleted] Issues were raised here which may be called issues of social justice, in a way, but also relate to the profitability of agricultural production: I do not know how you want to call it. The experience of the most developed countries in the world shows that, to be able to live well and secure food for the nation, not more than ten percent of population, professionally active, is needed. In the United States it is around six to seven percent; in the FRG it is similar, etc, etc. In our country, however, 28 percent of people live in the agricultural sector. I am telling you this honestly. In the West one cannot live on farms like here, in our beloved Bialobrzegi, (?Koniakowo), Debina, etc.--on two hectares... One can sell it immediately and [words indistinct]. One cannot live on that. Here one can survive, miserably, but one can.

So, in this period we shall think about what kind of development road the Polish countryside should choose, so that the peasant can live better, so that we can work less and be better off and attain a higher cultural standard. This is a great problem. In the socialist countries and the highly developed capitalist countries, there is one experience in common. To make people want to stay in the country and in agriculture to produce bread for the nation, the incomes for those in the countryside everywhere are higher than in cities. In other words, we in Poland must also make sure that those in the countryside come out at least not worse than those in the town, in receiving its share of the national income bread-loaf, and at least where the main indicators of the standard of living are concerned. Otherwise we shall not keep people in the countryside. Such is the truth. We should bear in mind these necessities in the work of the new Sejm, as well, and shape policy in such a way to stimulate the development of the national economy in general, and the countryside, agriculture, and raise the standard of living in town and the countryside.

[Reporter] After the meeting Comrade Jozef Czyrek visited, the local health clinic and the agricultural circles cooperative, and had talks with inhabitants of the Bialobrzegi village, expressing great interest in their achievements and problems. [passage omitted] [end recording]

CSO: 2600/1033

POLAND

POLISH DEFECTOR REPORTS ON INTELLIGENCE OPERATION AGAINST SOLIDARITY

DW300909 Bonn DIE WELT in German 25 May 85 p 7

[Herbert Kremp report on interview with Eligiusz Naszkowski, former Polish state security official; date and place not given: "The Darkest Chapter: The War of the Intelligence Organization Against Solidarity"]

[Text] Eligiusz Naszkowski gives the impression of a young Polish officer-- blond, blue eyes, and full of spirit. All he needs is the Rogatywka, the four-cornered hat of the Polish military, and the picture would be perfect. However, Eligiusz Naszkowski is no longer a follower of Jaruzelski. Although the 28-year-old had made one of the fastest advancements in one of the most dangerous [as published] careers imaginable, he left his homeland some 4 weeks ago. In the Polish Ministry of Internal Affairs, he held one of the highest positions created in the fight against the Solidarity trade union movement.

It was his special task to surround the trade union with a close net of disinformation to confuse opinion in Poland and abroad and to create an atmosphere of mistrust. Eligiusz Naszkowski was a careerist of the Polish intelligence service, and his discussion partners are puzzled by the fact that he gave up this position of power to now reveal in the West the details of his destructive activities.

Naszkowski began to study political science at Poznan University. He soon established contacts with the Committee for Social Self-Defense (KOR) and joined those students who were trying to establish an independent students movement organized and patterned after KOR. Close cooperation with professors and workers was begun.

Originally, the young man wanted to prepare himself for a scientific career. After completing his studies, he worked for a year as lecturer at the Technical University in Poznan, but was then dismissed because he was not a member of the Polish United Worker's Party [PZPR] and because he openly criticized the system. He joined "Solidarity" which was being established at that time, and in the fall of 1980 he became the chief of the trade union group of one Voivodship (it consisted of 30 Voivodship groups). [Sentence as published] Strangely enough, he then changed radically. He was recruited by the Polish Ministry of Internal Affairs for intelligence organization work, and he concentrated his intelligence and energy on a camouflaged fight against the trade union movement.

Eligiusz Naszkowski's strange career becomes understandable only against the background of the political unrest in Poland, the strike movements, the broad support for the new trade union, and the deterioration of party power. Naszkowski: "You have to understand that in 1980 the party-state leadership was completely surprised by the establishment and the enormously rapid spread of solidarity. Numerous people with whom I maintained close contacts at that time can testify to the leadership's surprise over this. The party broke apart like a piece of dried fruit. The people left the structure of fear, and the old mechanisms for maintaining discipline did not work. The Ministry of Internal Affairs immediately took up the struggle against the new movement and took no notice of the long negotiations between the government and the trade union, or of the legalization of Solidarity."

Naszkowski continued by noting that especially during the Pope's visit to Poland in 1979 and 1983, a stormy desire for freedom swept through the country, as well as through the national and religious movements. The Ministry of Internal Affairs was responsible for internal security, but was unable to recruit agents to infiltrate the movement. "There were no traitors, and attempts to establish anti-Solidarity groups failed. These groups were immediately isolated. In short, the old methods of the Leninist system did not work," Naszkowski said.

The Ministry of Internal Affairs, first headed by General Miroslaw Milewski, and as of July 1981 by Jaruzelski's "right hand man," General Czeslaw Kiszczak, applied new methods to combat the situation. Naszkowski: "Disinformation, provocation, and terrorism were employed."

The ministry had a secret service, special task groups, and the media. "We had extensive technical facilities with which we could fabricate and falsify whatever we needed in our subversive struggle against Solidarity. In addition, we had a widespread monitoring system. However, the ministry did have one large handicap--just as it was difficult for the security service to infiltrate Solidarity groups, it was easy for the trade union movement to infiltrate the Ministry."

This is not difficult to explain. After 1980 there was no social sector, no organization, and no profession in Poland that was not extensively influenced by Solidarity. Every soldier, official, and party functionary had family members who had some relationship with Solidarity. Sometimes the situation seemed hopeless for the system. "I recognized that this provided an opportunity."

Naszkowski at first worked his way up within the disinformation apparatus. His work was successful and was naturally subject to secrecy. Naszkowski worked under a false name. He also had the task of setting up an internal counterintelligence system against Solidarity in the interior ministry which "suffers from cancer and has developed metastases."

Initial attempts to cope with the infiltration of official areas by Solidarity were made by dismissing or arresting dozens of department heads and officials. However, according to Naszkowski, that was not successful. Therefore, the instrument of disinformation also had to be used against the ministry itself.

People started to warn or alarm the supporters of Solidarity in the Interior ministry, in other state agencies, and even in the security services through selective information, while trying to stabilize the discouraged "old guards" by giving them different information specifically colored for this purpose.

Naszkowski said: "We had to proceed on the assumption that every official, no matter whether he was for or against the new movement, was really convinced of the success and at least the 'higher morality' of the trade union movement. The authorities threatened to break up or go into some inner exile. Thus, my initial task was to spread misinformation inside as well as outside the ministry."

However, there were still larger projects in store for Eligiusz Naszkowski. Following the proclamation of martial law by General Jaruzelski on 13 December 1981, the Solidarity trade union was forced to go underground. The Interior Ministry under General Kiszczak systematized persecution. A so-called study bureau ("Biuro Studiow") was founded which was to work in three areas:

--One group continued the struggle against the trade union movement as it had been organized in 1980. In addition, counteraction against infiltration of the Interior Ministry and other authorities was continued.

--A second group dealt exclusively with the struggle against trade union leader Lech Walesa. A comprehensive observation apparatus was set up--in the ministry alone, 21 high-ranking officials (Colonels) were set on Walesa. In Gdansk, Walesa's residence, a special task unit of 50-60 security officials was ordered to observe and record every move and every word by the trade union leader.

--A third group dealt with the 150-170 underground organizations of the banned trade union. According to Naszkowski, this group's work was so difficult because following the ban, the trade union worked in a professional conspiratory way, refrained from committing conspicuous acts of violence, and developed considerable journalistic activities.

The Interior Ministry rarely or never succeeded in gaining a foothold underground. They were groping in the dark. The government and party were particularly concerned over the underground structure. For example, they found out that military officers and soldiers had formed a "Reduta" (which means a sort of basis or pocket of resistance) under the heroic Polish name of "Konrad Wallenrod." Because no one was caught, army members were already dismissed on suspicion. In one case (Naszkowski did not give any name), the military officer was so high-ranking that General Jaruzelski personally had to dismiss him.

The fight against the underground became the most important target of the newly established study bureau in the Interior Ministry. Eligiusz Naszkowski was moving out and coordinating the disinformation work for all three groups. Officially, he was the spokesman of the new bureau, unofficially he was the leading expert in the fight against "Solidarity" with selected methods of wrong information.

Since the establishment of the bureau, he had an independent position and was responsible to Wladislaw Ciaston, deputy minister of the interior, who was heading the study bureau as chief of the secret police. Except Ciaston, Naszkowski was subordinated only to General Kiszczak, the minister. He had two names, two offices, and he received two salaries. Since he speaks fluent Russian, the ministry officials suspected him to be a Soviet agent.

That was not unusual, because the Soviet intelligence service KGB has in the Polish Ministry of the Interior--as in the other authorities of the country--not only official advisers, but also agents among the officials and functionaries. However, the two bosses, Kiszczak and Ciaston, knew that the suspicion was unfounded in Naszkowski's case.

The work that Naszkowski began with his entry in the Ministry of the Interior in 1980 and that he continued until his flight in 1985, gave the functionary exact knowledge about individual cases and methods of disinformation. The fight was led with criminal methods.

To the daily routine work belonged psychological terror, personal defamation, and the spreading of alarming rumors. Trade union leaders, conversations were tapped and the persons filmed; tape recordings were cut and put together in a way that distorted the meaning, and cast in official radio programs. Underground papers of Solidarity were faked, voices were manipulated, and documents fabricated. The "bureau" put weapons and money in apartments before the police broke the doors open.

For the purpose of defamation, curricula vitae were rewritten, pornographical poses were set up, and theft and enrichment were imputed. In some cases, anti-semitic slogans were used. Letters were faked, prominent trade union leaders were denounced as secret "enemies of solidarity." "Solidarity" signs were painted on the apartment doors of security officials, to indicate attacks and the danger for life.

Security officials of the Ministry of the Interior were camouflaged as armed Solidarity groups to indicate the violent character of the organization. Purposeful disinformation did not even stop short of Cardinal Glemp and General Jaruzelski.

"Lech Walesa would have been murdered long ago if he did not have the Nobel Prize," says Naszkowski when we asked him how the regime fights prominent trade union leaders. Walesa is being tapped and observed around the clock. Every action of the intelligence service is aimed at exposing him. Talks between Walesa and his brother were taped and "utilized." The accusation of the solidarity chief is known, claiming he has enriched himself personally. Respective "evidence" was forged through the cutting of tape recordings.

Naszkowski names a so far less known example of disinformation. In a recorded talk, Walesa says: "I love the Pope, but I hate..." the following sentence was fabricated from this: "I hate the Pope." This version was circulated.

The intelligence service found a double who looks exactly like Walesa. The double was filmed when he was greeted with applause by the people. In the film, the wrong Walesa brusquely turns away from the people, making disparaging gestures which were registered with disappointment. He says to the cameramen: "Stop it, stop it." In front of Western film cameras, the police were most obliging to "their Walesa."

According to Naszkowski, such films were made at a time when (the real) Walesa was under house arrest. When he told Western journalists somewhat later that he was not permitted to leave his apartment, they said mistrustingly that Western television had shown him exactly at that time. "Walesa knows that a double exists who is supposed to discredit him with such action," says Naszkowski.

The "study bureau" disseminated hundreds of falsifications against Walesa. For instance, the following was painted on lavatory walls: "Walesa, you have a hundred million, what do we have?"

We asked Naszkowski: "Who were the murderers of Priest Jerzy Popieluszko, because the Warsaw trial has not supplied any information about the men behind the murder?" Naszkowski explained that he was in charge of preparing false reports against Popieluszko, which were to prove that the embarrassing priest had committed a "crime." The intelligence service had placed arms and money (dollars) in his apartment, and then the police and journalists appeared on the spot.

In this way evidence was to be furnished proving that the priest cooperated with Western intelligence services. "The underground Solidarity knew it. They had been informed in advance. However, Popieluszko was very brave. He was aware that he was considered one of the 'dangerous' people and was to be compromised."

In this case the action was even accompanied by a historic disinformation. Naszkowski had the task to compile material against the Catholic Church, which was to prove that the Church had already in the past, conspired with foreign powers, for example, with Russia and Prussia, against its own state.

However, the falsifications did not serve their purpose. This led to Popielusko's murder one year later, in October 1984. According to Naszkowski, the murderers acted by "higher orders," something that was hushed up during the trial. The murder was committed when Deputy Interior Minister Ciaston was absent for four weeks because of sickness and General Scnom Platek acted as his deputy. During this period of time, Platek, who was deputy interior minister, had the secret police under his command, and was authorized to decide on their actions.

Force was also used against Szczecin Solidarity leader Marian Jurzyk. Three of his family members were thrown out of the window and killed. At the time, the trade unionist was in prison. Before the crime, prepared documents had been disseminated stating that Jurczyk had "enemies" in "Solidarity." The family had been informed that their father was a traitor and was leading an immoral life. Following the defenestration, chief of intelligence Ciaston said to Naszkowski that this action "had not gone well."

The "studybureau" acted against a number of other trade union leaders and the clergy with falsified documents and defamatory material.

For example, prepared documents were used against leading trade union official Jan Rulewski, which were to prove that his father (who was German) had been a Wehrmacht officer. Thereby, the impression was to be created that the son was filled with hatred and resentments against Poland.

According to Naszkowski, a usual instrument to question the moral integrity of Solidarity leaders was the attempt to associate them with pornography. As early as in 1981, pornographic falsifications on Katowice official Rozplochowski were placed at Solidarity headquarters, which were then "found by the police.

Naszkowski described the action by the intelligence service against a leading member of the Wroclaw Solidarity, Josef Pinior, as a specially striking case. This official had to control the trade union's funds. Prior to the proclamation of martial law, he withdrew Z80 million to get the money out of the authorities' reach. The bank kept the receipt. For Polish conditions, it is a large sum, if we consider the fact that the "Solidarity" members have to pay Z100 every month as trade union fee. The sum is equivalent to 5-6 cars or a small house.

On this basis, the intelligence service fabricated the verison that Pinior had used the money for personal purposes. They produced a film in Wroclaw, which showed a dacha (country house) allegedly bought by Pinior. A paid witness appeared and said he had bought the house as a straw man (at the time, the dacha shown in the film had no owner).

At that time, Pinior was working in the underground, but he was detected. Some three days prior to the announcement of his arrest, Polish television was casting the Dacha film in the frame of a series with the ironical title "Program for the Underground." The program was commented by saying roughly that a group existed in the underground that called its members heroes. "We show the true face," it was said. After the announcement of the arrest, the "documentary film" was shown once more to intensify the impression of Pinior's crime.

At the place where Pinior was arrested, the police had detected a tape with the recording of a talk between two female Solidarity members. According to this, one woman said: "Pinior is a thief--that could be said by the propaganda." The study bureau erased the second part of the sentence. At another place of the authentic tape recording one of the women had said: "Why does Pinior not love a woman, is he a homosexual?" The intelligence service reduced the text to the sentence: "Pinior is a homosexual." Polish radio network cast both falsified versions.

Asked why the intelligence service has produced such falsifications, Naszkowski gives the surprising answer that although the falsifications were disseminated everywhere, the ministry did not foster the illusion that the public would consider them as true. It was the actual intention of many actions to bring influence to bear on the still loyal functionaries in the party and government

apparatus and in the security services, and to demonstrate to them that the trade union movement was vulnerable.

According to Naszkowski, such defamations involving Tokarczuk, the bishop of Przemyśl, and Zbigniew Bujak, the Solidarity leader in the Warsaw underground and the most important man after Walesa, were aimed more at the "people." Bishop Tokarczuk was shown at a summer beach, kissing a woman. Actually, the woman had embraced him to thank him for his assistance in a personal case. The discrediting picture was disseminated by the intelligence service in the bishop's diocese.

The intelligence service fabricated a tape recording of Bujak which was cast by the Polish radio network prior to a Solidarity demonstration in August 1982. Bujak's text was: "For the first time I have a different opinion than the Solidarity leadership. The police want to provoke us, therefore I am against the demonstration." Naszkowski said in this connection that it was very difficult to find a voice that was similar to Bujak's. At that time, Bujak was in the underground.

The intelligence service thought of many things to expose the Solidarity exile organization in Brussels and Paris. Letters of Solidarity members abroad which were addressed to friends and families, were intercepted and sent on with faked contents--the handwriting and typewriting were imitated.

Examples of faked texts: "I can tell you that I have a Mercedes, that I live quite well, and that I speak much English. I have dollars, so that you can support people at home." However, letters with such contents were not correctly delivered, they landed "accidentally" in the neighbor's mailbox. They read about the "swell life" of the exiled and were accordingly "impressed."

Another fabricated text reports the opposite of a fine life, namely the poor situation of the exiled. An example: "Bread is so expensive that I can buy some only once a week."

The disinformation machinery also works in the opposite direction. The attempt was made to create through wrong information fear and insecurity among "Solidarity" circles abroad, and to fan conflicts between leading representatives. Rumors were spread in Paris and Brussels, saying that leftist extremists in Western Europe are hostile toward "Solidarity" so that nobody should be surprised if there should be talk of terrorist attacks some day.

Some other rumors said that trade union leader Milewski (Brussels) and the functionary Zbigniew Kowalewski (Paris) were hostile to each other. At the same time, the intelligence service disseminated a "good impression" of Kowalewski in Poland. When the French Government had asked the functionary to leave France, Polish papers were printing commentaries, complaining about the way in which Solidarity was treated abroad.

"We were able to prepare anything in the ministry," Naszkowski said, "including information according to which certain people of 'Solidarity' worked as Soviet agents." The intelligence service also produced material according to which a

Soviet invasion in Poland was forthcoming. This information was intended for the officials of the interior ministry and other authorities so as to prejudice them against solidarity as a public danger.

Disinformation and selective defamation also played a role in rivalries between the intelligence service and influential Polish government spokesman Urban who tried to bring the study bureau under his control. Because Urban is a Jew, the bureau fabricated antisemitic propaganda which in Poland does not fail to produce an effect. Graffiti like "Urban is a Jew" appeared on walls.

The intelligence service delightfully spread the news that Urban's daughter was going to marry a Solidarity official. Underground newspapers of the trade union published "invitations" to take part in the wedding ceremony. The intelligence service spread these "advertisements" among the interior ministry officials, in order to expose Urban.

On the other hand, however, the intelligence service supplied government spokesman Urban with falsified material on underground Solidarity which "accepts money"--a claim that is very effective in Poland. The study bureau produced falsified underground newspapers which are practically identical with the originals.

The text contained incorrect reports on demonstrations, provocative appeals, and false news on Solidarity members underground. Naszkowski presented falsifications of the underground newspaper BEZ CYKTATU ("Without Dictatorship"). They were not only disseminated among Poles, but also among foreign embassies in Warsaw and abroad.

A typical classical disinformation also is the rumor that Cardinal Glemp has a God relationship with General Jaruzelski. This "news" is equally aimed at "Solidarity," the broad Polish public, and the state-party officials. It was spread at a time when Glemp was forced to transfer or call priests to order who had been too radical. Such measures meet with criticism among the Polish public and the clergy.

In this irritated psychological atmosphere the information was spread that the Cardinal and the General were "not so far away from each other." The impression was created that "Glemp is not so dogged, he is ready for compromise." The news had a depressing effect on Solidarity, the clergy, and the people, while the officials in the ministries and the army believed now that the Catholic church was less powerful than they had thought.

Even Jaruzelski became the object of disinformation. Following the proclamation of martial law on 13 December 1981, the intelligence service spread the impression that the General was "too weak" to cope with the situation in Poland. There should be someone with a firm hand. According to Naszkowski, this "information" was aimed at opening a valve in the aggressive security services as well as in the army to let "steam" off.

Naszkowski stressed that Jaruzelski does not have much authority in the interior ministry. On the other hand, it is generally known in Poland that the General cannot take too tough measures because otherwise the relations with the West,

in particular trade, would totally break down. "However, without the West, Poland cannot live."

When the General visited Moscow in May 1984, where he experienced the Kremlin's dissatisfaction with the state of affairs in Poland, Naszkowski's "study bureau" used the opportunity. It launched the news that the Soviets did not fully accept Jaruzelski because they considered him to be "too nationalist." This disinformation was to promote Jaruzelski's prestige in Poland and the West and intimidate the forces of resistance.

In reality, however, Jaruzelski has a "good biography" for the Soviets, and the intelligence service is aware of this. During the world war, he stood on the Soviet side--naturally as a propagandist, not as a soldier. At the end of the war, he was a Colonel. He became General before he was 50. He is an important support for Moscow. Naszkowski said: "General Jaruzelski is fully informed about the persecution in Poland and about the methods of persecution."

CSO: 2300/494

POLAND

ZSL OFFICIAL ACKNOWLEDGES PZPR LEADING ROLE

Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish 20 Jul 85 p 2

[Letter to the editor]

[Text] Dominik Ludwiczak, a farmer in Poznan Province, deputy chairman of the ZSL [United Peasant Party] Chief Committee, writes that "in farm policy matters we are a fully equal partner of the PZPR [Polish United Workers Party]. This is clearly proved by the determinations of the joint plenary session of the ZSL Chief Committee and the PZPR plenary meeting. We engaged in a good deal of negotiation at this meeting." But many of the determinations are already being disregarded. Allow me to point out the most important one. At the joint meeting, 30 percent of the state budget was reserved for agriculture, but last year only 24 percent was allocated for this purpose. What do you have to say to this?

In reply, let me say that there surely is no need to remind you that what counts in politics is not wishful thinking, or even what has been agreed on and signed, but the actual resources available. This time someone proved to be stronger than we are and got the better of us. And I hope that it will not be necessary to remember agriculture again only when the refrigerators, pantries, and pots are empty and the table is bare.

(In a talk with Piotr Gabryel, "Straight Talk," 30 June.)

6115

CSO: 2600/981

POLAND

POZNAN PZPR OFFICIAL VIEWS NINTH CONGRESS LEGACY

Poznan GAZETA POZNANSKA in Polish 19 Jun 85 p 4

[Interview with Dr Michal Iwaszkiewicz, Poznan party activist, by Zygmunt Rola; date and location of interview not specified]

[Text] [Question] Unanimity does not exist. One hears of the party's faithfulness to the Ninth PZPR Extraordinary Congress resolution, but one also hears that it is not being implemented consistently enough. Doubts, doubts...

[Answer] When the congress was taking place, the dominant belief was that some measure of good, solid work had been done. The party was shaken up, it created formal guarantees and it authorized a new Central Committee to conduct extensive work on rebuilding its position, its credibility and its leadership and leading role in the state and society.

[Question] Then the congress engendered hope...

[Answer] For the first time, workers, peasants, people linked directly with production, authentic representatives of their own organizations constitute the dominant group in the Central Committee. This was the basis for hope.

[Question] But immediately following the conclusion of the deliberations, the proverbial escalation of tensions began.

[Answer] The political opposition, miscalculating by judging that the party would be crushed, launched an all-out attack, both on the congress resolution and on the new political practice. Tensions escalated over the attempt to remove the party from plants and over the well-known meetings in Radom and Gdansk. This was the response to the strengthening of the PZPR and the consistent implementation of the congress resolution. However, the divisions within the party cannot be ignored. Immediately following the imposition of martial law, any activity that smacked of factionalism was prohibited.

[Question] In no way does this mean that we have become of one mind.

[Answer] Nor should unanimity in all matters be our goal. The formula of democratic centralism imposes a disciplined attitude with regard to party decisionmaking, but the PZPR statute gives every member the right to doubt,

to his own views and to an individual attitude to various issues.

[Question] After nearly 4 years, we are able to assess the achievements of the Ninth Congress in the categories of theory and political practice.

[Answer] The resolution provides open directives on many issues, declaring open arms to all (with an accent on institutional principles and the leading role of the party). On the other hand, practice has necessitated the use of other new mechanisms. Sometimes it was evident that the open, extended arms had hit a void. Since we shall soon summarize the implementation of the congress recommendations, surely we shall conclude that not all of them succeeded in being implemented.

[Question] Then has the entire PZPR--I am not speaking here only of the Politburo and the Central Committee--remained the party of socialist renewal?

[Answer] The party's status is quite diverse. Generally we feel that it is good: worker communities are active; new candidates are being accepted. However, as an instructor of various echelons, including the Central Committee, for many years, I have met with the representatives of various communities. Consequently, I know that there are still party organizations that are weak organizationally and ideologically as well. This was also spoken of several days ago at the 20th Plenum.

[Question] In which fields has the Ninth Congress resolution been implemented most fully?

[Answer] I believe that it has been implemented most fully in the economic sphere above all, in the implementation of the reform. This was borne out by the recent party-economic conference held in Poznan. This area is the most important one for our future. Tasks related to the development of the socialist democracy also have been implemented very consistently. Issues of cultural development have been resolved in a model way, creating a series of institutional guarantees.

[Question] Let us not forget that renewal is also concern over guaranteeing better living conditions.

[Answer] That is the most difficult issue. I believe that, considering the difficult situation of the state, too much has been done in the area of social services. We could not afford many decisions; at the same time, their implementation, while received with satisfaction by interested parties, hinders the attainment of national goals, such as those that fight inflation, for example.

[Question] Some people believe that the development of the socialist democracy should take place at the party's expense.

[Answer] Surely we remember the argument that preceded the congress regarding whether to enter leadership role or leading role into the statute. Ultimately, both [the party's] leading role and leadership role were recorded.

The Marxist-Leninist party plays a leading political role in socialist states. In no way does this mean that democracy is limited. The classic formula for the exercise of the leadership role reduces itself to the creation of a program by the party that the party then conveys to society through its members. It then checks on the implementation of this program. Party members are the guarantors of the implementation of programs and of the establishment of the hierarchies of goals, both strategic and tactical.

[Question] What we have done in the sphere of democratizing social life over 4 years may turn out not to be enough.

[Answer] There are no revealed and unchanging truths. Of course, certain universal principles do exist. These also apply to the building of socialism in Poland. But life does not stand in one place. Social consciousness changes; the mechanisms of the operation of society change. Thus it may happen that certain forms that are optimal today soon may become insufficient. This complies with the laws of the dialectic.

[Question] I ask this because sometimes people say that we could have done more. Could we really have done more?

[Answer] Given the fact that very little time has passed since the Ninth Congress, we have done a great deal. Above all, the congress itself was a tremendous step on the road to renewal. It succeeded in building a program that was not calculated to ease tensions, but was able to be implemented. Of course, not all proposals were able to be implemented, but the situation that determined possibilities also changed rapidly.

[Question] The statute was to be one of the guarantees. Is it fulfilling the hopes placed in it?

[Answer] Someone once said that the previous statute also could have fulfilled this function. Unfortunately, however, it began to be interpreted freely and became adapted to specific needs. The statute passed at the Ninth Congress was constructed so precisely that I know of no cases of its violation. I do not maintain that it is ideal. There is a Statute Commission at work at each congress whose task is to adapt its contents to changing conditions.

[Question] Then what fosters the implementation of the Ninth Congress resolution?

[Answer] Obviously, it is impossible to list everything. I would reckon among the most important conditions the need for the real involvement of young people in the implementation of the party's program. This is a matter of the greatest importance, on which the practice of implementing the resolution depends. We can build the most magnificent program for democratization, but if we do not win young people over to it, it remains a facade. But the Ninth Congress program is attractive enough for young people to find in it many interesting proposals.

[Question] Is this because socialist ideology is itself attractive in essence?

[Answer] Yes, that is why. I would place the question of ideology first on the list of factors. The ideological content of the Ninth Congress resolution was expressed concretely in the resolutions of plenary meetings. In my opinion, the most important of these was the 16th Plenum, formally devoted to the working class. It was called to mind at that plenum that the PZPR is the class, Marxist-Leninist party, with all of its consequences. What is meant by socialism was also called to mind. Unfortunately, the state of social awareness is embarrassingly low in this area. If we want people to accept socialism, they must know what this term means. Among the conditions for implementing the Ninth Congress resolution, I would also list the credibility of the mass media.

[Question] And what, in your opinion, hampers the consistent fulfillment of the duties undertaken at the congress?

[Answer] Immediately after the imposition of martial law, one often saw people that believed that the party could forget the lessons that led to the 1980-1981 crisis. Meanwhile, this lesson cannot be obliterated from the consciousness of society or from the awareness of decisionmakers. People have learned to think, to perceive the consequences of events. Primitive thinking, that reasons that the highest national goals can be achieved by administrative methods, is most obstructive to the implementation of the congress resolution. People must finally learn to think in historical categories and to analyze the postwar history of Poland in such, historical categories.

[Question] And is not impatience, while understandable, another barrier to the consistent implementation of farreaching goals?

[Answer] Impatience is also a proof of the lack of logical skill, of thinking historically. This is our national weakness, just as another national shortcoming is our erroneous concept of democracy that was transformed very quickly into anarchy in 1980-1981. Finally, I think that polonocentrism-- the totally unwarranted conviction that Poland is the navel of the world-- is an obstacle. Poland is not the navel of the world. We ourselves must build a strong, democratic state apparatus. We ourselves must transform our awareness. For this we need time, patience and the strength to implement our plans.

[Interviewer] Thank you for the interview.

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CSO: 2600/915

POLAND

RADOM PZPR CHIEF COMMENTS ON PAYROLLS, REFORM

Kielce-Radom SLOWO LUDU in Polish 25 Jun 85 p 3

[Interview with Wlodzimierz Kocinski, PZPR KW secretary in Radom, by Emilian Szczerbicki; date and location of interview not specified]

[Text] [Question] There are widespread reports that the halting of the economic recession is the first effect of the reform. Do the experiences of the Radom Province confirm this notion?

[Answer] Yes. A systematic increase in production has followed the shift to the new system of management. Already in 1982, a very difficult year for producer goods procurement, among other things, an increase in productivity was attained. The following year, the increase reached nearly 10 percent. Meanwhile, last year we exceeded the 1979 production levels, for the best results in the history of our province. Over 5 months in 1985, despite the severe winter that hampered work in many plants, another 3.3-percent production increase was added.

[Question] The previously stated opinion is accompanied by the opposite one, that the reform has contributed to reducing the living standard of the population.

[Answer] This assessment emanates from lack of familiarity with economic questions. We must realize that at the time that the reform was ushered in, the country was in a deep crisis. Regardless of whether we used a new system of management, society still had to suffer the consequences of the recession. Thus, the increase in living costs is not a consequence of the reform, but of the economic breakdown. Here one may speak only of the concurrence of phenomena, but not of one resulting from the other.

[Question] While it is agreed that some economic progress has been made, society does not feel that the potential offered by the reform has been utilized. The evidence of this is the existing reserves and obvious waste in many plants!

[Answer] The production increase of which I spoke does not mean that everyone is a good manager and complies with the reform. In addition to the reserves of a so-called higher category that are embedded in technology, there are

many simple ones, such as the incomplete utilization of equipment, materials, the workday and energy. In many plants, machinery is in use only for 8 hours. The shift ratio is declining, an unfavorable phenomenon, while per-unit production costs are rising.

[Question] What can be done to stop uneconomical management? Are any extraordinary institutional or legal solutions necessary?

[Answer] These already exist, but they must be adapted to enterprise realities. The prescription for good work is simple: it must pay for the worker to do good work. The emoluments system should reward not only productivity but also quality, ingenuity and innovativeness. Some economists rightly term this the heart of the reform.

What is the situation in Radom plants? About 20 percent of them already have applied the new emoluments system. If we take into consideration that these are large units that employ 55 percent of those working in the socialized provincial economy and that produce 75 percent of its production, it may be said that these efforts are fairly well underway. But, do we have any results? It is still too early to expect them. The plants implemented the new wage principles during the second half of 1984 or at the beginning of 1985, except for RADOSKOR, that was part of the group of experimental plants. Nonetheless, we have gained much experience. The new system cannot be reduced to the execution of certain regulations. Above all, it requires working with people at their work stations as well as continual modification, since nothing emerges at once perfect. Results are good in plants where careful preparations were made for this. On the other hand, those that did not understand the essence of the motivational function of wages and thought that signing a document would mean good-quality work have been disappointed.

[Question] At the party economic conference in Poznan, all forms of subsidies were criticized. If the NBP [Polish National Bank] were consistent, would we also have our first bankruptcies in the Radom Province?

[Answer] Specifically, subsidies on some products, primarily food products, are indispensable at the current stage; there is no disagreement about this. On the other hand, the criticism in Poznan was leveled at the general trend in enterprises to obtain various kinds of reductions that are, of course, a kind of subsidy. There is much inconsistency here. The vast majority of managements and employee self-governments require hard self-financing for their own plants. However, they frequently believe that only their situation is very difficult and only they deserve reductions. A participant in the discussion in the Poznan forum stated jokingly that entire groups of people have been trained to do nothing but lobby for reductions, to go around and get reductions in payment obligations.

After the first quarter in 1985, losses occurred in 14 units of the Radom Province. These include the Radom Building Enterprise, RPRI [expansion unavailable], ZWAC [expansion unavailable] and RPCB [expansion unavailable]. It is apparent that this list includes construction firms that incur greater outlays during the first months of the year, due to the specific nature of

their work, in order to produce results at a later time. Thus, there is no reason to take a tragic view of things, since the majority of these enterprises that show current losses probably will attain a positive annual balance. In every situation, however, the basic position will be that the plant must find within itself the potential for improving its financial situation. And usually it happens that, faced by danger, workforces will mobilize and will stand on their own.

[Question] For several years now, improper ratios between the wage increase and work productivity have been a weak point of the Radom economy.

[Answer] That is true. During the last 3-year plan, the growth rate of the wage increase was three times higher than productivity. Thus far we have not fulfilled an important requirement of the reform. Everyone must be aware that such practices do not lead to the kind of market stability that will enable the reform to operate properly. Increasing wages unaffordably has the effect of increasing production costs and prices. As a further consequence, there is renewed pressure on wages. Thus, the vicious circle closes.

[Question] Then how can it be stopped?

[Answer] The bank must be absolute in its demand for self-financing and plants must absolutely compel productivity, quality and rational management. A large volume must be produced, cheaply and well.

[Question] At the Poznan conference, the link between the 5-year plan and the reform was noted. Is it a question of adapting economic mechanisms to the concept of economic development for 1986 to 1990?

[Answer] The major assumption of the 5-year plan is to achieve significant progress in the field of management effectiveness, according to the reform principles. We are setting effectiveness as a goal in an unprecedented manner. We cannot count on an increase in materials or manpower or on greater import potential. At least half of the production increase must be achieved by conserving raw materials. We must achieve this by compelling productive work through economic incentives. Herein lies the opportunity for the increase in the living standard of society that we so desire.

[Question] How are these possibilities being assessed during the consultational meetings being held in plants on the assumptions of the CPR [Central Yearly Plan] for 1986 and the 5-year plan?

[Answer] A part of the workforce even favors the variant that projects a higher production increase, i.e., they continue to see among themselves great potential for thrift and better management.

[Question] The conference in Poznan ended a period of discussion on the reform that first was conducted at plant meetings and at the PZPR KW plenum. Now everything possible must be done to use all important suggestions in practice.

[Answer] Some of the proposals worked out both in our province and in Poznan were submitted to the central government and others were directed for application in plants. Some enterprises have adopted an operating schedule for implementing them. I think that they will do this consistently.

Let me add that, except for controversial and even exceptional opinions, harmony was achieved on several basic issues. In the first place, the reform is an irreversible process. In the second place, it is fully socialist and represents a theoretical and practical contribution to the development of the socialist economy. It is not, as some say, being implemented at the fringes or outside our sociopolitical system. In the third place, the recurring opinion was expressed that the verified mechanisms of the reform must be maintained; others must be improved and even changed. At the same time, there cannot be frequent modifications. They should apply only to detailed solutions and should not violate general principles.

8536

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POLAND

JULY 22 NATIONAL DAY CELEBRATED

Congratulatory Cable from USSR

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 23 Jul 85 pp 1,4

[Cable sent in name of CPSU Central Committee, Presidium of USSR Supreme Council, and USSR Council of Ministers]

[Text] Comrade Wojciech Jaruzelski  
First Secretary, Central Committee,  
Polish United Workers' Party,  
Chairman, Council of Ministers,  
Polish People's Republic

Comrade Henryk Jablonski  
Chairman, Council of State,  
Polish People's Republic

Warsaw

Dear Comrades,

On the occasion of your national holiday, the 41st anniversary of the Polish People's Republic, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the Presidium of the Supreme Council of the USSR, the Council of Ministers of the USSR, and the entire Soviet people extend warm and sincere congratulations to you, the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party, the Council of State, the Council of Ministers of the Polish People's Republic, and the fraternal Polish people.

The Manifesto of the Polish Committee of National Liberation proclaimed on 22 July 1944 opened a new chapter in the history of Poland. Revolutionary and democratic forces led by the Polish Workers' Party took the helm of state. Fundamental socioeconomic and political transformation of the life of society on radically new principles was initiated. By the will of the people, the country struck out on the socialist path of development.

The rebirth of Poland as a sovereign and truly democratic state of working people, within equitable borders, became possible thanks to the victory

over fascism and the liberation of the country by the Soviet Army, alongside which fought formations of the Polish Army. The July Manifesto proclaimed permanent alliance and friendship with the USSR as a fundamental principle of the foreign policy of the Polish state.

The years that have passed have convincingly demonstrated the pervasiveness of the ideas contained in the July Manifesto and the farsightedness of the choice made by the Polish people. In an historically short period, thanks to the efforts of the entire people, and above all of the working class, under the leadership of its militant vanguard, the Polish United Workers' Party, Poland has been transformed into an industrial socialist state.

A major achievement of our peoples is the forging of the alliance between the USSR and the PRL [Polish People's Republic]. This alliance is based on community of Marxist-Leninist ideology and political identity of the goals of the CPSU and the PZPR [Polish United Workers' Party]. The vital interests of the working people of our countries are unfailingly served by the Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation, and Mutual Assistance between the USSR and the PRL.

Experience has proved the lasting importance of constantly strengthening the unity and solidarity of the countries of the socialist community. The importance of this unity is growing especially now that the situation has become more tense throughout the world, now that the forces of reaction and retaliation have become active, with the United States and its NATO allies striving to achieve military superiority over the countries of socialism. This was heavily stressed at the recent meeting in the capital of the PRL of party and government leaders of the Warsaw Pact countries, at which a protocol extending the lifetime of the Pact was signed. The current dangerous arms race by imperialist forces headed by the United States is opposed by the socialist community with an active and consistent policy of defense and strengthening of peace and with resolve and political determination to fight for relaxation of international tensions.

Expressing the sentiments of the Soviet people, we wish you, dear comrades, Polish communists, and all Polish workers success in perpetuating the accomplishments of socialism and in the struggle for peace throughout the world.

May the Polish People's Republic become ever stronger and more prosperous!

Long live the brotherly friendship between the Soviet and Polish peoples, the close cooperation between the CPSU and PZPR, and all-round cooperation between the USSR and the PRL!

CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE CPSU  
PRESIDIUM OF THE SUPREME COUNCIL OF THE USSR  
COUNCIL OF MINISTERS OF THE USSR

Commemorations in Bloc Countries

Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 23 Jul 85 pp 1,7

[Polish Press Agency Report: "Celebrations Abroad"]

[Text] USSR

MOSCOW (PAP) (C). PAP [Polish Press Agency] correspondent Leslaw Koliiewicz reports the following.

The 41st anniversary of the rebirth of Poland has been commemorated on a large scale. The commemoration has provided a special occasion for recalling the historic bonds and all-round fraternal cooperation between the USSR and the Polish People's Republic and the unity of ideas and policy in the international arena.

The Polish ambassador to the USSR, Stanislaw Kociolek, appeared on the national television program Vremya [The Times] on 22 July, the Polish national holiday. He spoke about the sociopolitical and economic changes that have taken place in Poland in the 41 years since proclamation of the Polish National Liberation Committee Manifesto and reviewed the development of bilateral cooperation between the PRL and the USSR.

In the capital of Soviet Belorussia, Minsk, a memorial tablet was formally unveiled which is dedicated to Boleslaw Bierut, the first president of the PRL and prominent activist in the international working class movement. This tablet has been set in the wall of a building located on the street named after him. On this occasion the citizens of Minsk held a formal meeting devoted to Soviet-Polish friendship. Representatives of party and municipal authorities and the consul general of the PRL in Minsk, General Jan Raczkowski, took part in the meeting.

An exhibit of contemporary Polish graphic art, organized by the Union of Plastic Artists of the USSR, with the cooperation of the Ministry of Culture and Art of the PRL, was opened in Moscow.

Formal meetings of active members of the Soviet-Polish Friendship Society and parties on the theme of the world of the Polish nation were held at plants in Moscow and other cities. A particularly festive character was imparted to the annual commemoration at the Serp i Molot [Hammer and Sickle] plant, the staff of which has for many years been collaborating with Huta Warszawa.

Over the last several days the Day of the Rebirth of Poland has been one of the main topics in the Soviet mass communication media. The Sunday edition of PRAVDA published on its front page the text of a cable dispatched to Wojciech Jaruzelski and Henryk Jablonski by the highest party and state authorities of the USSR on the occasion of the Polish National Day.

Soviet national television programs contained many items devoted to Poland, the life of the Polish people and development of the economy and culture.

## Czechoslovakia

PRAGUE (PAP) (C). In Czechoslovakia the 22 July celebration was particularly significant in localities and plants in which Polish workers are employed, at plants cooperating directly with Poland, and at summer camps where Polish children are on vacation with Czech and Slovak children of the same age. The celebrations and parties organized there, the meetings of friends, and the exhibits and performances by artists were a manifestation of the friendship of our peoples and of the community of interests and goals linking them together.

Numerous cultural events were held throughout the country on the occasion of the Polish national day. The Czechoslovak mass communications media devoted much time to the 41st anniversary of the PKWN [Polish National Liberation Committee] Manifesto, the historic development, and the contemporary life of the Polish people. Polish ambassador Andrzej Jedynak spoke on television and radio.

The Polish ambassador to Czechoslovakia, Andrzej Jedynak, held a formal reception on 22 July on the occasion of the Polish national day. Members of the Presidium, secretaries Vasil Bilak and Milosz Jakesz of the Central Committee of the Czechoslovak Communist Party, deputy premier of the federal government Jaromir Obzina, and other representatives of the political, public, and cultural life of Czechoslovakia attended the reception.

## German Democratic Republic

BERLIN (PAP) (C). PAP correspondent Jerzy Tomaszewski reports the following:

The anniversary of the rebirth of Poland was celebrated by groups of Poles employed in the GDR. Large numbers of them gathered on 22 July to attend the patriotic event held in Berlin at the monument to the Polish soldier and German antifascist.

An eternal flame was lit at the foot of the monument. Members of the Honor Company of the National People's Army of the GDR formed an honor guard. The attention of those present at the event was attracted by the white and red standards carried by young Poles working in the GDR capital city of Berlin and Polish citizens vacationing in this city. Wreaths of flowers were laid at the monument.

A meeting hosted by Polish ambassador Maciej Wirowski was held at the Polish embassy. It was attended among others by members of Politburo of the Socialist Unity Party central committee, party central committee secretaries Horst Dohlus and Werner Felfe, the first deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers of the GDR, Alfred Neumann, Council of State deputy chairmen Manfred Gerlach, Heinrich Homann, and Ernst Mecklenburg, National Front Local Council chairman Lothar Kolditz, deputy premier Hans Reichelt, and representatives of the cultural and artistic world.

CROSTWITZ (PAP) (C). A celebration honoring the memory of the Polish soldiers fallen in the battles with fascism to liberate the region was held on

Sunday, the day before the 41st anniversary of the rebirth of Poland, at Crostwitz am Lausitz (GDR). The local population assembled at the monument to the soldiers of the 2nd Polish Army. Construction workers from Krakow employed in Leipzig came to the event, as did young Poles vacationing in the southern GDR.

#### Bulgaria

SOFIA (PAP) (C). Appropriate celebrations have been organized in the concentrations of Poles employed in completing Bulgarian investment projects, to commemorate the July holiday. The local public has participated in the celebrations along with the Polish specialists.

The Polish ambassador to Bulgaria, Wladyslaw Napieraj, delivered a speech devoted to the occasion in front of television cameras, and during the day the Bulgarian television and radio system broadcast a special program dedicated to the achievements of the Polish People's Republic.

An evening reception held at the Polish embassy in Sofia to commemorate the 41st anniversary of the Polish popular uprising was attended by representatives of the political, economic, and cultural circles of Bulgaria.

#### Hungary

BUDAPEST (PAP) (C). The Polish ambassador to Hungary, Jerzy Zielinski, appeared on the first Hungarian television program on 22 July. He discussed the current political, social, and economic situation of Poland and the highly promising developments in cooperation between Poland and Hungary.

A ceremony was held in Budapest at which prominent political and economic figures of the Hungarian People's Republic were presented the high distinctions awarded them by the Council of State of the PRL for their services in the cause of bringing the two peoples and countries closer together and developing Polish-Hungarian cooperation in a number of areas.

The deputy prime minister of the Hungarian People's Republic, Jozsef Marjai, was honored with the commander's badge, with star, of the Order of Merit of the PRL. The commander's badge of the Order of Merit of the PRL was bestowed on 17 persons, including Karoly Grosz, a member of the Politburo of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party and first secretary of the Budapest Party Committee, Janos Berecz, secretary of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party Central Committee, Ernoe Lakatos, head of the agitation and propaganda department of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party Central Committee, and Lajos Urban, minister of communications of the Hungarian People's Republic.

In addition, 12 persons, including the well-known film director Marta Meszaros, received gold badges of the Order of Merit of the PRL and 9 persons received silver badges of this order.

Daily newspapers published pertinent commentaries relating to the Polish holiday.

Romania

BUCHAREST (PAP) (C). A reception was held at the Polish embassy in Bucharest. It was attended among others by Petru Enaone, a member of the Executive Committee of the Romanian Communist Party Central Committee and deputy prime minister of the Socialist Republic of Romania, and by Gheorghe Petrescu, chairman of the Romanian element of the joint commission for economic and scientific-technical cooperation.

On the same day, Polish workers employed in Romania placed flowers at the monument to Soviet soldiers on Victory Square in Bucharest.

6115

CSO: 2600/980

POLAND

'WAR TOYS' PRAISED BY MILITARY DOCTOR

Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish 20 Jul 85 p 2

[Letter to the editor from Dr Stanislaw Sokolowski, Colonel, head of the Department of Pedagogic Sciences of the Military Political Academy]

[Text] "The 'Declaration on the Education of Societies in the Spirit of Peace' approved by the United Nations General Assembly in December 1978 does not make any specific recommendations regarding 'military toys.' The principles set forth in it and the spirit of the Declaration point to the requirement of refraining from producing toys which might express the planning, preparation, or initiation of wars of aggression and ones which might express and support colonial practices, racism, racial discrimination, and apartheid (...)

"War toys will continue in the future, as they do now (except for militaristic toys), to perform a general educational and patriotic educational function, and the problem of the impropriety of such toys does not arise among the many theories of toys for children and adolescents. In the light of these theories, play with bows and arrows, swords, toy soldiers, pistols, and rifles is regarded as something normal (...) The socialist armed forces, including the Polish People's Army, are gradually becoming a valuable source of models for toys."

(ODGLOSZY, 6 July)

6115  
CSO: 2600/981

POLAND

PRON APPROVES 'GUARDIAN OF CIVIL RIGHTS'

Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish No 28, 13 Jul 85 p 6

[Article by Stanislaw Podemski: "Keeping An Eye On The Authorities"]

[Text] During the past year, PRON Congress's idea of instituting a "guardian of civil rights" fell into oblivion and POLITYKA's repeated calls regarding this question (Nos. 19 and 50, 1983) did not find any support. Now, however, something has changed in this respect, because the Executive Committee of PRON's National Council has approved the idea. Such institutions are known in 40 countries, from New Zealand to Sweden and from Tanzania to France, there is now some hope that Poland will join them.

"Keeping an eye on the authorities" is in the Polish political tradition. You can fume at the authorities and point out their corrupt practices, but you cannot ignore them. The advocate of civil rights will satisfy an old tradition. All this does not mean, however, that the Polish ombudsman is wholly supported, the number of opponents of the idea is equally large. Meanwhile, the previously imprecise declaration has received the approval of the Executive Council, the ferocity of attacks against the idea of a Polish ombudsman will grow.

Obviously the ombudsman threatens numerous powerful interest groups. Among those, the diehards, who are against any reform in general, will not be the most outspoken or dangerous, because their repeated "no" to everything makes them increasingly out of date and sterile, thus contributing to their loss of power and significance.

Much more dangerous are those groups which deck their opposition with outwardly valid arguments. "You must preserve the old absolute monopoly of the socialist prosecutor's office in enforcing the law," they say or exhibit their surprise that you want to add one more institution to the numerous political and public institutions handling citizens' complaints.

Yet their false words of care for the "purity of legal and organizational solutions" (their favorite words) conceal, in fact, their ordinary dread of organized and authorized interference in the sphere that has, so far, been their sole prerogative. The same old tune is played again and again. Anyone who followed all the difficulties raised until the last moment to the idea of

appointing the Supreme Administrative Court (NSA), remembers the arguments advanced. What do we need a court's supervision of the official decisions for, if every office is obliged to consider all the pros and cons as regards the citizen? What's the good if all these pettifogging takes care of the lawful government, while numerous people's councils' commissions and the councils themselves should also be keeping an eye on particular offices' doings?

Fortunately, the Sejm rejected all these garbled arguments, based on the ideal and not the real situation, and this year, the Supreme Administrative Court will celebrate the fifth anniversary of its beneficial and intense activity. The same will happen to the ombudsman's office. Why? Because there are many offices to deal with citizens' complaints, but their 35 year old tradition (it was 35 years ago when the first law on complaints was passed) does not promise any change in their modus operandi.

They adhere to the tradition that the complaint is a client who begs, pesters and presses them, but given the stubbornness of his addressee, today additionally provided with self-government, autonomy and independence, usually (although not always) nothing much happens. Relevant offices treat the handling citizens of complaints as one more, additional burden and nothing else.

According to the relevant Sejm commission, the prosecutor's office faces personnel problems in a good many voivodships and on top of this the present social policy increasingly binds this office to simply performing its original function, i.e., to prosecute criminals and eradicate social evils. With the development of this kind of prosecutor's activity, the breakdown of the prosecutor's measures taken on behalf of citizens shows that, for example, out of the 76 appeals against binding verdicts made during the first three months of this year, not one asked for a more lenient sentence.

How do these relate to the binding principle of the Code of Criminal Procedure, which reads: "The organs engaged in penal procedure are obliged to examine and consider both those circumstances which are against as those which are for the defendant's case?" Has anyone heard of a case where the prosecutor sided with the voter protesting against bogus election results, or sued a jail for negligence because an inmate became ill after being refused medical attention, or sided with the citizen who had been dispossessed in violation of the law?

We all remember too well the cases of electors' protests considered by the Supreme Court last autumn. Just as we remember that every third case against the Treasury in 1984 involved the responsibility of prisons, and that out of 400 or so NSA trials concerning expropriation, the Court recognized the expropriated party's claim in a third of the cases.

There is practically no end to the list of similar examples from important walks of life. For instance the latest issue of RADA NARODOWA, GOSPODARKA I ADMINISTRACJA [People's Council, Economy and Administration] quotes an Administration Ministry department Director who complains that for years no-one has abided by the regulation, doing away with unnecessary certificates and using

the citizen's identity card as a document providing sufficient information on the person involved. Because of this people are driven from one office to another to collect totally needless papers just as before. This situation makes the Director arrive at the conclusion that the regulation must be improved! Considering the 11 years that have elapsed since the regulation was introduced, the Director's proposal is very modest, to say the least.

How can the institution of a guardian of civil rights change the present state of affairs? First, it can change the point of view on the relevant problems, because not everything that is on the surface consistent with the law is common sense nor consistent with a sense of justice and decency as they are generally understood. Everyone who observes the administration's performance knows this and the legislator understands this very well when every now and then he refers to the norms of social coexistence, i.e., exactly to the present, ever restored and amended norms of public morals. How are the latter respected in practice? It is better to say no more.

If, moreover, you consider that many important spheres of social life are still ruled by outdated pre-war regulations (e.g. the law on social welfare or the law on associations), it turns out that the range of authorities' arbitrary decisions is enormous and very dangerous for the citizen.

It would be the public mouthpiece's business to examine and assess the manner of handling citizens' complaints. If he acquires all the complaints' rights regarding administrative procedure before institutions and the Supreme Administrative Court (as currently proposed), this will be the line of his proposals, appeals and complaints. This way he will not be a client that pesters offices, but a public attorney who takes the legal path to make a minister or a court recognize his view as the valid one.

I do not find the proposal to give him the right to appeal against binding verdicts farfetched and iconoclastic. The unprecedentedly negligible number of appeals by the administration on behalf of the citizen (e.g. last year, 90% of the Justice Minister's appeals were for more severe sentences) makes one seriously consider such a possibility.

However another fundamental question immediately appears, that of the choice and limitations of the ombudsman's involvement in disputes between the authorities and the citizen. The huge number of complaints, counted in tens of thousands, will prevent him from intervening in every procedure and from fighting effectively on every front. Poland is not Finland where the ombudsman receives only a few thousand letters a year.

The guardian of citizens' rights will fulfill his tasks best if he assists those concerned in every matter which is important and which sets a precedent, consideration of which can be taken as a rule in dealing with many other similar cases. Also, a public spokesman should take a stand on all those questions where the citizen is afraid to claim his rights, fearing a conflict with the authorities, although he is in the right. The guardian of citizens' rights must be available to everyone, without any stamp duties, because such is his role. Yet, not everyone can depend on his assistance, and this is another obvious fact.

On June 16, Jerzy Jaskiernia, Secretary of PRON's National Council, told RZECZPOSPOLITA, "It comes within the Sejm's duties to take care that laws be consistently implemented that determine the democratization of public life, so that power is with citizen's self government, and tendencies aimed against the rule of law and the legal order are fought, and the legal system is compact and clear to citizens. This is one of the reasons why PRON is for the appointment of the Guardian of Citizens' Rights." The subordination and organizational connection between the guardian and the Sejm is in line with the main constitutional function of the deputies' chamber, i.e., the function of the warranter of the citizens' rights and the supervisor of the administrative apparatus. The appointment of the Sejm Suggestions and Complaints Commission four years ago was the first attempt to encroach upon this difficult ground. The guardian is not going to compete with the Commission. He will be an important supplementary link, reaching the heart of individual matters in order to show what is general and important for the functioning of law, institutions and the morality of the authorities. The Sejm Commission, that consists of deputies who more often than not are not jurists and who are burdened with work in other working groups and with their professional work, is unable to cope with this task.

Everywhere in the world, the ombudsman accounts for his office to Parliament (usually once a year). As a rule, he represents the main political forces of his country, employs able lawyers, and, from time to time, tries the country's institutions in public, on a TV forum. Poland needs all these measures too.

It is of interest that introduction of reforms and democratic order in a state is always accompanied by the appointment of an ombudsman.

It goes without saying that everywhere in the world there are confidential areas, which are off limits. However, these areas are small (limited to military affairs, for example) and this is the pattern to be followed by the Polish guardian of rights. At the moment, a mere 20 types of administrative decisions are subjected to the Administrative Court's control. All the rest evade any outside, non-administrative control.

Poland needs and will always need a guardian of civil rights, because every administration favors red-tape and falls into the rut of routine.

Only someone from outside, endowed with effective power, knowledge and independence can attack these vices effectively. Without these attributes, an advocate of civil rights will be only a decorative paper figure, unworthy of his distinguished affiliations reaching back nearly 200 years, and it would be better then if he were not born at all.

CSO: 2020/220

POLAND

MEDIA CRITICIZED IN YOUTH JOURNAL LETTERS TO EDITOR

Warsaw ITD in Polish No 29, 21 Jul 85 p 2

[Letters from Elzbieta Isakiewicz, Maciej Pawlicki]

[Text] Poor but Proud

The so-called tournaments of the cities, those eventful party-like affairs thought up in the 70's, have come back to television. Now there is a new twist, the tournaments of the communities.

The scenario is still the same. First the contests (such as the hog races, the timed chicken catching, barrel rolling, and so forth), in the intervals enumeration of the achievements and accomplishments of the city, community, and region, then the adding up of points, and then proclamation of the winner, with participation by the local authorities, and speeches, and awarding of prize money, running into the millions, to the city or community judged to be best.

It would not have been altogether too bad if the organizers had treated this unique form of cabaret goodhumoredly, as an ordinary kind of amusement. Unfortunately, they have turned it into a pathetic political spectacle, in the style familiar from the period of success propaganda, only worse now.

It is difficult to think otherwise, when immediately after the hog race a community official speaks up, saying "If we win the active participation of the people, this will be a victory on every front" or "this noble rivalry is a valuable initiative which will give impetus" and so forth. Then follow applause, flowers, and shaking of hands.

Happy people don't have to count their money, but I would nevertheless like to ask the dear inspirers of our parties in the midst of crisis, as an afterthought, how much does it cost to organize these "valuable initiatives" and "unprecedented active participation by the people"?

Elzbieta Isakiewicz

## A Rosy Picture for Once

I think I know already where I will be going on vacation. In ZYCIE WARSZAWY, Aleksander Checko described his impressions of a visit to three Polish prisons.

The following excerpts give the flavor of his report. "Instead of being sent to work, persons with mental disorders undergo occupational therapy in the diagnostic and corrective unit (manual dexterity work). (...) At Lubliniec, half of the prisoners are allowed to write letters without restriction. (...) A minor not yet 18 years old may be visited for 2 hours, with the minor wearing his own clothing rather than the uniform. (...) No fights have been observed for a long time. (...) The afternoon, between 1630 and 2100 hours, is devoted to cultural and educational activities (about 80 percent of the prisoners show a desire to avail themselves of the library of 12,000 books). There are newspapers and magazines, television, or independent recreation in the dormitories. (...) In the exercise yard we find prisoners playing volleyball ... (...) The warden shows the modern equipment of the complex (including its own film library) and states that in the small classes with their tighter discipline the level of learning is higher than outside. (...) The nurses on duty round the clock in the well-equipped dispensary have 20 patients a day. (...) Last year 203 prisoners availed themselves of the five-day passes to which a convict is entitled after he has served one-half of his sentence."

The article continues in the same vein.

After all the slander and hostile libels, we finally have a true picture of the Polish prison system. At the beginning of his report the author writes that he was allowed to "ask any question and request any doors to be opened. Did he select the right doors? Didn't he ask about the tighter discipline, in connection with which he says that he selected precisely the figures given? This is his right. But is he perhaps writing another part of the report after taking off the rose-colored spectacles?"

6115

CSO: 2600/981

POLAND

BRIEFS

BEDNARSKI AT PLOCK PLENUM--PZPR Central Committee secretary Henryk Bednarski attended the 8 August plenum of the Plock Voivodship PZPR Committee in Plock, which discussed the participation of regional party organizations in the Sejm election campaign, as well as the performance of socioeconomic tasks. [Excerpt] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 9 Aug 85 p 2 AU]

UKRAINIAN PEACE GROUP VISITS--At the invitation of the All-Polish Peace Committee, a 30-strong delegation from the Ukrainian Republican Committee for the Defense of Peace, headed by Viktor Kochevskiy, writer and chairman of the Kiev branch of the USSR Union of Writers, visited Poland for several days. During a 6 August meeting at the headquarters of the All-Polish Peace Committee, experience about the activity on both organizations was exchanged. [Summary] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 7 Aug 85 p 2 AU]

MOKRZYSTACZAK MEETS SOCIALIST ATTACHES--On 9 August, PZPR Politburo candidate member and Central Committee secretary Wlodzimierz Mokrzyszczak met with the press attaches of the embassies of the socialist countries, as well as with the Warsaw press, radio, and TV correspondents from these countries, to tell them about the 21st PZPR Plenum and the party's role and tasks in the preparations for the Sejm elections. [Text] [Warsaw TRUBUNA LUDU in Polish 10-11 Aug 85 p 2 AU]

MICHALEK VIEWS BOTANICAL RESEARCH--PZPR Central Committee secretary Zbigniew Michalek acquainted himself with the latest results of research carried out by the Institute for the Cultivation and Acclimatization of Plants in Radzikow near Warsaw on 9 August. He was especially interested in the cultivation of wheat and barley. [Summary] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 10-11 Aug 85 p 2 AU]

SLOVAK FORESTRY MINISTER VISITS--Vladimir Margetin, Slovak minister of forestry and water management, visited Poland from 5 to 9 August at the invitation of Waldemar Kozlowski, Polish minister of forestry and timber industry. He visited the Tatra and Bialowieza National Parks. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 10-11 Aug 85 p 2 AU]

TRYBUNA LUDU-PRAVDA COOPERATION--Boris Averchenko, member of the PRAVDA board and editor of its Socialist Countries Department, who came to Poland as part of the cooperation between TRYBUNA LUDU and PRAVDA, was received on 9 August

by PZPR Politburo member Jozef Czyrek. Also present was TRYBUNA LUDU editor-in-chief Wieslaw Bek. The main topics of the meeting were the Sejm elections and next year's PZPR congress. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 10-11 Aug 85 p 2 AU]

CONTROVERSIAL VIEWS AT GDANSK MEETING--Nothing that concerns us is to be decided without us--this is how one could define the climate of a consultative meeting of the trade union activists of the Gdansk coast with candidates for Sejm deputies. During the debate which lasted several hours there was no shortage of controversial views. The subjects discussed concerned mainly trade, both domestic and international, directed sales [sprzedaz sterowana], and also housing construction problems. [Text] [Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 27 Aug 85 LD]

CZYREK AT LUBLIN MEETING--Speaking at the end of the election meeting at Ryki, J. Czyrek said that the new Sejm would have two important tasks to accomplish: to continue socialist renewal and to accelerate the country's socioeconomic development. Although the development rate we have now achieved can please us when compared with the rate in the past few years, it is still not enough, he stressed, because social needs and ambitions are now much greater. The most grievous crisis we are experiencing is the moral crisis, and this crisis we must overcome with the greatest urgency. The coming Sejm elections and the composition of the new Sejm must be a result of national agreement. [Report on speech by Jozef Czyrek, PZPR Politburo member, Central Committee secretary, and national list candidate for the Sejm, at the election meeting at Ryki, Lublin Voivodship--date not given] [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 26 Aug 85 p 2 AU]

CZYREK AT RZESZOW ELECTION MEETING--One of the dozen or so meetings between voters and candidate Sejm deputies that take place every day throughout Poland was convened in the Rzeszow region, at the Worker's Cultural Center in Mielec. Jozef Czyrek, taking part in the meeting, stressed that a task of the future Sejm will be to broaden the platform of national accord on the basis of the experience of those (?social groups) which have found a formula for mutual tolerance and have managed to undertake the deed of repairing the republic. An important problem, said Jozef Czyrek, is the overcoming of the moral crisis which has affected many groups of society, including the young. [Text] [Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2200 GMT 27 Aug 85 LD]

FATALITIES AT CHEMICAL PLANT EXPLOSION--Three workers were killed instantly, and a fourth died yesterday in hospital, as a result of a gas explosion at a chemical plant at Sarzyna in Rzeszow voivodship. The accident happened last Saturday [31 August] and was caused by excessive accumulation of gas in a chlorobenzene installation. The accident created no danger to the natural environment. [Summary] [Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1005 GMT 2 Sep 85 LD]

SIWICKI AT ELECTION MEETINGS--Army General Florian Siwicki, PZPR Politburo candidate member and minister of national defense, who is a national list candidate for the coming elections to the Sejm, attended the election meeting in Zagan on 20 August and in Szprotawa on 21 August. [Summary] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 22 Aug 85 p 1 AU]

TRYBUNA LUDU PARTY MEETING--The 21 August TRYBUNA LUDU open party meeting devoted to the tasks of party member in the present campaign in connection with the coming elections to the Sejm was attended by Tadeusz Porebski, PZPR Politburo member and Central Committee secretary, who stressed the importance of the meetings between the electorate and the candidates for Sejm deputies and discussed the significance bestowed on such meetings by the new election law. [Summary] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 22 Aug 85 p 2 AU]

NEW MARXIST SOCIO-POLITICAL PERIODICAL--The first issue of the periodical STUDIA SPOLECZNO-POLITYCZNE, which is published by the Academy of Social Sciences, is now on sale. The periodical is a continuation of the periodical ZESZYTY NAUKOWE, which was published by the Higher School of Social Sciences, and will deal with a Marxist analysis of events of the country's socioeconomic and political life. [Summary] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 22 Aug 85 p 4 AU]

MICHALEK TOURS KALISZ REGION--PZPR Central Committee Secretary Zbigniew Michalek toured Kalisz Voivodship on 21 August to study harvesting progress and the results of floods and met with Polish and GDR youngsters doing summer work in agricultural camps. [Summary] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 23 Aug 85 p 2 AU]

CSO: 2600/1040

ROMANIA

CEAUSESCU RECEIVES PAKISTANI ENVOY'S CREDENTIALS

AU071806 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1743 GMT 7 Aug 85

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES 7/8/1985--On Wednesday, August 7, President Nicolae Ceausescu of Romania received in Neptun Ghulam Rabbabi, who presented his credentials as ambassador of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan to Romania.

The interview occasioned an exchange of warm salutes between the presidents of Romania and Pakistan.

In his address, the ambassador highlighted the friendly relations between Pakistan and Romania and underscored that the frequent exchange of top-level visits had made a decisive contribution to the continuous development and strengthening of those fine ties, and stimulated collaboration both bilaterally and in the international arena. The conviction was expressed that the Romanian-Pakistani cooperation would expand even more in future, in the interests of both peoples.

In his address, the Romanian head of state showed in his turn that close links of friendship and productive cooperation developed between Romania and Pakistan, in the spirit of the understandings reached at summit level. At the same time, it was pointed out that Romania worked to further impart a dynamic course to the Romanian-Pakistani ties to boost the two countries' cooperation, especially by intensifying commercial exchanges and cooperation in production, on mutually advantageous, long-term bases, for the benefit of the two peoples.

The address also highlighted the fact that the Romanian people, that is plenarily committed to a broad creative activity, was keenly interested in the promotion of a policy of peace, disarmament, security and independent development, of understanding and collaboration, in the establishment of a new international economic order.

CSO: 2020/221

ROMANIA

CEAUSESCU RECEIVES LESOTHO ENVOY'S CREDENTIALS

AU072027 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1852 GMT 7 Aug 85

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES 07.08.1985--On Wednesday, August 7, Nicolae Ceausescu, president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, received in the resort of Neptun Gerard Phirinyane Khojane [spelling as received], who presented his credentials as ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Kingdom of Lesotho to Romania.

The interview occasioned an exchange of salutes between President Nicolae Ceausescu and Queen Mamohato Seisso [spelling as received].

In the address made by the ambassador it is shown that the links between Lesotho and Romania have followed a positive course in the last few years, thus consolidating the ties between the two countries and expanding the framework of bilateral cooperation. At the same time, the wish is expressed to continuously strengthen the friendship and collaboration between Romania and Lesotho in the interests of both peoples.

In his address, the Romanian head of state shows that fine relations of friendship and collaboration were established between the Socialist Republic of Romania and the Kingdom of Lesotho on the basis of mutual esteem and respect. Furthermore, Romania's determination is reiterated to further strengthen those ties, expand commercial exchanges and economic cooperation, impart an ever richer content to bilateral cooperation.

In the speech it is also pointed out that Socialist Romania carries on abroad international activity working firmly for the cessation of the arms race, for disarmament in the first place, for the establishment of a climate of peace, security and collaboration in Europe and in the world, for the eradication of underdevelopment and the building of a new international economic order. Moreover, it is emphasized that by promoting broad relations with all states Romania has always shown its support to and solidarity with the fight waged by the peoples of Africa for the complete liquidation of colonialism, for the safeguarding and consolidation of their national independence, for their free development on the road of economic and social progress.

CSO: 2020/221

ROMANIA

CEAUSESUCU RECEIVES ICELAND ENVOY'S CREDENTIALS

AU072023 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1857 GMT 7 Aug 85

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES 07.08.1985--Nicolae Ceausescu, president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, received in Neptun on August 7 Pall Asgeir Tryggvason, who presented his credentials as ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Republic of Iceland to Romania.

The interview occasioned an exchange of salutes between Presidents Nicolae Ceausescu and Vigdis Finnbogadottir.

In the address delivered by the ambassador, the fact is highlighted that fine relations exist between Iceland and Romania and the conviction is expressed that the links between the two countries will further expand, that in the years to follow new fields of collaboration in the mutual interest will be found. It is also pointed out that Iceland and Romania share identical viewpoints on various international issues, such as peace, disarmament, the new international economic order.

In the address made by the Romanian head of state the fine ties between Romania and Iceland are highlighted and Romania's resolve is reiterated to more broadly develop them on the economic, technical-scientific and cultural planes, as well as in other areas of activity, in the interests of both peoples, of international understanding and collaboration.

In the address it is emphasized that Romania promotes an active policy of collaboration with all the states of the world, irrespective of social system, works for the cessation of the arms race, of the nuclear arms race in particular, for the achievement of disarmament, for the ensurance of security, cooperation and peace on the European continent and the world over, for the setting of international relations on the principles of full equality of rights, respect for national independence and sovereignty, non-interference in domestic affairs and mutual advantage.

CSO: 2020/221

ROMANIA

DELEGATE ADDRESSES GENEVA NONPROLIFERATION MEETING

AU291900 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1831 GMT 29 Aug 85

[Text] Geneva AGERPRES 29/8/1985--Within the debates of the conference on the examination of the application of the treaty on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons, under way in Geneva, Romania's proposals and actions were presented regarding the imperative of stopping the arms race, the nuclear race in the first place, of passing to disarmament, of guaranteeing the security of the non-nuclear weapon countries against the use and threat of such like weapons, against force in general, of developing a broad international cooperation for the use of atomic energy for peaceful purposes.

The Romanian representative pointed to the particular importance of the conference in the current conditions of high international tension, stressing that by its results this conference should contribute to the intensification of talks, so as to reach effective disarmament accords and to enhance confidence among states. In Romania's outlook, the continuation and unprecedented escalation of the nuclear arms race run counter the pledges taken under the treaty by the nuclear weapon states, the speaker pointed out. The emplacement of medium-range nuclear missiles, of other nuclear missiles in the territory of some European states is incompatible with the obligations assumed under the non-proliferation treaty, with its spirit and goals, all the states party to the treaty, the nuclear ones in particular, being in duty bound to work for halting the location of like weapons, for the withdrawal of the ones in place and Europe's complete freeing of nuclear weapons.

Next, the Romanian chief delegate showed that his country put forward to the conference a draft protocol additional to the treaty concerning the freezing of all nuclear weapons, as a first step towards agreeing on measures to cut them. Romania also advances two draft resolutions containing the insistent appeal launched by the states party to the treaty to work and cooperate for the intensification of talks in various disarmament fora, so as to reach, as soon as possible, significant accords on the problems which make the object of the respective talks, as well as on the non-nuclear weapon countries' right to be given firm guarantees by the nuclear weapon countries that they will never and under no circumstances be the object of use of nuclear weapons or of the threat with this weapon, of the threat of force in general.

Stress was also laid on the need to strictly observe the provisions of the treaty on the unhampered access of all states, of the developing states in

particular, to the technologies for the use of nuclear energy for their economic and social progress. It was shown that any further measure of a nature to restrain states' access to the peaceful use of nuclear energy was contrary to the spirit and letter of the obligations assumed under the treaty.

CSO: 2020/221

ROMANIA

AGERPRES ON SIGNIFICANCE OF 3-6 SEP IYY MEETING

AU291815 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1749 GMT 29 Aug 85

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES 29/8/1985--Over September 3-6, Romania's capital city will be the venue of the World Conference of National Committees for the International Youth Year [IYY] under the general title "The Youth of 2000--Participation, Development, Peace." Initiated by Romania, the event, which falls within official observances, is yet another expression of Bucharest's active participation in the big steps of political responsibility for the youth's present and future taken now when the International Youth Year is marked on all meridians.

Owing to its character, the conference in Romania's capital city is the first of its kind on a world level of national coordinating committees for the IYY or of similar bodies that, over the period elapsed since the proclamation of the young generation's year by the UN, have preoccupied themselves to appropriately prepare and mark this event on a national level. At present, such bodies function virtually in all the states of the world, scoring fruitful results as their activity represents an immediate and rich basis of experience and initiative in approaching the young generation's problems. Therefore it was only natural that representatives of the national committees for the IYY from countries belonging to different socioeconomic and political systems--socialist, developing, non-aligned and developed countries--should meet and exchange information and ideas.

The agenda of the Bucharest conference which is to be also attended by representatives of the UN specialized agencies as well as of non-governmental youth organizations, provides for an approach, in a climate of dialogue, mutual esteem, respect and cooperation, to aspects of the activity carried out by the national committees for the IYY just as to questions related to the youth's role and contribution to promoting development and peace aims.

The theme of the world conference is based on the relationship between the major goals of the IYY and the youth's future status. As the chairman of the UN Advisory Committee for the IYY, Nicolae Ceausescu, noted, it is an incontrovertible truth that, no matter how well the IYY might be prepared and observed, it could not completely and definitively solve the complex aspects of the youth's present status. However, what this year can make is to pave the way for new political actions toward collaboration and effective translation into fact of long-term programmes, plans and strategies regarding the youth.

The Bucharest meeting constitutes a prologue to the November conference sponsored by the United Nations, a forum which, upon Romania's initiative, proclaimed 1985 the International Youth Year with the generous theme "Participation, Development, Peace."

CSO: 2020/221

ROMANIA

AGERPRES GIVES COUNTY PEOPLE'S COUNCILS AGENDA

AU281349 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1208 GMT 28 Aug 85

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES 28/8/1985--The Third Congress of the County People's Councils and of People's Councils' chairmen was called in Bucharest on September 10 under a State Council decree.

Its agenda includes items concerning the enhanced contribution of the local bodies of state power--viz, the People's Councils--to the fulfillment of Romania's socioeconomic development plan for 1985 and of the current five-year plan by territorial units, as well as the attainment of the targets under the 1986-1990 five-year plan.

Special attention will be paid to problems related to the ensurance of economic and financial self-administration and of self-financing in administrative-territorial units which depends directly on the citizens' contribution in cash and work to the completion of operations of a community interest.

A bill on the aforesaid questions was released and submitted for public debate yesterday.

The Congress of the People's Councils to gather on September 10 will also approach aspects of the fulfillment of the investment plan, the building of industrial, farming and sociocultural units, housing construction, the implementation of the programmes for physical planning of urban and rural areas, the organization and unfolding of activities in education, culture, health care, transport, community services and housing administration, the expansion and diversification of services to the population.

A collective, democratic and highly representative forum to manage the activity carried on by the local bodies of state power and administration--as institutionalized through laws--the Congress of the People's Councils is a highly significant event in Romania's political life, in the overall activity carried on for the implementation of the resolutions of the Thirteenth Congress of the RCP, held in November 1984. It is all the more important as within the productive framework created by continuously expanding and improving revolutionary worked democracy in this country the role and powers of People's Councils in running Romania's socioeconomic activities, in mobilizing all citizens to the development and administration of the localities in which they live and work and in the resolution of problems of public interest have enhanced and expanded considerably.

In preparation for the congress, county conferences of deputies to city, town and commune People's Councils will be held during which the tens of thousands of people elected by the community in all the country's localities will meet to analyse with a sense of exigency and responsibility the way in which activities were carried out, as well as the achievements scored on a local plane and to decide on the activities to be undertaken in the period spanning 1986-1990 with a view developing Romanian towns and villages, ensuring economic progress and higher standards of civilization in all areas, raising, upon that basis, the citizens' standard of living.

CSO: 2020/221

ROMANIA

'REALISTIC' VIEW OF EUROPEAN SECURITY, COOPERATION URGED

Bucharest ERA SOCIALISTA in Romanian No 14, 25 Jul 85 pp 31-35

[Article by Romulus Neagu: "A Realistic, Long-Term View of European Security and Cooperation"]

[Text] It is now 10 years since the signing of the Final Document that crowned the work of the participants in the Conference for Security and Cooperation in Europe [CSCE]--a historic moment in European annals. Achieving a lasting security and cooperation on our continent, where many complex problems have been gathering up in the post-war era, where the two military alliances--NATO and the Warsaw Pact--are pitted against each other, and where the most terrible means of human destruction are stockpiled--the nuclear potential in Europe exceeds that of any other part of the world--is one of the priority and most vital problems of international life and of the struggle to preempt a nuclear catastrophe and to safeguard world peace. Thus the great significance of the accords signed in 1975 in Helsinki, which paved the way for establishing in Europe new relations of understanding, cooperation, and peace based on full equality and trust, respect for national independence and sovereignty, noninterference in the internal affairs of other states, nonrecourse to the use and threat of force, and the right of each nation to freely forge their destiny and path of development.

As is known, Romania and President Nicolae Ceausescu have made an important and widely recognized and appreciated contribution to the preparations for and successful proceedings of the Helsinki conference, to working out the Final Act, and then to following up on the process of building security and developing cooperation in Europe. Our country tirelessly worked and continues to consistently work for the implementation of the provisions and commitments stipulated in the Helsinki documents as a unitary whole, for fulfilling the vital aspirations of the European nations for freedom, progress, and peace, and for achieving a lasting and real security in Europe and throughout the world. Stressing the need to do everything possible to develop friendship and cooperation among all the European countries and to forge a united Europe on the basis of respect for the various social systems and for each people's right to freely choose their system without any foreign interference, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu said in his report to the 13th party congress: "We must ensure that Europe--which was instrumental in the creation of the modern civilization--should further contribute to mankind's free development and to

building a superior civilization, designed to secure prosperity, happiness, independence, and peace for all the peoples!"

#### Outlining a New Concept of European Security

Out of the many contributions made by Romania and by Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu to the cause of international peace and security in the period after the ninth party congress, one clearly stands out, and that is the formulation and substantiation of a new, realistic, and long-term concept of European security and cooperation, and political actions designed to implement this basic requirement for all the nations on our continent.

In their theoretical approach to European problems and in the practical actions taken to resolve them, our party and state proceed from Europe's exceedingly important place and role in international life and generally in contemporary social developments, and from the premise that--as proven by historical experience--achieving a climate of peace, understanding, and security on our continent is particularly important for ensuring stability, security, and peace in the entire world.

As is known, the arms race acquired a new scope in the post-war era, and increasingly large military arsenals were built in Europe; military bases were reinforced and foreign armed forces stationed in various countries were increased; problems left unsolved after the war persisted and consistent steps were taken to deepen the division of the continent into military or economic blocs, while militaristic and revanchist forces endeavored to revise the status quo created after the war, threatening in the process peace on the continent and in the world.

In these circumstances, achieving security in Europe, new relations of cooperation among the continent's states, and a climate of trust and peace, had become a primary requirement and a major necessity for detente and peace throughout the world. In point of fact, 20 years ago, in his report to the ninth party congress, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu emphasized the importance of establishing new relations in Europe, and urged united efforts to halt the arms race and achieve disarmament, to unconditionally ban the use of nuclear arms and completely destroy the existing stockpiles, to dismantle all military blocs and military bases, and to withdraw all the troops stationed in other countries, thus eliminating the sequels of World War II on the basis of the recognition of the historical reality of the existence of two German states.

According to the concept of our party and its secretary general, achieving European security requires the resolute establishment of new principles of interstate relations within a multidimensional process affecting political, legal, military, economic, and cultural areas. Highlighting the complexity of the concept of European security, Nicolae Ceausescu stated that this implies "a system of firm commitments on the part of all the states, as well as specific measures capable of excluding the use and threat of force from interstate relations and of providing each country with fully guaranteed protection against any act of aggression."

Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's intensive contacts with both the leaders of the socialist countries--within the Warsaw Pact, too--and of other European countries, the United States, and Canada, opened up the way for asserting the new concept of security and made a major contribution to preparing the conditions for its implementation. In August 1969, at the 10th RCP Congress, the party secretary general stressed: "We must state before the congress that, following numerous contacts and discussions between representatives of the Romanian government and of various European countries, we have come to the conclusion that favorable conditions exist for progress toward European security." Naturally, such progress could only be made with the participation of all the states on the continent and by proceeding from bilateral and group talks to multilateral talks within an all-European conference, and our country made special efforts to organize such a conference. "An all-European conference," Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu stated, "will permit extensive collective debates on the problems of security on the continent, will facilitate solutions to overcome the difficulties in the path of detente, and will occasion positive developments in the international climate in Europe." The idea of convening an all-European conference--first formulated in the 1966 Bucharest declaration on strengthening peace and security in Europe signed at the highest level by the Warsaw Pact member states--gradually rallied the consensus of the other European states, the United States, and Canada.

Concerning the preparations for the conference, there were two major lines of thought: one in favor of restricted discussions, with "representative" bloc participation, and one in favor of the participation of all the states slated to attend the conference. Together with other countries, Romania resolutely spoke out and actively militated for democratically organizing the preparations, on the basis of full equality of rights, with the participation of all the European countries, the United States, and Canada. Consequently, it was agreed that the agenda, the debates, and the adoption of decisions, as well as the conference mandate, should be established in plenum at multilateral consultations, which were held in Dipoli, near Helsinki, between 22 November 1972 and 8 June 1973.

From the very beginning of the preparatory work, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu called attention to the fact that if the objective was indeed to give European security a new meaning, this meaning could not be poured into the old moulds, and thus the democratic organization of the conference was an obligatory condition for attaining the goal of basing interstate relations in Europe on equality. Proceeding from the need to ensure that the Helsinki conference promote the achievement of such relations and truly reflect the positions of all the participating countries, Romania spoke out for planning the proceedings in a new and democratic manner, involving procedures appropriate to the basic objectives of the conference. Thus, the procedural rules, far from being merely the formal aspect of the meeting, became, in our country's concept, the essential element and a decisive point of departure for the efforts to forge a new course in interstate relations in Europe and by extension, throughout the world. On the basis of the Romanian proposals, the Dipoli meeting sanctioned new, democratic rules of negotiations, such as the equal participation of all the states, the adoption of decisions by consensus, the organization of negotiations outside the military alliances, and the principle of rotation for the chairmanship and site of the proceedings.

Within the framework of establishing the principles designed to resolutely underpin the relations among the European states, Romania actively militated to irrevocably replace "the right of might" by "the might of right." In particular, our country insisted that the participating states should assume an obligation not to have recourse to the use or threat of force as a means of resolving international problems in any circumstance of form.

In its definition of the specific principle of nonrecourse to the use and threat of force, the Helsinki Final Act clearly stipulates the commitment of the participating states not to use force or the threat of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of another participating state, and to refrain from any display of force designed to prevent another state from fully exercising its sovereign rights. The Final Act also emphasizes the obligation not to use force or the threat of force to resolve international disputes, and accordingly bans any act of forceful reprisal. Similarly, in its definition of the other principles of interstate relations, the document envisages refraining from any measure of direct or indirect use of force in violation of international law, and refraining from any direct or indirect, individual or collective interference in the domestic or foreign affairs of other states. The document also states that each of the participating states views the borders of all the European states as inviolable. Thus, the imperative duty not to have recourse to the use or threat of force traverses like a red thread all the provisions of the Final Act concerning the principles governing mutual relations among the participating states, and constitutes the cornerstone of the process of achieving security and developing cooperation in Europe.

To the Final Act's principled elaboration of the commitment not to use force Romania added a new dimension by insisting, even at the Dipoli multilateral consultations, that the participating states should also agree on measures capable of making nonrecourse to force effective. This is reflected in the commitment of the participating states "to express, through all means and forms they see fit, the obligation to refrain from the use or threat of force in their mutual relations."

Endeavoring to ensure clear and precise definitions of the conduct commitments of the European states, Romania also made consistent efforts to clearly define measures designed to implement the principles agreed upon in various areas: military, economic, and cultural. Thus, the structure of the Final Act reflects President Nicolae Ceausescu's concept of security and cooperation in Europe. This important document incorporates the declaration on the principles governing the mutual relations among the participating states, and the appropriate measures to be adopted for that purpose. The most prominent place is given to confidence-building and disarmament measures which, as is specified in the document, due to their scope and nature, must "constitute steps toward the final goal of achieving general and total disarmament under a strict and efficient international control and resulting in strengthening peace and security throughout the world." Measures are also envisaged in the areas of economy, science and technology, environmental protection, human contacts, information, culture, and education.

Establishing the principles and guidelines for measures to implement these principles, the Final Act also features the institutional aspects of an organized follow-up of the Helsinki process. On this basis, meetings have been held until now--in Belgrade (1977) and Madrid (1980)--to evaluate and adopt new measures, and the next such meeting is scheduled to be held in Vienna in 1986. In-between these general meetings, many specialized meetings have been taking place; among them, most outstanding due to the importance of its topic, was the Stockholm conference on confidence-building, security, and disarmament measures in Europe.

And thus were rounded up the negotiations on the three major aspects of halting the arms race and beginning disarmament on the continent: first and foremost, nuclear and outer space weapons, which are currently the topic of Soviet-American negotiations in Geneva; secondly, conventional weapons, which are being discussed at the Vienna negotiations on armed forces and arms reductions in Central Europe, and thirdly, the confidence-building and security measures that are on the agenda of the Stockholm conference.

#### A Primary Objective: Resolving Military Problems

So far, the discussions held in Stockholm, Geneva, and Vienna have not brought about any progress along the path mapped out by the Final Act concerning the adoption of efficient measures to reduce military confrontation and promote disarmament. On the contrary, the military situation on the continent has in recent years become more complex, tense, and explosive than ever, following the beginning, in November 1983, of the deployment of new U.S. medium-range missiles in various west European countries, and the implementation of the Soviet nuclear countermeasures.

To his merit, our party secretary general, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, made a profoundly scientific analysis of the situation in Europe and of European and international trends, and, on this basis, he established the ways of forging a Europe of peace, trust, and detente. As is known, Romania and President Nicolae Ceausescu believe that European security cannot be built and the independence, sovereignty, and peace of the European states cannot be ensured unless the military problems are first solved, and unless the arms race--primarily the nuclear arms race--is stopped.

This realistic view of a great practical and political value, which reflects the vital interests of all the peoples, was once again brilliantly expressed in the peace and disarmament initiatives recently presented by Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu at the fora of workers revolutionary democracy, in the Call and Appeal of the Socialist Democracy and Unity Front and in the Peace Appeal adopted by the recent joint plenum of the National Council of Working People and the Supreme Council of Socioeconomic Development, and at the great rallies and meetings of the working people in our country. All these reflect a great sense of responsibility for mankind's present and future and demonstrate the Romanian people's firm determination to contribute with all their might to ensuring peace and security in Europe and in the world.

Our country, which hailed the resumption of negotiations between the USSR and the United States, believes that every possible effort must be made to arrive at genuine and efficient accords between the two states in the area of nuclear and space weapons. Romania is resolutely in favor of halting the deployment of new nuclear arms in Europe, as in the entire world. Our country received with particular satisfaction the USSR's decision to declare a unilateral moratorium on the deployment of its medium-range missiles and to suspend the implementation of other countermeasures in Europe until November 1985, as well as the Soviet Union's proposals on halting all nuclear experiments for the duration of the negotiations. The United States, too, must respond constructively and come up with proposals that can lead to mutually acceptable accords on halting the deployment of nuclear weapons and the militarization of outer space.

At the same time, as Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu recently stated, "We welcome the agreement reached on holding a meeting this fall between the CPSU Central Committee general secretary, Mikhail Gorbachev, and the president of the United States of America, Ronald Reagan, and we hope that all possible efforts will be made for the meeting to fully meet expectations and lead to improved bilateral relations, and, at the same time, pave the way for disarmament and for eliminating nuclear missiles and all mass destruction weapons!"

In particular, as the party secretary general has repeatedly stressed, it is necessary that--aside from the negotiations between the two big nuclear powers--all the NATO and Warsaw Pact member-states must also meet, discuss, and take effective steps, since they also bear major responsibilities in this respect.

The situation has deteriorated so much, and the security interests of each European nation have been so directly and seriously affected by the scope of medium-range missiles, that it is difficult to see how the continent can be freed of the nuclear threat without the efficient participation of all the European states in the negotiations. "We believe," Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu said, "that all the European states are responsible for struggling to save our continent and the world from the danger of a nuclear war."

The countries that expect to have the new nuclear missiles deployed on their territory bear particular responsibility for the fate of their peoples and for peace in Europe and in the world. As is known, the plenum of the National Council of the Socialist Democracy and Unity Front sent an appeal to the USSR, the United States, the states on whose territories the new nuclear missiles are to be deployed, and all the European states to do everything possible to halt the deployment of nuclear missiles in Europe, to prevent an increase in the stockpiles of nuclear medium-range missiles in certain European countries and to begin reducing the existing stockpiles, and to free Europe from all nuclear weapons.

Simultaneously with actions to halt the stockpiling of nuclear weapons and begin nuclear disarmament, Romania believes that agreements must also be concluded on the so-called conventional weapons--more so since, thanks to new technologies, many of these tend to become mass destruction weapons--and on armed forces. Along this line, our country stresses that the Vienna

negotiations on reducing armed forces and armaments in Central Europe must result in an appropriate accord. Both sides have advanced proposals, and were they to be adopted, even in their present form, the military structures in the respective areas would not be affected. The achievement of such accords can, however, contribute to creating the necessary climate for effectively reducing armament stockpiles on the continent.

At the same time, it is important to arrive at an accord at the Stockholm conference on notification of and on limiting the scope of military exercises, to conclude a treaty on nonrecourse to force, and so forth. The success of this stage will permit progress to a second stage, devoted to actual disarmament measures.

In his speech to the plenum of the National Council of the Socialist Democracy and Unity Front, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu launched new and important proposals concerning the adoption and implementation of measures to freeze military expenditures at the level of 1985 and subsequently to reduce them by 5-10 percent yearly, and to reduce armed forces in Europe and on other continents by at least 10 percent; he also stressed the political value of unilateral initiatives by the socialist countries in these areas.

Simultaneously with actions at an all-European level, regional measures must also be taken to delimitate and expand nuclear-free areas, and then to create new such areas until the entire continent is incorporated. Along this line, the efforts made by Romania and by Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu to turn the Balkans into an area of peace and good neighborliness, cooperation and understanding, free of nuclear weapons and foreign military bases, are well known and appreciated. Implementing the Romanian proposal on convening a summit Balkan meeting can be of a decisive importance for arriving at a consensus and launching a process toward the achievement of this objective.

Romania is consistently acting, at many levels, to unite all forces toward defending peace and security in Europe. As is stated in the ardent appeal addressed to the governments and peoples and to all democratic and progressive forces in Europe and in the world by the over 4,000 participants in the joint plenum of the National Council of Working People and the Supreme Council of Socioeconomic Development, "Now, at the 10th anniversary of the Final Act of the Helsinki conference, which paved the way for new relations in Europe, based on full equality, trust, and respect for each country's social system, we address an ardent appeal to all European states and peoples to intensify the struggle for disarmament, detente, and security! We call upon the governments and political forces to work for a united Europe of peace and cooperation, free of missiles and of any nuclear weapons."

#### For a United Europe of Cooperation and Peace

In Romania's and President Nicolae Ceausescu's concept, building a united Europe above and beyond any difference of social system constitutes one of the essential aspects of the concept of European security and cooperation and the culmination of all the efforts to ensure security and develop mansided cooperation on our continent. Forging a united Europe requires relations of friendship and cooperation among all the European countries, based on respect

for the diversity of social systems, for the right of each people to choose the system they wish, without any foreign interference, and for the independence and sovereignty of each state, and on ensuring peace, security, and well-being for the nations of the continent.

The existence of essential differences among countries, due to differences of social system, membership in the two military blocs--NATO and the Warsaw Pact--and in various economic groups such as the Common Market and CEMA, and differences of economic potential and structures, etc., cannot and must not be taken as grounds for dividing Europe and for deepening this division. The objective conditions created especially in the post-war era impose, and at the same time make it possible for what the European countries have in common--their fundamental aspirations for peace, progress, and prosperity--to prevail.

Indeed, as can be seen, after the war the strong relations of mutual dependence among the European countries increased and continue to increase--as is the case throughout the world--and this mutual dependence appears in the most varied areas and forms: political, economic, cultural, scientific-technical, and so forth. It may be said that, while an enormous nuclear potential was being stockpiled in Europe, capable of destroying not only our continent and its millenary civilization, but life on the entire planet, a new type of mutual dependence was emerging: above and beyond all political, social, economic, and other considerations, the European peoples are all and to an equal extent faced with the fundamental problem of our times: to perish in a nuclear holocaust, or to survive by acting in close cooperation to halt the arms race, begin disarmament, and strengthen security and peace. Defending the basic right to life, existence, and peace of all the peoples and nations on the continent and throughout the world constitutes a primary commandment and an essential requirement for the unity of Europe and of all its peoples.

Working for a united Europe, Romania resolutely rejects any tendency and practice designed to deepen the artificial division of the continent, to create tension and instability, and to threaten world peace. At the same time, with equal forcefulness our country rejects "theoretical" fallacies and political attempts to promote the so-called supranationality, theories and practices which, in spite of realities, violate the national interests of the states and ignore their independence and sovereignty. Denouncing both tendencies as opposed to the peoples' fundamental interests, our country militates for the establishment of new relations on the continent, within which each nation can develop freely, in keeping with its wishes and in cooperation with the other nations. "For Europe's present and future," Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu stressed, "it is necessary to develop a stronger unity, a new unity, based on respect for the diversity of social systems, which should proceed from the common objective of ensuring the European peoples' independence, socioeconomic development, well-being, and peace. Only in unity can the European peoples secure a better future, complete freedom, and equality."

In order to build a united Europe of peace and cooperation, it is very important, in Romania's view, to expand economic and scientific-technical cooperation, and collaboration among the countries of the continent in various areas of common interest. Special stress should be put on developing economic

exchanges and cooperation, and about 1/3 of the text of the Final Act deals with provisions along this line. The document calls upon the participating states to intensify their efforts to devise viable solutions to major problems such as raw materials, energy, food, and monetary and financial issues. At Romania's proposal, the Final Act also stated that these matters should be negotiated and resolved so as to lead to the establishment of new relations of fruitful cooperation among the participating states, stable and equitable relations being decisive for the continuous and mansided development of each country. New forms and means of cooperation were envisaged, such as: joint production and marketing, specialized production and marketing, cooperation in building complete industrial installations in exchange for the production thus obtained, and so forth. Great attention was paid to scientific and technical cooperation. The Final Act specifically refers to the fact that there are developing countries in Europe, whose interests and needs must be taken into consideration. It also dwells at length on the need to facilitate exchanges and access to new scientific-technical achievements.

After the CSCE conclusion in Helsinki, the volume of exchanges among the participating states increased rapidly. However, this upsurge was short lived. Instead of conforming with the Final Act commitments, which specifically envisage the obligation of the signatory states "to reduce or progressively eliminate obstacles of any kind from commercial exchanges," the west European countries adopted various protectionist measures--as the international economic crisis was deepening and tension was mounting--particularly quantitative and qualitative restrictions in key sectors such as steel, electronics, cars, textiles, and agricultural produce. Similarly, difficulties were caused by the policy of high interest rates practiced particularly by the United States, financial and credit relations were disrupted, and discriminatory measures were taken out of political considerations. In consequence thereof, the "East-West" exchanges dropped in the 1980-84 period, with negative implications accordingly.

Romania advocated and continues to advocate eliminating obstacles from international trade and seeking ways of intensifying exchanges, such as promoting compensatory trading, solving the specific commercial problems of the European developing countries, and promoting superior forms of cooperation.

The Final Act also envisages cooperation in human interest and other areas, while fully respecting the principles governing the relations among the participating states, as they are formulated in the respective document, with a view to strengthening peace and understanding among the peoples, promoting a better mutual understanding, and building confidence on the continent.

The unprecedented escalation of the war threat, mounting tension, disrupted economic ties, and the international economic crisis have considerably harmed cultural exchanges and the assertion of basic human rights. Primarily and seriously affected was the fundamental right of people and nations to life and existence. At the same time, the right to work was seriously affected in large areas of the continent, in the capitalist countries, where unemployment reached unprecedented levels: 10-20 percent of the labor force. It is undoubtedly difficult to speak of other fundamental rights and freedoms when

people are deprived of the basic right to earn their livelihood. Recently, anxiety was also aroused by the revival of revanchist actions by fascist and neofascist organizations, anticommunist campaigns, poisoning of interstate relations under the veil of "freedom of the press," etc.

Referring to the Helsinki accords, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu said: "It is imperative... to expand cooperation with a view to resolving, in a truly humanitarian spirit, social problems affecting the working and living conditions, the education and culture of the broad masses, and the access of all the inhabitants of the continent to science and technology. It is becoming increasingly necessary to intensify cooperation among the peoples of Europe in fighting harmful phenomena that seriously impair the human condition, such as drugs, violence, pornography, hatred of human lives, and racism which, in the last analysis, lead to moral pollution, particularly of the young generation, to animosity between nations, and to war fostering policies." The European peoples have a supreme obligation to eradicate such harmful phenomena that poison and impair the European and international climate, and to fulfill the aspiration of all honest men and all peoples for a Europe of peace, security, and well-being, a Europe of cooperation and collaboration.

Europe and all humanity are at a decisive point for their destiny and for the future and existence of the continent and of our planet. That is why, as Romania and Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu continuously stress, before it is too late we must resolutely work to preempt a nuclear catastrophe, prevent a new world war, and ensure peace. The great peace and disarmament movement in Europe and on other continents, the progressive and realistic forces, and all the nations of the world acting in close unity can halt the arms race, resume the policy of detente and cooperation, and ensure peace in Europe and in the world.

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CSO:2700/195

ROMANIA

U.S. JEWS PRAISE MINORITY POLICY

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[Editorial Report] Bucharest LUMEA in Romanian No 33 signed to press on 15 August 1985 carries a 2,000-word article by I. Madosa titled "Unforgettable Moments" describing the recent pilgrimage of "an important group of Romanian-born Jews from Brooklyn, New York, to the graves of their parents and brothers massacred by Horthyites in Sighetu Marmatiei, Maramures County, as well as to the monument raised there in the memory of Jewish deportees from these ancient Romanian lands after the odious Vienna Diktat of August 1940."

The author goes on to remind the readers that after that Diktat, "an expression of the fascist policy of plunder and conquest and of the revisionist policy promoted by the most reactionary Axis circles" a large part of Transylvania was ceded to Horthyist Hungary, which established a "regime of terror" in these areas and "deported, according to official data, more than 150,000 Jews to the Auschwitz concentration camps." The author says that the U.S. visitors, led by Rabbi Leopold Teitelbaum, thanked the local authorities for the "warm reception extended to them" and said that they were impressed by "the care shown to the preservation of Jewish cemeteries." The article quotes Rabbi Teitelbaum as saying that "the Jews are treated well in Romania" and that he will continue to work for "the development of relations between Romania and the United States, including the extension of the most favored nation clause granted to our country."

The author then says that the U.S. visitors praised Romania's nationality policy and the fact that Romania's constitution "forbids any kind of religious discrimination." In conclusion, the author quotes a delegation member as saying that he thinks "it is in the interest of the United States to expand all-round cooperation with Romania, now and in the future, too."

CSO: 2020/221

ROMANIA

TELEGRAMS FROM FOREIGN LEADERS FOR 23 AUGUST NATIONAL DAY

Israeli President

AU291022 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 27 Aug 85 p 7

[Text] To His Excellency, Mr Nicolae Ceausescu, president of the SR of Romania

On the occasion of the anniversary of the SR of Romania's National Day, I take pleasure in conveying to Your Excellency, on behalf of the people of the State of Israel and on my behalf, our most sincere greetings and warmest wishes for your happiness and your people's progress and prosperity.

Chaim Herzog, president of the State of Israel

Message From 'Arafat

AU271037 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 25 Aug 85 p 5

[Text] To His Excellency, Brother Nicolae Ceausescu, president of the SR of Romania

On the occasion of your friendly country celebrating its liberation from fascism and the achievement of Romania's independence, I take great pleasure in extending to Your Excellency and through you, to the government and the friendly Romanian people cordial comradely greetings and most sincere friendly congratulations on behalf of the Palestinian Arab people, of the Executive Committee of the Palestine Liberation Organization [PLO], and on my own behalf.

That day, 41 years ago, the heroic Romanian people, under RCP leadership, reasserted its desire for freedom, established its national independence, set the foundation for building a socialist state, and defeated the invading forces of the fascist aggressors, thus proceeding on the road of freedom, progress, and development.

Under your wise leadership, your heroic people and party have progressed on that road and placed in the center of their objectives the achievement of socio-economic progress and development, in accordance with the principles dear to all people and forces who struggle for freedom and independence and against colonialism, imperialism, and racism.

Socialist Romania has always been close to our Palestinian Arab people in their struggle to liberate their land and regain their inalienable national rights, including their right to return and self-determination and to establish their independent state. On this occasion, we express our gratitude and our high appreciation for the support your country gave our people and their just cause and we express our appreciation for the comradely relations of solidarity existing between our peoples and between your government and the PLO, the only legitimate representative of the Palestinian Arab people.

At the same time, we assure you of our particular concern with strengthening and developing these relations for the cause of our common targets and interests, for achieving peace in Palestine and in the Middle East, and for establishing the independent Palestinian state.

In concluding, I would like to extend, once again, to Your Excellency, our warm, friendly greetings and we convey to you cordial and fraternal, comradely greetings and wishes for continuous successes in leading the friendly Romanian people and for them to flourish continuously.

Revolution up to victory!

Yasir 'Arafat, chairman of the Executive Committee of the Palestine Liberation Organization and commander in chief of the Palestinian revolutionary forces.

Mongolian Leader

AU270900 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 25 Aug 85 p 5

[Text] To Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general and president of the SR of Romania.

On behalf of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party Central Committee, of the Presidium of the People's Great Hural of the Mongolian People's Republic, of all our people, and on my own behalf, I extend to you, and through you to the RCP Central Committee, the State Council of the SR of Romania, and to the fraternal Romanian people sincere greetings and best wishes on the 41st anniversary of Romania's liberation from the fascist yoke.

Under the leadership of its vanguard, the RCP, the working people of Socialist Romania, developing cooperation with the Soviet Union and the other fraternal countries, have achieved--in a short historical time--outstanding results in all fields of society. The Mongolian people sincerely rejoice in these achievements of the fraternal Romanian people in their work of building the comprehensively developed socialist society.

I take pleasure in noting with satisfaction that the relations of fraternal friendship and cooperation between our parties, countries, and peoples are developing successfully in accordance with the Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation between the Mongolian People's Republic and the SR of Romania. The Mongolian party and people are firmly determined to continuously develop these relations for the benefit of our peoples and in the interest of the cause of peace and socialism.

On this anniversary I extend to you, esteemed Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, to all Romanian communists, and to all working people in fraternal Romania heartfelt wishes for new achievements in the socialist construction, in the successful implementation of the 13th RCP Congress decisions, and in the struggle for peace and security of nations.

Jambyn Batmon, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party and chairman of the Presidium of the People's Great Hural of the Mongolian People's Republic.

PRC Leaders

AU270817 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 23 Aug 85 p 5

[Chinese leaders' message to Romanian counterparts on Romania National Day]

[Text] To Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general, president of the SR of Romania, and president of the State Council of the SR of Romania; and Comrade Constantin Dascalescu, prime minister of the government of the SR of Romania.

On the 41st anniversary of the victory of the anti-imperialist and antifascist revolution for social and national liberation of Romania, we want to extend warmest holiday congratulations to you, the RCP, and the Romanian government and people on behalf of the RCP and the Chinese government and people.

The 23 August 1944 armed insurrection led by the RCP, which overthrew the fascist-military dictatorship and the reactionary bourgeois-landowner domination turned a new page in Romania's history and made an important contribution to the victory of the world antifascist war.

During the more than 40 years Romania's image has changed radically, especially in the wake of the Ninth RCP Congress, a period in which the Romanian people under the leadership of the RCP headed by Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, registered noteworthy achievements in all areas of socialist construction. Today Romania is a socialist country with a powerful industry and a modern agriculture. In unswervingly promoting an independent foreign policy, Romania is making sustained efforts to defend just principles in interstate relations and to actively develop relations of friendship with 11 countries thus playing an increasingly important role in the struggle against the arms race and for safeguarding peace in Europe and throughout the world. The Chinese people wholeheartedly wish the Romanian people success in constantly winning greater victories in implementing the great program drafted by the 13th RCP Congress.

We note with satisfaction that in past years relations between our two parties, countries, and peoples have become even closer and that deep friendship and many-sided cooperation between China and Romania have constantly developed. Relations of friendship and cooperation between China and Romania have been subjected to the trials of the vortex of history and thus the strengthening and constant development of these relations are not only in keeping with the basic interests of the two peoples, but also benefit the cause of progress and peace

in the world. The Chinese people will continue, as up to now, their own efforts to constantly develop stable many-sided relations of friendship and cooperation between China and Romania.

We wish the SR of Romania prosperity and the Romanian people a flourishing and happy life.

Hu Yagobang, CPC Central Committee general secretary; Li Xiannian, PRC president; Peng Zhen, chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress of the PRC; and Zhao Ziyang, premier of the PRC State Council.

SFRY's LCY President

AU271407 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 25 Aug 85 p 5

[Text] To Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general and president of the SR of Romania

Esteemed Comrade Ceausescu,

On the occasion of the National Day of the SR of Romania, I extend to you, the RCP Central Committee, all communists, and all the working people in Romania cordial greetings and best wishes for the continuous and successful development of your country toward prosperity.

I take this opportunity to express my satisfaction with the successful development of the relations and cooperation between the LCY and the RCP and between our neighboring socialist countries and I wish for the continuous and successful development of these relations and for further deepening friendship between the Yugoslav peoples and nationalities and the Romanian people.

Vidoje Zarkovicgn, president of the Presidium of the LCY Central Committee

Al-Q-adhdhafi Message

AU271001 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 23 Aug 85 p 5

[Text] To His Excellency Nicolae Ceausescu, president of the SR of Romania

On the anniversary of the victory of your friendly country's revolution for national liberation, I take pleasure in extending most sincere congratulations and wishes for good health and happiness on my own behalf and on behalf of the people of the Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriyah. I wish the Romanian people progress and prosperity.

Colonel Mu'ammarr al-Qadhdhafi, leader of the 1 September Great Revolution

Albanian Government Leaders

AU271029 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 25 Aug 85 p 5

[Text] To Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, president of the SR of Romania and to Comrade Constantil Dascalescu, prime minister of the government of the SR of Romania

The celebration of the National Day of the SR of Romania gives us the opportunity to extend to you sincere greetings and best wishes for happiness and prosperity to the Romanian people on behalf of the Albanian people, the Presidium of the People's Assembly, the Council of Ministers of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, and on our own behalf.

We express our belief that the traditional relations of friendship between our peoples will continuously develop.

Ramiz Alia, chairman of the Presidium of the People's Assembly of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania,

Adil Carcani, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania.

Kim Il-song Message

AU270913 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 23 Aug 85 p 5

[Text] To Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general and president of the SR of Romania

The 41st anniversary of the victory of the antifascist and anti-imperialist revolution for social and national liberation of Romania affords me the opportunity to extend warmest congratulations and fraternal greetings to you, a close friend, the RCP Central Committee, the government of the SR of Romania, and to the Romanian people on behalf of the Central Committee of the Workers Party of Korea [WPK], the DPRK government, the Korean people, and on my own behalf.

After the victory of the antifascist and anti-imperialist revolution for social and national liberation, the Romanian people--as genuine masters of their destiny--firmly exercised their political power in the state and in society and carried out an energetic struggle aimed at the country's independent development and at building a new life.

At this point--under the correct leadership of the RCP headed by yourself--the Romanian people have turned the country into an industrial-agrarian country with a powerful modern industry and a socialist agriculture that is undergoing a many-sided development.

Our people sincerely rejoice at the excellent achievements registered by Romania in all socioeconomic areas and they express their firm solidarity with your efforts aimed at ensuring peace and security in Europe and throughout the world.

I am sure that the traditional relations of friendship and cooperation between our parties, countries, and peoples will continue to deepen and develop in the spirit of understandings concluded during the meetings and talks we had last year in Bucharest.

I want to take this opportunity to extend sincere wishes for great successes to you and the Romanian people in the construction of the comprehensively developed socialist society and Romania's advance toward communism in the spirit of the 13th RCP Congress decisions.

Kim Il-song, WPK Central Committee general secretary and DPRK president

Bulgarian Leaders

AU261103 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 23 Aug 85 pp 1-2

[Text] Todor Zhivkov, BCP Central Committee general secretary and State Council chairman, and Grisha Filipov, Council of Ministers chairman, have sent the following message to Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general and SR of Romania president, and Constantin Dascalu, premier of the Romanian government:

Esteemed Comrades:

On behalf of the BCP Central Committee, the State Council and Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, the Bulgarian people, and on our personal behalf, we send you, the RCP Central Committee, the State Council and government of the SR of Romania, and the fraternal Romanian people most cordial greetings and best wishes on the national holiday of the SR of Romania.

As a result of the armed uprising conducted under RCP leadership in the context of the victorious advance of the Soviet army and the crushing defeat of the Hitlerite troops during the Iasy-Kishinev operation, the regime of the military-fascist dictatorship was toppled, and the road of the Romanian people toward constructing socialism was unveiled. Joining the struggle against Hitlerite-fascism alongside the Soviet army, the Romanian troops contributed to the final victory over Hitlerite Germany, a historic victory whose 40th anniversary was festively marked by all of progressive mankind.

During the 41 years since the liberation of the country from the fascist yoke, the Romanian working people have accomplished deep political and socioeconomic transformations. Relying on the friendship and close cooperation with the USSR and the other fraternal socialist countries and acting under RCP leadership, Romania turned into an industrial-agrarian state with a modern and powerful industry and developed socialist agriculture. We sincerely rejoice at the remarkable successes reached by fraternal Romania in constructing the comprehensively developed socialist society.

We are convinced that in the future the relations of friendship and cooperation existing between our parties, countries, and peoples will continue to develop and strengthen on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and socialist internationalism.

In the current tense international situation, caused by the aggressive course of U.S. imperialism and NATO, the People's Republic of Bulgaria and the SR of Romania are making efforts to further strengthen the unity of the fraternal socialist countries, expand their cooperation in the world arena, protect peace, and prevent nuclear catastrophe.

Dear Comrades, please accept our sincere wishes for new and even greater successes in socialist construction, for implementing the decisions of the 13th RCP Congress, to the benefit of the friendly Romanian people, and in the interest of the cause of peace and socialism in Europe and the world.

#### Castro Message

AU271038 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 25 Aug 85 p 5

[Text] To Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general and president of the SR of Romania

To Comrade Constantin Dascalescu, prime minister of the government of the SR of Romania

On the occasion of the 41st anniversary of Romania's liberation, we convey to you our greetings on behalf of the people, the communist party, and the government of the Republic of Cuba.

We learn with satisfaction of the achievements attained by the Romanian people in building and consolidating socialism and in the struggle for peace and we wish you new successes in fulfilling the tasks set forward by the 13th RCP Congress for greater well-being and the happiness of the people.

This anniversary takes place under the circumstances of a tense international situation, as a result of the aggressive, imperialist policy. The socialist countries and the progressive forces continue their ceaseless struggle for safeguarding peace and implementing socioeconomic progress.

We are convinced that the continuously ascending course of the relations of cooperation and collaboration between Cuba and Romania will continue to deepen in the interest of understanding and friendship between the two nations.

Reiterating our highest appreciation and regards, I wish you success in fulfilling your highly important responsibilities.

With best wishes for health and personal happiness

Fidel Castro Ruz, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Cuba and president of the Councils of State and of Ministers of the Republic of Cuba.

CSO: 2700/209

ROMANIA

BRIEFS

ROMANIAN-SOVIET FRIENDSHIP MEETING--Bucharest, AGERPRES 6/8/1985--Marking the anniversary of forty years since diplomatic ties between Romania and the USSR were re-established, the executive on the Romanian Foreign Affairs Ministry sponsored a friendly meeting attended by the Soviet ambassador, as well as by members of his embassy in Bucharest. On the occasion, a similar event was arranged by the executive of the USSR Foreign Ministry for the Romanian ambassador and members of the Romanian embassy in Moscow. Marking the event, the Romanian-Soviet Union Friendship Association screened a film for the member of the Soviet embassy in Romania. Attending were also representatives of the Romanian Foreign Ministry, and members of the association's Management Council. The Soviet Union-Romania Friendship Association staged a similar event in Moscow. [Text] [Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1812 GMT 6 Aug 85 AU]

MESSAGE TO MOROCCO'S ALI YALTA--To Comrade Ali Yalta, general secretary of the Party of Progress and Socialism of Morocco: Dear Comrade Ali Yalta, Your 65th birthday offers me the pleasant opportunity to extend to you, on behalf of the RCP Central Committee and myself personally, friendly greetings and best wishes for health and happiness. The Romanian communists, inspired by profound sentiments of militant solidarity, follow with lively interest the activity carried out by your party and yourself personally--a long-standing militant and leader of the party--to defend the interests of the Moroccan working people and nation and for social progress, democracy, socialism, and peace. I express the conviction that the good relations between our parties will continue to expand and develop, to the benefit of strengthening and broadening the cooperation between our peoples and countries and in the interest of international cooperation and understanding and the cause of socialism and peace in the world. Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general. [Text] [Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 25 Aug 85 p 6 AU]

DEPARTING ARAB ENVOYS RECEIVED--Bucharest AGERPRES 28/8/1985--President Nicolae Ceausescu of the Socialist Republic of Romania received on Wednesday, August 28, Ali Kassim al-Mansour, ambassador of the Yemen Arab Republic in Bucharest, on a farewell call at the end of his mission in Romania. A talk was held on the occasion which passed in a cordial atmosphere. On August 28, the President of the Socialist Republic of Romania, Nicolae Ceausescu, received on a farewell call Moroccan Ambassador Mohamed Toufik Kabaj on ending his mission in Romania. A talk was conducted the atmosphere of which was cordial. On Wednesday, August 28, President Nicolae Ceausescu of the Socialist Republic of Romania

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received on a farewell call the ambassador of the Republic of Iraq in Bucharest, Badri K. al-Galgawi [spelling as received] at the end of his mission in Romania. The talk on the occasion proceeded in a cordial atmosphere. [Text] [Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1639 GMT 28 Aug 85 AU]

FRG EMBASSY RECEPTION--Bucharest AGERPRES 28/8/1985--Marking the West German parliamentary delegation's visit to Romania, the Ambassador of the Federal Republic of Germany in Bucharest, Hartmit Wolfgang Schulze-Boysen, gave a reception. Attending were Nicolae Giosan, chairman of the grand national assembly, deputies, executives of ministries and central institution of Romania, other officials. [Text] [Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1854 GMT 28 Aug 85 AU]

MINISTER MEETS FRG PARLIAMENTARIANS--Bucharest parliamentary delegation, led by Heinz Westphal, had an interview, on August 28, with Alexandru Rosu, minister, secretary of state at the Ministry of Foreign Trade and International Economic Cooperation, with executives of the Council of Working People of German Nationality and with executives of the Union of Communist Youth, the Union of Student Communist Associations and of the National Council of the Young Pioneers' Organization. [Text] [Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1544 GMT 28 Aug 85 AU]

CHINESE DIPLOMAT PARTY--Bucharest AGERPRES 30/7/85--On the 58th anniversary of the Chinese People's Liberation Army, Shi Shangwen, [spelling as received] military, Air and Naval attache to the Bucharest Embassy of the People's Republic of China, gave a cocktail party on July 30. The guests included Lieutenant General Victor Stanculescu, Romanian First Deputy Minister of National Defence, Ion Popescu Puturi, chairman of the Romanian-Chinese Friendship Association, executives of ministries and central institutions, men of culture and art, generals and high-ranking officers, journalists. Military, air and naval attaches of other countries in Bucharest were present. [Text] [Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1915 GMT 30 Jul 85 AU]

CEAUSESCU GREETs PERUVIAN CP LEADER--To Comrade Jorge del Prado, general secretary of the Peruvian Communist Party [PCP], Esteemed Comrade Jorge del Prado, On your birthday I have great pleasure in extending to you warmest congratulations and wishes for long life and new successes at the head of the PCP in meeting the aspirations for freedom and well-being of the Peruvian working people. I take this opportunity to express satisfaction at the good relations of mutual esteem and regard and active solidarity between our parties, and the conviction that they will continue to register an upward course, to the benefit of both our parties, peoples, and countries and in the interest of the cause of peace and cooperation in the world. Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general. [Text] [Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 15 Aug 85 p 5 AU]

MONGOLIA'S BATHMONH THANKS CEAUSESCU--To Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general and president of the SR of Romania, On behalf of the MPRP Central Committee, the People's Great Hural Presidium of the Mongolian People's Republic, all the Mongolian people, and myself personally, I sincerely thank you and through you the RCP Central Committee, the State Council of the SR of Romania, and the fraternal Romanian people for the comradely congratulations and best wishes extended to us on the 64th anniversary of the victory of the Mongolian

people's revolution. I take this opportunity to share your conviction that relations of fraternal friendship and cooperation between our parties, countries, and peoples will further develop and expand, on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and socialist internationalism and in the spirit of the high ideals of the Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation between our countries signed in 1983. I wish you, the Romanian communists, and the fraternal Romanian people new successes in implementing the decisions of the 13th RCP Congress and in the struggle for lasting peace and security in Europe and throughout the world. Jambyn Batmonh, general secretary of the MPRP Central Committee and chairman of the Presidium of the People's Great Hural of the Mongolian People's Republic. [Text] [Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 23 Aug 85 p 4 AU]

ISRAELI ENVOY DEPARTS--Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, president of the SR of Romania, received the farewell call of Tzvi Brosh, Israel's ambassador to Bucharest, in connection with the conclusion of the latter's mission in our country. The sides conducted a talk which proceeded in a cordial atmosphere. [Text] [Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1900 GMT 17 Aug 85 AU]

RECEPTION AT ISRAELI EMBASSY--On ending his mission in our country, Israeli Ambassador Zvi Brosh gave a cocktail reception in Bucharest. Constantin Oancea, deputy foreign minister, representatives of other ministries and central institutions, men of science and culture attended the cocktail reception. Also in attendance were heads of diplomatic missions to our country and members of the diplomatic corps. [Text] [Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 17 Aug 85 p 5 AU]

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