

084098

JPRS-EPS-85-009

17 January 1985

19981112 086

# East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

**DTIC QUALITY INSPECTED 8**

**FBIS**

FOREIGN BROADCAST INFORMATION SERVICE

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

6  
110  
A06

#### NOTE

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

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

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

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

#### PROCUREMENT OF PUBLICATIONS

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

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

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

17 January 1985

## EAST EUROPE REPORT

### POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

### CONTENTS

#### CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Prague Commentary Rails Against Reagan's Arms Policy (Antonin Kostka; Prague Domestic Service, 23 Dec 84).....	1
Prague Views U.S. 'Unclear Attitude' to Shultz-Gromyko Talks (Prague Domestic Service, 27 Dec 84).....	4
Prague Commentator on Significance of Genscher Visit (Prague Domestic Service, 21 Dec 84).....	5
CPCZ's Fojtik Addresses Media Workers (Prague Domestic Service, 27 Dec 84).....	7
Taking Stock of Peace Movement Activities in 1984 (PRAVDA, 20 Dec 84).....	8
Planning Official Interviewed on System Changes (Vladimir Cechlovsky; RUDE PRAVO, 17 Dec 84).....	9
Paper Reports New CSSR 'Charter 77' Document (KURIER, 27 Dec 84).....	10
Karlovy Vary Clergy Consultation Ends (RUDE PRAVO, 14 Dec 84).....	12
Vatican City Reports Arrests on Religious Charges in CSSR (Vatican City International Service, 12 Dec 84).....	13
Colotka Praises Stance of Slovak Catholic Church (Prague Domestic Service, 19 Dec 84).....	14

CSSR Theology Students Reportedly Expelled (Vatican City International Service, 12 Dec 84).....	15
'Temporary' Tourism Drop Blamed on Bloc Countries' Regulation (PRAVDA, 14 Dec 84).....	16
Slovak Party Lecturers Analyze 'Antisocial Phenomena' (Theodor Hudecek; PRAVDA, 19 Dec 84).....	18
Briefs	
Foreign Data Base Center	19
GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC	
Minister Stresses Expanding Relations as Assurance for Peace (O. Fischer; NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 24/25 Nov 84).....	20
Army Enhances Training of Students, Women (East Berlin Domestic Service, 5 Dec 84).....	25
HUNGARY	
Istvan Bibó: Thinker, Politician (Tibor Huszar; VALOSAG, No 9, Sep 84).....	28
Regime Tackles Justification of 40 Year Communist History (ESTI HIRLAP, 10 Dec 84; MAGYAR HIRLAP, 30 Nov 84).....	55
Top Level 3-Day Conference Historical Ignorance of Youth, Editorial	
POLAND	
NOWE DROGI Views CPSU's Socialist Experience (Jerzy Kraszewski; NOWE DROGI, No 11, Nov 84).....	57
Miodowicz Confers With WFTU in CSSR (TRYBUNA LUDU, 22/23 Dec 84).....	70
Glemp Criticizes Polish Defectors in Christmas Letter (Vatican City International Service, 14 Dec 84).....	71
Bishop Praises Popieluszko, Condemns Murder (Vatican City International Service, 27 Dec 84).....	72
Bishop Jaworski Addresses Wloszczowa Protestors (Vatican City International Service, 19 Dec 84).....	73
Walesa Interviewed on Polish Situation (MAINICHI SHIMBUN, 18 Dec 84).....	75

Poll Expert Interviewed on Public Attitudes to Government (Stanislaw Kwiatkowski Interview; Warsaw Domestic Service, 30 Dec 84).....	77
Newsmen Quiz Urban on Topical Political Issues (RZECZPOSPOLITA, 23 Nov 84).....	79
'Opposition' Scorned for Ideological, Organizational Stand (Jan Rem; TU I TERAZ, 12 Dec 84).....	87
Briefs	
New Internal Affairs Undersecretary	91

ROMANIA

Ceausescu Chairs Political Executive Committee Meeting (Bucharest Domestic Service, 25 Dec 84).....	92
Press Article Warns Against 'Neonazi Revival' (Bazil Stefan; ROMANIA LIBERA, 21 Dec 84).....	94
Andrei, Bobu Conduct Talks in USSR 27-28 Dec (Bucharest Domestic Service, 28 Dec 84).....	96
Briefs	
Higher Political Council Plenum	97

YUGOSLAVIA

Serbian LC Commission Sees Enemies Getting Stronger (BORBA, 20 Dec 84).....	98
General Criticizes Press for Denigrating Army (BORBA, 21 Dec 84).....	100
Army Speaker on Political System, Self-Management (BORBA, 24 Dec 84).....	102
BORBA Carries Articles on Political System Analysis (Dragan Bartolovic, et al.; BORBA, 8-9 Dec 84).....	104

## PRAGUE COMMENTARY RAILS AGAINST REAGAN'S ARMS POLICY

LD231447 Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 0830 GMT 23 Dec 84

[Foreign political commentary by Antonin Kostka]

[Text] Ronald Reagan it seems has an exceptional sense for morbid cynicism. If he concerned himself with literature he could create some original and shocking works. To the misfortune and detriment of all, however, he is the president of the most powerful capitalist state, so the expressions of this morbid cynicism have drastic and dangerous consequences for the whole world. The man who on the Hiroshima anniversary of atomic destruction signed a directive to commence a series production of the neutron bomb and who last year instead of Christmas trees ordered the setting up of new nuclear first strike missiles in American bases in Western Europe keeps to his habits this year as well.

The week before Christmas, the biggest American arms concerns were sent orders for new weapons, including chemical ones and those for space. Congress discussed the long term plan MX project which assumes that the original limit for these new first strike missiles will be raised from 100 to 230. So with the ten individual nuclear war heads in each missile it represents an increase in the American attack arsenal by another 2,300 nuclear missiles. Finally, at his last news conference and on other occasions the president again spoke about full verifiability in connection with future talks about disarmament. In all these cases, it is a surreptitious blow below the belt to hopes for the new spirit and significant change in the disarmament talks which are connected with the forthcoming meeting of the USSR-U.S. foreign ministers in Geneva.

The order for first space weapons, seen against the backdrop of Wednesday's statement by the Defense Secretary Weinberger that the Pentagon under no circumstances intends to back down from plans for space defense, totally questions U.S. willingness to agree on measures for the aversion of the militarization of peace. Because precisely this is the basic prerequisite to end the arms race at all, a real threat to the overall disarmament effort emerges from this attitude, all the more because the deployment of the American first strike nuclear missiles in West Europe continues, and in recent days the intention to place a permanent spy satellite over the eastern Soviet Union was announced. In the same way the mentioned increase in strategic MX missiles does not point to a willingness for disarmament; even less so the full

verifiability requirement on which all talks which Washington is not interested in concluding successfully could flounder--as many times in the past--especially if disarmament talks continue to drag on a long time without result, because arms technology everyday increases its lead over verification.

In order to neutralize a little the unfavorable impression made on the public by such behaviour by President Reagan, the members of the team concerned with his publicity and good reputation are releasing different variations of two theories into circulations. First, the creation of a space defensive shield will, they say, detract from the deterrent force of nuclear arms and will question the whole point of nuclear arms; and second, in realizing his peaceful intentions, Reagan cannot lose sight of the fact that he was elected on the basis of his hard stand and was thus given the mandate by the nation for a policy of peace from a position of strength. The first theory cannot stand up to scrutiny as soon as we ask, why didn't Reagan begin with this magical recipe to remove nuclear arms immediately after his appointment; why did he first have to deploy new nuclear missile weapons in Europe; why did he have to create the MX attack system; why did the submarines rearm with Trident-2 missiles; what are the planned 4,000 cruise missiles and all the other first strike measures meant for? As far as the nation's mandate for hardness is concerned, the demagoguery is even clearer in this case. Reagan was voted for by less than a third of the eligible electorate, so what kind of mandate is that.

No! No similar obvious tricks can change anything about the fact that this Christmas the nations not only did not receive anything encouraging from Washington, but on the contrary the week before Christmas were presented with actions and facts with morbid cynicism which can only worsen the already too dangerous international situation and only increase the threat to the world. And those who under the reconciliatory influence of the Christmas holidays may be willing to exercise tolerance, must be reminded that it is not a matter of isolated actions and attitudes, somehow out of line at the festive time. The best example is the recently concluded session of UNGA. Over 70 of the resolutions which it adopted concern certain aspects of disarmament, control of military activity, strengthening of international security and trust, the development of equal cooperation between nations in the interest of peace. In half the cases the United States abstained from voting. On 26 resolutions connected with disarmament, they were opposed along with their allies, and 10 times remained practically alone in their dismissive attitude. Against a freeze on nuclear arsenals, against the peaceful use of space, against stopping all nuclear tests, against a ban on chemical weapons, even against the right of nations for a life in peace, that was the attitude of the United States at the UNGA session which just ended. Against understanding, against lowering the number of men and arms, against a freeze of military budgets, against the pledge not to use nuclear arms first, against the removal of chemical weapons from Europe--that was the U.S. attitude at the Vienna talks between NATO and the Warsaw Pact and at the Stockholm Conference on Confidence-Building Measures and Security and Disarmament in Europe at a time when they announced their Christmas and New Year break. Against peace and nations, that was the U.S. attitude at all other international fora, in all areas of diplomatic life, in all regions of the world.

"Peace and goodwill to all men" the traditional Christmas message can be heard through the chasm of time. Tomorrow when families gather around the Christmas trees in the various towns of the planet, President Reagan and all those whose policy he embodies will certainly not be among those who can contemplate this message with a clear conscience.

CSO: 2400/185

## PRAGUE VIEWS U.S. 'UNCLEAR ATTITUDE' TO SHULTZ-GROMYKO TALKS

LD272125 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1730 GMT 27 Dec 84

[Text] In the last few days information has appeared in the United States that Ronald Reagan's government does not approach the talks with the Soviet Union with the intention of reaching an agreement. Our correspondent in New York, Michel Stasz, reports:

[Stasz] In the last few days the American government has more than once been criticized for its unclear attitude to the talks between the foreign ministers of the Soviet Union and the United States at the beginning of January in Geneva. The American public and American allies are being given various perspectives from the White House but Defense Secretary Weinberger is on the whole completely negative. As the latest issue of the weekly NEWSWEEK writes, Weinberger refused to include the question of arming in space in the prepared talks which even in the United States is considered as a serious obstacle to achieving any agreement with the Soviet Union. According to the weekly the representatives of the Pentagon even quietly assure the reactionary Republican Members of Congress that the present round of disarmament talks is doomed to failure. Peaceful and progressive circles are particularly alarmed by such an attitude of the American government. As the secretary of the American Peace Council, Meyerson, declared, if the government is not prepared to talk about arming in space, why is it going to Geneva. The chairman of the Institute for Security and Cooperation in Space (Carol Rawfin), also criticized the government for not making use of the opportunity to stop the arms race which has just appeared. If it does not do so, she said, the United States is not only playing with an unimaginably expensive round of the arms race but also with the danger of an accidental outbreak of nuclear war.

Reagan's government appears to be determined to do exactly what the world fears. To appease the public it will send Shultz to talks in Geneva and meanwhile it will continue undisturbed in its preparations for the greatest rearmament ever experienced by man.

CSO: 2400/185

## PRAGUE COMMENTATOR ON SIGNIFICANCE OF GENSCHER VISIT

LD220345 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1730 GMT 21 Dec 84

[Text] Frantisek Vonderka has written the following commentary on the results of the talks in Czechoslovakia of Hans-Dietrich Genscher, minister of foreign affairs and vice-chancellor of the German Federal Republic.

In the course of the official visit to Czechoslovakia of Hans-Dietrich Genscher words about the necessity for a dialogue between the East and the West were heard from both sides many times. It was stressed that such a dialogue between states with different social systems is of enormous importance, especially now when the international situation is not at its best. And it is from this very angle that one also has to see mutual relations between Czechoslovakia and the Federal Republic. This is because so long as these relations are developing favorably they can to a considerable extent contribute to the improvement of the international climate.

During the talks both sides underlined that they are interested in such development. There is a whole number of possibilities. They are offering themselves on the political plane; in the sphere of the economy there exist the possibility and to certain degree a necessity for cooperation in tackling environmental problems. A great deal can also be done in the field of culture, sciences or sports. Czechoslovakia has not only been always drawing attention to such possibilities but has also been putting forward concrete proposals to translate what the Bonn foreign minister described in the course of his press conference as the creation of good neighborly relations into everyday practice.

Hans-Dietrich Genscher was able to convince himself of this during his talks with the highest Czechoslovak representatives. This enduring Czechoslovak endeavor to have good relations with the Federal Republic proceeds at the same time, from the knowledge that such a process is not only beneficial to both countries but it can also have a favorable impact in a far greater context.

If it however applies that relations between Czechoslovakia and the Federal Republic can influence favorably the overall international climate than on the other side it remains the fact that these contacts cannot be seen separately from the overall context of East-West relations. The German Federal Republic and Czechoslovakia are members of opposing military and political groupings.

It is a known fact that NATO, of which the Federal Republic is a member, despite all the declarations about its willingness to engage in talks, continues in its dangerous course of arms build up. Although Hans-Dietrich Genscher spoke in Prague about hopes the Bonn government places in the coming meeting in Geneva between the United States and the Soviet foreign ministers, he did not however say anything about how the West intends to proceed to ensure that this dialogue is truly constructive. Instead he repeated NATO's unrealistic stands. He rejected the idea of a moratorium for nuclear arms in Europe and stressed that Bonn intends to continue in the deployment of the Pershing 2 and cruise missiles in the territory of the Federal Republic. At the same time it is these very first strike weapons that are a tangible manifestation of NATO's attempts to gain military superiority over the Warsaw Pact countries. Such a NATO policy is the cause of the dangerous worsening relations between East and the West. Hans-Dietrich Genscher stayed silent on this fact.

He also rejected as without evidence the concern the revival of revanchism in the Federal Republic causes among Federal Republic's eastern neighbors. At the same time the clamor of those who refuse to learn, like the feverish arms build up, is poisoning international relations.

Although no one is making illusions about the possibilities of the Federal Republic in determining NATO's line, Bonn, on the other side, has after all, a certain amount of scope to place itself in the path of certain negative phenomena, and a number of matters, such as, for instance, the suppression of revanchism, lies directly within the competence of Helmut Kohl's government. It is a sure thing that if the Federal Republic made use of its possibilities, if it worked toward NATO pursuing a more realistic policy, it would then lead to the easing of international tension and logically also to making conditions for the development of relations between the Federal Republic and Czechoslovakia more favorable than they are today.

CSO: 2400/185

## CPCZ'S FOJTIK ADDRESSES MEDIA WORKERS

LD271514 Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 1400 GMT 27 Dec 84

[Text] The traditional friendly meeting with leading employees of the press, radio, television, editing, and publishing organizations was organized in Prague today by the Federal Office for Press and Information. Present at the meeting were Jan Fojtik, candidate member of the presidium and secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee; Zdenek Horeni, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Secretariat and chief editor of RUDE PRAVO; Otto Cmolik, head of a department of the party's Central Committee; and other officials.

Comrade Jan Fojtik assessed the main tasks of ideological work and propaganda in 1985 which is the 40th anniversary of the culmination of the national liberation struggle of our people and the liberation of our country by the Soviet Army, the year in which the efforts of the working people for successful fulfillment of the tasks of the Seventh 5-Year Plan will culminate and in which preparations for the 17th Party Congress will begin. He stressed the need for increasing the efficiency of ideological work and its organic union with the political organizational activity of the Communist Party. He emphasized the responsibility of the mass communication media for increasing the readiness and efficiency of internal and external political information so that they may help in a more significant manner in the formation of socialist conviction of man and his attitude to life.

In conclusion, Comrade Jan Fojtik thanked the employees of press, radio, television, editing, and publishing offices, polygraphy and communications for the work in the past year and wished them creative strength and successes in their activity in strengthening the positions of socialism, peace, and social progress in the world.

CSO: 2400/185

TAKING STOCK OF PEACE MOVEMENT ACTIVITIES IN 1984

AU211434 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 20 Dec 84 p 2

[CTK report: "To East Tension in the World; Balance of the Czechoslovak Peace Movement for 1984"]

[Text] Prague--As was yesterday [19 December] announced at the Prague press conference devoted to the evaluation of the peace movement's activities in 1984 and to the plan of activities for 1985, by Josef Krejci, deputy chairman of the Czechoslovak Peace Committee, this year the peace activity had to cope with none-too-easy international conditions which were characterized by the continuing deployment of nuclear missiles and by the reactionary course of U.S. policy.

After last year's World Assembly for Peace and Life and Against Nuclear War, the Czechoslovak peace movement won authority in the international field, and its activity won a wide response. The Czechoslovak Peace Committee established friendly contacts with the peace movements in the United States, Great Britain, France, and the FRG. It also reached agreement on mutual cooperation with several progressive West German organizations which are striving to realize a realistic policy without any feverish armament. The Czechoslovak Peace Committee at the same time supported the activity of the World Peace Council and took part in international antiwar conferences and negotiations. Next year the Czechoslovak peace movement will focus its attention primarily on escalating the domestic and international actions for halting feverish armament; for adopting measures for armament limitation and disarmament; and for further detent in the world, as well as for resolving conflicts through negotiations and by peaceful means.

CSO: 2400/185

## PLANNING OFFICIAL INTERVIEWED ON SYSTEM CHANGES

AU191934 [Editorial Report] Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech on 17 December on page 5 carries a 1,400-word Vladimir Cechlovsky interview with Vaclav Vertelar, first deputy chairman of the CSST State Planning Commission, entitled "Significant Changes in Planning."

In the interview Vertelar states that "more significant changes in the structure of production can be carried out with the aid of scientific-technical development only over a longer span of time," which means doing two jobs at the same time. Realizing one 5-year plan while preparing the next one. Moreover, one has to proceed from development prognoses worked out for at least 20 years in advance. Therefore, a composite system of work has been determined, designed to improve the prospects and program principles in the planning of the national economy and the application of scientific-technical development. Every 5 years, the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences will work out an overall prognosis of scientific-technical, economic, and social development for 20 years, on the basis of which the State Planning Commission will prepare the basic directions of economic and social development for 10 years, and the State Commission for Scientific-Technical Development and Investment Promotion the main directions of the development of science and technology for an identical period.

This new procedure, Vertelar goes on to say, will be employed "to a considerable degree," during the preparation of the Eighth 5-Year Plan.

Vertelar then mentions that the "considerable splintering" of the research and development tasks poses problems, and also the fact that "it has not been possible to make full use of the planned changes in the coordination of scientific-technical development and of the directions of the economic policy of the CEMA countries." Now, following the economic summit, one will, among other things, work out a comprehensive program of the scientific-technical progress of the CEMA states until the year 2000. This change, however, not only constitutes "great progress," but also brings difficulties such as, for example, the fact that "the responsibility of the division of labor will be much greater. Five years was too short a period to deepen efficient cooperation, to found a highly efficient and quality production."

In the final part of the interview, Vertelar says that next year more than Kcs19 billion of "noninvestment resources" will be spent on resolving research and development tasks and on further expanding the scientific research base, and 10 percent more than last year on the centrally managed research and development organizations.

## PAPER REPORTS NEW CSSR 'CHARTER 77' DOCUMENT

AU271317 Vienna KURIER in German 27 Dec 84 p 3

["Exclusive" report on new "Charter-77" documented by "W. E."]

[Text] "About a month ago there was a fire at a nursing home in which 26 persons were killed. The media reported this distressing news only 1 week later and inconspicuously, and moreover hushed up the fact that the victims were children." This is a drastic example of communist "information policy" described in the latest document of the "Charter-77" CSSR civil rights movement, which was placed at KURIER's disposal exclusively for Austria.

Relentless--and substantiated by numerous examples--the Charter document reveals that in our neighbor country "the media have become tools of ideological propaganda, with the aid of which a false picture of the world is systematically being presented."

This can be demonstrated particularly drastically by the example of the starvation catastrophe in Ethiopia. The Charter document: "We could read about the merry life in Ethiopia in connection with this year's anniversary of the revolution regime there, but any information about the starvation disaster was withheld from us. Only after the number of victims went into the hundreds of thousands, and after the aid programs of Western countries had begun to run in high gear, did they also begin in our country to write about the aid of the USSR and the CSSR. This acquainted us--though only between the lines--with the other face of revolutionary Ethiopia."

The charter document also reveals a truly odd fact: "Our country's authorities also confiscate newspapers and magazines from socialist countries if they contain information that is regarded as not suitable or illicit."

According to the document of the civil rights movement in is also still a punishable offense to listen to foreign radio or television stations--and there have actually been cases where people were sentenced on these grounds. Anyone who wants to borrow Western literature from Western embassies "must take into account that he will be photographed by hidden cameras, registered by the state security police, and sooner or later apprehended."

The upshot of the comprehensive document: "The CSSR citizen today is convinced that the media are lying, always and in every respect, and therefore he attempts to attribute the opposite meaning to everything reported by these media."

Incidentally: A certain Karl Marx, to whom the CSSR regime refers, once wrote: "The centralized press exerts a demoralizing effect.... The government hears only its own voice. It knows that it hears only its own voice, but nevertheless it becomes fixated on the deception, and also demands of the people that they, too, become fixated on this deception."

CSO. 2400/185

(22)

## KARLOVY VARY CLERGY CONSULTATION ENDS

AU172122 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 14 Dec 84 p 2

[CTK report: "Alarm About the Danger to Mankind's Very Existence"]

[Text] Karlovy Vary, 13 Dec--The consultation of more than 50 prominent church representatives from the United States and the European socialist countries was concluded on Thursday [13 December] in Karlovy Vary; for 4 days the participants there discussed the possibilities and ways in which the churches and the Christians living under different social systems could contribute toward easing the tension, establishing trust, and thus also averting the danger of war.

In the final document the participants in the consultation expressed deep alarm about such negative phenomena as those today endangering mankind's very existence--above all the feverish growth of armament production, the endeavor to expand destructive military systems also into outer space, and the kind of state policy which is striving to achieve its own security at the cost of other peoples.

The church representatives also called upon the Christians throughout the world to reject doctrines which justify the preparation and conduct of wars, including a nuclear catastrophe, by using pseudo-theological arguments.

The participants in the Karlovy Vary meeting, which follows up the preceding talks--held intermittently in the United States and in Karlovy Vary since as far back as 1962--also welcomed the planned meeting of the USSR and U.S. ministers of foreign affairs as a sign of hope for an improvement of the entire international atmosphere; they addressed letters to the supreme representatives of the two great powers and to the Stockholm Conference on Confidence-building Measures and Security and Disarmament in Europe.

CSO: 2400/183

## VATICAN CITY REPORTS ARRESTS ON RELIGIOUS CHARGES IN CSSR

LDI31130 Vatican City International Service in Czech 1830 GMT 12 Dec 84

[Text] Czechoslovakia--Report No. 406 issued on 27 November by the Committee for the Defense of the Unjustly Persecuted says that on 20 November in Liberec Jan Zar, Jan Burian and Jitka Danihelova were accused of violating state supervision of churches and taken into custody for allegedly belonging to the Franciscan Order. Dr Ladislav Trojan, Antonin Dambrovsky, Ctirad Pospisil and Alena Janosikova, accused of the same offense, have also been interrogated.

A previous report stated that on 12 October Jan Juhascik and Rudolf Sabanos were arrested by a police patrol on searching their motor car, a substantial quantity of Bibles and other religious literature in the Russian language was found in the vehicle's trunk. The incident took place in Vranov Nad Toplou in Eastern Slovakia. The following day the police searched Jan Juhascik's house in Hermanovice and confiscated religious literature. Both men were accused of preparing criminal violation of a regulation on the movement of goods between Czechoslovakia and foreign countries and taken into custody in Kosice prison.

Another report issued by the Committee from the Defense of the Unjustly Persecuted says that three young Slovak Catholics--Tomas Konc, Branislav Borovsky and Alois Gabaj--have been accused of the same criminal offense. They were arrested on the Czechoslovak-Polish border and released from custody this summer. In August the District Prosecutor at Stara Lubovna accused them of this offense although investigations had come to the conclusion that they crossed the border, by a mere 35 meters, unintentionally, Konc and Borovsky were also expelled from higher education institutions.

Father Jaroslav Novosad, administrator at the parish office in Hrob in Teplice District, has been also accused. It is held against him that he allowed parishioners to stay at his holiday home at Moldava, which also qualifies as violating state supervision of churches. On 19 September the cottage was searched in the owner's absence and the following day, also in his absence, the rectory at Hrob was also searched. In connection with this case even children, unaccompanied by their parents, were interrogated. Father Novosad has been interviewed but not arrested.

Finally, on 14 September the police searched the rectory of the Catholic priest Matej Nemeth in Lipovnik in Roznava District and confiscated a substantial quantity of religious literature. On 3d October Father Nemeth was accused of the criminal act of incitement as, allegedly, some of the confiscated material was published abroad and was aimed against the socialist system. Father Nemeth's appeal against the accusations was rejected.

COLOTKA PRAISES STANCE OF SLOVAK CATHOLIC CHURCH

LD201744 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1430 GMT 19 Dec 84

[Text] Slovak Prime Minister Peter Colotka received in Bratislava today bishops, diocesan bishops, and other representatives of the Roman Catholic Church in Slovakia, and the newly-elected Presidium of the Slovak Pacem in Terris Catholic clergy association. He thanked them for their active contribution in implementing our government's peaceful development program. He noted the civic and peace activities of the Pacem in Terris association, which links itself organically with the peace efforts of hundreds of thousands of believers throughout the world, and which through its activities supports the world peace movement, the ideal of detente in international relations, and understanding between nations.

Peter Colotka paid tribute to the fact that the representatives and clergy of the Roman Catholic Church distance themselves from attempts to misuse the church against our socialist system, which they affirmed in October this year in their letter to the Holy Congregation Pro Clerics in the Vatican.

The Roman Catholic Church representatives assured our state officials that they would continue to support in every way the government's peace and development program, and to encourage their believers to do the same. At the same time they gave the assurance that they could continue to strive purposefully to consolidate good relations between the church and the state.

CSO: 2400/183

CSSR THEOLOGY STUDENTS REPORTEDLY EXPELLED

LD131344 Vatican City International Service in Slovak 1845 CMT 12 Dec 84

[Text] The Austrian KATHPRESS Agency reports that on 15 September, the contents of a letter from 15 mothers of Slovak theology students sent to Gustav Husak, president of the republic, reached the West. In the letter they asked the president to allow their sons to resume studies at Bratislava Theological College. The mothers complained that a random punishment had been meted out to their sons.

The case involves 11 theology students who were not allowed to continue their studies at the Bratislava College following a 48-hour hunger strike by 122 students in October 1980 in protest against interference in college affairs by the Pacem in Terris organization, a movement close to the regime. KATHPRESS says that the authorities' reaction was to ask for a complete list of students and to send every 10th person home. Only later were these people told that they had been expelled from the college. The mothers' letter to the president continued: "Instead of taking this quiet protest seriously, and discovering its initiators, the authorities punished absolutely innocent people." The mothers say that their sons have remained loyal to their priestly vocation: "The injustice committed on our sons insults the religious feeling of our people, for the people see in the office of a priest, God's gift, and pray for it all the time. We know that we are not alone. Many people sympathize with our sons and their vocation."

CSO: 2400/183

## 'TEMPORARY' TOURISM DROP BLAMED ON BLOC COUNTRIES' REGULATION

AU171753 [Editorial Report] Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak on 14 December 1984 on page 4 carries a 1,500-word interview given by Engineer Michal Polacek, candidate of sciences, director of the Bratislava-based Institute for the Research of Tourism, to Bratislava PRAVDA staff journalist Peter Ondera. The interview, the date and place of which were not given, deals with the results of the "socioeconomic surveys" of tourism in the CSSR. carried out by the institute periodically since 1972.

Speaking about changes in tourism since the start of these surveys, Polacek says that the number of participants in domestic tourism increased 30 percent between 1972 and 1983, to 165 million a year. The number of days spent away from home increased 45 percent, to 387 million. Expenditures for domestic tourism, Polacek goes on to say, increased from Kcs18.5 billion in 1972 to Kcs32 billion in 1983, which is a 76 percent increase. Expenditures for tourism thus amounted to 15 percent of the total retail trade turnover in 1983.

Although there has been an increase in organized tourism, "individual tourism realized outside of public forms" accounts for more than 90 percent of all domestic tourism. According to Polacek, this is due to the "enormous bed capacity (1.7 million)" in weekend cottages and second homes, which exceeds threefold the number of beds in hotels, enterprise-owned chalets and hostels, [words indistinct] her public recreation facilities altogether.

Polacek goes on to say that, with 95 percent in 1972 and 93 percent in 1983, "short-term tourism," consisting mostly of weekend trips, represents the most important form of domestic tourism. He also notes a "strong tendency toward privatization" in transportation, accommodation, and taking meals. Whereas in 1972 only 44 percent of all tourists in the Czech Socialist Republic and 28.6 percent in the Slovak Socialist Republic used their private cars for weekend trips, in 1983 the figures were 65 percent and 63 percent respectively. If Czechoslovak tourists choose public facilities for their vacation, Polacek says, they tend to prefer "cheaper and less demanding forms of accommodation."

Speaking about foreign tourism, Polacek says that although it represents only 4 percent of domestic tourism, it still plays an important role. He goes on to say: "The total number of our citizens traveling abroad increased from 2.3 million in 1972 to 11 million in the record year 1978. Since that year, we have been registering a gradual decline, caused mainly by diverse regulatory

measures taken by some socialist states. In 1983, a total of 6,099,000 of our fellow citizens traveled abroad. This decline can be regarded as temporary. This is demonstrated by the fact that, in the first three quarters of 1984, the volume of our passive foreign tourism increased about 20 percent compared with the same period last year." According to Polacek, the CSSR "holds the first place among socialist countries in the number of trips abroad per 1,000 inhabitants" and CSSR citizens travel abroad "much more frequently" than the citizens of Italy, France, or Great Britain and "about as frequently" as Austrians or West Germans.

CSO: 2400/183

## SLOVAK PARTY LECTURERS ANALYZE 'ANTISOCIAL PHENOMENA'

AU201555 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 19 Dec 84 p 2

[Theodor Hudecek report: "Analysis of Antisocial Phenomena"]

[Text] Casta--A 2-day all-Slovak seminar began yesterday in Casta, it is entitled "Building the Developed Socialist Society, the Issues of the Vestiges of Antisocial Phenomena, and the Process of Overcoming Them." The seminar is organized by the Department of Propaganda and Agitation of the Slovak Communist Party's (CPSL) Central Committee for lecturers of Marxist-Leninist philosophy, of scientific communism, and of the state and law, in the spirit of the letter of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium on deepening the efficacy of the fight against violations of the principles of socialist legality, morale, and discipline.

As was stressed at the seminar by Comrade Juraj Purgat, we have undoubtedly achieved considerable, and truly historic, successes on the path of socialist construction. On the other hand, this path is not strewn only with successes, it is not an easy path or one without conflicts. But the strength of our ideologies in the fact that it does not disseminate illusions, and that we are capable of seeing and of resolving problems and shortcomings and of efficiently warding off negative phenomena.

Comrade Juraj Zvara oriented himself toward the basic issues of building the developed socialist society and toward the topical problems of shaping the socialist personality. Michael Pecho concentrated in his statement on the analysis and typology, the classification and methods of resolving contradictions in building the developed socialist society. Frantisek Kan spoke about the place and role of sociopolitical activity in shaping the socialist man. Milan Stefanko dealt with a detailed analysis of the philosophical and psychological aspects of antisocial activity. In his contribution on the "Causes, Problems, and Possibilities of Overcoming Antisocial Phenomena," Libor Lubelec defined the Marxist theoretical-methodological foundations of the analysis of antisocial phenomena.

The seminar affirms the imperative need for an interdisciplinary approach to the solution of the problems in question, and also their topical social importance.

CSO: 2400/183

## BRIEFS

FOREIGN DATA BASE CENTER--Bratislava (PA-JS)--A detached [detasovane] work place of the National Center of Automated Access to Foreign Data Bases was yesterday [18 December] opened in the Institute of Applied Cybernetics in Bratislava (on the premises of the Slovak Commission for Research and Development and for Investment Planning). An extensive international information channel is thus being made accessible to enterprises, research institutes, and other organizations. With the aid of computer technology it is possible to rapidly acquire large sets of information, for the time being, from the USSR, Bulgaria, and in certain instances also from non-socialist states. The data base consists of references to published literature, articles, published books, scientific research reports, patents, but also elaborated prognoses of scientific and technical development in various areas, statistics of foreign trade, and so forth. [Text] [Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 19 Dec 84 p 8 AU]

CSO: 2400/185

MINISTER STRESSES EXPANDING RELATIONS AS ASSURANCE FOR PEACE

East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 24/25 Nov 84 p 7

[Speech by O. Fischer, member of CC and foreign minister: "The GDR is a Respected Nation by Virtue of its Peace Policy"]

[Text] Comrades!

On the occasion of the 35th anniversary of our state, our achievements in all spheres have been examined and our new tasks defined. Comrade Honecker's report has my full approval; it provides a precise and comprehensive analysis. It showed very clearly that and how this successful development is steadily continuing.

In foreign affairs, too, we may claim good results. At the Seventh Plenum the party unequivocally responded to the concerns aroused since the beginning of the emplacement of U.S. missiles, which changed the international situation. The party line, backed by the people, has turned out to be quite realistic.

The party line is designed to all-round strengthen the fraternal alliance with the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, safeguard the approximate military-strategic balance and guarantee the defense capability of socialism. This is confirmed by the meetings between Comrade Erich Honecker and the general or first secretaries of the communist parties in our fraternal states.

By our concern for the maintenance of strategic parity we acknowledge Lenin's perception that a revolution is only worth its salt if it is able to defend itself. That is why, in coordination with the Soviet Union, the necessary military countermeasures were adopted on our territory.

This line opens up new opportunities for the revival of political detente and steps toward arms limitation and disarmament.

In other words, it is a policy of resolute action. More than ever is it imperative to mobilize and unite all forces against the U.S. missiles and the danger of nuclear war. This is a complicated struggle.

## Meetings at the Highest Level Have Long Lasting Effects

Our experiences from World War II and the anti-Hitler coalition have taught us that the fundamental opposition between socialist and capitalist states does not exclude a common interest in peace, and that it is imperative to struggle against wars beyond all antagonisms, even those of an ideological nature, before the guns begin to speak. This is even more true today, given our knowledge of the consequences of nuclear war. And that was the concern of the Seventh Plenum, confirmed by the Eighth CC Meeting.

The Politburo report illustrates the many and varied actions undertaken to help restore the health of the international situation. They contribute to bringing together the forces of realism, reason and good will.

The meetings between Comrade Erich Honecker and the heads of state or government of Western states are of outstanding importance in that respect. I am referring to Pierre Elliott Trudeau, Olof Palme, Andreas Papandreu, Bettino Craxi, Mauno Koivisto and Fred Sinowatz. These meetings have improved bilateral relations between the GDR and the respective countries and, of course, gave them new impetus.

The importance of these meetings far exceeds the bilateral framework. They facilitated a dialogue on the problems which agitate mankind. They provided an opportunity to explain in detail the socialist peace policy, the proposals of the Soviet Union and the socialist fraternal countries. They made it plain that peaceful coexistence must be more than the mere absence of war and confrontation.

Coexistence needs to stabilize peace by a dense network of political, economic, scientific and cultural cooperation. The more sides there are to the network of these relations, the greater the partner's interest in pursuing peaceful coexistence.

Economic relations benefit us as they do our partners. They objectively strengthen the material foundation of peace. Lenin pointed this out when he said: "We must trade, and they must trade. We would like such trade to profit us, and they also wish to profit."

The Politburo report explains how we tackle foreign trade with the nonsocialist world. Comrade Schuerer also commented this when explaining the 1985 economic plan. Cooperation in the sphere of science and culture offers us many varied opportunities, and we are a long way yet from having exhausted all of them.

Meetings at the highest level have a long lasting effect. That was achieved because we all have something in common--the concern for peace, the readiness and the will to act for its preservation. This was complemented by mutual respect and strict observance of sovereignty including the membership of different alliances. Such an approach conforms to the principles of peaceful coexistence.

The policy of our party and, consequently, the policy of our state for the organization of our relations with other states and our efforts for securing peace are proving their worth even in the extremely complicated and sharply fluctuating conditions of the international struggle.

In their message on the occasion of the 35th anniversary of our republic, the CPSU CC and the Soviet Government stressed that "the German Democratic Republic makes a distinguished contribution to the all-round reinforcement of the Warsaw Pact organization, the further deepening of socialist economic integration. Together with the other fraternal countries, the GDR pursues a tenacious struggle against the insane plans of the aggressive circles of the United States and NATO for pushing the world into the abyss of a nuclear war, for the conversion of Europe to a Continent of peaceful and good neighborly cooperation, for the defense of the rights of peoples to a free and independent life. This policy has earned for the GDR the well-merited respect of the world at large."

Our country is now a state respected for its steady peace policy by East and West, North and South. Its international influence is due to its internal political stability, its economic capacity and its sure defense capability.

Peace and international security in our time can be guaranteed only by the peaceful coexistence of the two social systems. Lenin explained this objective necessity by the objective nature of world economic relations. Just as for Lenin's party, the struggle for the victory of peaceful coexistence and the proscription of war as a means of international policy is not a matter of tactics for our party either; indeed it represents the socialist strategy for the preservation of peace.

Just as Lenin's party never yielded this policy even in the face of imperialist intervention and aggression but always by repeated initiatives struggled for peace and disarmament, such as 1922 in Genoa or 20 years later in Tehran and Yalta, our party has not allowed itself either to be diverted by the imperialist political blockade or by economic pressure and revanchist blackmail from its efforts for peace; and that is how it will continue to be.

#### Marx's Words Coming to Mind

The development and existence of nuclear weapons of mass destruction as well as the imperialist policy of confrontation and arms modernization have turned peaceful coexistence into the sole peaceful alternative able to guarantee the survival of mankind.

In the age of atomic weapons, international security cannot be safeguarded at the national level and, above all, not at the expense of others. This perception began to prevail in the 1970's even among the imperialist states.

The agreements between the Soviet Union and the United States are based on this perception. And such terms as "security partnership" or "community of responsibility" reflect an objective necessity.

However, it is imperative for both partners to act according to this perception--as the above named terms express it. Unfortunately, the most aggressive circles of imperialism have abandoned this policy and returned to the old concept of rivalry and deterrence, which fuels the arms race. In response to this concept--sometimes disguised by peace slogans--, Karl Marx's words come to mind. He said long ago: "Among all the dogmas of the bigoted politics of our age, none has caused more mischief than the doctrine that one must arm for war to have peace." The worldwide peace movement fights this perilous demagogy and policy. It has now penetrated all the principal imperialist countries by powerful actions which have not diminished even after the emplacement of the U.S. first strike missiles.

The line of the most aggressive circles of imperialism overshadows all parts of the world: It makes it harder to achieve a peaceful solution to the problems in southern Africa and the Near East.

The current demonstrations of military power vis-a-vis Nicaragua are alarming and shocking international public opinion. Resistance to such a policy is growing worldwide and deeply penetrates the governing circles of the imperialist powers themselves. It is certainly not only with an eye on potential votes that senior politicians issue urgent warnings. This also demonstrates a realistic appraisal of the dangers arising therefrom for world peace.

It Would be Desirable for the United States this Time to Seriously Consider the USSR Offer

Despite and indeed just because of this U.S. and NATO confrontation policy, the Soviet Union and the other states of the socialist community have repeatedly submitted proposals on disarmament and, therefore, the consolidation of peace, for example the Prague declaration, the Moscow declaration by the supreme representatives of the socialist states, the Moscow declaration of the CEMA member countries of June last.

Comrade Erich Honecker spoke yesterday about the latest signals sent out by Comrade Konstantin Chernenko and expressed the hope that they would be positively received. We are certainly bound to welcome the identical communications to hand today, issued by the Soviet Union and the United States on a January meeting between the two foreign ministers, Andrei Gromyko and George Shultz, to define the subject matter and objective of new comprehensive disarmament negotiations. It remains desirable for the Reagan Administration this time to seriously consider the Soviet Union's readiness, and for effective disarmament negotiations to take place in order to secure world peace.

The impending Berlin meeting of the Committee of Foreign Ministers of the Warsaw Pact states will surely comment in this sense also.

The anniversaries to be celebrated next year--the 40th anniversary of the liberation from fascism, the 30th anniversary of the Warsaw Pact, the 40 years of the United Nations Organization and the 10th anniversary of the signing of

the Helsinki final act--represent more high points of our struggle for the recovery of the international situation.

The imperialist roll-back doctrine failed in the 1950's and the 1960's. Imperialism will have even less success now in its attempt to recover military superiority against socialism and, thereby, to be able to dictate the life of the peoples.

The strength of socialism and the broad as well as worldwide alliance of all forces for peace offers us this guarantee. The GDR will provide its contribution at the side of the Soviet Union--the principal peace power--, and as a reliable ally in the Warsaw Pact. With this objective in mind, we are confidently and resolutely tackling the preparations of the Eleventh SED Congress.

11698

CSO: 2300/172

ARMY ENHANCES TRAINING OF STUDENTS, WOMEN

DW141119 East Berlin Domestic Service in German 1615 GMT 5 Dec 84

["Excerpt" from a discussion on army career options between students of three secondary schools of Frankfurt/Oder, apprentices of the Frankfurt/Oder semiconductor plant, and Colonel Hans Becker, department head in the Ministry for National Defense, recorded, broadcast as part of the school audio aids program]

[Excerpts] [Question by apprentice Torsten] There are specific requirements for the admission to the officer training academies. I would like to know what these requirements are on the future professional officer.

[Becker] Well, Torsten, let's leave aside the terms norm, requirement, or criterion, or whatever we might call them. For anyone wishing to embark on the career of a professional officer the first decision for him is clarity about the meaning of this career. What he wants is work in a decisive position in the armed power instrument of our GDR where he will prepare subordinates for armed combat as a superior, instructor, and trainer. It is understandable that this entails concrete prerequisites on the future officer himself.

Let us proceed from your present age. What matters first of all is that you desire to take the officer's career as a profession. This is not simply comparable to any other profession because we feel that the special requirement must be the leadership of young people under the conditions of the use of weapons, young people who must hold their own on the battlefield in order to win victory over the adversary as a solid combat collective.

[Apprentice Elke Henning] After my apprentice training I would like to undergo training as a professional officer, specifically, I would like to join the air force engineering service. I know that this year already, girls are being trained, therefore I would like to know whether this will continue in the years to come, that is to day, [as printed] beyond 1986 and whether you could go into more detail as to the jobs of these girls in that profession.

[Becker] Where did you learn that we are training them?

[Henning] My boyfriend is studying there.

[Becker] Why do you want to undergo this training? Is it because your boyfriend is enrolled in this school?

[Henning] No. From the very outset my plans were to enroll for technical studies, and I wanted to work in the army before. But at the time we were told that girls do not get any access to technical equipment, that this is a profession reserved to males. But I have learned from my boyfriend that in the Air Force engineering service girls also are allowed to work directly with the technical equipment. Hence my question whether this is true.

[Becker] To begin with: This information is correct. We do train a young generation of female officers at our officer academy, specifically in this training branch of the Air Force engineering service, though it is just a few that we are training there. The requirements are as for any male applicant. In any case technical understanding is required for such a study tour.

I want to make it clear that this involves the 4-year studies of an institute of higher learning which in this particular case is concluded with the appointment as an officer and also allows the award of the graduate engineer's title. Proceeding from the overall requirements I might say that we have placed the question concerning girl studies in technical lines into the foreground at any institution that provides secondary-school graduation. Why shouldn't girls study in this field?

Let me say this: Whoever saw an airfield before knows whence the wind is blowing, there is always a stiff breeze on the airfield. This requires proper clothing and some stamina. I believe that in the beginning we will not let the girls directly on the technical equipment on the airfield after their training. But we do intend to fully use the girls for all other technical processes, all other repair work outside the airfield in the workshops and other installations. We can put their manual dexterity to good use there. If I take a look at the first girls who have started this training, I can say that they are very zealous indeed.

[Unidentified girl] I am in the 10th grade of a Russian-language school, small wonder that the Russian language has become my hobby. I would like to be a professional officer in the signal corps, and I wonder whether it is possible for me to make use of my linguistic abilities.

[Program moderator] Russian is the command language, Colonel Hans Becker?

[Becker] Well, Kerstin, we have also made the profession of a signal officer accessible to female applicants. The Russian language is the command language, a language which we need in the socialist armies for the brotherhood in-arms relations, joint action, ensuring the communications facilities for our leadership organs. The question concerning Russian will always be important for a signal officer, be he assigned to a higher-level leadership echelon or to a stationary communications center. The question crops up sometimes as to what such a woman does as a lieutenant or first lieutenant? Well, she leads a signal platoon, or she is in charge of a stationary communications center. Yes indeed, she is the superior officer having command over men who are NCO's or enlisted men. This is part of our life, this is expressive of equal rights for women which the army does not ignore.

[Unidentified student] The profession of a soldier is full of sacrifices. An attempt is being made to make up for these sacrifices by granting certain privileges. What are these privileges with respect to leave, salary, and so forth?

[Becker] What matters is the solid fulfillment of the tasks assigned and the compliance with the responsibility vested in us as officers. Yes indeed, the state does everything to ensure that particularly the cadres doing their hard duty along the border daily in the face of the class enemy are granted in specific fields what you referred to as privileges. That is to say, they receive service salaries commensurate with their performance, they are granted leave for the restoration of their combat strength, again in keeping with their performance, and in certain areas they are preferentially allotted housing space.

Let us take a young officer who has graduated from the officer academy with the rank of lieutenant and has 4 years of service under the same conditions. Putting you in his place: At the time you are not yet married, I assume. But your pay already amounts to M1,187 net. And 3 or 4 years later, when you are a captain and company commander with a service record of 8 years, when you are married and have two children--after all, we desire families of that size during our youth--your service pay goes up to M1,500.

[Program moderator asking unidentified student] What would you like to become, a fighter-bomber pilot, or pilot of a transport plane or a helicopter?

[Student] This question cannot be answered so easily. My father is in the Air Force, serving as transport-plane pilot, and my brother is serving as a helicopter pilot. So I am somewhat familiar with the area, though I so far could not make up my mind about one thing or another.

[Moderator] But you would not be disappointed if you can become a pilot of a transport plane or helicopter but not of a fighter plane?

[Student] Not at all; I would take whatever assignment is given me, and I would enjoy the job as this is part of a military profession.

[Becker] I think such an attitude is quite sound. This is what we consider adopting a proper stance under inclusion of all consequences that may arise from any given condition. Let me point something out to you. Beginning next year we will get to know another way of preparing military pilots in that we will concentrate the [prospective] military pilots of specific grades of vocational schooling in the vicinity of the two GST [society for sports and technology] aviation schools and there prepare for young generation for 3 years in a combination of vocational training with secondary school graduation on the one hand and motor-plane pilot training on the other. We will incessantly seek new ways of enhancing the quality and efficiency of our profession's posterity.

CSO: 2300/196

## ISTVAN BIBO: THINKER, POLITICIAN

Budapest VALOSAG in Hungarian No 9, Sep 84 pp 24-41

[Article by Tibor Huszar: "Istvan Bibo--Thinker, Politician"]

[Text] A comprehensive selection of the production of four decades--which enthralls one with its thematic richness, shadings of argument and strict adherence to the facts, even if we do not share the position of the author in many questions--raises two questions before all. One may be the experience of the general reader: Why have we delayed publishing his writings? The other is linked to personal memories, although it may be of general interest--and it might also be interpreted as a tension-producing debate question regarding the evaluation of the life work.

In the fall of 1976 a documentary film was prepared about Ferenc Erdei. In it Istvan Bibo--and other contemporaries--recalled their memories. After the filming, we had a long talk with members of the family in Erdei's erstwhile workroom and then we accompanied Bibo to the car. The courtyard of the house on Benczur St was dark, the sidewalk was icy. Together with Sandor Csoori, Sandor Sara and Gabor Hanak--they were co-authors of the film being prepared--we surrounded Bibo, because we were afraid he might fall. I remember only vaguely many motifs of our conversation, but a few sentences spoken in the garden are fixed deep in my memory. We were continuing a conversation begun about the "asynchronous" nature of historical and biological time. Bibo listened to our "meditations" sunk deep in thought. I do not know which one of us said that "time is an unpredictable player," just as I do not remember for sure who provided the formula that our picture of Erdei would be different if his sickness had not carried him off before the great upswing of our agriculture. But the moment is still before me, how Bibo stopped and turned toward us. In a brooding and broken way he said, "After 1945, I did not accept the premises considered valid by Ferenc, and I had a different opinion about the changes which had taken place in our villages; unfortunately, even today paternalism is stronger than the new communal morality. It would put his career in a different light if he could have prepared conceptually and supported with his tools the modernization of the villages. Yes. Ferenc finished his career, biologically and historically, in 1971." Then, after a brief pause. "And what should they put on my tombstone? Istvan Bibo, 1945-1948."

His serious words were received with understandable silence; in the meantime we groped further in the half light. When we got to the car, breaking the silence, he said only this: "This television work is an exhausting thing."

I mentioned two questions. The second is connected with the quoted words of Istvan Bibo. Let me try to formulate my answer to this in more detail.

The statement could mean that in these years history for the first time provided him with scope for action, an active existence in action, understanding the direct or indirect forms of influencing historical processes. In this sense the statement must be supplemented. He joined the March Front in 1937-1938. In the dramatic days of 1956 Istvan Bibo played a role--if for only a brief time, only for hours--as a state minister in the Imre Nagy government, representing the Petofi Party, and his two manifestos played a role in the development of events. This circumstance is the best explanation of the delayed appearance of his works.

Can his statement qualify the depth and validity of his studies written in different periods? Reading his collected writings we feel that it does not. But an answer to the question of how the continuity of values characterizes his life's work, or when, and in reaction to what, new qualities appear in his work, can be given only within the framework of a monograph based on scientific (legal, political, historical, sociological) research. This postscript can be limited only to indicating the more important trends and for this reason our answer in connection with the epochs of his life's work can be only hypothetical in many respects, although we can advance the notion that even according to us his most important works saw the light of day in the period designated by him. From the viewpoint of assigning periods to his life's work what is important is not only the value directions appearing in the works and the intellectual aspects but also the formation of his personality, of his habits of thought--inseparable from these and in a mutual relationship with them.

Istvan Bibo was born in Budapest in 1911. His father, Istvan Bibo, Sr, was director of the University Library in Szeged, a distinguished--although not adequately recognized--historian of culture and organizer of science.<sup>1</sup> In his family a respect for knowledge was a tradition preserved over generations, just as his intellectual inheritance included a Calvinist morality which guided behavior from within, a Petofi-Kossuth cult coupled with passionate opposition to the Hapsburgs, and an element of "basic behavior" unusual in a gentleman, "strong solidarity with the Hungarian peasant people, without an especially sharp nationalism."<sup>2</sup>

The emotional richness and spiritual intelligence of his mother also had a strong effect on his personality. Judging by his memoirs, Bibo's personality was formed by the legendary female characters of the Russian novels--their moral constitution, their humanism manifested in everyday actions, their passionate faith in the improvability of the world and mankind made a deep impression on the friends of Istvan Bibo also.<sup>3</sup>

In the course of his studies he met with significant teacher personalities, but the young Istvan Bibó was affected more profoundly by the jurist Barna Horváth, who might be taken as his model from the viewpoint of taking a scientific role.<sup>4</sup>

His professor--making use of his broad international contacts--introduced his student to the centers of European jurisprudence. In 1933-1934 he was able to continue his studies at the Vienna university. Following this he got a doctorate and was then appointed assistant junior clerk at the Budapest Court. With a state scholarship involving a paid leave he went to the dignified scientific atelier of the Institute des Hautes Etudes Internationales. Here he met with no less dignitaries than Paul Guggenheim, Hans Kelsen and the outstanding diplomatic and political historian G. Ferrero. The latter had the strongest effect on his view of society. In 1936--still as court clerk--he continued his studies on a Carnegie scholarship at the International Academy of Law in the Hague.

All those who watched his start could develop the just conviction that he stood before a significant international scientific career. The careers of few young jurists or scientists started with such an unambiguous upward arc. And Bibó deserved the trust and support. He relied not only on his talent; he worked with discipline and extraordinary thoroughness.<sup>5</sup>

It appeared that the development of his personality was balanced also. According to his correspondence and memoirs, however, this process was not free of conflict. The nature and sources of the tensions are well illustrated by his changing contacts with his peers, with the group of so-called contemporaries and their movements.

The first events developed according to the standards of the age. He went to Boy Scout meetings at the Piarist gymnasium in Szeged with his friends and classmates Gyula Ortutay and Bela Reitzer. He recalled with warmth from a distance of decades the charismatic, humanist personality of the leader of the troop, Sandor Sik. As a university student he did not join in the agrarian settlement work of the only youth organization of the time, the Gabor Bethlen Circle. When the most valued members of this movement established the Artistic Collegium of Szeged Youth the society was attractive to him but the collective did not accept his application for admission. In his memoirs he does not consider the decision unfair. "They left me out of the Sz. F. M. K. [Artistic Collegium of Szeged Youth]. It is my feeling that they were quite right. At that age I would not have called myself a revolutionary, or even a leftist."<sup>6</sup>

But he was not lonely in these years. His friendship with Bela Reitzer deepened into an intellectual friendship at the time of his law studies and one of his classmates, Ferenc Erdei, also joined them.

The social makeup of this friendly group could not be called customary in the 1930's. The Bibó family belonged to the upper group of the urban gentry middle class. Bela Reitzer was the scion of a converted Jewish bourgeois; his father was a representative of a wood trading firm. (Bela Reitzer died during World War II in the labor service.) Ferenc Erdei's people on his father's side were

cottars and on his mother's side rich peasants; during breaks he himself helped run the family onion farm. Their habits differed in many things, not only their origins.

Perhaps the open, sovereign existence in this varied world also formed the readiness to convincingly present and compare different attitudes and sensitivities which is one of the most attractive features of his mature studies.

His relationship with Ferenc Erdei and the change in it merit special attention from the viewpoint of the development of his personality. Emotionally, Istvan Bibo distanced himself early from the official values of the age, but in the first years the peasant radicalism of Erdei alarmed him. "Then we talked about the state of the poor peasants, the state of poor people in general and the equality of men," Bibo recalls one of their first meetings. "And I was taken aback, because I knew that people must be regarded as morally equal, but I had not thought through that really overturning society followed from this. So a sort of debate developed between us, in which I took the position that in the final analysis if we are to have personalities representing true and significant cultural values then there is also need for a certain number of subordinated personalities, and if we regarded these significant personalities as important then we must ask the question, what, in the final analysis the goal of civilization is, whether it should flourish or create an equal, gray mass. At the time I formulated my objection in this way, and although this softened much I might say that up to 1935 I believed it valid essentially in this form."<sup>7</sup>

At the time of his stay in Vienna, he tried to forget this conversation which had been disturbing to him. He wrote about this with characteristic frankness to Erdei: "I confess that even a year earlier, when I came to Vienna, I was happy to deny you or rather the thought and fact complex represented by you and I sank with a certain relief among people with prejudices similar to my own."<sup>8</sup>

He explains this adjustment, that affairs at home concerned him less. "Now," he writes from Vienna, "I was very detached from the troubles of the community, meaning that I did not think very much about what was and should be there. In contrast to this I think more about what my own is and should be. The two sorts of speculation have a common bitter property, that they surprise a person when he is farthest from a solution. It is very difficult to arrange a beautiful life, much less a good one."<sup>9</sup>

One senses also from the letters that his still unformed view of society and the world was in harmony with his interpretation then of his imagined role, and this motivated his ideas in connection with his scientific progress.

The changes taking place in the world--Hitler's coming to power, the suppression of the Schutzbund, to which he was an eye witness in Vienna, the painful differences between Western European and domestic living conditions which could be sensed every day, the becoming manifest of the real goals of the Gombos type "reform" policy--and in part the development of his most personal contacts prompted a self-examination. "My father died in 1935; at the time,

from 1933 to 1935, I was abroad. This came upon me with a bunch of personal crises which awakened me on an entirely different level, in male-female relationships, to the fact that there was a sort of noxious reserve in me in regard to people, the affairs of the world, in my readiness to give myself to others and to things, and this had to be changed. All at once at this time, entirely in myself, far from one another, my relationship to Erdei changed. Up to then Erdei was a good friend to me, but one whose mere existence caused a certain disquiet. Because of the revolutionaries in him. Then, primarily in the Geneva and Paris environment, I met with societies where one saw in the behavior of average men that there was a revolution in these countries. And a form of human dignity presented itself to me about which I had to know clearly that it existed at home only very rudimentarily."<sup>10</sup> Letters of the time prove the preciseness of the picture of spiritual events recalled at a distance of several decades. In February 1935, he wrote in a letter addressed to Erdei: "On a theoretical plane I am inclined to respect the contemplative intellectual activity more than the political--which might be called laziness on the practical plane--but I do not believe that it would be a source of problems because 1. by birth there is a resistance in me to completely ignoring politics and 2. contemplative intellectual activity requires an intellectual atmosphere which is so lacking in our country today that /here an honest man is either political or he leaves./" (Emphasis mine, T. H.)<sup>11</sup>

In this way the year 1935 can be characterized as the beginning of a turn of existential significance in the development of his personality and the course of his thinking. "As the beginning," because the transformation of his value attitude was a process which, in the decade preceding the liberation, can be divided into essentially two phases--although the dividing lines are relative--from 1935 to 1940 and from 1940 to 1945.

What are the most decipherable characteristics of the first period according to our present information? Those plebian railings which emotionally motivated his behavior from the first moment of his awakening strengthened and, in part, received new meaning. Bibó turned with greater awareness against the absurd phenomena of the "neobaroque Hungarian society" but at the same time there still lived in him the hope that if the better part of the intelligentsia awakened to its historical obligations the necessary reforms could be realized within the given frameworks. In his own words: "There was far from being in me that complete alienation from the world of the gentry than there was in Erdei; there was antipathy but it did not derive from a complete qualitative difference."<sup>12</sup>

He was far from having developed ideas about the sociopolitical conditions for changes--let us not forget that in 1935 he was 24 years old--but he was aware that politics was the primary sphere for the unavoidable struggles. In the Gombos period--there not being a party whose program he could feel was his own and because in any case "party politics tricks" were alien to him--he felt that in this sphere also he could be an influential factor only if his professional progress were irreproachable, if he had sufficient scientific authority. "I myself continued to imagine the path to my career," he says in his memoirs, "as being first to use the possibilities I had to try to get a position as university professor and to get relative independence, starting from which I

might be able to do something in public life and politics. Because ultimately I always wanted to be active in politics just as much as Ferenc Erdei."<sup>13</sup>

From the present perspective, knowing the realities of the age, the correspondence of the avowed goal and the path chosen is questionable. It shows the human greatness of Bibo that when recalling the course of his life he provided arguments to understand this. But from his perspective the imagined tactic of turning scientific successes to profit in politics may have appeared justly consistent. In this way, the contradiction does not touch the irreproachability of his personality but it explains the restraint, the hidden duality of his studies and public role, at least in the case of certain writings and public functions.

To avoid misunderstandings, let us note that in his publications of these years there is no argumentation which would contradict his avowed conviction in any respect. What distinguishes these from his later studies, especially those after the liberation, is their professional scientific orientation.

The professional articles--in harmony with Bibo's studies--can be classified in the spheres of criminal law and international law, broadly interpreted.<sup>14</sup> A worthwhile critical analysis of them awaits the experts of legal science; but the conceptual richness and the economical structure of the arguments are striking even to the lay reader. Similar virtues characterize his foreign publications. This statement is especially applicable to his studies dealing with legal validity, legal infallibility and sovereignty.<sup>15</sup> But these writings do not contain--not even in a hidden way, locked in the kernels of the concepts--the conceptual facts of an internal, intellectual revolt, although the stations of this process can be traced precisely in his correspondence.

The "concealment"--the facts show--was deliberate. His professional progress was unbroken. In 1937 he was appointed assistant junior clerk to the Budapest Criminal Court and then to the Budapest District Court. A year later he obtained a position in the civil law and public administration department of the Ministry of Justice. Evidence of his scientific and public prestige is that in 1937 he was elected clerk of the Social Sciences Society. But at this very same time, when his career seemed that it was being fulfilled in the bourgeois sense of the word, Istvan Bibo joined the markedly opposition March Front, although he did not step forward. His personal participation remained hidden from the public. We can explain this fact by noting that he had not given up his plan connected with a university professor appointment, so the choreography of his public role was adjusted to this tactical idea.

In the fall of 1937, Istvan Bibo came in contact with the narrower leading nucleus of the March Front. He participated in the Mako meeting of the front,<sup>16</sup> and from January 1938--through the mediation of Erdei and in company with Bela Reitzer--he joined in drafting the program of the front.

This fact is significant from several aspects in view of his later career. He came to know several characteristic representatives of the folk writers' movement. In this medium he met with young Communist intellectuals who represented the popular front policy at a suitable intellectual level and with

personal faith. The debates about the program document prompted him to think through the historically realistic possibilities.

Within the framework of this postscript we cannot rehearse the philological details of the debate about the draft program, we can only point out that in most questions Bibó committed himself to the more democratic version. Worthy of note is the eminent role assigned to cooperativization in the renewal of the production organization of the country and that he urged inclusion of a separate point about the necessity for a renewal of morality in public life. ("12. Eliminating the spirit of servility from Hungarian public life; a firm public spirit which subjects every authority to the test of performance and public criticism, and an administrative and social system which removes from the shoulders of the Hungarian intelligentsia, Hungarian peasantry and Hungarian workers the constraint to cringe before power.")<sup>17</sup>

At the same time he urged a more critical expression of the problems of the self-aware Jewish and German minorities. The text recommended by Bibó: "the leading role of the Hungarians in every area of Hungarian life; full minority rights for the self-aware Jewish and German minorities, full respect for real assimilation, but, with assimilation, putting an end to the leading role and power influence in public life of strata of German and Jewish origin protecting special interests."<sup>18</sup> In his memoirs he comments as follows on the proposal and its fate: "Returning to the 1938 statement of the March Front, in the first formulation prepared with Erdei--strongly influenced by Laszlo Nemeth--I recommended a point which touched simultaneously on the Swabian and Jewish assimilation question. At that time, I was reading with great interest and mostly with agreement the work of Laszlo Nemeth titled 'In The Minority.' Later the group of signatories who decided the matter left out this point. At the time this annoyed me very much. I felt that the text became characterless with this. Today I am very happy that it happened, because the entire Laszlo Nemeth idea, which in 1939, in the shadow of Hitlerism, treated the semiassimilation of Jews and Germans in Hungary as a uniformly harmful phenomenon which was carrying the country into a colonial fate in a certain sense, was, looked at today, an extraordinarily absurd aberration...."<sup>19</sup>

He experienced the breakup of the March Front as a personal failure and was not inclined to ally himself with those who initiated joining with the Small Holders Party. Taking this step was not the inclination of the majority of the leading "Five" (Imre Kovacs, Gyula Illyes, Peter Veres, Geza Feja and Ferenc Erdei); Geza Feja went the farthest. "You have certainly read Sulyok's article," he wrote to Ferenc Erdei, "in which an Imredy-Eckhardt union is announced. I see this as the concentration song which has been played since early 1935, now again receiving new force. If anything comes of it--I am thinking of a preliminary election--it could bring confusion to some. Imagine Geza Feja and Count Pal Teleki in the same camp."<sup>20</sup> We can guess at his own mood at the time from a hastily drafted, desperate letter: "My Ferenc, the deadend and failure of the M. F. (March Front--T. H.) is fanning the flames...the collapse is complete, and it makes little difference what we do (with the exception of the Jewish matter) or how the line we could move along thus far goes to pieces. A new line must be created from the beginning."<sup>21</sup> At the same time, it appears from his correspondence that he did not share the

opinion of his communist friends, whom he characterized as "our doctrinaire progressives," who considered the "worst"--which from the text seems to have been totalitarian dictatorship supported by the Germans--unavoidable.<sup>22</sup>

But the advance of the extreme rightwing forces was a fact, a turn toward dictatorship was a real possibility, and the recognition of this dangerous situation influenced the course of his thinking in the years to follow. It may be that he did not give up his university professor aspirations,<sup>23</sup> and he continued to stay far from the legitimate forums of political public life, but the criticism of fascism became more outspoken in his studies and especially in the manuscripts which remained unpublished--he was offering proof from many sides of the idea that only a radical renewal of the world of values could protect Hungary against all sorts of totalitarian dictatorship. In this period, his views about the character and moving forces of a positive transformation of society were modified, but following the occupation of Austria and Czechoslovakia and especially of Poland there is formulated ever more forcefully in his writings the unavoidability of a change affecting the foundations of the existing system. And the values which foretold his ideological and political positions after 1945 were outlined more strikingly.

The first signs of the change in the picture of society can be found in his study titled "The Work of Ferenc Erdei in the Literature of the Crisis of the Hungarian Peasantry." This article was prepared 2 years after the breakup of the March Front. In a period when the debates within the camp of the folk writers had become especially sharp and when it appeared that the spirit of the village researchers had diminished--many were questioning the justification of the genre.<sup>24</sup> This terse article not only provides an overview of what was perhaps Erdei's most productive creative period, it is a three-dimensional evaluation of the sociography of the folk writers' movement between 1936 and 1938, the period which can be justly regarded as most valuable.

He characterizes the most significant monograph undertakings of sociography as a unique domestic contribution to so-called crisis literature, and he sees their significance in the fact that they described the crisis symptoms of Hungarian peasant life.

Crisis literature--in the value system of Bibo, its European masters were Huizinga and Ortega and the domestic representative was Laszlo Nemeth--describes before all else the crisis in the world of values, which is explained by the spread of a civilization which does not recognize standards and which trivializes culture. In our view, the works of Erdei which he analyzed--in this study Bibo dealt with "Quicksand," "Peasants," "The Hungarian Village" and "The Hungarian Town"--have a different conceptual starting point. But the subject of this work is not the sociological work of Erdei, rather it is Istvan Bibo's picture of Erdei, more precisely, what he considered essential in 1940 in the crisis literature of the Hungarian peasantry and how these circumstances emphasized by him were reflected in his later work.

From this viewpoint the study is very significant. In an extraordinarily economical article, Istvan Bibo regarded the destruction of the illusion of the village and the peasant as the most important conceptual contribution of the

monographs, or rather--as the opposite of these illusions--a form of settlement of courageous, self-aware and enterprising farmers, the vision of the new Hungarian agrarian city. He considered outstanding the ideal of free peasants, "filled with human dignity," "self-aware, lively, agile, capable and enterprising," "living in free communities" and "becoming bourgeois, able to take advantage of their freedom and of the goods of culture."

Even if his starting points were different according to us--in the works of Ferenc Erdei the social historical, social structural interdependencies are more determining--there is no doubt that Istvan Bibo correctly described the essential aspects of the value world of Erdei in these works. At the same time, emphasizing the cited values had--in 1940--the character of a program. Bibo was publicly committing himself to the consistently antifeudal, democratic, plebian trend of the folk writers' movement which affirmed urbanization and bourgeoisization. The deliberateness of the choice is proven by the fact that he distinguished the value world of Erdei simultaneously from the "bourgeois class," "which has created only bitter caricatures of this ideal," and from the ideal of "popular collectivism which brings the leash of communal supervision to a higher level" and "historical materialism."<sup>25</sup> We talked about the beginning of this turn in Bibo's ideological-conceptual development, but it has been difficult to rehearse precisely the stations of this process all the way to the end. There are several reasons for this. In the first place, the fact of our participation in the war and the more strict internal political conditions made virtually impossible, from 1941, an open expression of consistently democratic political principles. In the second place, with the moving of his friends to Budapest the correspondence, containing such important data, diminished also, and, in any case, considering the state of war, it was not advisable to entrust confidential thoughts "to the post."

In his published writings, in addition to the professional studies, Istvan Bibo also experimented with essays. These writings--"Elite and Social Sensitivity" published in 1942, "Money," and his last great study before the liberation, "Legal Public Administration, Successful Public Administration and Strong Executive Power"--are important stations in the development of his thought. But it is a common characteristic of them that--with regard to the circumstances--the fact of the universal crisis is put in parentheses. This explains why the carefully arrived at theses are linked to the concrete historical situation only indirectly and with a certain abstraction; they describe the direction of virtually existing processes; their conceptual contribution can be summed up in the formulation of basic moral requirements to be made of the behavior of leaders, in the emphasis on a few general legal-sociological interdependencies. We can regard as an exception in this regard the essay titled "A Diagnosis of Our Age" describing the more recent work of Karoly Mannheim.

At the same time, we cannot read directly from these writings the profound turn which was taking place in the world view and thinking habits of Istvan Bibo. And this is understandable. Much of the documentation of key importance of this metamorphosis could be learned of only in recent years. It was then that the unpublished and, in part, unfinished manuscripts of Istvan Bibo, written

during the war, became accessible; and knowing these it is easier to divine the "more hidden" aspects of the published writings as well. We first had an opportunity to read the historical essay titled "The Causes and History of German Political Hysteria."<sup>26</sup>

The introductory chapters of the study especially enriched our knowledge and made probable the hypothesis that the method of analysis of historical processes which is so characteristic of his writings after 1945 was tried for the first time by Istvan Bibo in this study written in 1943. In 1984, in the course of assembling the Bibo legacy, we discovered another 17-page, partly unedited, manuscript. It was proven that the "German Hysteria," probably written over a period of 4 years, was a chapter of a larger opus to which Istvan Bibo originally gave the title "A Book Written for the Peacemakers."<sup>27</sup> The complete manuscript, even if only the torso of it, provides a foundation for our formulating as a certainty that even in the first years of World War II he had already developed the key concepts and sovereign analytical method of the studies written after the liberation which are justly regarded as basic.

"Analytical method" is certainly not a precise expression, because the phenomenon which we want to characterize is not simply a method but rather a view of the world, a picture of society, an epistemological reflection or style, or an organic amalgam of these.

Before trying to describe a few characteristics of this analytical method, which we consider to be determining, we must not only seek an answer to the question of why Istvan Bibo did not publish this manuscript even after 1945 but also to the question of what could have been the immediate motive for this change of theme and role. In this article, Istvan Bibo unambiguously steps out of the role of professional scientist and although he mobilizes considerable information his article can be regarded much more as an analytical political debate article than as a scientific monograph. This statement is not a value judgment--one can rank not genres but only their representatives on the basis of quality indexes--it only establishes a fact, which is important from the viewpoint of what we have to say, because after 1945 the political essay was virtually his only genre.<sup>28</sup>

There are two consequences to stepping out of the frameworks of professional science. On the one hand, the author announces that his writings are prepared with the intent of providing a program; the occasion is always an immediate historical event; those addressed are those who "make history," or more broadly, the public of which he himself is a member, and which he wants to serve. In this sense his writings are "functional"--they have a definite ideological coloring.

On the other hand, stepping out of the frameworks of professional science is accompanied by a broadening of the scientific foundations; in the preparatory phase of writing the work and probably while writing the individual chapters, his legal theory and diplomatic history studies are constantly coupled with a methodical study of European and Hungarian history, of sociology, social psychology and politics. In addition to the works of G. Ferrero--to whom personal thanks are given in the introduction of the planned work--one can

sense the stimulating effect or original interpretation of the sociologist Max Weber, Emile Durkheim, Huizinga, the philosopher Benedetto Croce, the historian Istvan Hajnal and the work of Istvan Szabo.

For Bibo the "immediate" social structure does not mean the fulfillment of a task prescribed by some sort of institution, but rather an internal prompting formulated in the wake of the reading of historical events. In the case of the "Book for the Peacemakers" this is connected with the recognition that after the world war--which according to the conviction of Bibo at the time could end only with the defeat of the Axis powers--a new European order would develop. Under these circumstances every earlier precondition would change--partially or completely--and the future of Eastern Europe would depend on the extent to which the "peacemakers" understood the unique aspects of the area, and whether they would be able to avoid the fatal errors made after World War I at Versailles and Trianon. But the new leaders of the Eastern European states, and thus of Hungary, could only hope for a consolidation of their internal and external political systems if they built their policies on a strict historical analysis of these unique aspects. With his work Bibo intended to contribute to the hoped for collective efforts.

Taking into account the causes of the constant troubles--expressly or tacitly debating with the Marxist conception of society--he regarded as determining the processes taking place in the sphere of politics, meaning by politics not the struggles of cliques or the tricks of politicians but rather "the cause or situation of the community, of the 'polity,' and its relationship to the individual." Thus, analyzing the causes of the war, he came to the conclusion that the conflicts of economic interests, the ideological and radical conflicts were secondary or external in comparison to politics and its mass psychology effects.

It follows from this conceptual starting point that the developmental disturbances in the lives of political communities were social psychological phenomena caused by historical development and having relative stability. In the interest of a methodical analysis of these syndromes--giving an original interpretation to the categories of G. Ferrero--Bibo weaves a conceptual net. The central categories of the conceptual model are: political balance and political hysteria.

What does Istvan Bibo consider to be the leading characteristic of political balance? Not the weighing of quantitative aspects or a system of relationships which might be developed with petty political bargains or the swapping of peoples or territories. Political balance is "the proportional existence of mobility and stability, or the situation of communal life" where the power relationships and guiding principles make the given community capable of positioning itself "with optimal flexibility and optimal stability between rigidity and fluidity."

In addition to the term political hysteria--in a section titled "The Causes and History of German Hysteria," reformulated as a later independent opus--Bibo uses the term communal hysteria, which is not identical with the "higher temperature of political feelings and emotions." These are symptoms of the

democratization of communal feelings. But he does include in this syndrome the great historical shocks of communities. Such disturbances usually appear "after the collapse of political authority, revolutions, alien rule or lost wars and are usually manifested in constant fear of conspiracies, revolutions, attacks or coalitions and in the violent persecution of real or presumed political opponents. But the truly great communal hysteria is when all the characteristic symptoms of it are present together--the community is divorced from reality, it is incapable of solving the problems presented by life, self-evaluation is uncertain and exaggerated and the reactions to the influences of the surrounding world are unrealistic and out of proportion."

Just as he hypothesizes that the balance within a community can exceed "two extreme adjustments"--in the words of Bibo, a too rigid arrangement gives evidence of excessively great resistance to the changes and development of reality, so that there can be change only by means of catastrophes, while a too "fluid" arrangement does not give evidence of resistance to the external world, and so it lacks the lowest degree of identification with itself and the feeling of security which derives from this, something which is a condition for healthy, active individual or communal life--so also two extreme adjustments can disturb relations among states, "that is, the relatively independent units." On the one hand, there is the view according to which their relations are merely a function of the power relationships and so one cannot imagine the lasting realization of "any sort of law, rule or principle" in regulating relations among nations while, on the other hand, there is the view that only a power superior to the states can guarantee the balance.

The "classical system of the European balance" is the result of transcending these two extremes. The historically changing formations of it are based on the presumption that in relations among states "there is a sort of balance which is necessary and possible." Regional balance has proven the most important condition for European balance.

/Social/ balance--in the interpretation of Bibo--is "ultimately an obvious /social psychological/ phenomenon, but this does not in the least decrease its objective, regional character." (Emphasis mine: T. H.) Because every balance situation in society is tied to certain objective motifs. In the internal social and legal system these are "states of trust and security tied to objects of convincing strength, 'holy' or 'authentic' places, to regulated procedures and property relationships" while "the central objective moment for international balance is the territory of the state, more precisely the image of relative exclusiveness attaching to it."

The range of meanings of these concepts and their strict reference to one another may make sensible the more hidden motifs of "Elite and Social Sensitivity," "A Diagnosis of Our Age," "Legal Public Administration" and other Bibo articles written between 1940 and 1944. Bibo did not want to create a "grand theory"; these concepts only provide us an interpretative framework for--to use a chapter heading in his book--analyzing the "political crisis" character of the present crisis. In the center of his thinking--as we have mentioned already--stood the question of the European balance to be created with the aid of the peace treaties after the war, and as an element of this the

question of a lasting Eastern European political balance. He analyzed from the viewpoint of this question the historical lessons of the repeated world wars and the "bad peace treaties." Before all else, his conceptual structure provided a conceptual starting point for concrete historical analysis. We cannot dwell on the details, but emphasizing a few motifs is unavoidable, because this will show in the process of birth the elements of his picture of society which later proved permanent.

In the course of his analysis of the components of the present political crisis, Istvan Bibo carries out a deliberate reduction. He concentrates his attention on our continent. The reason: "Without a balance network in Europe the political order of the world cannot be restored. And the critical point for a European balance is the anarchy in Central and Eastern Europe, the collapse of political authority." This conceptual presumption explains the structure of the work. In the introduction he describes in general terms the development of Western European civilization and the chief characteristics of the formation of the European nations, and in this historical framework he analyzes the "overthrow of the regional status of Central and Eastern Europe" and the balance disturbances and communal hysteria accompanying this process. It is probable that the plan for the closing chapter, with the title "Restoring European Methods," was drafted later--in the fall of 1943. The draft can be given this date also.

Bibo did not accept the unilinear theory of general development, but when analyzing the chief interdependencies of world history he started from the hypothesis that national communities or societies--despite detours and retreats which can be attributed to various causes--proceed "as a whole" through identical states: "The starting point for the crisis tormenting Europe," he writes, "is given by the fearful shocks to that development which leads from a society based on personal rule and the privileges of birth to a democratic society without classes."

Democracy--which he held to be the greatest undertaking of "Western humanity"--is the product and goal of this development. The Western democracies are not the products of single revolutionary acts; the profound turn which yielded European civilization is the result of an organic process stretching over several centuries, which led from the "Christian idea of the inalienable dignity of the human soul" to the secular demand for equal dignity, freedom and equality of every person and then posted as a practical goal the "spiritualization of power." The practical schools for these profoundly working changes were the knightly ideal "sublimating positions of rule into a vocation and service," the "practical and vocational traditions" of a relatively more independent church and secular clergy, the Western type feudal system based on personal relationships, contracts, privileges and freedoms, the "school of feudal freedoms and local self-government," "the solution worked out for civitas and civis," the "Christian-spirited discipline and freedom" of "urban life in the middle ages," the "professional self-government of the guilds," the "free peasant life" preserved in certain parts of Europe, "the presbyterial system and the school of sectarian religious communities," and finally the trade unions as the most modern development.<sup>29</sup>

The French Revolution was the "most reckless troop movement" of European democracy. But this revolution produced contradictory processes. By overthrowing the monarchy and aristocracy it freed the political and social development of Europe of a great deal of ballast and liberated powerful creative energies. At the same time the French Revolution--unlike the English--"slipped from the hands not only of those who started it, but also of those who would carry it forward." This is why he calls it--especially its last phase--an uncompleted revolution, which became the ancient source of the political hysterias reigning in Europe. In his opinion--and this hypothesis is significant from the viewpoint of interpreting all his later work--"mankind has not yet overcome the hysterical fear produced by the French Revolution and, with the exception of England, has not since been able to carry out politics and social reform in a spiritual state of tranquil, unbiased courage. This state of fear and shock created those immoderate and romantic formulas of the political disposition which have made the political life of Europe unbalanced."

Bibo did not want to revive the conservative value attitudes of the age of restoration. He was not arguing against the spread of the principles of liberty, fraternity and equality; rather, what he considered harmful was the disorderly disturbance of an organic development which he judged to be irreversible. Because he felt: "A straight path leads from the Christian prince through the enlightened ruler and constitutional monarchy to the modern type of the impersonal head of state" and the revolution in France and in other countries following its example interrupted this organic development. From this viewpoint, he regards as crucial the proclamation of the republic at a time when the internal democratic forces were not yet able to develop new organs for political government.

The balance disturbances of the political leadership--"the feeling of anarchy and being without a leader"--produces one of the accompanying phenomena of the revolution which he judged to be of most dubious value, "the false romanticism of the brilliant political leader" and Bonapartism, the "false picture of the monarchy" and the image of a "false monarchy."

From the end of the middle ages, the "intellectual class" and the "bourgeois class" were constantly penetrating the frameworks of the "nation of the nobility." It was the undying merit of the French Revolution that it completed this process with a "triumphant act." "The intensification and democratization of the communal feelings, modern nationalism," was a product of this historical experience. Because democratic communal feeling is given its "very high temperature and stressing strength" by the fact that two feelings are united in it--the experience of the revolutionary union of people and nation and the giving of national scale to that "warm, more immediate feeling" with which the bourgeois had earlier surrounded his "narrower communities."

The experience of revolution also explains why the feelings of the bourgeois became stronger in this union. "In the final analysis, modern democracy means the victory of the form of life of the bourgeois, the man creating with care, representing himself in positions of power against aristocratism." This link between democracy and nationalism is a unique feature of Western European and Northern European development which--in the opinion of Bibo--is a still living reality in this area.

These interdependencies are not unknown in Hungarian historical literature. The new element is this stressing of the paradoxical consequences of these phenomena and linking them to the hysterias disrupting the European balance. Because the becoming more intensive of communal feelings, modern nationalism, is a paradoxical effect too. In the historical outline of Bibó, the "romantic ideal of the patriot," the "romanticism of the people," the "romanticism of revolution" are symptoms of the "unfinished" revolution.

Bibó's thesis characterizes the syndrome of "revolutionary romanticism" as follows: "In the memory of mankind the salutary effects of the great purifying storm of the French Revolution are inseparably linked with the battles at the barricades, the conspiracies, the guillotine, the welfare committees, the people flooding the streets, the people who up to now had held in dread those in power." In Bibó's opinion, these incidental elements of the "anarchy of the French Revolution" became a "romantic model" in the following centuries and produced two types which fought each other and presumed each other--the "wanton revolutionary" and the "blind reactionary." The polarization was not caused by objective contradictions--in this respect he regards only the Russian October as an exception--but rather by "empty romanticism and a corresponding, exaggerated fear," because the struggle with phantoms "forced people to deal not primarily with the state of society, the necessary changes and the vision of the society to come but rather to take a stand vis-a-vis a romantic historical possibility which was called the revolution." The result of this view--Bibó says--is the two deformed types described above for whom "it is not important through what changes society should go but rather, whatever happens, that there should be or should not be a revolution."<sup>30</sup>

In the interest of understanding his position at that time, we should talk briefly about how Istvan Bibó characterizes the delayed effect of the French Revolution in relations among nations. We talk about a delayed effect because Istvan Bibó, following Ferrero, represents the position that "the monarchy and the aristocracy were the real organs" of international relations up to 1789 exclusively and between 1814 and 1914 substantially, while the basis for the refined forms and traditions of European diplomacy, of the "peace organizing technique of the European balance," was the theory of the Christian state and the political culture rooted in the natural law of modern times. "As the forces of the new democratic nationalism began to have a say with greater force in foreign politics" this "traditional culture of international coexistence" necessarily started to break down. From this viewpoint, he regards it as a development with serious consequences that "war also entered the arsenal of high-tension moral feelings, which is so characteristic of democracy," and inseparable from this "the technique of making peace free of passion was submerged in the waves of suffering and fear, hatred and seeking satisfaction evoked by modern wars."

According to Bibó a possible tool for countering the negative effects is to humanize the political culture, the democratic mass feelings. One of the central ideas of his planned monograph--and this motif is preserved in his writings, mutatis mutandis--is that historically it is the lack or one-sidedness of this culture that characterizes Central and Eastern Europe.

Studying the process of the development of states in Western and in Central and Eastern Europe, he rewinds the thread of what happened up to the fifth and sixth centuries. He puts the change in the character of nations in the 15th to 18th centuries. In this connection he points to well-known facts. While in Western Europe the once symbolic central power seized the political life of the nation ever more strongly and the "country" became the political and administrative unit, the natural framework for the democratic mass movement blazing up, in Germany and Italy "the political formation of the German-Roman empire tangled the political development of both countries" and in East Europe the spread of the Turkish empire "subverted the existing national frameworks without being able to build above them any lasting and solid frameworks."<sup>31</sup> Finally, an artificial state formation, the Hapsburg empire, fatally confused the course of state and nation formation. In this way, the disturbances of social development in this region were accompanied by the overthrow and constant change of territorial status.

In addition, since the peoples of the empire did not have capitals in the modern sense of the word, did not have or had only partially completed administrative apparatuses, independent economic organizations and uniform political cultures, the mass movements blazing up as a result of the French Revolution had to prove, vis-a-vis the Hapsburg statism, that they were viable units with roots. This is why they reached back to "folk" factors which seemed more profound than the superficial power relationships. "Thus the 'people,' which in Western Europe was simply the representative of the dynamic of social progress (people), became in Central and Eastern Europe the bearer of distinct national traits (volk), which preserved more purely than the mixed leading strata the 'true' criteria belonging to a nation--language and popular customs." Linguistic nationalism developed as the resultant of these effects. Bibo attributes significance to this process, worked out by many authors, primarily because, according to his hypothesis, this "made" the regional status of this part of Europe, which was in movement, finally fluid. It is a uniquely central and Eastern European phenomenon that every nation of the region began to calculate its position from the viewpoint of linguistic power relationships. "Those nations on whose historical borders linguistic kin lived or which did not have historical borders put forward a program of uniting all the linguistic kin. While those on whose historical territory lived people with different languages put forward a program of single-language national state."

While in Western and Northern Europe the historical status quo maintained its "nation-defining significance" in "Central and Eastern Europe the borders between the reborn nations had either been completely submerged amidst the vicissitudes of history (the Balkans) or, if they had survived until recent times (in the case of Poland, Hungary and Bohemia), their cohesive force had weakened." This circumstance explains why these nations wanted to support the uncertainty of their political existence with ethnic factors.

The fact that the linguistic borders did not conform to the geographic and economic conditions might in itself have made the lack of balance permanent; but the most powerful conflict factors proved to be that the "historical feelings" of these nations attached to different and usually larger areas than that lived on by the population with the proper language.

The undeveloped nature of the political culture did not favor putting an end to these developmental abnormalities. But what explains the deformation of the political culture itself in Central and Eastern Europe--more precisely in the area which stretches east of the Rhine, between France and Russia?

The answer of Istvan Bibo to this question was different from that of Istvan Hajnal, who provided him the source material, or that of Istvan Szabo, but it also differed from the attempted solution of Erdei, who represented a view akin to his in many respects. While the former put the effect of social historical causes and networks in the foreground, Erdei concentrated his attention on the sociological components.<sup>32</sup> Istvan Bibo recognized and respected the significance of these causes and effects, but he did not consider them to be determining. Just as from the viewpoint of the distortion of the political culture he regarded the effect of "confused philosophies" and inciting propaganda to be secondary. Such propaganda--he said--"has an effect on individuals or masses only if fears and misleading experiences lived through with great intensity make them inclined to believe these half-truths and lies.... The half-truths and propaganda lies slide off a balanced soul."

So what made the peoples of Central and Eastern Europe unbalanced? The entire structure of the work and the strictly carried through conceptual presumptions suggest the answer: "/Every thread points in the direction of some sort of political hysteria," in rolling these up, the first task of the researcher is "to discover those /historic shocks/ which disturbed the development and balance of these countries. (Emphasis mine: T. H.)

Bibo brought the historical shocks--following logically from the material in the work offered as proof--into a relationship with two processes--the "explosive" appearance of democratism "before its time" and the difficulties of developing national character.

Because the inorganic development in this region is an increased source of the balance disturbances. The countries lying to the east of the Rhine received the system of democratic ideals--to use Bibo's words--readymade, before the internal development of their own societies would have organically matured these changes. Inseparable from this phenomenon and in part as a result of the spread of Napoleon's war, "in this region, nationalism and democracy were constituted as ideological systems which could be turned against one another." At the same time, the "tortured and difficult nature of becoming a nation" explains the final tipping of the internal political balance.

The initial conditions for Hungary were favorable, but the development of society came to a halt. And where deadend development distorts the national constitution one can already observe the unique phenomenon of interference. In the words of Bibo, the countries of Central and Eastern Europe were afraid because they were not ready, ripe democracies; and since they were afraid they could not become so. "An undisturbed development of free political life, free of fear, would have collided with the fear complexes of these nations at the most varied points."

In this way, with the constant feeling of fear, of danger, "everything which true democracies recognize only in hours of true danger--curtailing public liberties, censorship, a search for the 'agents' of the enemy and for 'traitors,' order, or the appearance of order, at all costs and strengthening national unity to the detriment of freedom--became the rule. The most varied forms of falsifying and corrupting democracy appear, from the most subtle and often not even conscious methods all the way to the most crude--playing the general right to vote against democratic development, a system of coalitions and compromises resting on unhealthy and impure positions, electoral systems which hold back or falsify the development of a healthy public will, or electoral abuses, putsches and temporary dictatorships."

Thus, the syndrome described explains not only existential fear for the community, the vision of national death, how fear becomes the public mood--which is the common experience primarily of the small nations of Eastern Europe--but also the preservation of the public life role of the monarchy, the nobility and the military, the appearance of a false real politik type interdependent with "the becoming permanent of the system of compromises and coalitions resting on impure positions" as well as the things appearing as the antitheses of these, the politicization of culture, the sense of mission of the national intelligentsia, the becoming permanent of the excesses of "political romanticism," the "deformation of the romantic patriot into an antidemocratic nationalist," the "appearance of a dictator born from the romantic idea of a brilliant political leader and embodying the hysteria of the community," the fixation of the "romantic idea of the people" in infantile dreams, the misery of territorial disputes, the preservation of "minority oppression and offenses," and the "territory-centric view."

The categories cited as a list prove that in the "Book for the Peacemakers" those basic concepts had crystalized which appeared in the studies written by Bibo after 1945, especially in his most significant historical essays. They provide the conceptual framework and, in part, the material for "The Poverty of the Small States of Eastern Europe" and the "Distorted Hungarian Disposition, Deadend Hungarian History." And in the "how" of the argument also one can recognize clearly a habit of thinking which can be called uniquely Biboan: An objective description of systems of argument opposed to his own position, simultaneously thinking through the responsibility of those on different sides, showing the distorted extremes, an aspiration to stick to the "mean" in the Aristotelean sense, passionate objectivity coupled with moral loftiness.

And if he expresses himself obscurely on a few points and not free of certain contradictions--let us not forget that disregarding one version of the "German Hysteria" the "Book for the Peacemakers" is a rough draft--this work proves even in its unfinished state that the ideas of Istvan Bibo about the future of Hungarian society were blocked out in the years between 1941 and 1944. In regard to the various alliance combinations this political platform considered both the international and domestic power factors.

It follows from his habits of thought that this picture of the future is arranged around definite basic values. His political situation analyses and program ideas contain important normative elements. The source of these values

is not the sphere of absolute values but rather those which carried historical development in Europe--human personalities and social institutions.

The characteristics of his value world can be drawn also from negative value judgments. Those "hysterical symptoms" which according to his interpretation produced World War II are the deformation products of democratic development. Such distorted historical phenomena--carrying negative values--as the "dictatorship embodying the communal hysteria," "antidemocratic nationalism," "populism which despises the masses," the "idea of total war among peoples," the surrogate of which is the ideology of fascism.

The "Book for the Peacemakers" shows in a manifest way that the antifascism of Istvan Bibó was based not only on opposition to the Germans; he rejected every version of "racial revolution," racial mythology and "reactionary revolution."

We can put his profoundly humanist, dedicatedly democratic position among the most valuable manifestations of Hungarian progressivism even if we judge differently the nature of the causes of fascism. Because it cannot be ignored that the analysis of Istvan Bibó was born in a period when distinguished historians and a few very talented representatives of the folk writers' movement had not recognized that turning from the European democratic traditions endangered the progressive content of national radicalism, whether it was done in the name of rejecting liberalism or more broadly in the name of rejecting the real contradictions of bourgeois development.<sup>33</sup>

At the same time, one can justly regard his draft political program as a positive expression of the basic values motivating his conceptual system: a positive expression of human dignity, freedom, legality and social equality. He does not formulate these values abstractly either, although it is true that the conditions connected with their realization--understandably knowing the circumstances--contain simultaneously realistic and illusory elements.

Some of his admirers list his life work in the historical line of the third-road ideologies. This concept has several meanings and has become blurred. It is used as an alternative to capitalism and socialism or as alternative to liberalism based on free competition and totalitarian state organization. But the classification is not without foundation. He judged the historically existing forms of capitalism no less critically than the socialist movements. In this respect, his position can be related to the world view of the Laszlo Nemeth type just as much as to the historical vision of Karoly Mannheim, which he judged positively. Still, the "value world" of Bibó is unique; it can be only related to and not identified with those of the thinkers cited.<sup>34</sup> His conception differed from the world view of Laszlo Nemeth--especially after 1940--primarily in the fact that Bibó clearly distinguished the "interest encasements" of the bourgeoisie from the citizen ideals, from the positive value domains of "urbanitas" and "civitas." And we can distinguish Bibó's concept of society or "picture of the future" outlined in this work from the Mannheim program of "planning in the interest of freedom" on the basis of his recognition of the world historical validity of the socialist perspective.

This picture of socialism differs in substance from the Marx-Lenin conception of it. And this is understandable knowing the cited social theory starting points. For Istvan Bibo the causes of class antagonisms and the methods for resolving them are made independent of the problem of the mode of production in the broad sense, nor does he accept the principles of the materialist world view.

For the time being, let us set aside the degree to which Istvan Bibo's reading of Marxist social theory can be regarded as authentic--we will return to the question--here and now we want to stress only that even in the apocalyptic years of the world war he justified the "inevitability of socialism" with historically motivated value considerations. "Socialists especially--as the men of the future--must guard against the illusion," Istvan Bibo writes, "that socialism is something which, out of economic necessity, is the only possible or by far the best solution.... Socialism is inevitable and necessary because with our present views of the personality and dignity of man a liquidation of the birth privileges of society, of the institutions of personal rule and of all sorts of servitude--whether political, social or economic--is unavoidable."<sup>35</sup>

In this sense, socialism is an organic constituent element of the world of values, and putting it on the positive pole of this is a continuation and fulfillment of the most eternal values of bourgeois societies, the values of central significance for Bibo. "If continuity and forming the future are taken seriously, then only one world view is possible for Europe, a conception based on respect for the human personality, a world view of freedom and democracy, which includes today the requirements of the spiritualization of power and a classless society."

A commitment to the great traditions of the development of European society and a stressing of the value aspects of the picture of the future indispensable for political action are thus combined in this conception of socialism. The simultaneous emphasis of the two elements is essential because--in harmony with the fundamental principles of his conception of society--Bibo regards the organic nature of development as a definitive criterion. As we have seen, he regards inorganic development as the cause of historical hysterias and he regards organic and well-founded development as the indispensable condition for resolving the hysterias. All this should be emphasized because he was convinced that a "speeded up" or "undeveloped" revolution could cast a shadow on the socialist future, too.

In his "Book for the Peacemakers" Bibo mentions the Soviet Union in several connections. His characterization of the socialist country bearing the burden of the war against fascism is not friendly, but neither is it hostile. In this respect also his position differs from that of the representatives of the third road.

But this characterization had a fundamental role in Istvan Bibo's way of looking at society and the world. He wanted to stress that even if the revolution was inevitable in Russia in 1917, the conditions were not given at the present time in the other regions of Europe. For this reason, a forced

following of the Russian example would produce the hysterias of "undeveloped revolutions." Because dictatorial solutions in Central and Eastern Europe would not result in realization of a dictatorship of the proletariat which could be connected with the names of Lenin or Stalin. If the institutions of the bourgeois democracies did not limit this type of state then it would be limited even more effectively by the "unchangeable nature of the ideal and goal. In Central and Eastern Europe, in the name of whatever world view it makes its appearance, a dictatorship is not such a thing, or it would soon cease to be so. What threatens in Central and Eastern Europe is the danger of unlimited personal rule, not that a dictatorship will be established for some purpose but rather a dictatorship for itself."

And going beyond this, in general also one must guard against "isms" which make an example into a model. In "left" and "right" ideologies alike there is a strong inclination toward one-sided solutions. In his reading, the latter is characterized by "a rigidity preserving everything" while the former is not infrequently characterized by the "unripeness of renewing everything."

But Istvan Bibó certainly does not judge these movements in the same way; he regarded himself as committed to programs and a member of the historical leftwing. He saw his task to be to warn the socialist representatives of the leftwing that they should not deliberately yield to the forces of backwardness the positive traditions of European development.

To what extent Istvan Bibó's statements about the "narrow and catastrophically wasteful traditions of class struggle" were well founded we will for the most leave aside. More essential in this connection--and this was determining from the viewpoint of the position he developed after 1945--is that he recognized and expressed appreciation for the fact that in the struggle against the "myths of race and violence" and the oppression of worker liberties the organized workers of continental Europe found as allies on their side, or at least found themselves with more or less common interests, people who would take sides, with all their heart and soul, according to the prescribed schema of class struggle. In practice this led to a situation where the significance of such words and factors as religion, the churches, the nation, national liberty, national independence, democracy, the intelligentsia, etc. changed entirely in the repertory of militant slogans of the socialist workers.

Knowing the possible stumbling blocks, Istvan Bibó openly poses the question of the extent to which the popular front policy can be classified as a tactic. His answer is unambiguous, the later turns of history--which seemed to contradict Bibó's hopes--do not invalidate the significance of it.<sup>36</sup>

He knew the history of the social democrat and communist movements; he dealt in detail with the tragic consequences of their one-sidedness and opposition in Weimar Germany. But he felt that these historical experiences strengthened the positions of those who believed in the popular front policy, especially in the communist parties which he considered more combatworthy.

But we must note that Istvan Bibo's image of the international communist movement consisted of two essential elements which do not belong together organically. One is 100 percent socialism and the other is 100 percent revolutionary tactics. The first is characterized by the fact that while it may be realistic and may have a "purer conception in regard to the psychological conditions for and factors of social development," at the same time the "cheap compromise," the identification of socialism with the "social oil drops of giving alms," is alien to it. And the revolutionary tactics--in his interpretation--were a "rationalized derivative" of nineteenth century romanticism.

On the basis of his experiences in the March Front and the MIKSZ [Association of Artists, Writers and Researchers], he was convinced that there were in the Hungarian communist movement representatives of a realistic viewpoint which could successfully realize the popular front policy. He regarded the emigration as a risky factor, calculating that those returning from abroad might become the mainstays of "romantic rationalism" as a result of inadequate knowledge of the home terrain.<sup>37</sup>

Why did Bibo trust in the coming to the top of the alternative of the popular front policy after the war? Why, in the most desolate hours of the world war, did he undertake the development of the "Peace Proposal" which would lay the ideological foundations for the alliance and cooperation of the Hungarian workers and middle class? On the one hand, because, on the basis of his analysis of the power relationships, he came to the conclusion that "the organized workers are the only serious progressive factor which can be taken into account in the work of restoring European methods."<sup>38</sup> In this regard, he emphasized especially the role of the trade unions, which he characterized as the most important schools for fitting into "European communal traditions."<sup>39</sup> On the other hand, because, on the basis of what he knew about social psychology, he hypothesized that "continental Europe has received such a large dose of false romanticism, of a maddening philosophy and practice...of dynamic strength, eternal movement and continual change, of a zeit geist which changes every 25 years" that realistic trends could hope for mass support only in the parties of the workers. And finally, he himself sincerely wanted the development of a progressive historical bloc which would include the workers.

The cited trains of thought, pairs of categories and action alternatives outlined might suggest that Istvan Bibo's social theory and political program had been essentially completed by the summer of 1944 and that--knowing the manuscripts which became available recently--this might modify the hasty characterization cited in the opening lines of this "Postscript." But this has a foundation only in part. These writings do foretell the studies which made Istvan Bibo one of the significant political thinkers of the coalition years, indeed they foretell the most important thoughts of the essay titled "The Meaning of European Social Development" recorded on tape in 1971, but this very valuable rough draft is not only insufficiently worked out stylistically, the conceptual material and program proposals are also immature in a number of points. This manuscript, serving strictly instrumental purposes, was born in fragments--for reasons not yet sufficiently recognized--and Bibo understandably modified the emphasis in the process of formulation, reacting to a quickly

changing world situation. Bibo's principles did not change, but the power relationships defining the possibilities for movement, for action, did change. Perhaps this circumstance explains why this uncompleted draft is not characterized by the conceptual tightness, the careful logical harmonization of assertions, which is otherwise so characteristic of his writings. From this viewpoint, the blurring and undeveloped nature of some categories is striking. (As examples, we might refer to the concepts of "national materialism," "military materialism" or "registered interests.")

On the other hand--and perhaps this is more determining--the political ruminations of Istvan Bibo, deliberately holding back from active political involvement, were necessarily formulated in complete isolation, far from the public forums, and thus there was no community which might have resonated on his thoughts and on the reactions of which he himself might have judged the foundation of his assertions. The extremely precise perceptions and precise prerequisites are probably linked with utopian, naive presumptions for this reason; because it is obvious that only thus can we classify his stylized, one-sided characterization of "European methods," his classification of the potent factors of the European balance after the war--for example he judged the presumed role of the United States in this process to be incidental--and his typology of "conservative," "progressive" and "static" forces, which certainly seems arbitrary.

A lack of information or one-sided information may explain the factual errors--the censored press and news from foreign radios could not have provided the factual material indispensable for a more precise orientation--but we must regard as illusory the supposition that in the larger part of continental Europe, and thus in Germany, too--one could base the "work of restoring European methods" on the officers of the armies, in addition to the churches out of the conservative forces, that in the combination of conservative factors capitalism need not be regarded as a factor to take into account, even if otherwise we can and must accept his thinking regarding limiting the political role of capitalism.

Similarly problematical is his account of the progressive forces, especially his summary judgment of the role of the intelligentsia. His pessimism is not without an objective basis, but his assertion that "a free and broadminded intelligentsia never existed too much" as a constituent element of the political coalition, "but in continental Europe it has been completely destroyed" is one-sided even if otherwise he regards the participation of some intellectuals as "important and desirable to the highest degree" and he characterizes the "free intelligentsia" as "the most sensitive and most beautiful flower" of European cultural, political and social development.

Among the "static factors," he speaks of the bureaucracy and the peasantry. He calls the latter the most static and most passive of all the power factors. His position differs not only from the romantic trends of the early Hungarian populist movements or the 1943 Szarszo program of Erdei but in part even from his own later situation analyses. In a series of articles published in 1947 dealing with the role of the National Peasant Party, he regards this internally articulated stratum--especially the poor peasantry--as one of the most important factors of Hungarian social development.

Finally, no less problematical is how Bibo judges the bourgeoisie. In Bibo's analysis this stratum "which did not figure as a strong factor even in 1933" dissolved in the latter decade "into the amorphous mass directed, controlled and supplied by the state and the further reduction of its independent existence and the scattering of the entire stratum" have progressed to such a degree that the bourgeoisie "can be ignored in a calculation based on separate social and political power factors."

The social theory methodological considerations formulated in the "Book for the Peacemakers" also give occasion for the formulation of a number of questions. But we intend to return to these later.

#### FOOTNOTES

Part of a study which will accompany a Bibo volume being prepared by the Magveto Book Publishers. The Bibo texts quoted were checked professionally by Istvan Vida. The text of the "Book for the Peacemakers" was prepared for the press by Sandor Szilagyi.

1. His most significant cultural history books are: "The World of Primitive Man," Szeged, 1927, and "The Development of the Role and Significance of Numbers in the History of Mankind," Szeged, 1935. Between 1921 and 1924 he edited the journal TARSADALOMTUDOMANY in the capital; he was one of its founders. Following the move to Szeged he was editor of the journal NEPUNK ES NYELVUNK from 1929 to 1935, and until his death he was one of the patrons of the Plains Research Committee.
2. "A Talk With Istvan Bibo," interview by Tibor Huszar, VALOSAG, No 9, 1980.
3. Letters of Ferenc Erdei and Bela Reitzer to Istvan Bibo (transcript), ELTE [Lorand Eotvos Science University] Sociological Institute, S-133/78.
4. "A Talk With Istvan Bibo," interview by Tibor Huszar, VALOSAG, No 9, 1980, p 34.
5. His first communication appeared in 1934, "The Question of Sanctions in International Law." His prize-winning entry--which can be found in our volume too--appeared in 1935. He gave two lectures at the Vienna university in German, with the titles "Torts in Common Law" and "The Concept of Law and Theories of Force." He gave four lectures on diplomatic history in Geneva in French. In 1935, at the age of 24, he participated in the congress of the International Legal Philosophy and Legal Sociology Institute.
6. "A Talk With Istvan Bibo," interview by Tibor Huszar.
7. Op. cit., p 32.
8. Istvan Bibo to Ferenc Erdei, Geneva, February 1935 (transcript), library of the ELTE Sociological Institute, S-133/78.

9. Istvan Bibó to Ferenc Erdei, Vienna, 26 April 1934 (transcript), library of the ELTE Sociological Institute, S-133/78 E-8.
10. "A Talk With Istvan Bibó," interview by Tibor Huszar.
11. Istvan Bibó's letter to Ferenc Erdei, January 1935 (transcript), ELTE Sociological Institute, S-133/78 E-6.
12. "A Talk With Istvan Bibó," interview by Tibor Huszar.
13. Op. cit., p 38.
14. One might mention here also "Force, Law, Freedom" printed in 1935, "Ethics and Criminal Law" published in 1938 and a number of reviews not appearing in this volume published primarily in the journals TARSADALOMTUDOMNY and SZELLEM ES ELET.
15. "Le dogme du 'bellum justum' et la theorie de l'infaillebilite juridique," REVUE INTERNATIONALE DE LA THEORIE DE DROIT, No 1, 1936; "Rechtskraft, rechtliche Unfehlbarkeit, Souverenitat," ZEITSCHRIFT FUR OFFENTLICHES RECHT, No 5, 1937.
16. For the Mako conference, see Konrad Salamon, "The March Front," Academy Press, 1980.
17. Versions of the 1938 draft program of the March Front--modifying proposals of Bela Reitzer and Istvan Bibó (transcript), library of the ELTE Sociological Institute. The final version of the program appeared in issue No 3, 1938, of VALASZ with the title "What Do the Hungarian People Want?". See also Istvan Bibó's letter to Ferenc Erdei, Budapest, 18 February and 21 February 1938, library of the ELTE Sociological Institute, S-133/78, E-6/30-33.
18. Ibid.
19. "A Talk With Istvan Bibó," interview by Tibor Huszar.
20. Istvan Bibó's letter to Ferenc Erdei, Budapest, 22 May, library of the ELTE Sociological Institute, E-6/43.
21. Istvan Bibó's letter to Ferenc Erdei, Budapest, 27 June 1938, library of the ELTE Sociological Institute, E-6/46.
22. Istvan Bibó's letter to Sandor and Ferenc Erdei, Budapest, 23 December 1938, library of the ELTE Sociological Institute, E-6/52.
23. He qualified as a lecturer in legal philosophy in Szeged in 1940. Following this, in the fall of 1941, he was elected secretary of the Hungarian Social Sciences Society and advertised private university lectures at the Cluj university. In 1942, he competed for a position as

professor of social theory in the Philosophical Sciences School of the Peter Pazmany Science University. The setting for his contacts with the leftist movements was the Federation of Artists, Writers and Researchers. During the war years he gave lectures at the Gyorffy Collegium.

24. Imre Kovacs: "Letter About the March Front," KELET NEPE, No 6, March 1940; Peter Veres: "An Accounting," SZABAD SZO, 24 March 1940; Gyula Gombos: "A Corrupted Population," MAGYAR UT, 9 May 1940.
25. Istvan Bibo: "The Work of Ferenc Erdei in the Literature of the Crisis of the Hungarian Peasantry," Budapest, 1940.
26. In 1977, the author made a typed version of this study available to the ELTE Sociological Institute as source material. Part of it appeared in TORTENELMI SZEMLE, No 2, 1980.
27. MTA [Hungarian Academy of Sciences] Manuscript Archives, MS. 5III/31-35. Sandor Szilagyi prepared the uncompleted manuscript for the press.
28. The talk he gave in 1947 on assuming a seat in the MTA, titled "The Separation of State Powers Then and Now," can justly be regarded as unusual in this respect.
29. Versions of the train of thought cited differ in his later writings. The similarities of the text are especially striking with "The Separation of State Powers Then and Now" written in 1947 and certain chapters of the work titled "The Meaning of European Social Development" recorded on tape in 1971. The shifts or modifications of emphasis faithfully reflect the development of Bibo's thought.
30. From this viewpoint see a few statements of key significance in the article titled "The Crisis of Hungarian Democracy" written in 1945, or the study titled "Coalition at the Crossroads" which appeared in 1947.
31. We can justly regard these parts of the "Book for the Peacemakers" as the first version of the historical essay titled "The Poverty of the Small Eastern European States" published in 1946.
32. Istvan Hajnal: "Concerning a Work Group for the Historiography of Small Nations," Budapest, 1942; Istvan Szabo: "History of the Hungarian Peasantry," Budapest, 1940; Ferenc Erdei: "The Hungarian Peasant Society," Budapest, 1940.
33. His critical observations about the trends mentioned, which can be found in this selection, in connection with the book by Gyula Borbandi with the title "Hungarian Populism" which appeared in German in 1970, coincide completely with his earlier positions. See Gyula Juhasz: "Reigning Ideals in Hungary, 1939-1944," Budapest, 1983, pp 108-135 and 248-324.
34. From this viewpoint see the selection of his political and historical studies titled "Third Road" which appeared in London in 1960. The volume was edited by and an introduction was written by Zoltan Szabo.

35. "Book for the Peacemakers," op. cit., p 209. This motif is a determining one in his later writings also. See "The Crisis of Hungarian Democracy," 1945, pp 65-67, or the work titled "The Meaning of European Social Development," recorded in 1971. What changes is his relationship to the existing socialism.
36. "Book for the Peacemakers," op. cit., pp 233-234: "So it is in vain for the antiliberals, on the one hand, and the guardians of orthodox Marxism and of the orthodox dogmas of revolutionary tactics, on the other, to compete in convincing us that this change in the militant slogans of the European socialist workers is merely tactical. It may be that in certain parts it is tactical and it may be that if the present forms of the struggle become pointless then they will try with strong jolts at certain points to reactivate the old situation of militant socialism. But this reactivation will not be and cannot be lasting."
37. Op. cit., pp 215-216. These ruminations apply not only to the communist emigrees; in the antifascist movements in general he distinguished between the attitudes of the "migrants" and those who had experienced things from within.
38. The "peace proposal" of the Hungarian workers to the Hungarian middle class. Draft, summer, 1944. KRITIKA, No 12, 1983.
39. Istvan Bibo: "Book for the Peacemakers," op. cit. p 230.
40. The domestic reception of the articles of E. H. Carr published in the TIMES in 1943 is instructive from this viewpoint. Both Bibo and Laszlo Nemeth referred to his conjectures, but the changing positions were less well known. See Gyula Juhasz, op. cit., p 233.

8984

CSO: 8025/0495

REGIME TACKLES JUSTIFICATION OF 40 YEAR COMMUNIST HISTORY

Top Level 3-Day Conference

Budapest ESTI HIRLAP in Hungarian 10 Dec 84 p 1

[Article: "Scientific Conference at the Academy: History of 4 Decades"]

[Text] A 3-day scientific conference on the topic of social evolution over the last 40 years began this morning in the assembly hall of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences under the guidance of the Party History Institute of the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, the Sociological Institute, the Political Academy, the Loran Eotvos University and the Hungarian Academy of Sciences as well as the Karl Marx University of Economic Sciences.

After the presidential opening address by academy member Janos Szentagothai, three lectures in connection with the topic will be delivered on the last 4 decades of Hungarian history, on the changes in our country's international position and on the development of the structure of Hungarian society.

Within the framework of the scientific conference, an afternoon lectures entitled "Socialism and National Consciousness in Hungarian Development after the Liberation" will be given. Reports on the epoch will follow.

Historical Ignorance of Youth

Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 30 Nov 84 p 1

[Editorial: "Student Conference on National History"]

[Text] The student conference on national history begins today in Szekszard under the auspices of the Ministry of Culture and Education, the central committee of the Hungarian Communist Youth League, and the National Council of the Patriotic People's Front.

The 40th anniversary of our country's liberation lends a special timeliness to the conference and encourages the movement's participants to take into account: what benefit do our young people obtain from a knowledge of the past, and how much does a study of the lessons of the past help students to get their bearings in today's world?

At the same time, the question indicates that the movement's retrospective pursuit of the distant past is slightly excessive. A change in proportion would thus be advisable, since the recent past offers no fewer lessons than bygone centuries.

On the other hand, it is as if the movement's center of interest has shifted in the direction of ethnography, and more profound and high-quality work will undoubtedly follow in this area, but at the same time the number of students who participate in the movement is declining.

The close relation between patriotic education and the movement for knowledge of one's country should accordingly be expanded and strengthened while seeking all those meeting points which satisfy the students' interest and offer a program. A single example: frequently, after long years of schooling, the students are not familiar with the main points of the thousands of lessons provided by the namesake of their school or their own street; at best, they reel off only trivial facts about him--with increased vagueness if it is a matter of an eminent personality in the workers' movement.

Knowledge of one's country begins on the immediate horizon with knowledge of one's family, one's house and place of birth. Can there be any doubt that a youth who is unfamiliar with the background to his father's youthful aspirations and former passions--much less those of his grandfather--is devoid of fundamental footholds? Should we find fault with the young people for this?

The conference's adult participants must look these issues straight in the eye, because only by acknowledging and correcting omissions can they be certain that the students will become their partners in joint deliberations from today on. Every epoch is itself obliged to reactivate meaningfully the slogan "here you must live and die." Otherwise our children will only learn to recite it, if they learn it at all.

Participants in study circles, competitions and camps represent secondary school students at the conference. While we wish for further successful activity, we also want them to increase the size of their camp.

12327  
CSO: 2500/120

## NOWE DROGI VIEWS CPSU'S SOCIALIST EXPERIENCE

AU302007 Warsaw NOWE DROGI in Polish No 11 Nov 84 pp 5-18

[Jerzy Kraszewski article: "Universal Experience of Real Socialism in the CPSU's Theory and Practice"]

[Text] If I were to characterize most briefly the nature of the phenomena taking place in the USSR, I would write that the party's theoretical thought has been greatly stimulated and that practical work has been strongly invigorated. Both these streams are parallel and closely interrelated and both of them help accelerate socialist development. Theoretical thought, which continues to enrich Marxist-Leninist science and practical activities, is based on a profound analysis of the problems of socialist and communist construction in the USSR in the years since the October revolution. A penetrating research into the present phenomena, synthetic appraisals of experience, and a specific definition of the tasks of the present stage of improving developed socialism are the basis of this analysis. Although the general theoretical conclusions produced in the USSR concern directly the USSR, they are universal in nature and merit the serious attention of the other communist and workers parties.

I think we could say that, on the one hand, we face the continuation of the general concept of socialist and communist construction and, on the other, we face the search for methods and means corresponding to new internal and international conditions, to the present level and scale of production forces, and to the new social trends developed in the process of the growth of socialism. The continuation of the strategic line signifies that the basic socialist principles, which have been positively verified by reality, have been recognized as permanent and inviolate. It signifies respect for present achievements and for the values that have been created by socialism and puts forward the postulate that gains should be creatively utilized and positive phenomena consolidated. Continuation also signifies a conscious utilization of those enormous opportunities that socialism provides at a new historical stage.

The party's keen and solicitous attitude toward the complicated and at times difficult problems produced by life deserves our attention. After all, life never becomes rigid. It consists of many planes and pulsating levels and produces new phenomena. "At times this induces us," CPSU General Secretary K. Chernenko writes, "to reflect on those that may seem indisputable and to intensify our knowledge about accepted laws.... It is impossible for us to forge ahead without developing Marxist-Leninist science. However, Leninism

does not acknowledge falsely conceived new things when for reasons of fashion or for purely expedient reasons one hastens to replace the principles verified by life with tentative schemes, which have not been comprehensively verified by experience and by the international practice of the struggle for socialism." (K. Chernenko: "The Vanguard Role of the Communist Party," KOMMUNIST, Issue 6, 1982)

The CPSU has avoided two extremes: It continues to carefully watch and analyze new phenomena and problems and "to reflect on theses that may seem indisputable." However, falsely conceived new things are alien to it. The CPSU does not become rigid through dogmas, as the reformists assert, nor does it succumb to the temptations or revisionism. The CPSU proceeds from the assumption that Marxist-Leninist science is not only a coherent system of philosophical and socioeconomic principles and views, but also constitutes a philosophical and methodological basis for the CPSU's activities. Guided by this principle, it analyzes the facts and phenomena and solves theoretical and political problems from the viewpoint of the interests of class warfare.

The genuinely creative and truly novel nature of the CPSU's theoretical activities is also demonstrated by its skill in discerning new processes and new social trends just in good time. An outstanding proof of this is the theoretical activity of the party, which in the past few years has helped to work out the theory of developed socialism and of its comprehensive improvement. This is undoubtedly a development of the Marxist-Leninist theory of socialism at its present stage. Important components of this theoretical synthesis have been gradually created, beginning with the 24th CPSU Congress. At this congress and at the 25th CPSU Congress, ideas and theses were created, which the 25th Congress developed, generalized, and turned into a uniform and universal theory of real socialism.

The successive CPSU Central Committee plenums, especially the November plenum in 1982, the June plenum in 1983, and the February plenum in 1984, helped to deepen the 26th Congress theses. The basic theoretical result of the work of the CPSU Central Committee and its scientific-research base is the concept for improving developed socialism. This concept has become a permanent theoretical and methodological basis of the CPSU's strategy and practice for a long period. Conditions were created for more deeply analyzing the dialectics of the development of the communist formation and for tightening the forecasts regarding the length of the socialist stage of the new society.

The development of Marxist-Leninist theoretical thought has helped to overcome the subjective and one-sided views about the "separateness" and "independence" of the socialist formation vis-a-vis communism and to classify as baseless the thesis that it is possible to make a "leap" to reach a higher phase of the communist formation immediately after the foundations of socialism have been built. The conclusion is that the practice of socialist construction shows that the foundations of socialism are too narrow a base to serve as a basis for the process of going over to communism. Socialism must undergo certain inevitable stages of development and must gain in strength in the economic, ideological, and social sectors with the help of its own base. This is neither easy nor simple. Practice has shown that the development and

improvement of socialism is just as difficult as the construction of its foundations, although the difficulties involved are different. K. Chernenko characterized the features of this stage of the creation of a new formation like this: "Soviet society has embarked upon a historically long-term stage of developed socialism, the comprehensive improvement of which is our strategic goal.

"These principles easily express the dialectics of the modern stage of mature socialism, but this is only a beginning of the stage. On the one hand, we have before us large-scale tasks for the present and the future and, on the other, there are problems that seem to be a heritage from yesterday.... Working out the concept of developed socialism, devising the ways of raising the effectiveness of production under the conditions of scientific-technological revolution, tackling the problem of establishing a classless structure of society within the historical framework of the first stage of communism, deepening our ideas about the meaning of the national problem at the present stage and about the most important trends of international life, the development of the Leninist science of war and peace and of the defense of the socialist fatherland, as well as other theoretical general theses have armed the party with new ideas and with a justified and scientifically considered approach to the current problems of modern times." (K. Chernenko: "Current Issues of the Party's Ideological and Political Work Among Us," delivered as a report to the CPSU Plenum in June 1983.)

The concept for improving developed socialism was born as a result of an honest, realistic, and Marxist-Leninist analysis of the CPSU's entire experience. This evaluation did not diminish the great achievements of socialism and did not dramatize various shortcomings. It amounted to a class analysis, one that was based on a thorough knowledge of reality and that verified reality with the help of the criteria of scientific communism. That is why this [word indistinct] from revisionist revaluations of the essence of our system, from attempts to solve the problems of socialism by the methods proper or close to the previous formation, and from the voluntaristic political solutions that are alien to socialism.

How is it possible to most briefly define the features of the present stage of improving developed socialism? What is the theoretical and practical meaning of these features? What is the nature of this stage of socialist construction? It is certainly not the concept of "reforms," whose point of departure would amount to negating present experience or to recognizing errors as a permanent feature of socialism. Analyses are considered, appraisals are realistic, and the objective and subjective factors are as realistic as they are equitable. Socialism is a living system and grows under definite historical conditions and in a difficult international situation when world capitalism continues to offer ferocious opposition. Like every other political system, socialism continues to change, improve, and to learn from experience, but it does this in a qualitatively different manner because it is based on scientific foundations. Socialism has already solved many problems which the capitalist system has been unable to solve for centuries. Socialism continues to solve many problems at a slower rate than was possible to predict dozens of years ago, because external conditions have proved to be less favorable. These are

the "problems that seem to be a heritage of yesterday." (K. Chernenko) However, the agenda also includes the phenomena that have been produced by the new system, that the previous formation did not know, and that were unknown during the construction of the foundations of socialism.

In this light it is possible to reduce the definition of the concept for improving developed socialism to the following elements: Efforts to consolidate the economic base, to strengthen positive features, and to eliminate the difficulties resulting from objective and subjective factors. This definition also includes efforts to accelerate the scientific-technological revolution, to intensify the economy, to modernize economic mechanisms, to promote progress in further eliminating class differences, to consolidate the scientific view of the world, to improve the entire political system and the style of guidance, to increase the role of the councils, and to develop socialist democracy.

Improving developed socialism will gradually lead to communism. This is a historical process, one that is greatly complicated, multifaceted, and long-term. It will not take place on its own and haphazardly. Its success depends on exacting, consciously programmed, and effective economic, organizational, and ideological activities of the communist party. The stage of improving developed socialism will certainly have its own phases and gradations of development, which it is difficult to foresee now. Time and the coming new experience will answer the question of how long these phases will last and what specific forms they will assume.

These statements and the definition resulting from them should be supplemented by the following commentary: Profound realism and matter-of-factness of evaluations and analyses are the distinctive features of the CPSU's theoretical thought in this regard. The same distinctive features characterize the programmatic documents issued by the CPSU in the past few years. The CPSU Central Committee has often recalled and continues to recall that the awareness of the development stage, that is, of the place at which communist construction finds itself at a given time, is a condition for effectively organizing communist construction. Anticipating events and wishful thinking would amount to formulating programs impossible of implementation. Self-satisfaction with achievements would prevent the exploitation of potential opportunities. Historical criticism and pooh-poohing the gains of socialism would lead to disorientation and hinder making the best decisions on the future.

Professor F. Burlatskiy from the Social Science Academy run by the CPSU Central Committee gave this brief definition of the issue, not so long ago. "The concept of developed socialism, including the achievements of Soviet society, creates the foundations of the action program for the party, the state, and all the Soviet people at the present stage of improving developed socialism and going over to communism. This concept helps the party to map out the tasks that should be accomplished now, to find ways of eliminating the difficulties that arose during the previous stages when economic, social, cultural, and other problems had to be solved, and to raise the effectiveness of the socialist system."

We can certainly assume that the basic condition for the concept of improving developed socialism is the comprehensive intensification of the economy, the rapid elimination of the extensive factors in economic growth, the radical boosting of social productivity, and, on the basis of this, the improvement in people's conditions. This issue should be discussed more thoroughly than other issues. The lines of the implementation of this postulate were clearly formulated by the 26th CPSU Congress documents: "In the eighties the communist party will consistently implement its economic strategy, the supreme goal of which is a constant growth of the people's material and cultural conditions and the creation of better conditions for the comprehensive development of the individual on the basis of the increased effectiveness of the entire social production, increased productivity, and the Soviet people's social and occupational militancy." The successive plenums of the CPSU Central Committee have developed these lines of action.

What is at stake is a further rapid development of production forces in order to ensure improvement in living conditions. However, what is required is intensive and qualitative development, involving great skills and refinement, which were absent during the period when the foundations of socialism were being built. It was natural that in the past Soviet economy, which had to make good the centuries of Tsarist backwardness and war destruction, developed extensively and was ineffective. The domination of the extensive factors in the economy was an objective phenomenon at that time, which it was impossible to avoid. All comparisons in this regard with the developed capitalist countries are false and useless if they fail to take note of reality. The history of those countries' economic development is something different, and so were the external and internal determining factors of the first industrial revolution. The start of the two systems in the race for scientific-technological progress at the end of the 20th century was also different.

The extensive methods of development cease to be effective and lose their justification at the end of the seventies, when the increasing costs of the extraction of raw materials began to be felt as a result of the exhaustion of the European deposits and of the fact that the time arrived to turn attention to the deposits in the remote regions of the Far North and Far East. At that time the resources of manpower were very tight and began to diminish dramatically. At the same time, expenditure on the protection of the natural environment began to increase. All these factors and certainly many others were responsible for the fact that economic and social progress is now possible only if the effectiveness of production is increased and the quality of work is improved. All the necessary factors are present in the production potential to make this task feasible.

The concept of intensification is required in comprehensive terms and accepted as covering both the production process itself and the organizational-economic conditions behind its functioning. It is based on several factors, two of which play a key role. The first of these is the acceleration of scientific-technical progress based on a better use of the qualities of the socialist system of management; and the second is the restructuring of the system of managing the economy and thus liberating the additional reserves inherent in the Soviet Union's enormous production potential which has been created by the efforts of many generations.

Let us now examine the meaning of the two above-mentioned factors. Considering in the course of discussions the acceleration of scientific-technical progress as one of the chief prerequisites for economic intensification, Soviet political activists and economists generally pay attention to the fact that under USSR conditions this means above all an acceleration of automation, echanization, computerization, and robotization of production. They speak of the need to introduce modern technological solutions and a faster and more effective way of using the achievements of science and technology, and to spread research and development work.

This intention is not at all easy. It demands the setting in motion of many new stimuli of scientific-technical progress, including large financial outlay, the elimination of the barriers separating inventions from their introduction, and changes in the way of thinking of the cadres who administer production processes. But this is a task which must be performed. Neither an intensification of production nor a rise in productivity, in other words changes that are highly qualitative, can occur without the practical introduction of scientific and technical achievements, including those highest-level achievements that suit the highest world standards.

Priority is given to speeding up mechanization and automation in industry, especially in those parts of it where work is still done by hand. According to Soviet specialists, the reduction in physical work and in work by unqualified personnel is occurring too slowly. Tests carried out recently in modern enterprises equipped with the best machines and equipment show that productivity in these enterprises is not lower than in similar American enterprises, and sometimes is even higher. In factories where heavy physical work dominates, productivity is low and reduces the average production figures. In any case, we are not concerned with statistics, but with the fact that there are large reserves for raising productivity and that there is a program for mobilizing these reserves. It has been implemented for quite a long time. According to this plan, the mechanization of manual work will permit an increase in the number of available hands by a minimum of 1.2 million people during the current 1981-85 5-year plan.

Right now Soviet industry is producing technical equipment that is of world class. The achievements of science in modernizing production are being used more and more universally, but the CPSU Central Committee has pointed out several times that the tempo is still too slow. The CPSU Central Committee and Soviet Government have made a comprehensive analysis of the situation in the special resolution called "Concerning the Means to Accelerate Scientific-Technical Progress in the National Economy" which was adopted last year. Three tasks are regarded as the most important ones in this programmatic document: Guaranteeing uniform and coordinated planning of scientific and technological development, concentrating the efforts of scientists on the most important problems from the point of view of the economy's needs; and guaranteeing an effective coordination of work by all the relevant bodies, ranging from those involved in basic research right up to those responsible for applying the results of this research to practice.

All the necessary conditions exist for accelerating scientific-technical progress. After all, Soviet science is developing constantly and rapidly. Dozens of technical solutions are registered each year. Over 400,000 inventions were applied to production between 1976 and 1982, and during the first 3 years of the present and 11th 5-Year Plan over 9,000 new machines, components, and technological lines have been worked out and to a considerable degree introduced into mass production. The requirement: faster, better, and more modern.

The program for technologically modernizing production is being treated not only as an important part of the economic concept, but also as an ideological-educational issue. "The civic qualities of the socialism of labor and the need for conscientious work for the good of all developments in the struggle to implement the state plans, to improve the quality of production, to better utilize the production capacities, raw materials, energy, working time, and investment funds, and to strengthen organization and responsibility," the CPSU Central Committee stated in its resolution adopted at the June 1984 plenum. "With the help of all the propaganda resources it is necessary to back the activities of originators of new production techniques and to popularize the organizational, economic, and moral undertakings such as would encourage the managing cadres, workers, scientists, and designers to modernize technical equipment and to reduce manual work. It is necessary to wholly subordinate economic propaganda and upbringing to the needs of the intensification of the national economy and of the development of modern economic thinking and the socialist enterprising spirit and matter-of-factness." (The CPSU Central Committee resolution: "The Current Issues of Ideological and Political Work Among the Masses" June 1983).

The second decisive factor in the intensification of the economic processes--changes in the economic mechanism--continues to be examined just as extensively both by official documents and the many discussions about the economy. These changes are being introduced gradually and are being preceded by experiments. The most important of these experiments began last January and is being continued by two all-union and three republican departments. The new principles of planning and management, which have been introduced on an experimental basis into five ministries, were formulated in the resolution issued by the CPSU Central Committee and the Council of Ministers of the USSR in July 1983. This resolution stressed that the new solutions seek to accelerate the process by which the economy can be intensified, to increase the rate of production increases, and to improve the quality of production. This goal is expected to be achieved among other things by expanding the powers of combines and enterprises in planning and economic activities, by increasing their responsibility for the ultimate results of work, and by developing the initiative of the work forces.

Over 700 plants run by the aforementioned departments are participating in that experiment this year. After the results of the first stage of the experiment have been analyzed and after the necessary corrections have been adopted as a result of the experience gained, the experiment will be extended to 20 all-union and republican departments. It is expected that the new principles of planning and management, which have been verified in the course of the

experiment, will constitute the basis for preparing the draft 12th 5-Year Plan (1986-90) which will be submitted to the debates of another CPSU Congress.

There is no place in this article for a discussion of the detailed principles of the experiment in question. Still, let us just note the most important features of the changes that are being introduced. The crux of the experiment is that enterprises acquire increased independence as well as increased responsibility for production results. The experiment also provides for more effective incentives to increase productivity. The enterprises participating in the experiment receive a much smaller number of the central directive indexes and are instructed in only main tasks. By main tasks are meant the tasks, the implementation of which determines the results of the individual branches of the economy and the supplies of producer goods to other enterprises. In line with the new principles, the planning center also stipulates the compulsory system of limits and norms, on the basis of which the enterprise independently sets up the wage fund, the fund for stimulating work, and the sociocultural fund. The powers of the enterprises regarding the use of the wage fund and the fund for stimulating work have been increased. This measure is being treated as the crucial, but not the only, factor which helps to increase the interest of the work forces in the results of their work and in boosting productivity. As for the central directives of the draft 5-year plan, they list the indexes on the basic lines of production and define the tasks of increasing productivity, reducing production costs, and improving the quality of production. Greater independence and responsibility of enterprises have created new conditions for the technological reconstruction and modernization of industry and continue to encourage enterprises to buy new machines and equipment and to use new technologies. To sum up: The new principles have increased the independence of enterprises and production combines in drawing up plans, programming production, sharing profits, and exploiting the resources provided for developing production capacities and paying for work.

To understand the nature of the changes in the Soviet economic mechanism it is necessary to review their origins. The changes are a detailed, specific, and extremely important part of the strategy of improving developed socialism. They also create conditions for intensifying the economy and boosting the effectiveness of economic management. The origins of the new concepts and new systems-type solutions should also be looked for in the general conviction prevailing in the USSR that the new system by which the economic processes are guided in socialism should undergo--together with the development of the system--continuous transformations. This system must not amount to a single, radical breakthrough, because this may threaten incalculable consequences. As a result of the Soviet economy's development to date, the need for profound changes has become ripe. This is the view of the CPSU Central Committee. However, this view goes hand in hand with the following caution: "All haste, nervousness, and improvisation in the matters of the economy are harmful.

The experiment that began last January can hardly be called the beginning of a new stage. Undoubtedly, it is to some extent a new stage, if only because the changes in the system of planning and management are comprehensive, because for the first time they are not an aim in themselves, and because they are a component part of the overall concept of the socioeconomic development at the stage of developed socialism. However, we should bear in mind that the

changes now being introduced are also a continuation of the previous initiatives aimed at eliminating the extensive methods of development and at introducing the intensive factors of growth. The resolution of July 1983, which contains the decision that the economic experiment should begin, had been preceded by the experience gained in the implementation of the resolution adopted by the CPSU Central Committee and the Council of Ministers of the USSR in 1979: "On Improving Planning and Increasing the Impact of the Economic Mechanism on Increased Effectiveness and Quality of Work."

Relatively little has been written about this experience, although it is very interesting. It induces one above all to reflect on the continuity of Soviet internal policy and on the ability to correct it in good time to suit the changing conditions. Since 1979, in line with the resolution, crucial corrections to the principles of planning have been introduced, the methods of work incentives have been partially improved, and the inspirational role of long-term programs for development have been increased. The fact that these corrections applied primarily to management echelons and to a lesser extent to the production echelons was an unquestioned weakness of that stage of improving the economic mechanism. Correct solutions did not always go hand in hand with correct methods during their implementation. Another weakness was the fact that changes were not always comprehensive and were therefore not sufficiently effective.

This experience was taken into consideration when the present experiment was being prepared. The systems-type changes introduced this year fill the gaps that became obvious during the implementation of the 1979 resolution, develop what was good, and eliminate what was bad. Those who devised new principles were guided by the resolutions of the 26th CPSU Congress, which stated that "it is necessary to consistently improve the management of the national economy and to make allowances for increased production, more complicated economic interconnections, and the requirements of the scientific-technological revolution in order to maximally exploit the potential and qualities of the economy of mature socialism." The new principles of planning and management are a convincing attempt to combine the centralized system of economic management with the development of democratic principles, among which the increase in the importance of workers' collectives in the enterprises' economic life and the ever spreading brigade system of work organization no doubt deserve attention. The new principles do not weaken the role of central planning. On the contrary, they improve it and make it more effective.

The development of workers' democracy, the increased role of local soviets, the improvement to the work of the entire political system, the reform of the education system, the greater powers of workers' collectives, and the spread of the new type of brigade movement--all these phenomena should be viewed closely together and, together with the changes to the economic mechanism should be regarded as an important part of the concept for improving a developed socialism. While formulating the party's policy in this sphere, it is stressed that the collectivist essence of social ownership of the means of production on its own, without the participation of workers in managing

production, cannot always be understood by the workers. But management has to be learned, and this is not at all easy. It requires huge organizational effort and comprehensive training activity.

One Soviet economist has recapitulated the essence of the modern method of managing a socialist economy in the USSR in the following terms: "Democracy is an empty echo if it does not take into account the conditions in which people work every day." This statement contains a profound thought: Increasing workers' participation in the joint management of factories depends above all on making the workforces jointly decide on production matters. This is a real joint management, based on what is most important, in other words the production process, and taking place where all the country's affairs are determined, inside production units. It is joint management that teaches one to respect the supremacy of group interests over individual interests. This concept is being implemented by the development of the independence and powers of the brigades, which are becoming to an increasing extent basic units of workforces and a basis on which to lead the production processes. Increased participation by workers in management is also encouraged by the increased powers of workers collectives and factory workforces. These are controlled by the "Law on workers collectives and on increasing their role in management over enterprises, institutions, and organizations" that was adopted at the eighth session of the USSR Supreme Soviet in July 1983.

What is therefore the Soviet model for socialist self-management by workers? According to the law's programmatic intention, it is a forum where the shape of social policy in a factory is decided and where plans and decisions on programmatic alternatives are accepted or rejected. Workers' collectives determine the ways of intensifying production processes and making better use of production potential, and seek ways of raising productivity, improving work organization, and removing subjective difficulties.

If we also consider the changes to the economic mechanism and the development of democratic forms of production management, and if we read the law on workers' collectives and the CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers resolution on the economic experiment, then we reach the conclusion that these are cohesive and combined parts of one whole. The economic mechanisms are increasing the rights of factories; and the new methods of functioning for workers' collectives are encouraging workers initiative, liberating socialist enterprise and thrift and, in particular, are creating responsibility for words and deeds in all units of production and management. All of this together fulfills the postulate, expressed at the June 1983 CPSU Central Committee Plenum, of learning a new type of economic thinking.

The development of socialist self-management in the USSR is increasing the participation of workforce in the managing of enterprises. This process is dictated by the needs of the current development state of the Soviet economy. It is creating new stimuli for production energy and broadening one's outlook on economic issues. There is another phenomenon at the same time: An enrichment of the meaning of work, a development of collectivist principles, an overcoming of individualist habits, the shaping of collective responsibility, a broadening of the socialist consciousness of the workers class, and a

strengthening of the democratic principles in production. This is a democracy with a collectivist orientation; these are principles of democratic action and responsibility. The chief inspirational and leading role in this process is played by party organizations. The role of trade unions, youth organizations, and other social organizations is growing.

However, the participation of workers in the management of production cannot diminish the role of the state economic administration apparatus. The high professional qualifications of this apparatus are essential conditions in order to develop the energy of work forces and make them really influence productivity. The scale of production and the complexity of production processes and management mechanisms rule out the possibility of performing management according to social principles. As Professor J. Torkanowski [a Soviet economist] says, "including working people in management cannot be regarded as a division of managerial functions between the state apparatus and the workers. As practice has shown, increasing working people's participation in management cannot take place at the expense of replacing state management of the economy by social activity, but on the basis of an ever-increasing inclusion of working people and collectives in the joint management of production together with the state apparatus."

After discussing the role of production brigades ("they should contain the fullest possible unity of individual and group interests with national interests. It is at this level of organizational structure that the problem of socialist self-management of production is most valid today"), J. Torkanovskiy writes: "In the sharp ideological struggle that is characteristic of the present period, bourgeois ideologists attach great hopes to their distorted view of production self-management, trying to set it up against the Marxist-Leninist concept of management. This slogan of self-management, exceptionally attractive to working people, has become one of the 'hottest points' in the modern ideological struggle. It is put forward by many bourgeois political parties and trade unions as their strategic orientation, but they do not involve this orientation with any fundamental changes in ownership or with transferring political power to the workers class. Under the conditions of social ownership, they counterpose production self-management with 'etatist centralism,' in other words with state management over the economy, while state ownership is presented as a new way of depriving the direct producers of their production resources."

"At the same time," J. Torkanovskiy continues, "bourgeois-reformist and revisionist ideologists are trying to create the impression that Marxist-Leninist theory and practice of real socialism rejects the democratic self-management development path.... In fact, the Marxist idea of the development of real workers self-management free of exploitation has always been regarded in the work of V. Lenin and in party documents as one of the most important ways of building a new society. The idea of socialist self-management is also being consistently implemented in modern management over production, which has been confirmed once again in the law on workers collectives. As the Eighth USSR Supreme Soviet Session has stressed, "socialist self-management is being established on the basis of the tried and tested principle of democratic centralism, which permits a successful coordination of broad

participation in management by the masses with the uniform system of state leadership and planning."

The CPSU's concept of perfecting a developed socialism has been recognized as a theoretical basis for CPSU strategy and tactics in the long run. The basic paths of party organizational and ideological activity are being defined in accordance with this concept. Thanks to the theoretical generalizations from which the concept of perfecting a developed socialism was born, the party has been able to make a deeper analysis of the dialectics behind the emergence of a communist socioeconomic system, as well as to obtain a clearer view of the length of the new society's socialist phase which was discussed in the first part of this article.

The above definition directly involves four issues concerning the party. They can be expressed thus: First, during the phase of developed socialism, the leadership role of a communist party does not diminish, but increases. Two conditions must be observed if the party is to perform this role: The avant-garde nature of the party must be preserved, and its ties with the people constantly strengthened. Second, the party is the nation's avant-garde and the party of the working class at the same time. Third, a revolutionary continuity must be guaranteed in the party's activity. Fourth, while exercising their leadership functions, party cells should not take the place of state and economic bodies because this deprives them of their responsibility.

The CPSU's theoretical activity in recent years, the continuing discussions, and the tests and analyses that have been made should be regarded as direct preparations for the new party program. These preparations have been undertaken in accordance with the resolution of the 26th CPSU Congress which said that the current program correctly mirrors the social movement and ordered the preparation of a new version thereof. This decision was justified by the accumulation of new experience in building socialism since the adoption of this program by the 22nd Congress in 1961. "This experience shows," says the CPSU Central Committee report to the 26th Congress, "that our journey toward communism is leading via a stage of a developed socialist society. As has already been said, this is an essential and, historically speaking, a long period in establishing a communist system, and one which suits the correct principles of development. This is the conclusion that has been reached and worked out by the party in recent years, and it ought to be firmly and unconditionally reflected in the party's program."

One may conclude from the work of the CPSU Central Committee commission involved in preparing the new version of the party program that the above statement means that this document, defining the CPSU's strategic tasks, will incorporate the following theses: First, a clear definition of the country's socioeconomic development stage, marking the beginning of a long period of developed socialism. Conclusion: The new version of the program will define the tasks necessary to perfect a developed socialism. Some of these questions have been discussed earlier on. At the same time, the discrepancies within individual points of the present version which clash with the actual course of social development and which have been brought out into the open by life itself will be eliminated. This will enable one to overcome a simplified view of the paths leading to the higher phase--communism--and of the time needed to get

there. Second: a realistic and comprehensively formulated description of developed socialism. Realistic assessments and conclusions have been one of the features of CPSU Central Committee work in recent years. Third: a thesis on the need to solve within the coming decades the complex problems brought by development. Fourth: the creation of a highly efficient economy as a basis for satisfying more fully the material and spiritual needs of Soviet society and increasing the strength of the country will be regarded as a priority task. Fifth: a theoretical thesis on a classless socialist society. The establishment of classless socialist society will be an important change on the road to full social unity. Sixth, the party will be the central topic for the new version of the party program. The program will reveal party strategy and tactics and will define the principles for its activity and its place and role in the soviet society's political system. Emphasis will be laid on the thesis whereby a growth in the party's leadership role and the enhancement of socialist democracy are one natural process.

"The 27th CPSU Congress is approaching," K. Chernenko said at the USSR Writers Union Plenum. "Every congress plays an enormous role in the life of the party and nation. But already today there is no doubt that the significance of the next congress will depend on its adoption of a new version of the party program, on which we will base our work for decades to come.... We should take reality as our starting point, taking into account everything that is really new and has appeared in social theory and practice over the past 25 years, and taking into account the accumulated experience of the masses."

A careful analysis of the CPSU's recent activity convinces one that the experience of several decades has made the Soviet party a center of universal Marxist-Leninist thought and practice and that this party remains a creative laboratory of real socialism. While seeking new solutions which suit the changed and still changing domestic and external conditions, the CPSU remains faithful to the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. The 27th Congress will no doubt be an important event in the workers movement because it will crown the enormous theoretical work and practical activity conducted in recent years. The analyses of the experiences of real socialism to be made at this congress plus the new version of the CPSU program will be universal in nature and should become a source of deep reflection on the entire international communist and workers movement.

CSO. 2600/396

MIODOWICZ CONFERS WITH WFTU IN CSSR

AU241116 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 22/23 Dec 84 p 7

[Text] PAF, Prague--The Secretariat of the WFTU, led by General Secretary Ibrahim Zakaria, had talks in Prague on 21 December with a delegation of the All-Poland Trade Union Congress, led by Chairman Alfred Miodowicz. The joint communique published after the talks states:

"The Polish delegation informed the WFTU about the unity processes occurring within the Polish Trade Union Movement, which is regenerating itself and which totals some 5 million members.

"The WFTU Secretariat praised the development of the Polish Trade Union Movement and the establishment of its central structures and expressed its resolve to engage in close cooperation.

"The sides stated that a prompt reinstatement of the Polish Trade Union Movement within the WFTU would be an important political act.

"The sides exchanged views on the current situation in the World Trade Union Movement and stressed the need to cooperate in order to strengthen this movement's unity."

CSO: 2600/395

POLAND

GLEMP CRITICIZES POLISH DEFECTORS IN CHRISTMAS LETTER

LD141837 Vatican City International Service in English 1445 GMT 14 Dec 84

[Text] Poland's primate, Cardinal Jozef Glemp, has indicated that John Paul II will be invited to make a third trip to Poland to celebrate a National Church Congress in 1987.

Cardinal Glemp's year-end letter, released by the episcopate in Warsaw on Wednesday [12 December] was devoted primarily to religious themes, although he touched on political and social problems confronting Poland. The primate said Poland experiences divisions and painful tensions, and those of us who want to see (?truce) not as a slogan but as a reality will pray over Christmas. He said that all people anxious about the homeland should pray for all those held in Polish jails no matter for political or criminal reasons. The outlawed Solidarity Union says that there are approximately 40 political prisoners in Poland.

The cardinal primate criticized the hundreds of Poles whose defected to the West during this year and said they were inspired often by low motives. For a bowl of food they will be waiting for months until some country takes pity on them and receives the unwanted immigrants, embittered since their families are often being broken, said the primate.

CSO: 2600/394

## BISHOP PRAISES POPIELUSZKO, CONDEMNNS MURDER

LD271643 Vatican City International Service in Polish 1515 GMT 27 Dec 84

[Excerpts] Bishop Szczepan Wesoly, the primate of Poland's delegate for the pastoral care of emigre Poles, as is his annual custom, has sent a letter with Christmas greetings to all compatriots living beyond the borders of Poland. The theme of the letter was Jesus Christ's statement: I have come to the world to give witness to the truth.

The bishop points out the similarities between the time of Christ's life on earth and the present day when many people are unwilling to accept the truth. The fundamental cause of this is evil, which has as its consequence mendacity and hatred. Referring to the current situation in the world, Bishop Wesoly writes: Christ's enemies today, in the 20th century, make accusations similar to those made in the times of Christ. The adherents and priests of Christ are falsely sentenced for having interfered in political affairs, not for having testified to the truth and the revealed teachings. Every Christian who lives in today's world of lies and violence has to break through the barrier of fear and courageously and bravely testify to the truth.

The whole nation and the Poles, irrespective of where they live in the world, were shaken by the brutal murder of Father Jerzy Popieluszko. What was it such a shock? Because he was a fervent and devoted priest who neither stirred people up nor incited them to violence but who, quite the reverse, always called for calm and love. He helped everyone. He was concerned for those in need. He preached the Lord's truth. He preached the truth about the nation's past, the history of the homeland. This was no uncritical glorification of the past but preaching of the defects and the virtues too, of the defeats and declines, but also of the surges of heroism and sacrifice. He loved God but also felt a sincere love and devotion for Poland. Systems which lack the foundation of truth fear truth. That is why courage and bravery are required for one to speak the truth. Father Popieluszko was a brave priest. He did not succumb to intimidation. He set the seal on his preaching of the truth with his life which was taken away from him in so cruel a manner. This was the work of those who fear the truth and whose actions are based on violence and hatred.

CSO: 2600/392

## BISHOP JAWORSKI ADDRESSES WLOSZCZOWA PROTESTORS

LD201232 Vatican City International Service in Polish 1515 GMT 19 Dec 84

[Text] On Sunday, 16 December in Włoszczowa, the young people's form of protest in defense of the cross, which was expressed in a 2-week-long occupation of the vocational schools building complex ended. It is worth recalling at the outset, that the issue of defending crosses in Polish schools is still a current one. On Sunday 16 December at 0700, Father Kazimierz Biernacki, the parish priest of Włoszczowa, celebrated mass [word indistinct] in the parish church. Bishop Jaworski, the auxiliary bishop of Kielce, who took part in it, stressed in his homily that from the third Sunday in Advent the church calls: The Lord is near, let us rejoice; let us rejoice, the birth of Christ is near. After Holy Mass at 0800, Bishop Jaworski, accompanied by parish priest Father Biernacki and Father (Oklo), made their way to the vocational schools complex. The door was opened by one of the teachers. After a cordial welcome with the young people, Bishop Jaworski read out to the pupils a message from the bishops of Kielce of 16 December, in which we read:

Dear young people, today, on 16 December, we pray throughout the country for Pope John Paul II, who said: We have to restore the cross to its rightful place in our Polish life by all means open to us. Your attitude toward the removal of the crosses from the place where you obtain knowledge, shape your characters, and prepare for a profession, fills all of us with a noble pride. You are proving that the cross is the highest value for you. After all, our redemption took place on it and therefore the defense of the cross is a fundamental Christian credo. It is the recognition of Christ, who gave his life on the cross for all people. You have already been here for 2 weeks, separated from your homes and families, crowded into the corridor--even the classrooms are closed to you--and you stay in the difficult conditions, which put your health in danger. The bishops of Kielce continue their message: As the young people who are occupying the vocational schools building complex, you justly long for brotherhood and friendship. Divisions are even being introduced and we hope that you will maintain unity. Since 3 December we have been following very attentively the stance of the state authorities to whom a regulation, in this case wrongly interpreted, is more important than a human being, more important than ideals and young people's faith. For we take the stance that the presence of the cross in a school does not infringe its secular character. The uncompromising attitude, which cannot and does not want to understand the noble strivings of the young people and allows this very difficult and exhausting situation to be prolonged, fills us with concern and pain.

The authorities set unacceptable conditions, probably counting on your physical and mental exhaustion. In this situation, we wish to declare that your actions in defense of the cross so far are a great victory. We do not hesitate to say that you have shown a heroic attitude. We wish to say that your leaving the school for health and human reasons does not mean that you have been defeated. We assure you that the primate's and all bishops' stances regarding the crosses has not changed since the memorable events in Mietne in Podlasie. We are convinced that the issue of crosses, in accordance with the repeated assurances of the authorities, will find, in the near future, a satisfactory solution for all of us. We hope that your sufferings and pains will contribute towards strengthening the faith in our homeland, just as the sufferings of the children from Wrzesnia were not in vain. Taking all that into consideration, the bishops of Kielce conclude their appeal to the young people; we ask you to thank God together with us for the grace of such an important profession of faith. May our Lady of Wloszczowa look after you.

After reading the pastoral letter, Bishop Jaworski asked the young people what their decision was, stressing that they had to make it themselves. To the question: Do you trust me?, the young people answered: yes. Bishop Jaworski then invited the young people to a religious service in the parish church. After tidying up the corridor, the young people hung crucifixes on the doors of the classrooms closed by the administrators from the first day of the protest and then walked with other crucifixes in their hands, singing, to the parish church. About 200 pupils and 50 parents left the school. Bishop Jaworski, addressing the young people [word indistinct] in front of the parish church, welcomed them as defenders of the cross and blessed them all. He then officiated at a concelebrated Holy Mass for those present.

That afternoon, the Kielce Diocese ordinary, Bishop Szymecki, arrived in Wloszczowa and celebrated evening mass, once again assuring the young people and their parents that the church would defend the young people and all those who defended the cross together with them.

CSO: 2600/389

WALESA INTERVIEWED ON POLISH SITUATION

OW200111 Tokyo MAINICHI SHIMBUN in Japanese 18 Dec 84 evening edition p 2

[Article by correspondent Sano]

[Text] Gdansk, 17 Dec--Lech Walesa, chairman of the free trade union "Solidarity," and all other Solidarity leaders attended 16 December commemorations in Gdansk marking the 14th anniversary of the 1970 incident, and dedicated to the victims of the incident. Their attendance caused attention, as it indicated that "Solidarity was still in good condition." This reporter met with Mr Walesa and interviewed him on various issues, including the killing of Father Popieluszko, the current situation of "Solidarity," and his views on the situation in Poland.

Questions and answers follow:

Sano: What has 1984 meant to you and to Solidarity?

Walesa: It has been the worst year, because Father Popieluszko was mercilessly killed.

[Sano]: What do you think of the present situation in Poland?

Walesa: Our movement has entered an extremely difficult stage, and greater difficulties are expected. The assailants on the authority's side will probably resort to more violent measures. Our current duty is to reduce the number of victims for the authority's "assailants."

[Sano]: What are Solidarity's future plans?

Walesa: We don't have any definite plans at the moment. In recalling the past 3 years, we have learned a lot. It is possible that there will be another Popieluszko incident. We have been discussing whether Solidarity should take measures against it.

[Sano]: Former Solidarity leaders, including Gwiazda and Bogdan Lis, met at church for Mass on 16 December. Did you have any discussion on that occasion?

Walesa: We got together to pray for the workers who had sacrificed themselves. After mass, we got together elsewhere.

[Sano]: What did you talk about?

Walesa: I cannot reveal anything here, because our talks dealt with strategy. However, I stressed that we have a bright future. In other words, there is a bright future for our movement.

[Sano]: What will become of Poland and Solidarity?

Walesa: The Polish like to face up to a difficult situation. I feel that the real purpose of human beings, when faced with difficulties, is to confront those difficulties with courage, and solve them. Currently, our movement is in a difficult situation, but we are not dispirited. In future, we plan to carry on our movement in such a way as not to lead our motherland, Poland, into a breakdown crisis.

CSO: 2600/371

POLL EXPERT INTERVIEWED ON PUBLIC ATTITUDES TO GOVERNMENT

LD301538 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1105 GMT 30 Dec 84

["High Noon" program; program presenter's interview with (Stanislaw Kwiatkowski), director of the Opinion Poll Center--live]

[Excerpts] [Question] At the end of the year, one usually asks about what people think about the future, what they are optimistic about, but I would like to start our conversation differently: what irritated people in Poland this year?

[Kwiatkowski] So, we should talk not about future hopes, really, but what people were complaining about most in the outgoing year?

[Question] I would like us to start with that.

[Kwiatkowski] We had such a list of negative phenomena in one of our questionnaires. One universally condemned, universally, because it was over 80 percent of cases, was egoism, indifference, soullessness toward others, judging people not by their work but according to their acquaintances, connections, circumstances made up over 70 percent of cases. Further, undeserved privileges, avoidance of inconvenience by officials, that also irritated around 70 percent of cases. Disregard of citizens' opinion by the authorities, arbitrariness in official decisions, and the last one, irregularities in cadres policy, also caused irritation.

[Question] I think that you have used the word "unfortunately" because this is too little, to constitute real democracy?

[Kwiatkowski] And too little for a socialist country.

[Question] Looking over your shoulder at the results of the polls I can see that, for example, as far as issues on political prospects in Poland are concerned, over 30 percent of respondents think that in the coming years the mutual confidence between society and the authorities will improve. How are the people who form this quite significant number of optimists in our society motivated in their views?

[Kwiatowski] One should say that the present government is treated as a completely new team, without the burdens of the mistakes of the previous style of

governing the state. This government has a clean slate. One notices not only personal changes, but also the changes in aims, intentions and also good will.

[Question] And who dislikes the government most?

[Kwiatkowski] The unemployed judge the government most critically. But the compatibility of the government's policy with society's feelings is mostly noted by peasants and farmers.

CSO: 2600/388

## NEWSMEN QUIZ URBAN ON TOPICAL POLITICAL ISSUES

Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 23 Nov 84 pp 1, 2

[Excerpt] On 20 November Minister Jerzy Urban, the government press spokesman, held his monthly press conference in Warsaw. He answered questions concerning issues which in recent days have stood in the focus of public attention.

Jan Forowicz, RZECZPOSPOLITA: A certain intensification of inspections may be noted in the style of administrative work. There are quite a few of those inspections. How is the effectiveness and output of those inspections rated from the point of view of the government authorities?

Urban: I realize that there is some grumbling about the excess of inspections conducted in various enterprises and offices. The government has found that if internal inspections were more effective there would be no need for any outside inspections. Unfortunately, though, we are taught by experience that internal inspections, i.e., those with the best potential for early detection of negative phenomena, operate less effectively than external inspections. Consequently, inspections in great number are a necessary evil that affects those who are scrutinized.

We are seeking and will continue to seek possibilities of strengthening internal inspections. In this respect primary importance must be attached to autonomous organisms capable of ensuring social control over every realm of life. What I have in mind here are both inspections carried out by self-governing bodies in industrial plants, and inspections conducted by local self-governing bodies and people's councils. In short, external inspections play an important part. They owe their development to the managerial failures of those on whom we rely. In the present situation, external inspections bring about the appropriate effect. As long as the mechanisms that activate financial or qualitative controls arising from the ranks, or those that boost managerial efficiency, are not operating properly, we have to implement our checks by superior authority. Such procedure brings results, even if often the results are not commensurate, because whenever it comes to the demotion of a high official no one can accurately predict the results thereof. We know that one outcome of

such action is that his position will be taken by someone else. However, a more pertinent result is that in the minds of many others, perhaps in the minds of many who act in a negligent or even criminal manner, a warning bell will ring out loud and clear.

I could quote you some figures on the subject of inspection numbers, reinspections and fields involved, but I would not be able to pinpoint a figure as to how many positive processes going on in our social and economic life are in fact the fruits of such inspections. There is no way to measure them. We can only say this: If there were fewer inspections, if they were less rigorous, many kinds of evil would surely propagate more rampantly.

Janusz Kotarski, PAP: We were informed that the marshal of the Sejm was given a draft of statutes worked out by PRON with regard to consultations and a referendum. Is the government aware of this initiative?

Urban: The idea of enacting a code of rules and regulations about ways to utilize public opinion is not a new initiative; the government knows it and has supported it from the moment it was reported. After we have received it, the government will make known its response to the concrete draft.

Jerzy Kania, TYGODNIK KULTURALNY, repeated the question raised to the government press spokesman at a previous conference, i.e.: "Why do we see so few people in the mass media, especially in TV, expressing their own opinions, differing at times from official views?"

In reply, Minister Urban had this to say: It is the government's intention to expand, and not to narrow, the social dialogue that ought to be characterized by a wealth of discussions, a wealth of subjects and points of view. This is an obvious and indispensable component of national accord. The framework of this exchange of views is outlined by the principles of our Constitution. However, there is no freedom to express points of view and opinions for adversaries of the social system when they question the fundamental structural principles, such as proprietary relationships, allied treaties, basic political structures of our country, because that is the party's job. This does not mean that difficulties do not crop up in the effort to expand the thus understood platform of principles and freedom of discussion.

There are also those who ask why the government does not want any dialogue, and then, as soon as they are invited to a TV studio to present their outlooks, they decline. We would like to see groups engaged in lively discussions to involve such people as representative and authentic activists of the Catholic intelligentsia. PRON, too, invites discussion. There are also many other possibilities--our offer remains open.

We also detect some difficulties of another sort: the scope of dialogue and the need to arouse it are not always well understood in political elements and government agencies.

A reporter raised another question, as if continuing Minister Urban's last thought. He finds that reporters bring up from the field much disquieting information about negative phenomena, such as attempts to comander social organizations or to impose on voters people "imported in briefcases." Are there any possibilities of counteracting this?

Urban: Yes, there are such phenomena, and they clash with the policy of the party and the government when the issue involves comandeering or impressing people who ought to be selected in authentic elections. Well, we are laying down a vast framework for democratic life, we have succeeded in enacting many new laws and political principles to boost this practice, but, let's face it, no law or any resolution of a political body will "accomplish" by itself the process of democratization. Many years' work is needed for that. There are countries today whose relationships in the field of public life have been forming for hundreds of years.

I would caution against, and this is a marginal remark, a schematic conceptualization of the definition "candidate imported in a briefcase." Often institutions deliberately recommend candidates who are not necessarily local people. This makes sense because it breaks with the old encrusted systems, and it is particularly necessary when each one of the local candidates is entrenched in them. Also, when the good of the cause demands it. Of course, a candidate of this kind may not be favorably seen by the local people. Things ought to be explained to ensure that it be otherwise.

Here is the answer received by Ryszard Karpowicz, PRZEGLAD TYGODNIOWY, to a question about the connection between the detention of Kazimierz Mijal and the renaissance, or, shall we say, the strengthening of a sort of "second opposition," as he called it.

Urban: I don't know what the "second opposition" means. I suppose that Kazimierz Mijal attracted a few people, and I think there might even have been as many as a score or so of supporters, mostly older people. Of course, his doing some "writing," as well as his disregard for regulations about leaving the country and returning from abroad, entails legal consequences. I might make the assumption that had Kazimierz Mijal wanted to do so he might have been allowed to leave Poland and then have obtained the legal possibilities. And even now, if he wanted to return to Poland, I don't think our government would be afraid of his presence in the country. However, everyone is equal before the law regardless of whether that person has public support or not, but no views should be expressed in opposition to a governing lawful order. Justice applies equally to the "first," or, as you have defined it, "second" or even "third," "fourth," or "fifth" opposition, whenever such may appear.

Jozef Klisza, ZA I PRZECIW: It had been said that in September or October a meeting would take place between Prime Minister Jaruzelski and Primate Glemp. That meeting never took place. Now everybody sees a connection between this fact and the consequences of the assassination of Father Popieluszko. Will the meeting still take place this year, and, if so, what is its significance for the state?

Urban: I would say, yes, the meeting will take place, the groundwork for it has been laid, but I am not sure whether it will still happen this year. It will take place though, when all things that need be covered by the talks have come to fruition, and when both sides have agreed that the time is ripe. Those are meetings that have grown into a tradition, and they usually come about when the state of cooperation between the state and the church calls for a meeting of top executives. This time it will be the same. In the near future, though, I expect a conference of the Joint State and Episcopate Commission.

Every one of those meetings is useful. I would not say that the assassination of Father Popieluszko constituted a context that would lead one to believe that a future meeting might be more significant or less significant than any other meetings in the past. As for the connection of Father Popieluszko's assassination with relations between state and church, there have been no marked differences.

Leokadia Tempska, PANORAMA: There are some fears that the announced amendment work on the law on higher education might lead in the direction of major restrictions in the field of self-government in the schools.

Urban: I can only state that under no circumstances would we intend to renege on the principle of self-government in institutions of higher education. The 1982 law established in Poland a vast domain, officially much vaster and actually even more so than in many Western countries. But, as it usually happens, which is not a unique feature of this law, after some time you've got to look at it again and rate it: how does it work, what pluses or minuses does it have, and how should they be remedied. At the meeting of the Main Council on Higher Education the minister of higher education presented proposals for changes. Those were only ministerial suggestions. On the whole, the Main Council did not approve those proposals. The government has not yet deliberated in this matter. Before it comes up to the government, it will be covered by more extensive discussions on local levels.

So much for the mentioned project. Now, what can be said about the way this law has been operating so far in institutions of higher education? Recently some disturbing tendencies have been noted in colleges. It is the government's opinion that intellectual activity in institutions of higher education has dropped, with some of the energy seeming to feed internal life and going to waste in conflicts

waged against a personal and political background. Scientific research has declined considerably, and the number of executed research topics has measurably decreased. There are positive phenomena, too, such as the stabilization of work, the regeneration of discipline in carrying out teaching programs, because things were quite bad in this regard. So far, however, these positive signs have not been accompanied by greater discipline in study habits among students.

The development of elective democracy in choosing college authorities has brought about positive effects in many schools, although drawbacks have been revealed in many others. The elective process itself stirred up many reservations among the authorities, because quite often the success of an applicant for a college position was not determined by factors of merit, but as the result of conflicts, and there were many deviations from the norm in carrying out assignments. In some schools political criteria dominated the evaluation of actual scientific values or the organizational skill of an applicant. A conclusion must be drawn and clearly postulated: the state will not tolerate any college officials pursuing activities contrary to our policy. This applies in particular to people performing executive functions.

Henryk Maziejuk, PERSPEKTYWY: A conference of trade unionists will take place shortly, and it will probably come up with a joint representation for talks with the government. Aren't there some apprehensions that this representation will, with its insistence and stubbornness in approaching problems, create troubles for the government in its daily routine?

Urban: The government has no illusions about having to deal with a stubborn and difficult partner. But we are not afraid of it. We feel that such a partner would be a good, appropriate, and useful partner, having an effect on the harmonization of the trade unions' and the government's point of view. We are prepared, and we feel that this partner is necessary for the government too, if, which goes without saying, it will give birth a trade union movement.

Wojciech Klusek, KURIER LUBELSKI: Is Poland's withdrawal from the International Labor Organization bound to create any troubles for our country?

Urban: Poland's withdrawal from the ILO is an event whose ill effect is that we are precluded from any cooperation with this organization, which was suspended earlier anyway. We feel that Poland's contribution to the ILO was so great and rendered for such a long time that this international organization stands to suffer, too, as a result of our withdrawal.

The socialist countries represented in the ILO expressed a fundamental solidarity with Poland. Consequently, the ILO presently faces a sort of problem regarding its future and its continued universalism, which is not a specific Polish problem. Of course, we would prefer to see a cessation of the causes that brought about Poland's announced withdrawal from the ILO. We would like to see the creation of conditions that would enable us to continue our association with the ILO.

Jerzy Kocowski, GLOS SZCZECINSKI: Your activity as a government press spokesman has often been the subject of comments from presses of Western countries as well as the subject of numerous questions raised by foreign reporters at your conferences. Do those comments and evaluations affect your work as a government press spokesman?

Urban: Evaluations of the Western press have no effect on my work, because I represent the attitude of the Polish Government in relation to reporters who, for the most part, are unfriendly to our policies. Of course, since in most Western countries criticism of our policies is the predominant cry of the press, I am not going to say anything they might like. You have to understand the function of a government press spokesman whose job is to answer questions concerning our policies. Any criticism, sour faces, pouting or any sarcasm cannot, must not, and does not have any effect.

Marian Szczesniak, PRZEGLAD POZARNICZY: In a recent press release regarding the reasons for postponing Minister Genscher's visit I found a reference to the "grave of Wehrmacht soldiers." Are there any cemeteries of Wehrmacht soldiers in Poland, and if so, where are they and who takes care of them?

Urban: There aren't any.

Jerzy Gonczarski, EXPRESS WIECZORNY: The Western press spins various speculations regarding General Jaruzelski's visit to the GDR. Would you address to this speculation?

Urban: As a rule, any speculation coming from the Western press is highly sensational and meretricious by nature. Therefore, I see no reason to become involved. The Western press tries to create the impression that the visit has come up suddenly. But actually this visit was part of a plan drawn up quite some time ago. Regarding this visit as well as any previous working visits made by General Jaruzelski to Hungary, the Polish Government attaches great importance to them, as has been reflected by a joint communique. Those precise relations with the GDR serve us as a strong support for our combined policy toward the FRG, too. Besides, General Jaruzelski's visit will bring about a regenerative dynamism in a number of fields of cooperation. A vacation exchange of juveniles and children scheduled for next year

will involve about 300,000 people. In addition, an agreement of economic cooperation was signed to accelerate the realization of joint enterprises and cooperation along our borders.

Another question: Would it be possible for you to divulge the number of people who have decided to surrender and take advantage of the amnesty benefits, and does the scale of this occurrence match expectations?

Urban: The present number is still growing, and has reached about 300 people by now. On the whole, the scale of this occurrence matches expectations, although it would have been better if all those who pursued activity conflicting with the law settled their differences with rules and regulations in this manner. However, it would be naive to assume that all concerned will take advantage of the opportunity.

Halina Leszczynska, INTERPRESS: What is the scope of activity of the Science and Technical Progress Committee under the Council of Ministers, and also of the Office of Technical Progress and Implementation in view of past activities of the ministries involved in this field?

Urban: This committee does not remove jurisdiction from any existing government agencies and administrations involved in this realm of life. It is designed to coordinate and assist in the build-up of a common state policy, to draft general principles, initiate and supervise the implementation of scientific and technical achievements into our national economy. This committee will be endowed with major attributes. The office is meant to become an executive arm of the committee. The main purpose is to have the state govern efficiently through economic development processes, utilizing the outputs of science and technical progress. This effort will be most fruitful in such realms as fuel and energy consumption, and also in the raw materials industry.

Leszczynska: Last year, the Council of Ministers approved a resolution in the matter of electrification of the national economy until 1990. The gap in this field was huge. Does the government intend to make up this distance step by step, or is any other radical approach being planned to solve this matter?

Urban: It will be gradual, because our economy is not in a state of flourishing where any tremendous leaps might be feasible. Rather, it will have to struggle with difficulties. Those difficulties are aggravated by the existence of American restrictions that do not create any favorable possibilities of cooperation with many countries with high technical development. The mentioned government decision is clearly designed to accelerate progress in some fields, particularly the motorized fields of our economy, such as electronics, automation, etc. In those fields the activity will be more radical than in others.

Eugeniusz Kosciuszko, TYGODNIK DEMOKRATYCZNY: Recently discussions have been cropping up again about directions to reform the center of our economy, including proposals for changes consisting of such ideas as setting up a single ministry of industry, which was put forward by one of the PRON National Council commissions. Is the government studying those opinions?

Urban: Yes, the government greatly relies on those opinions. Presently one of the teams of the Economic Reform Commission is studying the problems dealing with the managerial structure of our economy. Those problems will also be discussed at the next session of the Government Presidium.

The same reporter wanted to know what compels the government's ruling body to concern itself with such marginal and specific matters as the future fate of the skyscraper on Dzierzynski Square in Warsaw, something that occurred at the session of the Government Presidium.

Minister J. Urban admitted that it is not a model or ideal situation when the leaders of a government concern themselves with an individual building, even if the building is tall and expensive.

However, in this case it was an exceptional situation and the necessity was of an incidental nature, because no potential occupant of this skyscraper wanted to go to the trouble. Since an overall public benefit was accumulated in its construction and the value was great, the government had to take up this matter as an intermediary. Besides, if the start of construction of this building were left to chance in the year to come, public claims would be addressed, as usual, not to any institution but to the government.

12650

CSO: 2600/246

## 'OPPOSITION' SCORNE FOR IDEOLOGICAL, ORGANIZATIONAL STAND

AU201445 Warsaw TU I TERAZ in Polish 12 Dec 84 p 3

[Article by Jan Rem, pen name of government spokesman Jerzy Urgan: "The Opposition"]

[Text] The active opponents of the system whom we have in Poland are denoted by the term "opposition." In the Western people's way of thinking, the opposition is an integral part of normal political relations. In those countries, today's opposition is tomorrow's government, and vice versa.

If therefore people in Poland are sometimes imprisoned for such opposition activity, demoted, or otherwise encumbered, this is a sign for people in the West that the prevailing conditions in the PPR are reprehensible and worthy of political opposition and moral condemnation. When people regard something as evil, they automatically regard the opposite as good. Since the Polish authorities personify evil, those whom the authorities are combatting personify good, whatever they might say or do. The average Western inhabitant or the politician for whom he votes, or even the newspaper he reads, identify themselves ideologically with the Polish opposition not because this opposition is saying or doing something stirring, but because it opposed the Polish authorities who are assessed negatively. Sympathy toward our opposition therefore serves as antipathy toward the authorities and legal order in Poland, whereas the source of this ill feeling lies primarily in our way of conduct toward the opposition.

The opposition in the West is not putting forth ideas on how to transfer its countries from NATO to the Warsaw Pact, how to abolish private ownership of the means of production, and how to balance out consumption. It is not proposing that parliaments be dispersed and elections abolished. Neither does any well-known participant in legal public life there intend to destroy the economy and radically reduce the general standard of living, reasoning that the worse off people are, the more willing they will be to turn against the governing strata and ruling classes. A desire for a radical demolition of the surrounding world is displayed in the West only by isolated groups of fanatics deprived of influence, people who are unnoticed until they kill someone. They have no support in the socialist world, even though the demolishers of socialist order enjoy open support in the West. When the radical opposition really does become dangerous in the West. When the radical

opposition really does become dangerous in the West, it is hunted down and its members arrested. Sometimes it is not enough to shut the opposition up in prison because it may commit "collective suicide" inside the cells, as was the case with the terrorist Baader-Meinhof group in the FRG.

The legal, parliamentary, and influential opposition is usually not much different from the forces that possess legal authority at a given movement. This opposition is in favor of, let us say, reducing expenditures, making credits more expensive, devaluating currency, developing some social programs, using other types of armaments, different diplomatic tactics vis-a-vis various foreign states, and so on! This is the real extent of the opposition in the West, which under the protection of the law takes part in the free contest of forces and faces electoral rivalry.

There was a television series here in Poland about how people in the United States suspected of former communist connections were persecuted. For it is no coincidence that in the United States repression against real or imagined communism was applied when a left-wing orientation dominated certain social circles. Today, however, when the left wing possesses no wider influence, there is no need to try communists and deprive communism of its legality. It is enough to isolate them effectively.

What is described in Poland as the opposition cannot be compared with the opposition active in Western society. This Polish opposition is not "a part of the system." It makes no secret of its direct contact with the political-moral bloc that is opposed to the socialist camp. It admits that it has the same aims and goals as this bloc and takes advantage of its political support and propaganda and broadcasting equipment. Therefore this is not a strictly domestic opposition.

There was a period of 1980-81 when this opposition had the possibility of legal and relatively free activity. The development of events, and most of all the earlier mistakes made by the ruling forces plus a certain camouflage, made the opposition gain considerable social support. But this support diminished to the same extent as the opposition shed various protective layers in the form of tactical programmatic declarations and admitted its true intention of destroying the system in Poland. In any case, the evolution of the programs that were announced was not as important as the practical activity, which was designed to weaken the opposition's own country in every respect and deteriorate the standard of living in it. The anti-Soviet provocations were meant to deteriorate (and did deteriorate!) Poland's position in the socialist camp and disgrace the Polish authorities in the eyes of their allies as being unable to control the situation. The blockage of all reforms, for instance the veto of the reform laws under the pretext that they were not radical enough, was really designed to comprise the political forces that exercise authority over Polish society. The opposition wanted the authorities to appear as people who fail to keep their promises and perform their part of agreements, who do not implement their own program and who are incapable of carrying out all those transformations that were the subject of social desire. In fact, the general aim was to prove that improvement is not possible under socialism. The strikes, attempted strikes, and forcing through of wage raises and social benefits with

no material backing, and also the cutting of working hours in a time of crisis, were meant to exacerbate the economic difficulties, lead society to despair, and cause a collapse of the delicate balance of forces. In a word, all this was meant to lead to the kind of economic destruction and demolition of political equilibrium that would have led via conflict and cataclysm to a collapse of the system. For people believed, naively, that once authority begins to lie in the streets, the opponents of socialism would be able to lift it up.

It is typical that the Solidarity leadership, possessing strong and unequivocal support in the West, never asked its allies for credits, increased cooperation with Poland, and support for the falling economy in the face of economic crisis and working people's increasingly disastrous standard of living. On the contrary, they said that first the conditions in Poland have to be changed, and only then can help be given. This meant that one should not consolidate the balance of forces existing in 1981, but encourage its weakening until it collapses. It meant that one should save one's money to give to the heirs of socialist authority.

So when the opposition received the possibility of open activity, it did not set out to strengthen the structure of relations within which it could have influenced government over the country, but to overthrow this structure, together with the relations that emerged after August 1980, which by the way it succeeded in doing. The only thing is that the result was different from the one desired.

This opposition continues to have the same goals as before, and announces them more boldly than in 1981. Activists working illegally or abroad present themselves openly as representatives of an opposing system and political-military group. Those activists living in Poland but not in the underground choose their words more carefully, but still declare their ideological and organizational unity with Bujak and Milewski. This opposition is therefore acting openly against the interests of Poland because the Polish system does not appeal to it. Wishing to alter the system, the opposition has set out to weaken its own country instead of strengthening it, so that the right conditions may emerge for a turnabout. It is therefore, for example, asking that the American economic restrictions be continued, encouraging the political boycott of its own country, dissuading Western politicians from visiting Poland, or suggesting to them moves that block such a visit, opposing Poland's acceptance into the IMF, and so on.

In a world dominated by a conflict between two camps, it is natural for the main political forces in the West to sympathize with their supporters in Poland, who support these forces' own ideas. For the politicians in the opposing bloc, however, the following issue is controversial: Should this Polish opposition be regarded as an incidental encouragement of Western policy toward Poland, or should it be dealt with more thoroughly because it might provoke a future domestic conflict? Delusions like this have been weakening recently, though they are not disappearing. Nevertheless, the tendency to regard the members of the opposition as agents of support [for Western policy] predominates.

One must admit that calculations like the ones above are a part of the logistics of struggle. However, it is a gross mistake to explain the need for this struggle by the fact that the opposition in Poland has no possibility of legal action and influencing public opinion in the West, because it does have this possibility.

The world "opposition" suggests to Western societies that this opposition of ours is related to the Polish Government the same way as the Labour Party is related to the British Government, the social democrats toward the FRG cabinet, and the Gaullists toward the French Government. The reality is that the opposition is a force belonging to the other camp both ideologically and organizationally, and conducting toward its own country a policy according to the precept "the worse it is, the better." This a force which has practically tried to damage the national achievements and its own state, and is declaring these same intentions with greater openness today, even though its real influence has diminished.

Those groups and milieus in Poland that are similar to the Western opposition and respect the constitutional and legal order, possess and express different views on various matters, and aim to modify the authorities' policy in the conviction that Poland can be better supported in other ways--these have room for activity in Poland. National accord is a process in which the "domestic opposition" should make itself felt and should formulate its views more openly. However, what is commonly known as the opposition is not really the opposition at all.

There are no words to describe those groups in Poland that are described both in the West and in Poland as the "opposition." This has led to a misunderstanding of the important effects. "Opposition" sounds nice and appropriate. But this term blurs the essence of the matter, encourages Western antipathy toward the Polish authorities, and, what is more important, also obscures the contours in Poland and the interests of our domestic policy.

CSO: 2600/391

POLAND

BRIEFS

NEW INTERNAL AFFAIRS UNDERSECRETARY--General [General Armi] Wojciech Jaruzelski, the chairman of the Council of Ministers, has appointed Andrzej Gdula M.A., as under secretary of state in the Ministry of Internal Affairs, at the proposal of the minister. [Text] [Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 22 Dec 84 LD]

CSO: 2600/393

## CEAUSESCU CHAIRS POLITICAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE MEETING

AU251932 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1600 GMT 25 Dec 84

[Text] Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general, today chaired a meeting of the RCP Political Executive Committee.

A report on preparations to commendably fulfill the 1985 Uniform National Socioeconomic Development Plan was presented. The report stressed the fact that the plan for next year, worked out under the direct leadership and with the decisive contribution of Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu and recently endorsed by the Grand National Assembly, ensures the overall fulfillment of targets and tasks stipulated for the entire 1981-1985 5-year plan period. The report reiterated that the technical-material base has been ensured in order to fulfill the plan provisions for 1985 in a steady way and under conditions of increased economic efficiency.

In connection with the issues discussed during the meeting Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general, stressed the need to draw appropriate conclusions from the way the present plan provisions have been fulfilled, both from the achievements scored and good experience gained and particularly from the deficiencies registered, and he asked the members of the Political Executive Committee responsible for various economic sectors and members of the government, particularly its executive body, to take all the necessary measures to inculcate a high spirit of responsibility, order, and discipline in the overall activity in order to fulfill the plan provisions for 1985 and for the entire 5-year plan period in the most appropriate conditions. Particular stress was laid on the request to take firm measures for a better organization of labor and enhancement of responsibility in fulfilling all the plan indices within the Ministry of the Metallurgical Industry, the Ministry of Chemical Industry, the Ministries of Mines and Electrical Power and in other sectors of economy where some shortcomings have been registered which have negatively influenced the general activity of plan fulfillment.

The RCP secretary general advised that in all branches of national economy resolute actions must be taken in order to conclude the current year's plan provisions with increasingly better results, including exports, and ensure all conditions in the first month of 1985 for a complete plan fulfillment of the economic tasks for the whole of 1985.

Regarding the plan for the next year, the government, the State Planning Committee, and the productive ministries were asked to organize their activity in such a way as to fulfill the major part of the plan provisions between March and October, thus making most rational use of the country's energy resources. It was also noted--for the same reason--that the major reparations of great plants and industrial installations should be undertaken during the winter.

The RCP secretary general stressed again the need to take all the necessary steps to achieve in time and even ahead of schedule the production of goods for export and to conclude firm contracts for them which provide clear stipulations and terms and which can offer concrete guarantee to commendably carry out export operations and develop relations with foreign partners.

Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu stated that all necessary conditions have been created for a better organization of activity which carried out in a high spirit of order and responsibility can ensure the elevation of overall economic activity in 1985 to a high level of quality and efficiency in keeping with the requirements of the socioeconomic development of the country in the current 5-year plan period, and which can also ensure the successful passage to the implementation of the targets established by the 13th RCP Congress.

The Political Executive Committee also discussed and endorsed some measures regarding the improvement of the activity of resolving problems among socialist units. The meeting noted that these measures create conditions for a more fluid resolution of problems among socialist units and increase the responsibility of judicial offices in ensuring a better observance of plan, contract, and financial discipline, in promoting the principles of workers self-management and self-administration, and in defending socialist property, legality and order in the activity of the socialist units. A draft decree was formulated in connection with all those measures.

CSO: 2700/73

## PRESS ARTICLE WARNS AGAINST 'NEONAZI REVIVAL'

AU241714 Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 21 Dec 84 p 6

[Bazil Stefan article: "Neonazi Revival in Western Countries Can and Must Be Halted"]

[Excerpts] For a long time, the importance of meetings by various groups of young neonazi sympathizers has been, and to a certain extent, continues to be belittled, in spite of several assaults in recent years in various West European countries, assaults that resulted in scores of dead and wounded and were proven to have been carried out by neonazi groups. The blowing-up of the Bologna railway station, the horrible explosions of the "beer holiday" in Munich, and the assassination of Jews and other citizens in various West European cities have finally alarmed not only the public opinion, but also the authorities who have begun to take certain measures in this respect. Thus, several neofascist organizations in the FRG--such as "The Action Front of National Socialists-National Aktivists" (ANS-NA), set up by a "fuehrer" named Micheal Kuehnen; "The Sports and Combat Group" led by Karl-Heinz Hoffmann, or the "Socialist People's Movement of Germany-Labor Party" led by Friedhelm Busse--have been outlawed. However, in spite of these measures the truth is the neonazi organizations and groupings continue to multiply and to proselyte.

Official statistics prove that the proliferation of neonazi groups and activities is no longer a minor and marginal phenomenon that can be ignored.

According to data collected by the FRG Federal Office for the Defense of the Constitution, the 68 existing right wing organizations in the FRG had approximately 20,300 members at the end of last year. Two years ago, their total number was only 19,000. This increase within just 1 year is obvious and disquietening.

Now, when mankind prepares to celebrate the 40th anniversary of the victory over fascism, one should act to eradicate the "brown pest" for good.

This need has been constantly underscored by public opinion through large demonstrations against neonazi revival. Thus, many demonstrations and meetings

against the activities of neonazi groups took place in recent years in Rome, Vienna, Antwerp, West Berlin, Celle, and so forth. A number of political organizations in West European countries--such as the SPD and the Union of Nazi Persecuted Persons in the FRG, the National Antifascist Front in Belgium, the International Federation of Resistance Fighters, the Organization of Former French Deportees--have spoken out along these lines. Front-ranking representatives of the SPD in the FRG have asked the government to pass tougher laws against neonazi activities and propaganda, and the West European Parliament has announced the creation of a commission of enquiry into the proliferation of fascist and racist groupings in Common Market countries, with the task of studying measures to combat their spreading. The UN Commission on Human Rights has condemned the fascist and neofascist ideology based on racist intolerance, hate, and terror and asked all member-states to make greater efforts to prevent a revival of fascism. Such actions and stands prove the determination of peoples to give a firm and immediate riposte to the activation of neofascist organizations, so as to avoid a repetition of the loathsome crimes of a not too distant past.

CSO: 2700/73

ANDREI, BOBU CONDUCT TALKS IN USSR 27-28 DEC

AU281916 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1800 GMT 28 Dec 84

[Text] Comrade Emil Bobu, member of the Political Executive Committee and secretary of the RCP Central Committee, and Stefan Andrei, candidate member of the Political Executive Committee of the party Central Committee and minister of foreign affairs, visited the Soviet Union from 27 to 28 December. On this occasion, they conducted talks at the CPSU Central Committee with comrades Mikhail Gorbachev, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee; Nikolay Baybakov, member of the party Central Committee, vice chairman of the Council of Ministers, and chairman of the State Planning Committee; and Boris Aristov, member of the party Central Committee and deputy minister of foreign affairs.

During the talks, the two sides examined the stage of the implementation of understandings concluded during the meetings and talks in June of this year between comrades Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general and president of the SR of Romania, and Comrade Konstantin Chernenko, CPSU Central Committee general secretary and president of the Supreme Soviet Presidium of the Soviet Union. Both sides expressed their determination to take further steps and to continue to act to implement the understandings concluded at the summit level.

During the talks, the two sides also exchanged views on certain problems of common interest concerning the current international situation.

The meetings and talks, which took place in a comradely working atmosphere, were attended by Traian Dudas, our country's ambassador to the Soviet Union.

CSO: 2700/73

## BRIEFS

HIGHER POLITICAL COUNCIL PLENUM--The Higher Political Council of the Army held a plenum of Friday. The plenum discussed tasks devolving on commanders, general staffs, party and Union of Communist Youth bodies and organizations, and all Army Personnel, from the historical documents adopted by the 13th RCP Congress. In an atmosphere of great enthusiasm, the participants in the plenum adopted a telegram to Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general, president of the SR of Romania, and supreme commander of the Armed Forces. [Text] [Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 22 Dec 84 p 5 AU]

CSO: 2700/73

## SERBIAN LC COMMISSION SEEKS ENEMIES GETTING STRONGER

AU271417 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 20 Dec 84 p 4

[M. T. report]

[Excerpts] Belgrade, 19 Dec--Despite the efforts to make all-people's defense and social self-protection in Serbia function better, the internal and external enemies are acting in an increasingly strong, open, and aggressive way.

Members of the Commission for All-People's Defense and Social Self-Protection of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the LC of Serbia agreed today with this statement made in the general party discussion about the Draft Conclusions of the 13th LCY Central Committee session.

## Links

As it was said, the most vociferous are members of the bourgeois right who in defending those who think in their way are establishing more and more firm links with members of other hostile groups. They carry on anticommunist activities and assert that the one-party system and self-management do not assure conditions for the further development of the Yugoslav society on democratic foundations.

Nationalists, liberals, anarcholiberals, reactionary part of the clergy, remnants of the class enemy and of the extremist Chetnik and fascist emigres, as well as certain reactionary circles abroad, from where actions against our country are organized and directed, meet, help, and support each other on the same basis.

The chief support of the anticommunist ideology is nationalism, which is also on the rise. Until the process of emigration from Kosovo is stopped, the political security situation cannot be favorable. The members of the commission agreed with this assessment in the general party discussion. It was assessed that irredentists and Albanian nationalists continue to be active also in the three communes of the South Morava region (Presevo, Bujanovac, and Medvedja), where emigration of Serbs under pressure has also got underway.

The papers presented to this session showed that it was demanded in the general party discussion, as a prerequisite of more effective actions against

irredentists, that concrete responsibility of LC members be established, up to the Presidium of the Provincial Committee of the LC of Kosovo and the Central Committees of the LC of Serbia and the LCY (requests made by the Basic Organization of the LC of Assembly Control, Priboj; the LC organization of Trstenik; the LC organization Bajina Basta; and the Basic Organization of the LC of the 4 July Local Community of Savski Venac [Belgrade]). Dissatisfaction was also voiced with the level of responsibility and the sanctions applied to Mahmut Bakali.

CSG: 2800/143

## GENERAL CRITICIZES PRESS FOR DENIGRATING ARMY

AU271649 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 21 Dec 84 p 1

[Excerpts] In honor of Army Day, 22 December, a traditional meeting of representatives of the Federal Secretariat for National Defense and Journalists was held in Belgrade.

It can freely be said that our public is indeed informed about all the questions of work and life of the Yugoslav People's Army [YPA], through the knowledge of which one may obtain a clear picture of the situation in the YPA: its strength, the results and conditions of its further development, its moral-political situation, and the involvement of its members in social development, Lieutenant General Metodija Stefanovski, assistant federal secretary for national defense, said.

Publicizing such YPA achievements, the public media have made a significant contribution to the preservation and further enhancement of the social prestige of the Armed Forces, which constitutes a great contribution to the strengthening of the trust of the working people and our society in the strength of our country's defense, General Stefanovski stressed.

However, one could not give a pass mark to every organ and every article, especially not in cases of rushed information without proper checks and without any particular need. In his assessment, there have been some articles which were professionally deficient.

The greatest mistakes were made in those cases when articles were written about the YPA, the Armed Forces, and defense in general, in a way that harms their prestige, devalues the role of the YPA, and underrates its prestige and results. There have been articles that questioned the need of a modernization of the Armed Forces and of the very existence of the YPA, Stefanovski said. He remarked that these cases have no particular significance either in their number or actual social consequences, particularly since the views expressed in them were unfounded and ignorant, and our people to not accept them.

One is not surprised by the possibility that writers can be found whose views on the Armed Forces are unacceptable, but it is difficult to accept the possibility that such articles are published. On the other hand, we are

mentioning these cases also because such unacceptable articles and mistakes of the editorial offices which accept and publish them have met with no response in other organs.

Recalling the need and the importance of all the media incessantly making preparations for activities in emergency and war circumstances, Stefanovski said that one should also continue with the system of professional education of journalist cadres to cover all-people's defense and the armed forces.

CSO: 2800/143

## ARMY SPEAKER ON POLITICAL SYSTEM, SELF-MANAGEMENT

AU291328 Belgrade BOREA in Serbo-Croatian 24 Dec 84 p 2

["Excerpts" from speech given by Svetozar Oro at the session of the Committee of the LCY in the Yugoslav People's Army in Belgrade on 14 December]

[Excerpts] I believe that for the assessment of the situation and for the directions of our activities it is of exceptional importance that in all the LCY organizations in the Yugoslav People's Army high ideological and action unity be manifested in two key areas: first, regarding the revolutionary aims that we are striving for, and second, regarding the creative critical attitude toward everything that hinders their implementation.

In the present situation those who advocate a return to the bourgeoisie system or a statist socialism of various subspecies are also raising their voices. They are insignificant, but they are not harmless. No honest, reasonable, and well-meaning man sees or seeks any alternative to self-management. Our people above all cherish the self-managing socialism that has been promised and that is expected. As is seen, the communists have ensured the ideological orientation of all the society in this essential class problem, the propelling force of the revolution, but they have not ensured successful action against the enemies and against the misuses of self-management, because of which it cannot manifest an undoubted superiority over other systems. They are convinced that the LC will do and must do everything that is necessary to overcome these difficulties, both objective and subjective, which hamper the fulfillment of this self-managing vision.

The communists in the army have spoken with full responsibility, praise, and criticism about our political system as the most modern democratic and self-managing manifestation that must be protected from abuses and constantly improved, developed, and thought about so that it may realize its revolutionary intention in the best possible way. It is particularly unacceptable that legal norms be proclaimed an aim in themselves, since it is known that norms are only means for achieving revolutionary aims. This concern permeated numerous objections, proposals, and suggestions so that the system would not produce negative currents but, on the contrary, facilitate revolutionary processes and would get stronger through a daily and resolute struggle against all the extremes--anarchism and liberalism on the other hand, and dogmatism and sanctification of norms on the other.

The communists have pointed out that the role of public speech is growing rapidly in the service of ideological and action unity of the LCY and the society as a whole, especially through the public information media. In this respect, the main dangers for the time being arise from public speech being closed within republican-provincial and local borders. The majority of the media give enough space to the world and to the specific organs of the federation, and most of all to their own territory, but they give least space to Yugoslavia in general and the events in other republics and provinces. This is not good, for, among other things, regional public opinion is created by certain public information media. The reader of any newspaper, for instance, has a dire need to live with the contents, successes, and problems not only of his own region but of the entire Yugoslav society. In this field all the organs--and especially COMUNIST, as a united organ in the LCY and not one split into nine--should play a key role, both as regards the elimination of local exclusivity and as regards the building of unified ideological views and actions of the Yugoslav communities.

CSC: 2800/143

## BORBA CARRIES ARTICLES ON POLITICAL SYSTEM ANALYSIS

AU131550 [Editorial Report] Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian on 8-9 December on pages 4 and 5, under the general title "Critical Analysis of the Political System," carries two full pages with three articles reprinted from KOMUNIST of 30 November, preceded by a 250-word introduction saying that debates about the functioning of the political system have now become the order of the day in public interest, but are really something that should be carried out all the time. These articles by heads of the working groups of the Federal Social Council for Problems of the Social System are assembled and introduced by Dragan Bartolovic, Dragan Kabadajic, and Viktor Strkalj.

The first, 3,800-word article, entitled "Criticism of the Situation Must Not Be Criticism of the Aim," is attributed to Milan Kucan, member of the LCY Central Committee Presidium and head of the working group "Self-managing Decisionmaking in Basic Organizations of Associated Labor, Local Communities, and Self-managing Interest Communities." In question-answer form, Kucan explains the main task of the group as being to prepare suggestions on how to "further the decisionmaking of the working people in the basic forms of self-managing organization" and says that it is less important to analyze the causes of the current situation than it is to determine how to "remove perceived weaknesses and causes of deformations in the functioning of the system."

The second, 2,000-word, article by Dr Aleksandar Fira, head of the working group "Realizing Constitutionality, Legality, and Other Functions of the Legal System," is entitled "Mystifications About Implementation of the Constitution" and deals with the work of his group, which had to reexamine results of researchers already done in this field, and with his impression that the violations of the Constitution and laws have already reached a very high level, especially the "extremely dangerous phenomenon of opposing the so-called daily political interest of certain communities and subjects to the strict implementation of the principle of constitutionality and legality," which is "the most typical example of the misuse of politics in the self-managing society." After this analysis, which is only "partial" at this stage, he states that "it is obvious that some perfecting of individual constitutional regulations would be advisable."

The third, 2,500-word, article by Zvonko Spoljar, head of the working group "Implementation of Cadre Policy, the Election System and the Performance of

**Social and Public Functions," is entitled "The Source of Cadres--Associated Labor." It discusses the working group's critical analysis of cadre policy, which points to the policy's faults including privatization and "horizontal circulation" of officials, and endorses the policy of several candidates for each elective office which would "ensure other aspects of cadre policy, such as class-social, national," and other criteria.**

CSO: 2800/143

- END -