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East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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7 January 1985

EAST EUROPE REPORT

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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STATISTICS ON RELIGIOUS DENOMINATIONS: GDR, HUNGARY

[Editorial Report] The following statistics are the second group in a series. The first appeared in JPRS-EPS-84-143, 20 November 1984 p 1. The information below was published in the Hungarian Catholic weekly UJ EMBER, No XL 46, 11 November 1984. As the original note in the weekly indicated, the figures are from the yearly report of the United Bible Societies.

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

Area	108,333 square km
Population	16,697,400
Yearly population growth	-0.3 percent
Those under 15 years of age	19.4 percent
Protestant	43.0 percent
Roman Catholic	5.8 percent
Orthodox	0.1 percent
Not religious	25.2 percent
Atheist	11.4 percent
Other	14.5 percent

HUNGARY

Area	93,030 square km
Population	10,710,000
Yearly population growth	0.0 percent*
Those under 15 years of age	25.0 percent
Roman Catholic	53.9 percent
Protestant	21.6 percent
Orthodox	0.5 percent
Jewish	0.9 percent
Not religious	8.7 percent
Atheist	7.2 percent
Other	7.2 percent

* -0.2 percent for 1983, according to the Statistical Yearbook of the Central Statistical Office (KSH) in Budapest. In raw numbers that amounted to a decrease of 21,385 people, compared to the previous year.

CZECHOSLOVAK-HUNGARIAN TOURISM IMPAIRED

AU111225 Vienna Domestic Service in German 0600 GMT 11 Dec 84

[Report by Karl Stippsitz]

[Excerpts] What does a Czechoslovak citizen do if he wants to make a trip to Hungary? He packs his suitcases, takes his passport, and goes to the nearest bank. There he changes his korunas into Hungarian forints. At least until now it has been like this. But for about 2 months now Czech tourists have had to do without forints. The situation is similar in Hungary. There, also for the last 2 months, there have been no Czech korunas. Anyone wishing to make a trip must rely on relatives or the black market.

There are rumors on the causes for the sudden shortage of foreign exchange, but no official declarations. The Prague government, it is stated in Hungary, wants to put the too liberal Magyars under pressure and bring them back onto the orthodox road to communism. The impairment of tourism is only one of the several means of pressure. The shortage of korunas in Hungary is felt, in particular, by the Hungarian skiing fanatics whose Mecca is in the Slovak Carpathians. For the Hungarians in Slovakia the shortage of foreign currency has national reasons--the Magyar minority, it is said in Bratislava, is to be separated from the Hungarian homeland as a potential source of unrest. To date, tourism between Czechoslovakia and Hungary has been regarded as very liberal for East Bloc conditions. Czechs and Slovaks are allowed to go to Hungary four times a year; Hungarian citizens, as the only ones in CEMA, are not restricted in traveling.

There is also an economic explanation for the koruna crisis between the CSSR and Hungary. The Hungarian forint is the strongest currency in CEMA, thanks to the economic reform, and thus it is much sought after. The banks in Prague and Bratislava receive annually only a certain quota of forints. But as tourists come to Hungary also from the East, mainly for shopping, the official state quotas are quickly exhausted. [sentence as heard] The Prague National Bank could ask for new forints, but why it does not do so--to this there is only a political answer.

CSO: 2300/173

BULGARIA

NOVOSTI REPORT ON PRC-U.S. MILITARY COOPERATION

AU141329 [Editorial Report] Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian on 13 December carries on page 4 an 800-word report by NOVOSTI correspondent Sergey Kostin, which is written "especially for" NARODNA ARMIYA, entitled: "PRC-U.S.-- Development of Military Cooperation." The author emphasizes that in its desire to rapidly modernize the Chinese Armed Forces, the leadership of the PRC has decided that "military cooperation with the West, and primarily with the United States," is the most effective way to achieve this. In this connection, he recalls the recent 8-day visit of John Lehman, U.S. Secretary of the Navy, to Beijing where he had talks with the PRC State Council chairman, during which, according to the foreign press, "the PRC expressed readiness to open certain of the country's ports to U.S. naval units." In this respect, the September 1983 visit of U.S. Secretary of Defense C. Weinberger is pointed out by the author as the opening of "a series of Chinese-U.S. summit talks." These were followed, according to the author, by a visit in June 1984 of a 12-member PRC military delegation to the United States. Thus he says, the Chinese demands for U.S. weapons doubled in 1983 as compared with 1981. During the visit of Zhang Aiping, PRC minister of defense, to the United States in 1983, "the U.S. president signed a document that gives the right to China, according to the law on exports of weapons control, to receive U.S. technology and credits." Kostin also stresses that China essentially "is in favor of Japanese involvement in the U.S. military structure for the Far East."

In conclusion, the author says that "the PRC does not respond to the numerous proposals of the socialist countries referring to the situation in this area, including the Soviet proposal on implementing the Far East."

CSO: 2200/69

BULGARIA

LEADERS APPEARANCES 9-15 DEC

AU152042 [Editorial Report] Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian, in its broadcasts from 9 through 15 December, notes the following appearances of Bulgarian leaders (time and date of broadcasts noted in parentheses):

Ognyan Doynov, Politburo member and Secretary of the BCP Central Committee, commissioned a new spare parts-producing department at a plant in Vratsa (2030 GMT 12 December).

Kiril Zarev, secretary of the BCP Central Committee, attended a celebration in Sofia marking the 25th anniversary of the Scientific-Technical Informaiton Institute (1830 GMT 14 December).

CSO: 2200/69

MONGOLIAN LEADERS TELEGRAM ZHIVKOV, FILIPOV

AU120931 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 11 Dec 84 pp 1, 2

[Text] Todor Zhivkov, general secretary of the BCP Central Committee and chairman of the State Council, and Grisha Filipov, chairman of the Council of Ministers, have received the following telegram from Jambyn Batmonh, general secretary of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party [MPRP] Central Committee and chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Mongolian People's Republic [MPR], as well as from Nyamyn Jagbaral, deputy chairman of the People's Great Hural Presidium:

Dear comrades, on behalf of the MPRP Central Committee and the People's Great Hural Presidium, as well as on behalf of the MPR Council of Ministers, we would like to express ardent gratitude for the cordial and fraternal congratulations conveyed to us on the occasion of the 60th anniversary of the Third MPRP Congress and of the proclamation of the MPR.

We express our profound gratitude for the high evaluation you made about the successes achieved by our people in the ascending development of the MPR along the path of socialism.

We fully share your conviction that the fraternal relations and comradely cooperation between our two parties and countries, based on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and socialist internationalism, will continue also in the future to develop and be intensified in the spirit of the lofty ideals laid down in the friendship and cooperation treaty signed between the MPR and the People's Republic of Bulgaria, to our two peoples benefit, for the sake of the victory of the cause of peace and socialism.

We wish you, dear comrades, the BCP Central Committee, as well as the government of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, and all Bulgarian people, new successes in building developed socialism in your country, in the struggle for lasting peace, democracy, social progress, and the peoples' security.

CSO: 2200/69

JURISTS QUESTION ITALIAN JUSTICE

AU121715 [Editorial Report] Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian on 11 December carries on page 3 a 600-word article by Angel Stefanov, candidate of philosophical sciences, and Tsvetan Tsvetanov, jurist, entitled: "Is Roman Law Valid for the Roman Judges?" in which they discuss the approach of Italian justice organs to Roman law and international law. After providing details on the latest developments in the case involving Sergey Antonov, Todor Ayvazov, and Zhelyu Vasilv, three Bulgarian citizens, in the assassination attempt against Pope John Paul II in May 1981, the authors state: "Outstanding political figures, journalists and scholars, people with most differing ideological views, as well as most authoritative forums have stressed that the investigation conducted by the Italian justice organs represents a monstrous, anticommunist show, directed by the most reactionary political circles in the West."

The authors further repeat well-known details about the investigation including Agca's revelations made in prison. After implying that the Italian judges do not treat the Bulgarian citizen Antonov impartially, the authors add: "In ancient times the ancestors of the present-day Italian justice officials established a basic principle in penal jurisdiction which stipulates that as long as the legal sentence has not been pronounced, a defendant must be considered innocent. In assigning an exceptional importance to this principle regarding the meaning and the image of contemporary jurisdiction, the UN General Assembly adopted a general declaration on human rights in 1984 whose article II stipulates the right of the defendant to be considered innocent as long as his guilt has not been proved. In a wider context, this principle of Roman law is closely linked to another legal rule--namely that any uncertain fact should be interpreted to the advantage of the defendant."

The authors of the article further claim that the accusation against the Bulgarian citizens and the Bulgarian "secret service" are deprived of any "common sense," pointing out that "no sensible person can presume that a secret service would plan and carry out an action of this kind, involving women and children in its operation, and using incredibly amateurish methods."

Stressing that the Italian legal authorities have violated several other norms of interlational law and of human rights by arresting Antonov, the authors state: "Naturally, this proves once more the fact, confirmed by

numerous events in our recent history, that the observance of basic human rights and freedoms in bourgeois jurisdictions is a mere fiction."

Closing their article the authors write: "We can only speculate about the further actions of the respective Italian justice organs. However, they bear the heavy responsibility of answering the question: are the principles of the sacred Roman Law still valid for the present-day Roman judges?"

CSO: 2200/69

BULGARIA

ITALIAN TELEVISION, JOURNALISTS INTERVIEW BTA'S TRYAKOV

AU120835 Sofia BTA in English 0749 GMT 12 Dec 84

["Innocent People Must Not Be Convicted"--BTA headline]

[Text] Rome, 12 December (BTA correspondent Khristo Petrov)--Last night channel one of R.A.I. (the Italian Television) put on the air a 1-hour program titled "The Papal Assassination Attempt: a Burning Investigation." Millions of viewers had the opportunity to follow the opinions of Mr Boyan Traykov, BTA director general, of Sr Ugo Intini, editor of the newspaper of the Italian Socialist Party, "L'AVANTI" and of Mr Ugur Mumcu, reporter from the Turkish CUMHURIYET daily, who were invited to the studio by the program's anchors, Sr Alberto la Volpe and Sr Giulio Borrelli.

The telecast was beamed at peak audience time, immediately after the major news bulletin.

Mr Boyan Traykov emphasised that Bulgaria, her authorities and citizens have nothing to do with the assassination attempt against the head of the Roman Catholic Church Pope John Paul II, and that our country categorically condemns this heinous act of terror. In the course of 2 years, the investigation in Rome has failed to locate a single piece of evidence, neither direct nor indirect, to corroborate the slander that the Bulgarian state is involved in this assassination attempt.

Further on, Mr Boyan Traykov set forth his firm conviction that the terrorist Agca has been tutored and manipulated all the time so that the campaign of vilification could be whipped up in the interest of those who oppose peace and detente.

In conclusion, the BTA director general voiced his positive belief that in Italy, as in every civilized country, a law court will not allow the conviction of innocent people such as the three Bulgarian nationals.

The Turkish Journalist Ugur Mumcu often departed from the subject but he rejected the writings of 'journalists' such as Claire Sterling and Paul Henze and denounced the perjury tactics of Ali Agca. He expressed the opinion that if Oral Celik were caught and interrogated (he is thought to be the second

perpetrator of the attempt against the Pope. This would immediately make Agca change his version.

Of the statement of Sr Ugo Intini, editor of L'AVANTI the final words left the greatest impression. In them he expressed the opinion that some light has been thrown on the attempt against the Pope but that the truth has still to come out. There are many contradictions, many mysteries many obviously illogical facts. The "grey wolves" and the Turkish mafia are mere performers in a much greater and complicated plot which I hope sooner or later will come to light but for the time being it remains enshrouded in mist, he said.

CSO: 2200/69

BULGARIA

BCP GREETINGS TO WORKERS' PARTY OF JAMAICA CONGRESS

AU141225 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 13 Dec 84 p 1, 2

[Text] The BCP Central Committee has sent the following telegram to the Third Congress of the Workers' Party of Jamaica:

Dear comrades, the BCP Central Committee conveys cordial fraternal greetings to the delegates of the Third Congress of the Workers' Party of Jamaica and wishes them successful and fruitful work.

Your congress is being held in an international atmosphere which is dangerously exacerbated due to the most reactionary imperialistic circles in the United States. The world is facing the threat of a thermonuclear catastrophe. Their aggressive policy is spearheaded against world socialism and the striving of the peoples from Latin America, Asia and Africa for true national independence, democracy and social progress. On your continent this policy of state terrorism was criminally expressed in the intervention in Grenada and in the continuous pressure against the struggle of the patriotic forces in Central America and the Caribbean region, in which the Workers' Party of Jamaica is actively participating.

We express confidence that the congress' decisions will contribute to the further strengthening of the Workers' Party of Jamaica and to the expansion of its influence among the working people in your country.

We are convinced that the relations of friendship existing between our two parties will continue to develop on the basis of the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

Long live the Workers' Party of Jamaica!

CSO: 2200/69

NEXT FIVE VOLUMES OF ZHIVKOV WORKS PUBLISHED

AU141039 Sofia BTA in English 0953 GMT 14 Dec 84

[Text] Sofia, 13 December (BTA)--Today's RABOTNICHESKO DELO carries an extensive article analyzing the main concepts and approaches in Mr Todor Zhivkov's works published in the next five volumes of "selected works" in 1984. The daily emphasizes that the works of the Bulgarian party and state leader are a remarkable contribution to the theory and practice of real socialism.

It is emphasized in the article that Mr Todor Zhivkov's new works brought out this year are yet another resolute expression of the essence of the BCP April line which this country has been following since 1956, based on the Leninist principles and norms of party and public life. The April BCP spirit is a Marxist-Leninist course, a continuation of the revolutionary traditions of the BCP of the theory and practice in the stage of building a developed socialist society. The April line opposing the political brinkmanship, subjectivism, the dogmatic approach to the phenomena and processes, against autocracy and detachment of the figures and social management from the realities. The April line is underlined by the understanding of the creative possibilities of the broad popular masses.

RABOTNICHESKO DELO emphasizes that Mr Todor Zhivkov's works are a scientific summarizing of practice, a true and constructive system of forecasts and ideas for the future.

The BCOP CC newspaper points out that the works by the Bulgarian party and state leader express most fully the revolutionary way of thinking free from the routine and conservatism, a way of thinking finding the new in the historical phenomena and processes.

The important finding is made that like the recent five volumes of Mr Todor Zhivkov, all of his works reveal profound internationalism, that they embody the national and the international altogether.

The works give an extremely clear picture of the tasks being resolved in the field of improving the material and technical base of socialism. They show the achievements and difficulties on the way of the all-round intensification and stepped up transfer of the techno-scientific achievements in production.

They argumentate the reason for raising quality as the nation's key, fateful problem.

Mr Todor Zhivkov points out that the great historical dispute between socialism and capitalism should be resolved in the field of peaceful development, and not through the strength of the weapon and especially of the thermonuclear one. The works of the Bulgarian party and state leader throw light on the question of Bulgaria's place in the socialist community and in the defense alliance of the Warsaw Treaty member-states.

CSO: 2200/69

BULGARIA

BRIEFS

ZAREV RECEIVES USSR DELEGATION--Kiril Zarev, BCP Central Committee secretary, received a CPSU delegation, headed by Viktor Kucherenko, secretary of the Donetsk oblast committee of the Ukrainian Communist Party, which is visiting our party on the occasion of signing a cooperation plan between the CPSU and the BCP. During the talks, which proceeded in a cordial and comradely atmosphere, Comrade Kiril Zarev briefed his guests on the implementation of our country's socioeconomic development plan. Questions of party leadership in preparing and implementing counter-plans were discussed. The meeting was attended by Stouy Kosev, deputy head of the BCP Central Committee "economic and scientific-technical policy" department, and by Yuriy Betev, counselor at the USSR Embassy in Sofia. [Text] [Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 1 Dec 84 p 2 AU]

USSR DELEGATION DEPARTS--In accordance with a cooperation plan between the BCP and the CPSU, a delegation of CPSU workers, headed by Yuriy Kucherenko, secretary of the Donetsk Oblast Committee of the Ukrainian Communist Party, visited our country from 26 November through 1 December 1984. The delegation was received by Kiril Zarev, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee. It held meetings with functionaries at the state planning committee, the Ministry of Energy and raw material resources, and the Sofia City BCP Committee, as well as at the Plovdiv Stara Zabora, and Pernik Okrug BCP committees. During its stay in our country, the delegation was briefed on the role and participation of party organizations in preparing and implementing counter-plans. The delegation departed yesterday. It was seen at Sofia Airport by Ilia Bochukov, deputy head of the BCP Central Committee "Economic and Scientific-Technical Policy" department. Attending the delegation's departure was also Yuriy Betev, counselor at the USSR Embassy. [Text] [Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DFLO in Bulgarian 2 Dec 84 p 2 AU]

YORDANOV RECEIVES ROMANIAN DELEGATION--Georgy Yordanov has received the Romanian delegation led by Radu Mocanu, deputy minister of education and instruction and member of the Executive Bureau of the Council of Socialist Cultural Education in Romania. The possibilities for further developing the cultural cooperation between the two neighboring socialist countries were discussed. [Text] [Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 4 Dec 84 AU]

AGRICULTURAL PROTOCOL WITH GDR--A protocol on expanding Bulgarian-GDR cooperation in agriculture and the processing industry for 1986-1990 has been signed in Sofia. The protocol provides for expanding cooperation in the selection of the basic agricultural crops and for elaborating new technologies in cattle-breeding. Particular attention was devoted to joint work in repairing and maintaining agricultural technology and in implementing modern technologies in the meat industry, storage facilities and in cold storage. [Text] [Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1900 GMT 4 Dec 84 AU]

INTERNATIONAL COMMUNICATIONS MEETING--Sofia, 3 December (BTA)--A week-long meeting began here today of experts on designing and building the "madarbatel" communications network covering 36 countries of the Arab Peninsula and the Mediterranean. There will be discussed the problem of building a transcontinental sea cable on the route Europe-Sofia-Ankara-Damascus-Bagdad-Kuwait and onwards through the Indian Ocean--to Australia, Indonesia, Malaysia Burma, Bangladesh, India, Pakistan and some other countries in the Indian Ocean area. Bulgaria is one of the founder-countries of the "Madarabtel" project. Part of the telephone, telex and radio-television exchange of the Arab countries with Europe will pass through Bulgaria. Already as from 1985 Bulgaria will ensure the conveyance of additional communications traffic from the Middle East to Central and Western Europe on a new radio-relay line of high capacity, and as from the beginning of 1986 a new coaxial trunk cable will be put on stream. At the same time the traffic capacity of the communication lines to Greece, Romania and Eastern Europe will be extended considerably. [Excerpts] [Sofia BTA in English 1146 GMT 3 Dec 84 AU]

BULGARIAN-SOVIET PROTOCOL--Plovdiv, 22 November (BTA)--The regular session of the permanent working group on Bulgarian-USSR cooperation in machine building for the light and food industry as well as in the field of store furnishings and household appliances was concluded here today with the signing of a protocol. The document provides for the further expansion of bilateral and scientific-technical, as well as production relations. [Text] [Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 23 Nov 84 p 8 AU]

BULGARIAN-SOVIET ENTERPRISES COOPERATION--Plovdiv, 22 November (RABOTNICHESKO DELO correspondent's report)--A meeting was held here between representatives of the Bulgarian "Biotechnics" corporation and the USSR Ministry of Machine Building for Light Industry and Household Appliances. Questions were discussed in connection with intensifying cooperation in the food industry, in machine building and in automation systems for the technological processes of basic module specialization in production sharing. A cooperation protocol was signed for 1985. [Text] [Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 23 Nov 84 p 8 AU]

SCIENTIFIC-CULTURAL COOPERATION--Sofia, 30 November (BTA)--A programme for scientific and cultural cooperation between the governments of Bulgaria and Turkey for the period 1984, 1985 and 1986 was signed here today. In the sphere of science and education the document provides for the exchange of experience and information and joint work on themes of mutual interest, as well as visits of research workers and university scholars. The Bulgarian side proposed the establishing of direct cooperation between the Sofia University "Kliment

Okaridski," the Higher Forestry Institute and the Higher Mining and Geological Institute in Sofia with the respective Turkish higher educational institutions. The two parties shall also encourage the implementation of the protocol on bilateral cooperation between the Committee for Science and Technical Progress of the PR of Bulgaria and the Turkish Scientific and Technical Research Institute (TUBITAK). Postgraduate study and seminars and courses for specialists in Bulgarian (respectively Turkish) language and literature are also provided. [Excerpt] [Sofia BTA in English 1613 GMT 30 Nov 84 AU]

COOPERATION PROTOCOL WITH PDRY--Aden, 1 December (BTA)--A protocol was signed here on the seventh session of the Bulgaro-Yemeni Economic and Techno-Scientific Cooperation Committee. In 1985 it is planned to step up the two countries' trade. Bulgaria will render assistance to the PDR Yemen to build and improve a number of industrial, farming and tourist projects. [Text] [Sofia BTA in English 0836 GMT 1 Dec 84 AU]

TELEGRAM OF GRATITUDE--Todor Zhivkov, general secretary of the BCP Central Committee and chairman of the State Council has received a telegram from 'Ali Nasir Muhammad, general secretary of the Yemeni Socialist Party Central Committee, chairman of the Supreme People's Council Presidium, and chairman of the Council of Ministers of the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen [PDRY]. The telegram expresses gratitude for the congratulations conveyed on the occasion of the country's Independence Day. The PDRY leader conveys wishes for the Bulgarian people's prosperity and for the consolidation of relations between our two countries. On the occasion of the congratulations conveyed on the PDRY's Independence Day Grisha Filipov, chairman of the Council of Ministers, also received a telegram of gratitude from 'Ali Nasir Muhammad. [Text] [Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 8 Dec 84 pp 1, 6 AU]

MESSAGE OF GRATITUDE--Todor Zhivkov, general secretary of the BCP Central Committee, has received the following telegram from Nicolae Ceausescu, general secretary of the RCP: Esteemed Comrade Zhivkov, I convey to you my sincere gratitude for the congratulations conveyed to me on the occasion of my re-election to the post of General Secretary of the RCP. I share your opinion that in, the spirit of the fruitful meetings and talks we had with you, the traditional good Romanian-Bulgarian relations will further expand and will continue to expand also in the future to the benefit of both the Romanian and Bulgarian peoples, to the benefit of the cause of socialism, peace and cooperation among the peoples. I convey to you, to the communists, and to all Bulgarian people my wishes for new successes in building socialism in the People's Republic of Bulgaria. [Text] [Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 8 Dec 84 p 1 AU]

BOZHINOV RECEIVES SRV OFFICIAL--Todor Bozhinov, Politburo member of the BCP Central Committee and deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, today received (?Nguyen Van Hung), vice chairman of the Vietnamese State Planning Committee. [Text] [Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1500 GMT 6 Dec 84 AU]

HUNGARIAN PEACE DELEGATION DEPARTS--The Hungarian National Peace Council delegation led by its chairman, Nandorne Sebastyen, has left Bulgaria. The delegation met representatives of the Bulgarian Committee for the Defense of Space,

led by its chairman, Georgi Dimitrov Goshkin. The new tasks stemming from the increasing role of the peace movement in the socialist countries under the present aggravated international situation were discussed. [Text] [Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1500 GMT 6 Dec 84 AU]

ALEKSANDROV RECEIVES USSR OFFICIAL--Comrade Chudomir Aleksandrov has received Ivan Nayashkov, chairman of the Soviet State Committee for Inventions and Discoveries. [Text] [Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1600 GMT 6 Dec 84 AU]

JOURNALISTIC PLAN WITH GDR--The journalist unions of Bulgaria and the GDR have signed a 1985 cooperation plan in Sofia. This plan will contribute to deepening the creative ties between the representatives of the mass information media of both countries. [Text] [Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1900 GMT 6 Dec 84 AU]

SED AUDITING COMMISSION DELEGATION--At the invitation of the BCP Central Control-Auditing Committee, a delegation of the SED Central Auditing Commission, headed by Kurt Seibt, chairman of the commission, arrived in Sofia yesterday. The delegation was cordially welcomed at Sofia airport by Stoyan Karadzhov, chairman of the BCP Central Control-Auditing Committee. Representatives of the GDR Embassy were also among those present at the airport. During the talks, which opened later, Comrade Stoyan Karadzhov briefed his guests on the work of the BCP Central Control-Auditing Committee in fulfilling the decisions of the 12th BCP Congress. [Text] [Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 4 Dec 84 p 2 AU]

PDRY FRIENDSHIP DELEGATION VISIT--At the invitation of the Bulgarian-Yemeni Friendship Society, a PDRY delegation of that society visited our country from 26 November to 2 December 1984. The delegation was headed by 'Abdullah Ahmad Ghanim, minister of state, candidate member of the Yemeni Socialist Party Central Committee, and deputy chairman of the friendship society. The delegation visited Silistra Okrug and the city of Stanke Dimitrov where it was briefed on various aspects of life and on the working people's achievements in the People's Republic of Bulgaria. During its stay the delegation was received by Dimitur Stanishev, secretary of the BCP Central Committee and chairman of the Bulgarian-Yemeni Friendship Society and by Georgi Kardashev, first secretary of the Silistra Okrug BCP Committee. He also held meetings at the Council of Ministers, the Fatherland Front National Council, and the Domsomol Central Committee, at which certain measures for the further development of Bulgarian-Yemeni friendship were discussed and agreed upon--Muhammad Haydarah Masdus, ambassador of the PDRY to our country, as also present during the talks. [Text] [Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 4 Dec 84 p 2 AU]

PDRY ECONOMIC RELATIONS--Ivan Sakarev, first deputy minister of construction and territorial settlement organization, co-chairman of the Bilateral Bulgarian-Yemeni Committee of Economic and Scientific-Technical Cooperation, stated as follows to Ekaterina Borisova, BTA reporter: The economic relations between Bulgaria and the PRDY are being intensified and expanded from every year. He added that at the seventh session of the joint committee held in Aden, the mutual desire for a further development of the relations was confirmed, a strong impetus was given to the intensification of relations by the meetings

and talks between Todor Zhivkov and 'Ali Nasir Muhammad, the two countries' leaders. During his visit, Ivan Sakarev was received by 'Ali Nasir Mohammad, chairman of the PDRY Council of Ministers and chairman of the Supreme People's Council Presidium, as well as by other leaders. [Text] [Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 4 Dec 84 p 6 AU]

BZNA DELEGATION TO CANADA--Sofia, 8 Dec (BTA)--A delegation of the Bulgarian Agrarian Union, led by Mr Angel Dimitrov, secretary of the Standing Committee of the Union, took part in the regular congress of the National Union of Farmers in Canada. During its stay in Canada the delegation had a number of useful meetings. Talks were held with the chairman of the Liberal Party and with the parliamentary spokesman of the party. Bilateral cooperation between the Bulgarian Agrarian Union and the Union of Farmers in Canada and its further promotion figures high on the agenda of the talks. The two unions' wish to contribute to the expansion of political, economic and cultural contacts between Bulgaria and Canada was expressed at the talks. The Bulgarian delegation had a conversation also with the member of the leadership of the New Democratic Party, Mr William Knight, who expressed readiness to establish relations between his party and the Bulgarian Agrarian Union. [Text] [Sofia BTA in English 1840 GMT 8 Dec 84 AU]

GOOD RELATIONS WITH LIBYA--AL BAYAN AL AWAL (Benghazi)--25 Rabi Awal, 17 Dec, JAMAHIRIYAH NEWS AGENCY--The Bulgarian minister for foreign trade hailed the existing relations of friendship and cooperation between Jamahiriya and Bulgaria. He said in a press conference, held this morning in AL BAYAN AL AWAL (Benghazi) on the occasion of the opening of the Bulgarian industrial fair which started last Tuesday, that Bulgaria is importing several industrial products considered as basics for certain industries in Bulgaria including petrochemicals and salt. The Bulgarian minister stressed that the constant cooperation between Jamahiriya and Bulgaria in several industrial and technical fields was a proof of the depth of relations of friendship and cooperation between the two friendly peoples. [Text] [Tripoli JANA in English 0848 GMT 17 Dec 84 LD]

GERLE AWARDS GRIGOR STOICHKOV--Ladislav Gerle, deputy chairman of the CSSR Government and chairman of the CSSR side of the Bulgaria-CSSR Committee on Economic and Scientific-Technical Cooperation, presented Grigor Stoichkov, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers and minister of construction and territorial settlement organization, with the "Friendship Order." This high decoration was conferred on him by the CSSR president for his exceptional contribution to the expansion and intensification of economic cooperation between the CSSR and Bulgaria. The ceremony, which was organized by Jaroslav Hejna, CSSR ambassador to our country, was attended by Andrey Lukanov, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers. [Text] [Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 2030 GMT 14 Dec 84 AU]

LCY CC WORKING GROUP ARRIVES--Sofia, 10 December (BTA)--In accordance with the exchange plan between the CC of the Bulgarian Communist Party and the CC of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, a working group of the CC of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia arrived here today, led by Mr Joze Smole, member of the presidency of the CC of the League of Communists of Slovenia. [Text] [Sofia BTA in English 1258 GMT 10 Dec 84 AU]

FATHERLAND FRONT PLENUM--A plenum of the Fatherland Front National Council opened at the National Assembly hall in Sofia this morning. Todor Zhivkov, general secretary of the BCP Central Committee and chairman of the State Council is participating in the work of the plenum. The plenum was opened by Pencho Kubadinski, chairman of the Fatherland Front National Council, Politburo member of the BCP Central Committee. Greeted with exception cordiality, our first party and state leader delivered a detailed statement on certain issues of the domestic and international situation. He expressed high appreciation for the role, successes and contribution of the largest sociopolitical mass organization in our country in fulfilling the party tasks in building a developed socialist society in our country. Comrade Todor Zhivkov's statement was heard with great attention and interest. It was accompanied by prolonged applause. The plenum of the Fatherland Front National Council adopted a decision in which the evaluations and conclusions drawn by Comrade Todor Zhivkov in his statement and in his report on the country's socioeconomic development up to 1990 and on a long-term basis, delivered at the BCP Central Committee plenum on 8 November 1984, are fully approved. The plenum adopted the 1985 budget of the Fatherland Front. [Text] [Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1000 GMT 17 Dec 84 AU]

FILIPOV MESSAGE TO MPR PREMIER--Grisha Filipov, chairman of the Council of Ministers, has sent the following telegram to Dumaagiyn Sodnom, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Mongolian People's Republic: Esteemed Comrade Sodnom, On behalf of the Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Bulgaria and on my own behalf, I most sincerely congratulate you on the occasion of your election to the post of chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Mongolian People's Republic. This is a great recognition of your former activities in the leadership of your country. I take advantage of this opportunity in order to express our firm conviction that the friendship and comprehensive cooperation between our two countries and peoples will continue to develop also in the future in the interest of our two fraternal peoples, in the interest of the socialist community, and in the interest of our indestructible friendship with the Soviet Union. I wish you, with all my heart, esteemed Comrade Sodnom, vigorous health and great successes in your highly responsible work for the benefit of the fraternal Mongolian people. [Text] [Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 14 Dec 84 p 2 AU]

WRITERS CONGRESS OPENING--On 17 December at the National Assembly's sessions hall the Fifth Congress of the Union of Bulgarian Writers began in a business-like and creative atmosphere, high ideological exigence, and organizational unity and cohesion around the party's April line. The delegates to the congress, masters of the creative word, cordially greeted Comrade Todor Zhivkov at their forum. The following persons took their seats in the working Presidium: Comrades Grisha Filipov, Yordan Yotov, Milko Balev, Ognyan Doynov, Pencho Kubadinski, Petur Mladenov, Stanko Todorov, Todor Bozhinov, Chudomir Aleksandrov, Georgi Yordanov and Stoyan Mikhaylov; Georgi Dzhagarov, deputy chairman of the State Council; Aleksandur Fol, minister of national education; and Stanka Shopva, first secretary of the Dimitrov Komsomol Central Committee. [Excerpts] [Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 17 Dec 84 AU]

CSO: 2200/74

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

STASZ REPORTS ON GRENADA ELECTION RESULTS

LD071837 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 1130 GMT 7 Dec 84

[Text] The American press and official government agencies are paying close attention to the election results in Grenada. Michal Stasz, our New York correspondent, reports:

[Stasz] The newspapers speak extensively and with deep satisfaction about the fact that the winning candidate in the U.S.-organized elections on Grenada was the candidate who suits Washington. The New National Party of the winning candidate, Blaize, was created last, but to make up for it owing to the generous financial and other help by the United States it won in the end. It is alleged that even taxis were hired for American money to drive the electors to the polls. For this money the island, which since the American aggression a year ago, has been stricken with 35-percent unemployment and terrible poverty, imported considerable propaganda material for bamboozling the frightened inhabitants of the island. Blaize's party is new, but the colonial British rule and his return to power signals that now he will again be a servile subject, in this case of the power men in Washington.

The opposition party of Maurice Bishop accused Blaize of being the candidate of the CIA, which by means of various rightist organizations of the United States gives him not only money but also a staff of so-called voluntary workers. The trust is from both sides, which is shown by the fact that Blaize prefers three of his sons to live in the United States and not in Grenada. In exchange for this the new prime minister makes the strong request that occupation units remain on the island, by which he casts more doubt on his freshly bought mandate.

CSO: 2400/154

SOCIALIST DEMOCRACY DEFINED

Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 30 Oct 84 p 4

[Article by Ladislav Hrzal, CSAV corresponding member, and Dr Pavol Mestan, CSc: "Bourgeois and Socialist Democracy"]

[Excerpts] Questions of democracy are at the center of the contemporary ideological struggle. The attention paid to the problems of democracy by bourgeois ideologues has its reason and goals: to disguise and conceal the bankruptcy of democracy as practiced by capitalist society. Because they have nothing to say because there is nothing to be said, the bourgeois ideologues go on repeating that which many years ago was said by their predecessors when they were attacking the Marxist principle of the dictatorship of the proletariat and contrasted it to a democracy as if there were a "pure," "supraclass democracy," as if bourgeois democracy were not the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. It was V. I. Lenin himself who paid great attention to the clarification of these questions. At the present time, the communist and Marxist workers' parties are paying great attention primarily to the question of how to improve socialist democracy and how to implement it in practical political life.

One of the most often repeated topics of bourgeois democracy and propaganda is the "contradiction" between the dictatorship of the proletariat and democracy. The main role here is not played by theoretical analysis but by anticommunist propaganda. The polemic is conducted as if one could compare political circumstances in the countries of two different political systems, namely, capitalism and socialism. In fact, however, the real situation is not being compared. Bare, abstract ideals of the liberal democracy and freedoms which the bourgeoisie has been proclaiming for centuries but which have never been realized anywhere in a society divided into antagonistic classes are being contrasted with the existing situation in the USSR and socialist countries.

Democracy in this bourgeois sense means a legislative elimination of state interference which could limit the choice of political activity and propaganda. The real legal order in the bourgeois countries is far from this stated ideal.

However, even further away is capitalist political practice. Private ownership of the means of production leaves the most powerful instrument of

political control, namely the economy, in the hands of a small group of the bourgeoisie. The arguments against the dictatorship of the proletariat are directed from the positions of an abstract liberal "pure democracy."

A historical approach, a really scientific approach, has shown that there is no "democracy in general." There is either bourgeois democracy declared and idealized by bourgeois ideologues and politicians, or socialist democracy, which is in effect in the countries of the socialist community.

It is no accident that the bourgeois ideologues must constantly return to this question because it is a burning question dealing with the problem of how to organize society. It is a question which should clarify the position of bourgeois democracy in the struggle to conquer and maintain political and economic power and the role that socialist democracy plays in building a developed socialist society.

The critics of the dictatorship of the proletariat also argue that there are no unlimited possibilities of political activity and propaganda in our system or, to state it more precisely, that there is no possibility for arbitrary bourgeois antisocialist activity by the remnants of the hostile forces and their lackeys. According to this argument, the people in our country are allegedly reduced to a mere "nothing," cannot think freely, cannot have their own opinions, or show and express them. Those who dare to think "without permission," those who do not think in the approved way, are suspect. As an illustration these critics have often offered religion. Because religion runs counter to Marxist-Leninist ideology, believers in our country are persecuted, according to these critics.

Millions of foreign visitors who come to our country each year can see with their own eyes that this and similar so-called reliable information supplied by bourgeois propaganda is totally false. It is true that in our country it is not possible for every individual to say everything he wants. Socialist democracy is not some kind of "unlimited freedom for everything and everybody." This, however, is logical and natural. In the final analysis, such freedom would be nothing but nonfreedom.

Socialist democracy has nothing in common with bourgeois liberalism and individualism, which see their ideals in a situation in which the individual can do anything he wants while disregarding others, disregarding society. The communists have never stated that they are striving for such democracy. They have never promised such democracy to anybody. On the contrary, they have always tried to argue that such a concept is nonsense.

For example, the advocacy of fascism and of war is contrary to our form of democracy and our laws. In our country warmongering is prohibited. We are against freedom to incite racial and religious hatred. Religion is a private affair of each and every citizen of our country. Everybody is entitled to believe freely. However, we are not indifferent to the worldviews held by our people in general and our youth in particular. We try, with the help of scientific ideology, to influence the thinking of our people in line with the development of science and technology. This, however, does not at all mean that we prohibit religious beliefs. After all, it is well known that in our country the majority of believers actively participate in the effort to develop their socialist homeland.

The dictatorship of the proletariat has nothing in common with the suppression of democracy. On the contrary, it is a government in which the majority of the people rule over the minority. "Democracy for all--such a thing exists only in bourgeois propaganda," V. I. Lenin said a long time ago. A Marxist will never forget to ask: democracy for which class?

In the Soviet Union, where there is a developed socialist society and where socialism has grown from its foundation up, the Soviet state, which has fulfilled the role of the dictatorship of the proletariat, is being transformed into an all-people's state. The new constitution which was adopted through the most democratic method based on discussion in which everyone participated states the following in its first section, Article 1, which deals with the bases of the social and political system in the USSR: "The Union of Soviet Socialist Republic is an all-people's state embodying the will and interests of workers, peasants and the intelligentsia, the working people of all nations and nationalities in the country."

Article 9 of the Constitution concerning socialist democracy says the following: "The basic direction for the development of the political system of Soviet society is a further improvement of socialist democracy: this means the continuous broadening of the role of citizens in managing the state and social affairs, the improvement of the state apparatus, the increased activity of social organizations, strengthened people's control, improved legal basis of public and social life, the broadening of the principle of participation by the public, and constant respect for public opinion."

In addition to the right to work, the Constitution guarantees the right to protect health, free medical care, material assistance in old age and sickness, the right to free education at all types of schools, the right to use the cultural resources and freedom of scientific, technical and artistic work. In the interest of strengthening and developing the socialist system, the citizens are guaranteed the freedom of speech, press, association, assembly, and petition. The Constitution guarantees the right of religious belief, participation in religious ceremonies, or propagation of atheism.

Socialist democracy is, naturally, not only a right but also a duty. The Soviet citizens, to whom all power belongs and who are people's or cooperative owners of the country's resources, cannot use socialist ownership for enriching themselves or for other self-serving purposes. Property owned by individuals must not serve as a source of unearned income or be used to the detriment of society. It is a duty and a matter of honor of each able-bodied citizen to work consciously and observe labor discipline. Each Soviet citizen must defend and strengthen socialist ownership, fight the pilfering of state and socialist property, spare natural resources and conserve nature's riches. The Constitution expressly prohibits the incitement of hostility and hatred in connection with religious beliefs, provides sanctions against any racial or religious discrimination or mischief. Any advocacy of war is prohibited by law in the USSR.

We could go on making an inventory of the scope of socialist democracy. However, the most decisive fact is that in the Soviet state (in contrast to all bourgeois states) the Constitution and the laws do not run counter to reality and that they are not only for the form. Meetings of the CPSU Central Committee prove that the party and state organs are paying increased attention to socialist democracy.

SOCIAL DEMOCRACY IN DEVELOPING COUNTRIES

Prague NOVA MYSL in Czech No 10, 1984 pp 87-97

[Article by Jaroslav Cmerek: "Social Democracy and the Developing Countries"]

[Excerpts] In many of the capitalist countries the social democratic movement represents an important political force. This is especially true of the West European countries, where the social democratic movements and the Socialist International have their focal point. The social democrats, or socialists, in the West European countries are usually among the main political parties and often head the government. In recent years, the Socialist International has significantly increased its influence even in non-European areas, primarily in the developing countries.

In the theory and politics of the communist and workers parties, the social democratic movement has been given considerable attention, which is reflected in materials from international consultative meetings of the communist and workers parties.

This attention is motivated not only by the needs of the ideological struggle with social reformism, but also by an effort to develop relations with the social democratic and socialist parties "on the basis of a joint effort to strengthen the process of detente, for a halt in feverish armament, and against the threat of war."

Social democracy is an internally differentiated movement in which there are contradictory class tendencies and various politically oriented forces. An understanding of the current differentiation processes in social democracy requires a correct policy toward it, a policy which keeps in mind the differences between communists and social democrats in ideology and political positions while, on the other hand, taking into consideration opportunities for joint action in the resolution of certain political problems. The criterion of our differentiated approach to the various forces within social democracy is their stand on the most urgent problems of our time, the struggle for the relaxation of international tensions, for international security, disarmament and peace.

This stems from the present political situation in the world, from the dangerous sharpening of international relations, provoked by changes in imperialist strategy in the late 1970's and early 1980's, by the turn of the United States and its allies to a confrontational policy. The most urgent task of the day

is to mobilize all peace-loving forces in the struggle against feverish rearmament, against the growing threat of nuclear war. The social democratic movement, even with its contradictory character and vacillating policies, represents a potential in this respect which cannot be ignored.

From this vantage point, it might perhaps appear that the relationship of social democracy with the developing countries is a secondary problem which could even detract attention from what is most important today. Actually, however, both problems--the struggle for peace on the one hand, and dynamic change in the developing countries on the other--are closely linked. The threat of war today is represented not only by imperialism's efforts to gain military and strategic superiority through new armament, but also by the intensified attack by imperialism on the revolutionary and progressive forces in the developing countries, as shown, for example, by current developments in the Middle East and Latin America. Imperialist action in the developing countries may destabilize the international situation and thus threaten world peace as much as the implementation of any ambitious armaments programs.

Moreover, even economic factors come to the fore. Rearmament draws away resources which might otherwise be used to develop the backward regions of the world. This refers to economic aid to the developing countries, as well as to their own resources allocated for armament which, forced on them by imperialist policy, is becoming a serious problem.

The interest of social democracy in the developing countries has grown substantially in recent years. Also greater is the number of political parties in the developing countries that have joined the Socialist International or participate in social democratic events as observers. The policy of social democracy toward the developing countries is quite different from the reactionary policy of the United States and the two often clash. In many cases, the social democrats support progressive tendencies in the developing countries; on the other hand, however, they naturally do not intend to step beyond the bounds of capitalism and, through their policies, help to maintain its position in these countries. Related with this is the important element of social democratic policy in these problems, namely, its effort to eliminate the influence of real socialism and tone down revolutionary processes in the developing countries.

The policy of the social democrats, in which there is a confrontation and mutual limitation of two contradictory class tendencies, is therefore inevitably oscillating, two-faced, and full of contradictions. This fact was already noted by V. I. Lenin more than 6 decades ago, when he wrote that the predecessors of contemporary social democrats "inevitably oscillate between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat, between bourgeois democracy and the Soviet system, between reformism and revolution, between love for the workers and fear of proletarian dictatorship, etc." This fitting assessment can be applied to contemporary social democracy, which tries to present itself as a supraclass movement, as some sort of supraclass arbiter, capable of overcoming the contradictions of today's world. In reality, however, social democracy is merely a movement which maneuvers between opposing class interests.

In the late 1970's and early 1980's the negative economic and internal political factors which limit social reformist policies were further exacerbated by harmful phenomena in the sphere of international relations, which in their consequences mean even narrower maneuvering space for social democracy. The sharpening of international tensions and threat to detente represent at least as serious a threat for social democracy as inflation and high unemployment. Peaceful coexistence for the social democrats who are maneuvering between contradictory class interests provides a much more propitious climate than an atmosphere of cold war. Under conditions of peaceful coexistence, they are able to divorce themselves to a greater extent from their bourgeois competitors on the political scene of the capitalist countries.

Since the mid-1970's there have been two basic tendencies in the international activity of the Socialist International. An inseparable element of both of these is its heightened interest in the developing countries, the search for new, more flexible, forms of influencing them, with the aim of developing and expanding the Socialist International's base in the individual areas of the developing world.

The first tendency is an effort to broaden the social democratic movement. In this manner, the Socialist International intends to counter the narrowing of its maneuvering room which occurs--as we have already noted--as a result of intensification in the crisis of capitalism and the sharpening of East-West relations. The Socialist International strives to expand primarily in a geographic sense, for deeper penetration outside the European capitalist countries. In this effort it pursues a very ambitious goal, namely, to transform the social democratic movement into one which has global significance.

Simultaneously, there is an effort to broaden the movement in a social sense. In this respect, social democracy proceeds from its so-called deideologization of the 1950's and 1960's, from an effort to present itself not as a workers party but rather a populist one, expressing the interests of the broadest strata of the population. This is a very important feature in terms of the Socialist International's penetration into the developing countries. If we consider the social structure in these areas, this is, in fact, a highly important prerequisite for the Socialist International's policies in the Third World.

In addition to geographic and social expansion, the Socialist International also strives to broaden the spectrum of problems which it emphasizes in its agenda. In the activities of the Socialist International and those of its West European member parties, there has been in recent years a desire to become increasingly engaged not only in the "traditional" questions of social democratic policies but in all serious problems of our day. Problems of the Third World play an important role in this area, also.

The second tendency is closely linked with the first, namely, the search for new, more effective, forms of applying social democratic approaches and positions. In the past, the Socialist International entered into practical political operations only through the intermediary of its member parties, for which its resolutions are not binding. The policies of the social democratic parties, which are to a significant degree limited by cooperation with the bourgeoisie, often have a different direction than resolutions of the Socialist International's congresses. This is especially true of those social democratic

parties, which are represented in their respective governments, thus the very parties on which the Socialist International most heavily relies in the realization of its aims. Under these circumstances, the Socialist International finds itself in a sort of vicious circle in which the traditional social democratic contradiction between words and deeds intensifies.

Penetration into the developing countries is primarily a social democratic reaction to the worsening of conditions in which it operates, and is one of the instruments through which social democracy tries to counter these conditions. This is also shown by the fact that social democracy is resorting to new methods in these relations--instead of the traditional, largely ideological "export" of so-called democratic socialism, it focuses more on pragmatic politics and on a political and organizational anchoring in the developing countries, in some cases even at the price of abandoning some of its ideological postulates.

The context of social democracy's historical development, of course, brings out another important feature in connection with the Socialist International's penetration into the developing countries. Social democracy, whether it applies its policies as a governing or opposition party, began representing one of the main political concepts which compete with one another on the ground of capitalism. As such, the social democrats can no longer limit themselves to traditional priorities in their policies, i.e., social legislation, state intervention in the economy, etc. They had to start looking for answers, social democratic answers, to new questions which are beginning to confront capitalist society. A most urgent problem of contemporary capitalism, which is closely related to the deepening crisis in capitalist countries, is how to react to the profound changes in the Third World. Social democrats, as a rule, seek the arena of their influence in matters where bourgeois policies have failed. This is also true in the case of the developing countries, where shortcomings in bourgeois policies have led to a threat to state monopoly capitalism.

In another sense, one can speak of an internationalization of social democracy's role. Social democracy has always been an international movement; nevertheless, its role has for decades been viewed predominantly in the internal political context, in the projection of social democratic approaches to the resolution of socioeconomic and political problems in individual countries or regions. The social democrats themselves regarded their "third road" as a model or recipe for the resolution of essentially internal political problems. The international aspect appeared merely as an effort to increase the number of countries in which this "third road" would be applied. The present ambitions of social democrats are somewhat different, must be different, since social democratic "internal political models" are obviously failing under present conditions. Social democracy today does not strive so much to be a model for the world in the sense of individual countries, but rather wishes to become a model for the world as a whole. It even strives to become a sort of arbiter or referee in East-West relations and in relations between the advanced industrial countries and the developing ones.

In other words, the traditional social democratic concept of the "third road" has become internationalized and mutated into the concept of a "third force"

in which social democracy no longer appears merely as a political "model" but also as an independent, geographically anchored, political force in contemporary international relations. It should be added that this concept has not ceased to be an illusion. While the social democrats may represent a more flexible variant of capitalist countries' policies, they cannot escape the polarity of fundamental class conflicts in the contemporary world.

Social democrats have in the past identified with the policy of state intervention in the economy, which stemmed from Keynesian thinking and created a certain type of state monopoly regulation. The growth of the multinational monopolies and the overall internationalization of economic life, however, created a situation, along with some other manifestations, in which state intervention in the economy became ineffective. In the organic integration of developing countries' problems in their economic doctrine, the social democrats try to maintain their traditional concepts, which in capitalist countries today are being suppressed by neoconservative trends. In the view of the social democrats, economic and financial aid to the developing countries is a sort of international equivalent of state intervention, and is meant to stimulate demand, thus also production. This can be viewed as an effort to adapt to new conditions the type of economic thinking which the social democrats have traditionally represented.

The resurgence of the Socialist International and its West European member parties in relations with the developing countries naturally contains many other economic elements. Imperialist contradictions are projected into this arena, especially the rivalry between Western Europe and the United States, as well as the effort to secure guarantees of access to sources of mineral riches in the developing countries "at predictable prices," etc.

Along with the Socialist International's effort to strengthen its influence in the developing countries and the world, it is being forced to deal with many new problems. Moreover, it often encounters even those questions in the realm of the Third World which have for decades not been discussed within the social democratic movement but which today again come to the fore. Let us recall, for example, the choice between violent and peaceful means of political struggle. This conflict was long ago decided within social democracy in favor of the latter. Developments in the developing countries, notably in Central America, and the political involvement of social democracy in these countries, however, have again made this question a subject of discussion in the movement, and the Socialist International even had to revise its position somewhat, even though only in terms of special situations. By the same token, the reality in the developing countries has shaken even the social democratic postulate of the so-called pluralist democracy.

Penetration into the developing countries creates counterpressures which often force the Socialist International into positions which it would have never assumed on its own. The shifts in the policies of the Socialist International and its West European member parties, whose provenance lies in the revolutionary incentives in the developing countries, are naturally limited by the class conflicts within the social democratic movement. Consequently, social democracy cannot itself become revolutionary under the impact of these incentives; on the contrary, it tries to gain influence within the revolutionary forces in the developing countries and move them away from the road of revolutionary change.

In closing, we should emphasize two facets of the contradictory influence of social democracy on the developing countries. On the one hand, in its desire to expand its influence in the world it is in some cases forced to support the legitimate demands of the developing countries. This permits it to find allies among the progressive forces of these countries. On the other hand, of course, social democratic policies toward these countries are deterred by their own class limitations. No matter how much this policy strives to adapt itself to new conditions, it is unable to step beyond the bounds of the capitalist system, whose positions in the world it defends. Therein lies the dilemma of social democratic policy toward the developing countries, which social democracy is incapable of resolving.

9496

CS0: 2400/122

DAILY CRITICIZES CURRENT PLO LEADERSHIP

AU051457 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 4 Dec 84 p 6

[Article by Julius P. Loerincz: "Finding the Strength of the People of Palestine: After the 17th Session of the Palestine National Council"; passages between slantlines are published in boldface]

[Text] /After the severely truncated Amman session of the Palestine National Council [PNC], which is also called the Palestinian Parliament in exile, it is not easy to organize one's thoughts. Let us try, nevertheless, to make a few remarks by way of comment./

First of all, it is apparent that the very venue of this recent session, the Jordanian capital, the circumstances of its convocation, and the course of this session--with many important organizations and personalities of the movement absent and accompanied by explosions of polemics in the individual segments of the PLO--show that the decisive portion of the PLO leadership has failed to really analyze all the connections and implications of the Israeli-American aggression and of the PLO's departure from Beirut in 1982, made necessary by Arab passivity; that it has failed to analyze all the factors of this tragic departure--factors which were not only external but also internal, lying within the Palestinian resistance movement itself.

True, some organizations taking part in the national liberation struggle of the Arab people of Palestine did make their partial evaluations, but the movement as a whole has made only one such attempt--at the preceding, 16th PNC session in Algiers in February 1983. That session was the first chapter of lessons and solutions; regrettably, since then one has not gone beyond the initial stage of words. Still, a remarkable unity on many issues was reached at that time, one of the most important points of agreement being this: Although, compared to the situation in the rest of the Arab world, the Palestinian resistance movement has assumed a popular nature, nonetheless, the potential of a truly broad, organized people's resistance movement is not sufficiently utilized, especially in the occupied territories. /Agreement was reached in Algiers that it is necessary to achieve a breakthrough in organizing a multifaceted mass-based armed and political struggle against the Zionist occupiers and their collaborators. Yet this breakthrough is nowhere to be seen and initiatives in this direction have scarcely emerged from Amman./ It must be remembered that this is one of the key problems of the

present situation of the Palestinian resistance movement, of its possibilities and prospects.

Although the absence of a popular resistance movement is not complete, it is nevertheless evident. The scarcely effective struggle in the occupied homeland weakens the rear of the political and diplomatic struggle on other fronts. To put it in different, and perhaps more accurate, terms: Certain leading political circles of the PLO concentrate to such a degree on political maneuvering, which is undeniably necessary for establishing for the Palestinians favorable conditions in the complex and, for the Palestinians, adverse political situation in the Arab world, that this maneuvering has somehow become an end in itself. At the same time, this is to the detriment of contact with the masses of the Palestinian people and their activation and mobilization. There is no doubt that the cruel conditions of the Israeli occupation and of the predatory policy of Zionism, as well as the difficult situation of the majority of the people of Palestine who live in exile, through the fault of Zionism and imperialism, play a role in this. But the tendency of some Palestinian, especially bourgeois, circles to substitute excessively tactical politicking for genuine policy in the interest of the goals of national liberation and revolution is another negative factor. From among these goals, ensuring the right to return home and the right to self-determination, including the right to an independent, sovereign Palestinian state on the Palestinians' own national territory, remains the overriding concern.

Relying on the discreet but massive support of Saudi Arabia, the Jordanian royal regime, which rules over a country that is the home of 1.5 million Palestinians, has provided formidable enticements for some representatives of the Palestinian petite and national bourgeoisie who, after Beirut, have become uncertain, for they do not trust the people's masses and, not infrequently, have an elitist attitude toward them. Acting according to the slogan "save what can be saved," they even have a tendency to make unprincipled compromises. What form does this take in practice? At the PNC session in Amman, there was no lack of criticism (although it mostly came in the form of an echo from the outside) of the methods of the PLO leadership and, more specifically, of Yasir 'Arafat, the former and newly elected chairman of the PLO Executive Committee, and his opening up vis-a-vis the Jordanian and Egyptian regimes. However, the need was repeatedly stressed to maintain the independence of the Palestinian resistance movement vis-a-vis Syria; on the other hand, there was less talk about independence of Jordan, which has become the main "strategic ally" of the PLO. This was the case in defiance of the fact that in his opening speech King Husayn clearly spoke about the need for Palestinians to take part in an international conference on the Middle East, held on the basis of UN Security Council Resolution No. 242 of 22 November 1967, a document that has been rendered obsolete [prekonan] by other, more recent resolutions. Although that resolution states that Israel must withdraw from all territories occupied since the war of June 1967, /it refers to the Palestinians as refugees only, and not as a nation, and does not even mention their internationally acknowledged right to self-determination, including the right to set up an independent national state of their own./

In other words, the session in Amman was a step toward depriving the PLO of the exclusive right to represent the Palestinians, as recognized by the UN, and toward granting that right also to Jordan, insinuating that the ultimate goal does not necessarily have to be an independent state for the Arab people of Palestine but, possibly, also a confederation with the Jordanian royal crown. What has happened to Palestinian independence? /This would, after all, amount to undoing all the indisputable political and moral successes and historic victories achieved heretofore in the struggle for the just cause of the Arab people of Palestine. American imperialism, Zionism, and Arab reaction, in turn, would be brought closer to the implementation of their aim to destroy and liquidate the Palestinian national liberation revolution./

It is not without cause that Lebanese Communists, for example, but also members of other Palestinian organizations (and not only those that agree in everything with Syria without reservations) say that /Jordan, proceeding in alliance with Egypt and enjoying the obvious support, or obtaining at least the approval of other Arab reactionary circles, but also of imperialism and Zionism, seeks to isolate Syria, to set up a front against its anti-imperialist positions and against the Arab national liberation movement, and thus to weaken the PLO's true strategic rear./

When this is brought up, some Palestinian friends argue that the Soviet Union, too, has been developing relations with Egypt of late, that Moscow is awaiting the visit of Jordan's King Husayn, and that Karen Brutents, deputy chief of the CPSU Central Committee International Department, in an interview with the progressive Lebanese newspaper AL-SAFIR, did not even rule out the possibility of a "visit by official Saudi Arabian personalities to Moscow in the near future." However, this concerns interstate relations and the understandable endeavor of Soviet foreign policy to develop contacts with the Arab world on a broad basis and, at the same time, to establish conditions for obtaining Arab support for the idea of organizing an international conference on a comprehensive solution of the problems of the Middle East.

The PLO, too, does not have to, and should not, isolate itself from the rest of the Arab world, even if this entails necessary contacts with conservative Arab regimes. /However, there is no reason for the PLO to sail in their wake./ Because there were no guarantees that the PNC meeting in Amman would not be marked by subordination to conservative regimes, not only the Damascus-based organizations from the National Alliance (Al-Sa-'iqa, the Palestinian Popular Struggle Front, the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine-General Command, and former members of Fatah who have broken away from that organization, under the leadership of Abu Musa) did not go to the session, but also organizations associated in the Democratic Alliance or, as they are also called, members of the "constructive opposition" (the People's Front for the Liberation of Palestine, the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine, the Communist Party of Palestine, and the Palestine Liberation Front).

Yet these organizations, including major personalities that refused to go to Amman (such as Ibrahim Bakri [name spelling as published], Khalid al-Fahum,

Bassam al-Shak'ah, and so forth), do not command the decisive position in the PNC. The position there is that of Fatah; of the original 384 PNC members (it was decided in Amman to reduce their number to 374, that is, by the 10 people who have died since last year's 16th session), 257 turned out the first day (the final number of participants was 261) so that there was a two-thirds majority that is necessary for the proceedings of a regular session. /However, the absence of the aforementioned organizations can scarcely be ignored, and the 17th PNC session can therefore hardly be regarded as having had full value. It could have had that quality if it met on the basis of the political and organizational, truly independently Palestinian, Aden agreement between Fatah and organizations of the Democratic Alliance and following a broad-based, truly democratic dialogue in the movement. The Aden agreement presupposed the preservation of PLO unity and ability to act on an anti-imperialist, patriotic, and progressive basis./

The movement's unity must be sought, and continued to be built without interference from the outside, even after the PNC session in Amman. The possibilities for it remain open because even the people in Fatah realize the dangerous consequences of a split. The important thing in seeking this unity will be to rely on the unbroken will and determination of the Palestinian people's masses, not to abandon them, but to purposefully organize and guide them in their struggle for the main goal, which has not changed: to put an end to the Israeli occupation and to complete successfully the fight for the implementation of the legitimate right to return home and to set up an independent Palestinian state. /As confirmed by Gustav Husak, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee and CSSR president, in his message to the PLO a few days ago, the CPCZ and all Czechoslovak people will continue to support efforts for a successful solution of the Palestinian issue and steps toward establishing a just and lasting peace in the Middle East./

CSO: 2400/154

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

DZUR ON CZECHOSLOVAK ARMY

Prague NOVA MYSL in Czech No 10, 1984 pp 15-26

/Article by Martin Dzur: "Brotherhood Sealed With Blood"/

/Excerpts/ The Czechoslovak people together with all members of our People's Army in these October days recall the historic events of 40 years ago when the glorious Soviet Army, containing the First Czechoslovak Army Corps in the USSR, after heavy and bloody battles in the area of the Dukla Pass crossed the Czechoslovak border and embarked upon the liberation of our country from fascist bondage. The East Carpathian operation, of which the legendary Carpathian-Dukla operation to assist the Slovak popular uprising was a part, notably helped to create favorable conditions for the development of the popular democratic revolution.

In the late 1970's and early 1980's the forces of imperialism and reaction have become significantly more active in their attempts to obstruct at any cost the improvement of the international political atmosphere and to achieve military superiority over socialism. More and more frequently they violate universally recognized principles in relations between states, seriously threaten peace and international security, the freedom and independence of nations and put ever new obstacles in the way of economic and scientific cooperation. They conduct hostile campaigns against the socialist countries, communist and labor parties and other progressive and democratic forces. These assaults of the imperialist and reactionary forces against the positions won by nations in the heavy battle for peace and international security pursue aggressive and revanchist goals. This is obvious from, among other things, the attempts of the ruling imperialist circles to reverse the socialist development of the Polish People's Republic and the systematic interference into the internal affairs of that sovereign state. The evidence of the growing aggressiveness of imperialism is given by the open aggressions of the United States of America against Grenada, Nicaragua and El Salvador, its armed intervention in Lebanon, its support for reactionay regimes in Israel, the South African Republic, Chile, and other South American countries, as well as other dangerous undertakings in various parts of the world.

The main danger for peace and international security, for detente, for the independence of nations and their economic and social development is the feverish escalation of armament and the tangible preparations for a nuclear war. The responsibility for such a situation is borne by the most aggressive of imperialist circles. The aggressive North Atlantic Treaty Organization, whose leading force is the United States of America, year after year increases its military expenses and implements new armament programs. The goal of all these measures is to achieve military superiority by the NATO countries over the Soviet Union and the other countries of the Warsaw Pact, to dictate /NATO's/ will to independent states, to stop the worldwide revolutionary process and to dominate the world.

The American armed forces, according to the strategy of the "direct confrontation," have to be prepared to defeat the adversary in any kind of armed conflict, i.e., in a war conducted both by nuclear and conventional means. At the same time, the victory should be achieved while preserving the inviolability of the territory of the United States and its impunity, without regard to the tragic fate the war might bring in, above all, the European nations, including the American allies. To disguise those intentions and to deceive Western public opinion, bourgeois propaganda invents lies about the so-called Soviet threat and particularly about the imaginary military superiority of the USSR.

The incontestable truth is that the Soviet Union has never striven and does not strive for military superiority. This is attested to by, among other things, the history of the development of the weapons systems introduced into Soviet and American military arsenals during their entire post-war evolution. Not once during those years was the USSR the initiator of the production of a new kind of weapon; on the contrary, being concerned about its security and the security of its allies, it has had to face repeated attempts by the United States to achieve military superiority. In the mutual proportion of military forces the USSR has always observed the principle of equality and equal security for all nations.

As a consequence of the aggressive policy of the reactionary imperialist forces led by the United States, international tension has grown and the danger of war, especially nuclear, increased. The political, ideological and material preparations by NATO toward unleashing a war against the nations of the socialist community are progressing intensively. This is obvious from, among other things, the deployment of the new American medium-range missiles in Western Europe, which creates a new military strategic situation on the European continent and virtually in the whole world. It has gravely tipped the balance of forces and cannot be left unanswered.

The awareness of responsibility for providing a worldwide defense of socialism, of the peaceful, constructive work and life in the whole

world, has forced the Soviet Union and other member countries of the Warsaw Pact to make provisions for an appropriate and timely reaction to the growing danger of war. The Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, being the western outpost of the socialist community, feels especially threatened by the fact that new American medium-range devices are deployed on the territory of the Federal Republic of Germany, i.e., in the vicinity of our borders. Because of the facts mentioned above, the governments of Czechoslovakia and the USSR have reached an agreement to deploy operational tactical missile complexes on the territory of the CSSR.

Our defensive measures are forced, justified and fair. They stem from bitter experience and the lessons of our national history, especially from the tragic consequences that Munich had for our peoples and our state. They strengthen the security of Czechoslovakia, of our entire society, in the interest of preserving peace and preventing war. They are in complete agreement with the defensive strategic doctrine of the Warsaw Pact. They serve to maintain the military balance and therefore the security of all of Europe. In no case do they pursue the aim of obtaining any military advantage for us.

We are not entertaining any illusions that the aggressive intentions of imperialism will soon change. Therefore, we still consider the strengthening of the operational unity and closeness of the countries of the socialist community to be the primary requirement for the present day. Within such international unity it is possible to face successfully the military threat and to look at the same time for a way out of the current complex international situation.

The Czechoslovak People's Army is contributing its share to an effort to prevent imperialism from using the surprise factor in its aggression. Troops are being equipped with the most effective reconnaissance means to detect in time the preparations for an invasion of the CSSR and of the other countries of the Warsaw Pact. The training of the staff and the troops is consistently directed toward mastering the ways to destroy modern armament systems introduced into the arsenal of the NATO armed forces, toward the development and the adoption of tactical principles and the operational techniques which will make it possible to deflect effectively the aggressive actions of a potential adversary.

The servicemen of our army support the policy of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, fulfilling with devotion and initiative the decision of the 16th Congress of the CPCZ. They understand the mission and the tasks of the Czechoslovak People's Army in the defense of the socialist fatherland and take the correct attitude toward the dangerous course of the imperialist powers. They adopt new modern military technology and weapons together with the most effective ways to use them in warfare. The high level of mastery of these tasks is convincingly demonstrated by the results achieved in military and political training, especially during joint military exercises with our allies.

Of great importance, from the point of view of ensuring the security and defense of the CSSR, is the fact that since 1968 the Central Group of Soviet troops has been deployed on our territory. These troops help us to achieve the necessary balance in case of an unexpected imperialist aggression. Units of the Czechoslovak People's Army and the Central Group of Soviet troops conduct joint military exercises whose fundamental significance is to coordinate the cooperation in providing defense for our western border, i.e., the western border of the socialist community.

The Czechoslovak People's Army as a powerful instrument of the socialist state is developing in harmony with the military policy of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia. It embodies the unbreakable link between workers, friendly peasantry and the working intelligentsia, the fraternal unity of the Czech and Slovak peoples, the alliance with the Soviet Union and other countries of the socialist community. It is a dependable, modern, highly able army prepared, side by side with the Soviet Army and other armies of the Warsaw Pact countries, to fulfill the task of the international defense of the Czechoslovak Socialist and the entire socialist community. It plays an important part in the upbringing and preparation of the young generation for life and work in the developed socialist society. It also contributes much to the development of the national economy, culture and other areas of social life in the country.

The Czechoslovak People's Army is the bearer of the progressive fighting traditions that were born in the revolutionary battles of the Czech and Slovak peoples for their national and social liberation and in the process of socialist construction. Among them predominate the Hussite traditions, those of the Czechoslovak Red Army fighters and members of the International Brigade, of Czechoslovak military units in the Soviet Union, the guerilla movement, the Slovak National Uprising, the April uprising of the Czech people, the liberation of our Fatherland by the Soviet Army, the victorious February of 1948 and a firm friendship with the armies of the member countries of the Warsaw Pact.

Socialist Czechoslovakia and its People's Army, in fraternal unity with the Soviet Union and the other states of the Warsaw Treaty and with their armies, are ready to face the dangers of contemporary international developments and to preserve the cause of socialism and peace in the world.

12758
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CATHOLIC CLERICALISM CRITICIZED

Prague NOVA MYSL in Czech No 10, 1984 pp 56-65

[Article by Ladislav Hora: "Anticommunist Orientation of Catholic Clericalism"]

[Excerpts] Catholic clericalism, a component of the broad anticommunist front, has its own specific position, functions, methods and range of activities.

The term "clericalism" alone has many variants. It is variously, not always precisely, defined. Clericalism cannot be identified with religion generally, since in itself it does not represent any one religious faith or organization, in terms of content or beliefs. Even so, it is evident that it is latently present in Christian doctrine and, under propitious conditions in an antagonistic society, begins to structure and manifest itself in a well-defined form, in that the original umbilical cord becomes loosened to the extent that religious ideology provides, in the end, nothing but an insignificant front for it. We are thus able to expose the religious cover and analyze its true substance, i.e., its political base.

Clericalism is normally understood as the use (in most cases abuse) of religious faith for political purposes. This concept, however, does not fully cover the function and purpose of clerical activities, rather it relates to the methods and means through which clericalism achieves its goals. Consequently, we must view it in its relationship with a given socioeconomic formation, i.e., as a concrete component of the class struggle, which helps on the theoretical, ideological and operational levels to defend, strengthen and justify the interests of the ruling exploiter classes.

Clericalism, therefore, cannot be understood as an autonomous phenomenon which is independent of the class division of society. Contemporary Catholic clericalism, whether the church is aware of it or not, objectively serves capitalism and acts as an apologist for bourgeois society. We deal with Catholic clericalism here because the Catholic Church is the largest and most influential of the contemporary Christian denominations.

In contrast with this reality, we have in recent decades often encountered the idea of a so-called third way. This is a position emphasizing the desirability of a certain supra-affiliation, based on the Christian ideal of "all-human universality." Such views are fairly common even in "secular" nonreligious,

philosophical and ideological concepts. All of these cases, of course, represent illusory consciousness or an effort to disregard the class struggle and assume an unbiased position in the resolution of global human problems. All through its existence, the Catholic Church has been proclaiming the universal validity of religious principles which should be binding for all humankind. The intermediary and guarantor of these principles was to be, quite naturally, the Catholic Church. This concept was even petrified a century ago by the absurd dogma of the so-called infallibility of the pope. To this day, the general and abstract nature of religious norms enables Catholic ideologues to fill in the details according to the needs and interests of one or another social stratum or class, and to exploit them in a pragmatic fashion in the support of quite utilitarian political aims.

Catholic clericalism is particularly well equipped to provide this service. Bourgeois ideologues are aware of this and, as a result, increasingly appreciate Catholicism and prefer it to other Christian denominations. The great impact of the Catholic Church lies in the fact that it is still a powerful international organization with a unified leadership, hierarchic system and a large administration. It is estimated that over 400,000 priests, 4,500 deacons and about 1,400 orders and societies are actively involved around the world. Moreover, the church is highly capable of controlling the masses by means of social and psychological mechanisms which are specific to religion generally. While Catholicism has ready-made speculative doctrines, these are accessible to the broad masses of believers only in a highly interpretive and popularized form. A broader backing is provided for Catholicism in the social and psychological consciousness where religious images are linked to tradition, custom, usages, spiritual and esthetic experiences, rules of everyday morality, etc. This vast stratum of individual and societal consciousness creates a certain atmosphere which can be regulated by appropriate means, namely, influencing feelings, exploiting a certain mentality and need for living experiences, festivities and rites, public participation in private and group events, etc. Catholic priests often skillfully use these circumstances, whether in their own ideological activity (sermons, speeches), or in the so-called popular theology (mass, ostentatious mass events, pilgrimages).

On this occasion, let us recall the unusual interest of the current pope, John Paul II, in the effective impact of his performances during his foreign trips, or the inordinate emphasis on the Marian cult, including related phenomena (pilgrimages with appropriate backdrop arousing psychosis in the masses of believers, which often reaches beyond the bounds of human dignity, such as the phantasmagorical scenes at Czestochowa pilgrimages in Poland).

From this point of view, we must include Catholic clericalism in the broader context of bourgeois ideological efforts while, at the same time, we must not forget all the specific features of this relatively self-sustaining structure. It is understandable that we will, first and foremost, examine the political image of Catholicism, in the whole context of contemporary social development and in connection with the immanent development of the Catholic Church.

The current pope, John Paul II, devotes attention to leftist-oriented trends, especially the "liberation theology." On his trip to Mexico he warned priests

against participation in any political action, and exhorted them to remain neutral. John Paul II apparently relates this to the principle expressed at Vatican II that the church should not become linked with any political system. This slogan could in certain connections have a positive impact, and is so interpreted by those who see the need to detach the church from the capitalist system. John Paul II, however, uses the same idea in a different way and calls for depolitization precisely where there is a need to support progressive-popular positions. During his visit to Poland, the pope admitted that religious and political affairs cannot be separated.

There is certainly every reason for us to focus on Pope John Paul II himself if we are to examine all the pertinent tendencies and peripatetics of the Catholic center, especially its political development. This is even more so when we see that the pope himself tries to be seen by the public as a politician of global stature. He wishes to strengthen the church and its rather destabilized position. He is aware of conflicts within the church and strives to overcome disintegrational tendencies, even though in a way he allows a certain pluralism. He admits the danger of desanctification, heresy, and a growing indifference of people toward religious faith. Nevertheless, from positions of forceful optimism, the pope maintains that the church has a glorious future and that the time is right for counteroffensive. He also frequently claims that he wishes to continue in the direction of the Vatican II, yet he likes to revert to his models in the so-called Constantine period and exalts popes Pius IX and Leo XIII.

According to Vatican prognosis, the year 2000 will be the beginning of a triumphant millenium for the church, and John Paul II wishes to create conditions for this triumph. He has returned to the Middle Ages and relates to the idea of a so-called Christian Europe. John Paul II is not the only one to revive this subject in modern times. His predecessor, Paul VI, for example, often spoke of a "unified Christian culture," and in 1964 symbolically called St Benedict the "heavenly protector of a united Europe." He also mentioned the historic role of a Christian Europe to representatives of the so-called European Parliament in 1977.

The concept of all-European Christianity is a typical manifestation of the aggressive clericalism of a "triumphant" church which would like to evangelize and Christianize all of Europe, without regard to the millions of nonbelievers and atheists. We know from history that the Catholic Church has always preached a united Europe when it wants to build a barrier against the advance of progressive ideas and movements. Several such attempts have appeared several times in the last century, even though in different context and in varying intensity. Today this idea is propagated by John Paul II, as he clearly explained during his visit to Poland in June 1979. It was certainly not by accident that he chose Poland for this occasion. In his view, Europe must return to Christianity, for "it formulates her spiritual heritage." The pope also fosters the idea of a "united Europe" through, for example, the propagation of selected saints, of which the most useful are Cyril and Methodius, whom he dubbed so-called patrons of Europe. In unmasking this concept, we find that under the seemingly innocuous slogan of the "evangelization" of Europe there lurks a concrete clericalist political goal.

John Paul II wants to apply all means to achieve broader space for the church, and his methods are typical of political clericalism. Some of these include, for example, the lay apostolate system, various forms of activism among believers and Catholic organizations and societies, and in diplomatic activity higher demands and guarantees of a broad arena for Catholic Church operations. He frequently oversteps his bounds and interferes in the internal political affairs of a given state, which was quite obvious during his second visit to Poland. Levying demands on state power in favor of broadening the church's influence is one of the traditional features of Catholic clericalism. Since time immemorial we have seen the validity of the principle that the main source of antagonism in society lies in the relationship between believers and agnostics. Losing faith in God is considered the loss of security, morality, a cause of injustice, deterrence of progress and obstacle to peace.

Reforms in the spirit of Christian morality and principles of class cooperation are internally linked concepts which for John Paul II are the starting point for the resolution for all contemporary problems. It is in this sense that he develops the theory of "revolutionization through evangelization," which in reality has a counterrevolutionary meaning, tied in with social demagoguery. The pope firmly rejects all views which are disruptive of this idea of "solidarity." He warns against "revolutionary utopia," which he considers a dream image of the future, and presents his own recipe for the resolution of social problems. Characteristic in this respect was John Paul's address in Brazil, a country of sharp social conflict. He exhorted those who "live in sufficiency" not to turn away from the needs of the poor, but rather to "help them in every way in their effort to better their lives." In a tone of gentle admonition, he asked the Brazilian landowners and bankers: "Does your heart not ache when you see the situation of your poor brethren?" The church hierarchy spoke in the same spirit in the last century, the Catholic clergy used similar words to pacify the poor and urge patience.

In many of John Paul's speeches we detect a constant anticommunist undertone, an omnipresent companion of his policies, whether openly formulated or couched in abstract and symbolic words of religious ideology. This fact certainly prevents us from accepting without reservations a positive meaning in his engagement in the question of war and peace. His pacifism stems from his unwillingness to recognize the real causes which arouse an atmosphere of threat of war. Under no circumstances can we ignore the pope's anti-Soviet thesis that, along with war, an equal danger is the threat of "totalitarian systems" which limit human rights and religious freedom. The Vatican leadership, headed by Pope John Paul II, is unwilling to abandon the clericalist platform; on the contrary, it is enhancing it and implementing it in various modified tactical moves.

The character of the Catholic Church as a religious organization shows that the antagonistic conflicts in society are being transformed and reformulated in a distinct image. There is here a clear penetration of class interests into Christian doctrine. The two plateaus mutually influence one another and there appears a number of different, at times even contradictory, positions. The doctrinal foundation of the Catholic Church allows for a great number of interpretations and applications in societal practice. The basic orientation

is determined by the class situation and even allows members of the church to differ in the interpretation of Christian principles, more or less, from the trend set by the church hierarchy. Decisive in this matter, however, is a real understanding of reality and, above all, the political system to which the church is subordinated. Such is the extent of "plurality" in the Catholic Church.

In one of his pronouncements, John Paul II expressed his credo that the United States is the hope of humankind. It is in the United States, however, that Catholic bishops drafted their pastoral letter, and it is there that large religious organizations have appeared which, according to Gus Hall, represent a new force in the struggle for peace primarily because they "engage in effective resistance to the ultrarightist groups." A similar situation arises, for example, in the countries of Latin America, where there are millions of registered Catholics. The pope, however, does not seek out Catholics thus engaged. On the contrary, he quite openly mutes their pronouncements and, in contrast, provides a platform for political emigres from the socialist countries. The spirit of anti-Sovietism in various Vatican institutions is receiving increasing support.

It is not by chance that the growing political activism of the Vatican directly parallels the aggressive plans of bourgeois ideologues and politicians. This relationship, no matter how well concealed it is by abstract pronouncements on the need for a "civilization of love," is in reality a constant reminder that the Vatican can never reconcile itself to a trend which lawfully leads to communism. And because it feels more threatened every day, it defends itself, goes on the attack, and uses all those who would like to put an end to this development.

9496

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CZECHOSLOVAKIA

CPCZ'S KORCAK PRESENTS AWARD TO BRNO THEATER

LD062311 [Editorial Report] Prague Domestic Service in Czech at 1730 GMT on 6 December 1984 carries a 3-minute report on a festive meeting of representatives of party and state agencies and cultural workers at the Mahen Theater in Brno, at which Josef Korcak, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and Czech premier, spoke. He reportedly recalls the importance of Czech theater in Moravia and famous personalities connected with it.

In a section on the international situation Korcak is said to have emphasized "that socialist art fulfills its calling also in the fight for world peace. It calls us to the fight against the forces of war, against everything bad that deprives man of courage and decisiveness in efforts for progress. It strengthens our conviction about the victory of the ideals of socialism and peace; it strengthens the certainties of our fight for good and the happiness of the present and future generations."

The report concludes with an account of Korcak's presentation of the Order of the Republic to the state theater in Brno.

CSO: 2400/154

BRIEFS

VIETNAMESE JOURNALISTS TRAINED--Fifteen journalists from the SRV who attended the Julius Fucik School of Solidarity in Prague, which is run by the International Journalists Organization, have received their graduation diplomas. The Vietnamese journalists, members of the editorial staffs of dailies and periodicals, who included three women, have successfully passed the 2-month course and the final examinations in the fields of reporting and photojournalism. [Text] [Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 21 Nov 84 p 7 AU]

RECORD MILK PRODUCTION--According to Engineer J. Zacek, director of the Livestock Production Section of the Ministry of Agriculture and Food of the Czech Socialist Republic, this year for the first time the yields per dairy cow will exceed 3,600 liters in the Czech Socialist Republic. The dairy industry expects to procure about 330 million liters of milk over and above the plan by the end of 1984, despite the fact that the number of cows in the Czech Socialist Republic is 14,000 below that in 1983. There has also been an improvement in the daily weight increments of cattle and pigs raised for meat. The weight increments for pigs, for example, average 600 grams, 20 grams more than in 1983. The number of piglets raised per sow averages 18. [Summary] [Prague ZEMEDELSKE NOVINY in Czech 21 Nov 84 p 4 AU]

CSSR-GREEK COMMITTEE MEETING--In Athens today the first session of the Czechoslovak-Greek intergovernmental committee ended. It concerned itself with the fulfilment of the long-term program for the development of economic, industrial and technical cooperation between the two countries. At the close of the session the heads of the delegations--Bohumil Urban, Czechoslovak minister of foreign trade, and Konstandino Vaitzos, Greek alternate minister of national economy--signed a joint protocol. Bohumil Urban was received today in Athens by Gerasimos Arsenis, Greek minister of the national economy. [Text] [Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 1300 GMT 7 Dec 84 LD]

JOINT GOVERNMENT, TU SESSION--A joint session of the Presidium of the Federal Government and of the Secretariat of the Central Council of Trade Unions, which was conducted by Comrades Lubomir Strougal and Karel Hoffmann, took place today in Prague. They noted that the planned tasks of 1984 have generally been carried out smoothly, and that in most sectors they have been carried out ahead of schedule and with a high level of quality. At the same time they instructed an analysis to be carried out of the reasons for the nonfulfillment of the plan in those enterprises which persistently do not

fulfill their tasks, and joint measures to be taken in order to remedy this situation. The two bodies devoted great attention to the participation of the working people, trade union bodies and organizations in the preparation and drawing-up of draft guidelines for the eighth 5-year plan. They agreed that the draft for the eighth 5-year plan for social and economic development will be assessed at a session of the Federal Government and Central Council of Trade Unions' Presidium in the fourth quarter of next year. [Text]
[Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 2030 GMT 10 Dec 84]

CSO: 2400/154

PHILOSOPHER PLEADS FOR RETURN TO PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE

East Berlin SONNTAG in German No 45, 4 Nov 84 p 9

[Speech by E. Hahn: "Vote for the Highest Value"]

[Text] Peace is more than the prerequisite for the progress of history and the resolution of all other global problems. It is indeed the condition for the continuing life of mankind. It is therefore possible for even those to champion peace, to be recruited for peace, who are not interested in fundamental social change.

It is precisely in this context that the oft argued question arises whether and to what extent mankind may be characterized by common interests in the present situation.

Obviously, common interests exist wherever we meet common conditions of life, common traditions, common achievements and potentials as well as common problems and dangers. "The defense of peace is the first, common and unifying interest," Comrade Erich Honecker said at the International Scientific Conference of the SED Central Committee in April 1983. Life and peace as the most elementary condition of life represent a common interest of the species.

Setting that accent is of crucial importance, because this interest is the most general and objective basis for the prevention of war. Admittedly, we do not believe that this interest is some kind of a natural phenomenon, or that it exists quite independently and detached from other interests. Not even this interest is able to set aside the difference in social interests and the antagonism of hostile class attitudes with respect to the various international problems and processes of our age. Indeed, in regard to this interest itself, various social groups pursue very different designs, objectives and efforts. Specific interests relating to the nature and content of peace meet and intersect in the common interest in peace and life. Moreover, the specific peace interests or objectives of the various classes and strata stand in a very varied and changeable relationship to their other specific economic, political or social, immediate and long-term interests.

We are therefore concerned with the type of relationship between this fundamental interest and the others, with the specific import of just this interest in the totality of interests of the social forces constituting mankind at the present time. It is imperative by dialogues, by ideological and political struggles to help this common interest to be a priority and

unifying concern. Hammering out this common interest serves to point up the objective potential for agreement and joint action by various social forces and attitudes. And it is certainly no accident that the communists are the ones to emphatically focus on this question in the course of the intellectual debate of our time.

Of the utmost importance is the thorough analysis of those perceptions or convictions which move representatives of various non-Marxist ideologies and attitudes to actively commit themselves to peace.

First of all that is the political standpoint of considering nuclear war inadmissible. Arms modernization is irrational and the effort to achieve military superiority hopeless, but yet dangerous. Even the advocates of NATO appreciate that a nuclear war is bound to destroy whatever it is meant to preserve. After all, all the efforts to achieve superiority necessarily end up in balance again, though that balance is increasingly precarious. Consequently, the so-called "concept of deterrence" is more and more questionable. Security, not against the other but with the other, is the sensible immediate goal--in other words, peaceful coexistence.

Second--the above-mentioned perceptions tend to activate people precisely when they are confronted with those elements of NATO strategy and weaponry that display a particularly evident aggressive and non-defensive nature. At the present time such elements are, in particular, the first use of nuclear weapons and the planned deployment of the new American medium-range missiles for a knockout blow.

Third--consideration of national and continental interests running counter to the efforts of the most aggressive circle, specially of United States imperialism. This consideration, expressed in particular by representatives of political organizations and parties, usually begins with the discovery that the current leadership of the United States wishes to conduct a proxy war in Europe and treats Western Europeans as "hostages," indeed as "disposable" from the military aspect. It is then noted, and I quote, that "our security interests are quite other than those of the Americans." And sometimes such decisive questions are raised as the "Europeanization or Americanization" of West European policy.

Fourth--a far-ranging complex of moral considerations, for example the justified expectation of disarmament freeing the resources so urgently needed to settle acute economic, social and cultural problems of mankind. The comments of the churches, above all, repeatedly remind us of the glaring contrast between the current arms spending and Third World underdevelopment.

Significant impulses for strengthening the alliance against nuclear war are generated by the fact that real socialism has made an important contribution to the positive definition, explanation and enlargement of the basic humanist value called "peace." How does a society need to be constituted, that defines peace as a governing principle and historic inevitability, as a normal state? Why is peace an essential feature of the socialist system, an organic and necessarily natural consequence of all its objective living conditions and

qualities rather than--as in the antagonist class society--merely an unstable and temporary state of affairs between two wars? To what extent and by what means does the socialist society even now, after only a few decades of real existence, represent the realization of peace concepts and ideals of the humanist thinkers of the past, and what was the further development of these concepts in the course of this process?

To answer this and similar questions, GDR philosophers have drafted important conceptions in the recent past. They described the material-economic, social, political and intellectual-cultural, the national and international bases of the new quality of peace in socialist conditions. Peace consonant with the communist economic system of society was defined as a "social condition of social equality, harmony and comradely cooperation by men and peoples." We showed how the various aspects and elements of this condition have evolved in the struggle of the popular masses in the socialist countries, led by the Marxist-Leninist party. By even more effectively pursuing these activities, we will be able to develop potentials of socialist humanism for the ideological reinforcement of the forces of peace. One of the most persuasive arguments in the ideological struggle for peace has been the fact that nobody in socialism makes money from war.

Socialism commands peace! We started by saying that the issue of "war or peace" does not present itself with disregard to the contradiction of our age. After all, the threat is due to the continued existence of imperialism. On the other hand, the decision on the issue of war or peace cannot wait until the basic contradiction between socialism and capitalism is resolved. Indeed, the development and resolution of this basic contradiction cannot proceed with disregard to the issue of war or peace. It is precisely a matter of the concept of its movement, the kind of resolution, the attitudes on the war or peace issue guiding the representatives of the two sides of this contradiction. With regard to the appraisal of the two systems from the aspect of humanist responsibility toward mankind, the scales are weighted heavily for socialism, because it is socialism that has originated the principle of peaceful coexistence and, ever since its emergence, purposefully and persistently pursued a concrete program for its realization--including the proposal submitted by Comrade Chernenko of standards for the organization of relations between the states owning nuclear weapons. Consonant with the interior nature of their social system, the socialist states are the ones, which have always championed the principle (and here I quote the appeal by the summit meeting of the Warsaw Pact member countries of June 1983) "that not a single international problem, including the historic conflict between socialism and capitalism, can be settled by military means." The socialist states are the ones to call for the conclusion of treaties on the abandonment of force in international relations. These facts aim directly at the heart of the lie concerning the [communist] threat to peace.

We are stressing this once more, from a different aspect. Pessimism in regard to the war or peace issue often derives from the notion of a kind of automatic escalation of the antagonism between the two systems. The inevitability of a nuclear disaster is postulated from the cogency and irresistibility of the continuous aggravation and exacerbation of these antagonisms. Ever since the

1960's, and even more the 1970's, imperialist ideologues have endeavored to scare mankind by the alternative capitalism or cataclysm!

In fact the antagonistic nature of the contradiction between the two systems is as little amenable to abolition as is the advance of history. It is equally indisputable, though, that the antagonistic nature of this contradiction is not automatically and inevitably followed by a development bound to end in missile-nuclear war. The current policy of confrontation, conducted by the most aggressive circles of NATO, has its legitimate origin in imperialist conditions. However, this does not mean that it is the only possible variant of the political realization of imperialist class interests. The history of the conflict between the two systems since 1917 has taught us that imperialism cannot be compelled to yield its class objectives but may well be forced to move toward peaceful coexistence. Consequently the alternative is not: Capitalism or cataclysm but cataclysm or peaceful coexistence, peaceful competition as a framework within which the contradiction of the systems may move and develop as the external condition for finding a resolution--an end to the course of confrontation and force! This, though, is realistic only because two somehow unequal parties are confronting one another in this contradiction. Our opportunity consists in the fact that one of the two parties is objectively and subjectively capable of commanding peace, following the internal logic of its system, and together with the overwhelming majority of mankind of assuming responsibility for its peaceful future.

Socialism has not waited until the present international situation to proclaim peace as the highest value, exactly because peace is the indispensable prerequisite for the realization of all other values of socialism--without exception. There is no value of socialism that either should or could be imposed on other peoples by force, aggression or expansion. To that extent, our doctrine of peace as the highest value does not imply any relativation of the other values of socialism. Instead it relates them to the most elementary condition of any valuation. Consequently it also includes the readiness for the military defense of socialism. On 3 September last Constantin Chernenko stated that the United States will "not succeed in changing the world; it will not live by American standards."

Incidentally, it holds true for this as well as all other issues of valuation, that it may never be raised in isolation of the total intellectual and practical behavior of the given subject. It is uncommonly typical for the militarist wing of the imperialist ideology to begin challenging the doctrine of peace as the highest value at a time when, in the form of detente, the genuine opportunities and prospects for preserving peace have distinctly increased. Nor may we forget the association of this challenge with the fantastic idea--launched at the same time--that a nuclear war is winnable and the frank justification of first strike options.

Prof Dr Erich Hahn is a member of the SED Central Committee, chairman of the Scientific Council for Marxist-Leninist Philosophy and director of the Institute for Philosophy at the Academy for Social Sciences at the SED Central Committee.

ECONOMIC REFORMS REQUIRE POLITICAL ONES

Budapest MAGYAR NEMZET in Hungarian 6 Nov 84 p 5

/Article by Jenő Andics, sociologist, university department chairman: "The Modernization of Management is a Test for Democracy"/

/Text/ Practical implementation of the political decision to modernize the macroeconomic management system is beginning in these days and weeks. Now, in a period of concrete measures, it becomes even more evident that modernization of the economic mechanism not only exerts a favorable influence on the further development of the democratic nature of social life but is itself also part of the process to expand social democracy. And it becomes increasingly clear in the course of operations that the political decision made in 1984 to develop further the economic mechanism does not necessarily stop at the formulation of economic tasks in the narrower sense but also designates assignments of an unavoidably political character.

In the Rank of Politics

One of the most important goals in the management of a socialist society is the ability to control economic processes and assure the achievement of social objectives--or rather a portion of them--through proper operation of the economy. It is a historical fact, however, that these goals of social management are attained only in part and in numerous cases not at all if we disregard the real economic processes. That is why the tensions which arise as a result of this have usually turned up as political problems--due to the close interweaving of politics and economics--in various spheres of the economy, or rather between production and consumption. In view of their nature, typically non-political phenomena also cropped up and sometimes became the source of political conflicts. Making their way into the decision process were interests whose reconciliation could not be achieved by political means. Economic problems thus constantly burdened the democratic system, and shortcomings in the reconciliation of economic interests also appeared on the surface as defects in the political mechanism.

Therefore, not just economic considerations argue in favor of an even more deliberate and consistent buildup of the regulated market. The market processes are undoubtedly important for improving the renewability of the economy, but the effects of the economy's various institutions--the market, the organizational

system--are broader than this. These institutions shape both the mechanism for reconciling different interests and the content of the political decisions relating to the economy.

Growth of enterprise independence and more consistent separation of the state administrative and enterprise spheres provide an opportunity for interdependence among the economic cycle's participants--the producers and the consumers--to replace the dependence of enterprises on superior authority. This in itself can cause a profound expansion in economic democracy, with a significant improvement in efficiency and other favorable results. For example, the economy gradually becomes controlled by demand, which results in the alleviation of a market deficiency--as a syndrome of economic functioning.

The drawbacks which accompany a deficiency are well-known. Moderation and elimination of the deficiency can bring an end to those grotesque forms of conduct which, as outgrowths, burden the general wellbeing of society's members and from time to time our public life as well.

One observation from the 1968 reform of the macroeconomic management system is that the establishment of enterprise independence provided more favorable opportunities for reconciling conflicts of interest within the economic units. The emerging recentralization processes necessarily increased formalism in the operation of forums for reconciling interests and contributed to the fact that the reconciliation of very vital interests continued to take place in the informal sphere. A significant strain was placed on the social atmosphere of economic organizations, and management efficiency was also negatively influenced. (One of the most striking examples of this situation is the performance slowdown observed in the domain of manual laborers and white-collar workers alike and between some subunits and managerial levels of the enterprises.)

Very significant further growth in the economic units' independence thus becomes the basis of a revival of forums in workplace democracy and makes it possible for additional systematic solutions to take place in the enterprises. This condition is all the more essential because the creation of different forms for reconciling interests within the economic units is an urgent task not only in the development of management's strategic goals but also in all essential enterprise decisions linked with the distribution of energy sources. Without these solutions, the enterprises are able only with great difficulty or not at all to prevent a portion of the social conflicts which accompany renovation in applied technology or management procedures or to subdue other conflicts and keep them within a regulated and politically verifiable framework. Yet this can lead either to the appearance of undesirable conflicts or else--in order to avoid the latter--a slowdown in the processes of economic development.

New Forms--New Forums

It becomes vividly clear in this context that there is a connection between efficiency and the democratization of workplace processes. As elaboration of the procedures for systematic reconciliation of interests succeeds, we can speak about creation of the most important social conditions necessary for management renewal. Indeed, the rate at which introduction and perfection of

these systematic procedures take place also has great significance; protracting them is a circumstance which endangers renewal.

Increased enterprise independence also manifests itself in meaningful expansion of enterprise directors' possibilities for action. On the basis of experiences in the 1970's, however, we know how fragile this director independence is. That is why vital guarantees of genuine enterprise independence can be created by the new enterprise management forms which entrust the exercise of employer (above the director level) rights to the collective. The supervision and strength of the collective can help the director to attain economic independence from the administrative organs. The enterprise councils and the elected boards of directors can become new forums for systematic reconciliation of interests and for settlement of the most important questions in connection with the operation of enterprises. Their successful operation is based directly on the continued democratization of internal enterprise life, since not even considerations of efficiency can be asserted satisfactorily if the enterprise councils and the board of director members do not rely on the collective wisdom which is embodied in the knowledge of experts working in each specialty or in the workplace experiences of collectives which delegate the chosen members.

The Reform Process

There are still those who feel that professionalism is threatened by the new forms of enterprise leadership; they see "inflated danger" or some other anarchic distortion of development in delegating part of the proprietor/employer rights. These misgivings cannot be disproved with actual practice. Indeed, in all probability there will be such local experiences during concrete operation.

Nevertheless, it is not a matter of introducing permanent procedures which are brand-new, which did not exist up until now. Similar solutions have existed in agricultural, consumer and industrial cooperatives without lending any support to these misgivings. The locally-elected boards of directors have turned out to be the responsible "proprietors" in the enterprises, they have not limited the possibilities for one-person management, they have not concealed personal responsibility, and they have not proven to be inadequate for the settlement of very complicated issues. They have been able to keep pace with the dynamic development of cooperative management, and the cooperatives' democratization has undoubtedly been one of the prime movers in development. Although the conditions of state enterprises differ from those of cooperatives, the experiences of cooperatives can still offer good starting points for the probable functioning of the new enterprise management forms.

Modernization of the economic mechanism is not, of course, a one-time process but an ongoing one. On this basis, the continuous expansion of democratization must also be an ongoing process. Two vital observations come from current employers. One is that we cannot treat further development of the mechanism simply as an economic task. It is rather a matter of a general sociopolitical program which can offer an attractive sphere of activity to today's generations, such as the 1968 reform of the macroeconomic management system. The other observation is that there may be lasting assurance of the attractive force if we regard this program not as a one-time task but as the first step in essential further changes.

By increasing the democratic nature of social life we can preserve our ability to offer society's members a hopeful outlook under more difficult economic circumstances. As modernization of the mechanism and democratization intertwine, we create for ourselves a future picture which provides constant renewal and strength. The rules of law which have now come into being are only promises of all this; we must begin as soon as possible to make good on those promises in a practical way. Otherwise the "development" of the 1970's may repeat itself when we experienced the reform more in thought than in practice.

12327

CSO: 2500/82

HUNGARIAN CIVIL DEFENSE EXERCISES, READINESS DISCUSSED

LD120430 Budapest Television Service in Hungarian 1625 GMT 11 Dec 84

[Interview with Colonel Miklos Molnar, deputy national staff commander for civil defense, and Sandor Purityi, candidate of military sciences and deputy head of MTI's Foreign Editorial Department, by an unnamed reporter in the studio; live or recorded]

[Excerpts] [Reporter] The Americans, in their assessment of the significance of civil defense, have come to the conclusion that losses can be reduced by perhaps 40 percent by improving civil defense. At the same time they claim that we have "overimproved" our civil defense and have thereby upset the strategic balance. According to this view we are in a very favorable position. We complain that there are no shelters and so forth here, and we hear that there is great preparedness on the other side. At the same time they say that we are the more zealous ones.

[Molnar] There is no question of "overimprovement." We are making very moderate preparations in accordance with our requirements, taking into account the Hungarian economy. I would like to emphasize that we are making timely preparations only of those regulations which must be implemented in such a catastrophic situation. As for the technical conditions, we have begun and are continuing to build shelters and to renovate old ones; there will be a detailed discussion on this in two publications. [as heard] As for the nature of civil defense preparedness, the training exercises prove unambiguously and glowingly that the Hungarian citizen carries out this task with extraordinarily high political maturity.

Let me illustrate this with a single example. In 1978, based on a hypothetical situation we carried out an exercise in cooperation with the CSSR on the border. We assumed that Pozsony had received a nuclear strike and the district of (Petroszalka?), which lies on the right bank of the Danube, had been entirely wiped out. To ensure that the game was as true to life as possible we used a district which was intended for demolition and which has since made way for a housing development of some 60,000 residents. Into this area of debris we brought a Hungarian civil defense unit of 1,200 men; along the border university and other students played the role of the injured and homeless who were then brought over to Hungarian territory and placed in various villages, such as Hedervar, among the population in

peasant houses. The exercise was carried out successfully and at a very high standard, which is proven by the fact that high-level military leaders of the Warsaw Pact gave this high recognition; they analyzed and assessed it from an expert viewpoint.

[Reporter] Does a so-called mobilization plan exist in Hungary?

[Molnar] Yes. It is planned that a certain percentage of the residents in the threatened cities would be evacuated. Naturally the degree of threat is determined by military analyses. As is known from newspapers and other media, there are a certain number of missiles targeted on the country. On the basis of this we analyze the situation, determine the expected destruction zones of these missiles, and based on the conclusions drawn from such an analysis we determine the population circle which needs to be evacuated from that town.

[Reporter] In the next program we have planned, have we not, to broadcast from the subway [in Budapest], that is, from the shelters, to show what this involves. Can you say anything on this now?

[Molnar] I suppose you are referring to the kind of systems which are in operation there. We know very well that the news has spread among the population that we do not build any kind of shelters, that there are no protective facilities. Well, let me add that the shelter is at a certain distance [words indistinct]. Budapest, the capital, is, as is known to everyone, the most threatened city, and therefore we have introduced in the course of building the subway measures to ensure that people would survive there, according to our calculations. To do so mechanical, supply, and other equipment have been built in, and in the course of the continuous construction of the subway this equipment will be built in. In our next program we shall show this in detail, quite concretely, going so far as to show how to lock the various gates, how to prevent excess pressure in these facilities. The mechanical areas and indeed the entire operating mechanism will be shown. Until now this has been a little mysterious.

[Reporter] What role is assigned to the organs of mass communications as regards civil defense?

[Molnar] The mass communications organs have a fundamental task. First of all, let us separate peacetime from the catastrophic situation and its circumstances. Peacetime is a time for preparation; here we have a full series of possibilities, such as national, local, and factory newspapers, radio, TV and exhibitions. In the event of war, let me single out one case: Warning the people about the air and radiation would be done over Budapest radio.

CSO: 2500/116

ACCOMPLISHMENTS OF MALINOWSKI TRIP TO ITALY UNDERSCORED

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 30 Oct 84 p 7

[Article by PAP correspondent: "Useful, Fruitful, and Necessary Talks: Deputy Premier R. Malinowski on His Visit to Italy"]

[Text] After a week's stay in Italy, the delegation under the leadership of Deputy Premier Roman Malinowski, chairman of the ZSL Supreme Committee, returned to Warsaw on 29 October 1984.

In a conversation with journalists at Okecie Airport, R. Malinowski emphasized that this visit was useful, fruitful, and very necessary in the present phase of revitalization of political and economic relations between Poland and Italy. "We visited," said the Supreme Committee chairman, "at the invitation of the Confederation of Italian Farmers and its president, Giuseppe Avolio. At the same time, we held many talks with Italian political figures, representatives of economic circles and regional authorities.

"The second day after we arrived I was received at a private audience by Pope John Paul II. The conversation lasted longer than protocol provides for in such a case. The conversation was very cordial, frank, and open, and it took place in an atmosphere of mutual concern for the welfare of Poland, for the harmonious and peaceful cooperation of state and church, with a view toward the prosperity of Poland and Poles. At the conclusion of the conversation," stated R. Malinowski, "the pope conveyed cordial greetings and words of respect for Army General Wojciech Jaruzelski and for Council of State Chairman Prof Henryk Jablonski.

"The conversations with Italian Minister of Foreign Affairs Giulio Andreotti and also with representatives of Italian economic circles were very constructive and fruitful. During all the conversations--political, economic, and also with the leadership of the Confederation of Italian Farmers--we encountered great cordiality and interest and a desire for collaboration with Poland as an interesting partner. These contacts proved that there are many interesting levels of collaboration and cooperation, especially in the agricultural-industrial complex.

"I would like to note that the meetings with representatives of economic circles in Milan dealt with very specific issues, among other things. I believe that soon we should bring about a cooperative agreement concerning

matters of water supply that are very essential for our agriculture and countryside. This is connected with the production of pumps and water drawing devices. This cooperative agreement will establish conditions for resolving the problem of pump production in Poland based on modern technology, but also for the export of pumps of a different type--after their modernization--to Italy and to third countries' markets, in principle in unlimited quantities. Thanks to this understanding, opportunities will arise to provide our specialized enterprises with modern drilling equipment, with the help of which a well can be bored within 15 hours and water can be drawn for human needs in as little as 3 days. Of course, this also determines the costs.

"I shall give only one example, but there are many such possibilities for cooperation, both in agriculture and in the food industry and industry working for the needs of agriculture. There is a large field for regional initiatives and contacts as well as for those between particular enterprises."

"I believe," said the deputy premier, "that soon there will be a signed agreement on economic collaboration between Poland and Italy and also an agreement on actions in foreign markets. This should create useful conditions for the mutual expansion of favorable cooperation. The Italians are very interested in collaboration with Poland, and this interest goes far beyond normal trade and economic contacts. It contains a large dose of cordiality and of emotional and positive involvement. I believe that at the base of this feeling lie the rich achievements of our common historical and cultural traditions and also, in some sense, the closely aligned mentality and psyche of Italians and Poles."

The chairman of the ZSL Supreme Committee responded affirmatively to the question of whether the Italians have acknowledged that the policy of economic blockade of Poland has no prospects: "The Italian government, and especially Minister Andreotti, are against the policy of restriction and blockade that is leading nowhere, but they are for the active development of a policy of understanding, trust, and collaboration. I believe," added the deputy premier, "that what is happening in Polish-Italian relations and the program of further contacts show that the Italians have abandoned their former policy and are actively promoting a policy that is consistent with international law and the principles of international coexistence. The Italians are also proponents of the formation of bilaterally favorable relations on principles of equality, noninterference, and the creation of a European option in some sense. Minister Andreotti, a politician who actively and positively affects the course of world events, demonstrates an understanding of complex modern problems. Many of his declarations prove this. I hope that G. Andreotti's approaching visit to Poland will be another declaration of this understanding."

In the context of a question on the relations of the ZSL with the Confederation of Italian Farmers, R. Malinowski stated that they have traditionally been good and that contacts between active workers at the central level as well as the regional level are numerous. "We contemplate that soon, during the visit to Warsaw of the delegation of that confederation, an understanding providing for further expansion of forms of this collaboration will be signed."

Referring to the matter of the kidnapping of Father Popieluszko, Roman Malinowski emphasized that Italian opinion is disturbed by this act. At the same time, the opinion that this was a provocation levied against the line of socialist renewal, reforms, stabilization, and normalization in Poland and against the line of General Jaruzelski is clearly expressed.

OPPOSITION'S POLARIZED SOCIOPOLITICAL STRATEGY ANALYZED

Warsaw ZAGADNIENIA I MATERIAŁY in Polish 13-19 Sep 84 pp 8-14

[Article by Krzysztof Szlubowski: "Adversaries of Socialism at the Crossroads"]

[Text] Early this year, Western centers of ideological subversion, which, as is known, are the focal point of inspiration and instruction for opposition circles in our country, launched a campaign for program reorientation and organizational restructuring of antisocialist activities in Poland.

Conditions for the maneuver being undertaken have gradually arisen since 13 December 1981; however, the year 1983 was of particular importance. In the course of that year, not a single major political action of the underground worked out. On the contrary, the disintegration of illegal structures manifested itself sharply. Toward the end of last year, our adversaries arrived at the conclusion that the economy and political system of our country had entered a period of equilibrium and would not collapse in the foreseeable future. The increasingly apparent distance the leadership of the Catholic Church is putting between itself and the counterrevolutionary activities of the ilk of former Solidarity has become an important element of this view of the situation by the opposition.

In February and March of this year, the amount of program materials published by centers of subversion in the West and in domestic illegal publications increased considerably. On most occasions, they responded to the pronouncements of Aleksander Hall, an opposition activist since the 1970's (within the so-called Movement of Young Poland). Hall attacked the activity of the TKK [Temporary Coordinating Commission of Solidarity] as well as the very fact of its continuing existence. He recommended that propaganda work and struggle for the minds of the populace go on, while calling the Solidarity insignia and appeals for a general strike outdated and good only for creating the myth of freedom in 1980 and 1981. He called for creating many centers of opposition (quasi-political parties). With regard to "external" political activities of the underground, he suggested that the boycott of official institutions, elections, etc., be continued.

The declaration of the group "Polish Politics" entitled "Between the Poland of Our Desires and the Poland of Our Opportunities" made during the spring

became an important program document of the opposition. Its main methodological approach rests on three so-called realisms: the "geopolitical" realism (the Yalta system in central Europe will remain in effect for a long time to come), the "realism of the past" (Solidarity went too far in its struggle for political power), and the "realism of goals" (restricting themselves to the struggle for the minds of the people).

At about the same time, other declarations or articles appeared calling for a revision of the tactics of the underground and the entire antisocialist opposition. The ideas contained in such declarations reached out in many different directions. There was a common point: the recognition of the fiasco of previous activities, manifested through the strengthening of sectarian and doctrinaire tendencies in oppositional circles. This, according to the sociology of politics, is usually associated with the lack of representational character, disappearance of the social base, and marginal importance of political movements.

Disintegration in the ranks of the opposition, the proliferation of the most disparate "declarations" and "programs," has been used by Western subversive propaganda to conjure up the image of plurality and the wealth of intellectual life of the opposition. The publication and review of these programs were meant to camouflage the information void on the topic of "struggling with the regime," which began to emerge as the situation in our country stabilized.

The announcement of elections to the people's councils caused the polemics and organizational quarrels in the oppositional circles to fade into the background in April, May and June. The call for boycotting the elections imposed the need to close ranks, at least in propaganda. This was vividly revealed in the broadcasts of subversive radio stations, which again began to promote the so-called Temporary Coordinating Commission as the main center of opposition, the authority in shaping the view of the political situation in our country.

The results of the elections of 17 June showed the pronounced weakness of the underground. Also frustrated were the plans of some circles in the United States which strove to use the election boycott to promote Reagan's policy towards our country.

Viewed with the benefit of a short period of several weeks' hindsight, the amnesty has become yet another political fact which has fundamentally boosted conceptual chaos in the ranks of our adversaries. To be sure, an amnesty was expected in these quarters. However, the start of the trial of the KSS KOR [Committee for the Defense of Workers] leadership led one to believe that the scope of the amnesty would resemble that of last year. As a result, the actual scope of the amnesty law overwhelmed the oppositional circles. This is evident primarily in the lack of any program for further actions. At the same time, the propaganda approach is quite uniform, since the main mouthpiece of antisocialist activities, the subversive radio stations, have accepted a uniform interpretation known as "The Position of the TKK" of 23 July.

The amnesty is presented as a concession of the authorities forced by the resistance of the populace but, most of all, by the U.S. policy of sanctions and the boycott of Poland on the credit markets. It is easy to see that such an interpretation is splendidly dovetailed to Ronald Reagan's presidential reelection campaign. On the other hand, fault is found with the amnesty in that it is not comprehensive, since it does not cover the charge of high treason (with regard to B. Lis and P. Mierzejewski) and crimes of terrorism--for example, Father Zych and others accused of murdering Sergeant Karos or J. Kowalczyk (bombing in the Higher Pedagogical School auditorium in 1971). The provision for canceling the benefit of amnesty with regard to persons who commit crimes again is coming under especially sharp attack. Some call it "yet another act of lawlessness" (among others, J. Kuron and Jan Rulewski), whereas Adam Michnik proudly reports to Western correspondents that he refused to leave prison voluntarily and the authorities had to resort to force.

Painting the amnesty as forced by the West, activists of the antisocialist opposition call either unequivocally or in a veiled form for linking the cancellation of sanctions against Poland to "the implementation of the amnesty law" and the recognition by our state of the plurality of trade unions. In its extreme alternative this boils down to the demand to bring Solidarity back, whereas in its moderate alternative, to ensuring "the opportunity for social control over the use of eventual aid provided after the sanctions have been lifted."

The current situation in the opposition community is marked by the following phenomena:

--the deepening of rifts in outlook,

--the lack of an offensive concept of action in both the short and the long run,

--the restriction of actual activities to the printing and dissemination of illegal publications within their own community.

It is almost common consensus that in the immediate future a new social tremor similar to that of August 1980 or December 1970 is not possible. The opposite view is expressed only sporadically; for example, W. Frasiński on 5 August 1984 assessed the situation as a pre-explosion one, comparable with June 1980.

However, the relatively sober view of the current state of social attitudes leads the opposition to many fantastic concepts, among which two basic approaches are emerging.

The first approach is based on the assumption that the tension in East-West relations will be considerably aggravated, to the degree resembling the start of the Korean war. A new "cold war" will force "protective" changes in the domestic policy of both sides that will paralyze any opposition (analogs of McCarthyism and Stalinism). In view of such prospects, spectacular activities should be abandoned because all they do is bring about

imprisonment and decimate the cadres which would be useful in several years, when detente comes back. It should be expected that the end of the period of confrontation might be accompanied by social shocks in a spontaneous response to the privation and sacrifices made to that time, in a manner similar to the Berlin events of 1953 or the Poznan events of 1956. The actual participation of opposition cadres in such events could be of essential importance. Therefore, at present their safe survival must be the primary concern. Consequently, the continuation of underground and expressly anti-state activities is not advisable. At the same time, it would be favorable for them to strike roots "comfortably" in the official institutions and structures, which make it possible to gain a wider view of the situation and an above-average mobility and free time budget. This applies mainly to academic institutions and education, the mass media and so-called free professions. The mainstream of current activities should consist of shaping "a sovereign people," i.e., disseminating the alien worldview, rightwing culture and social thought, instilling antisovietism and displacing the principles of Marxism from social consciousness.

This approach is considered to be defeatist by the critics and refined and far-sighted by its proponents. Its opposite is found in the concept of continuing active opposition, including the preservation of organizational structures and maintenance of permanent readiness for confrontations large or small. This attitude is founded on the belief that detente and international cooperation will basically be preserved and, consequently, so will be the external material and financial support for the opposition. Economic processes, in their turn, will periodically generate political tension, which the antisocialist aktiv will exploit in order to make itself known to public opinion through occasional skirmishes with the authorities, patterned after the KSS KOR. Due to the use of step-by-step tactics, the opposition activists will remain at large. They will come out as the advocates and defenders of the discontented when after some time the tensions come to a head. In this fashion, the ability to lead the movement of masses will be gained. This concept can be described as a repeat of the 1970's.

It is apparent that both approaches are defensive in nature. The survival of the opposition in the political impasse is the object. The opposition attaches its hopes to a new social or economic crisis which will "force the people into the battle." The argument is basically over the safe level of opposition activities in the period of transition. The approaches of Western centers of subversion to this matter are varied. Manifestations of confrontation in socialist countries are permanently sought, because they can be exploited in propaganda as a justification for the policy of aggression, even at the price of losses in the opposition community. However, on the other hand it is important for the West to have adversaries of socialism positioned in our society in such a way that in an opportune situation they can become not only a factor causing propaganda difficulties but, primarily, a catalyst for significant political processes.

Therefore, intermediate forms are sought in the practice of counterrevolutionary activities. This accounts for the attempts at activities which would reconcile the two main points of view. Such activities are currently

apparent in our country. Post-Solidarity structures, e.g., the TKK, are propped up by all means available, and new "centers of political thought" are set up ("Independence," "Polish Politics," and so on). Simultaneously, subversive centers and the illegal press promote the penetration of official organizations and institutions with a view to "filling them with authentic content."

The demand to establish plurality in the trade union movement is the main topic brought up by the adversary today. The "moderates" state that this need not mean bringing Solidarity back, whereas the "hard core" insist on legalizing Solidarity again and releasing the political prisoners not covered by the amnesty law. The Z. Bujak entourage courteously terms the amnesty a step in the right direction. However, right away it adds that coming out of the underground is out of the question for the TKK, because "none of the social problems have been solved or even touched" (what is meant is of course the prospects for restoring Solidarity). The direct justification for staying underground is to be found in the continuing detention of trade union activists in the persons of B. Lis and P. Mierzejewski.

In the context of these demands, essential downplaying of other aspects by the opposition deserves mentioning, inasmuch as such aspects cannot be passed off as having a "trade union" nature. The subversive radio stations responded in a similar fashion, restricting, for example, the volume of materials promoting the creation of quasi-political parties.

It looks like we are having to deal with a new tendency, which can be described as the line of defense of the gains the "independent society" has made thus far. It has been stated openly that "after every crisis, something important for society has persevered, and this is also the case now" (Radio Free Europe, 20 August 1984). Therefore, the gains won in battles should be safeguarded rather than jeopardized due to advancing unrealistic maximum demands "of a demagogic and extreme nature" (as above). Similar overtones were also expressed in L. Walesa's interview for THE CHICAGO TRIBUNE. Consequently, it is deemed advisable to avoid open confrontations with the state authorities in order not to provoke them into canceling "liberal regulations" introduced since August 1980.

This issue gives rise to much controversy among activists of the opposition. The dividing lines are drawn on the basis of degree of realism in estimating their own forces and influence on the masses. Rabid "hawks" cherishing the memories of the year 1981 consider the line of "defending the gains" to be defeatist. Among other things, this was expressed during the fourth anniversary of the August [1980] events. For the first time, the TKK did not call for street demonstrations on that occasion. However, in individual centers the local underground decided otherwise (Wroclaw, Krakow). As is known, the attempts to cause disturbances on 31 August of this year ended in a total fiasco.

This obvious decline in the significance of the underground and other adversaries of socialism prompts some of them to assume for show the posture

of "accommodation and reconciliation" as relatively the least compromising and ensuring safe survival until "better times." For example, striving to persuade the doubters, J. J. Lipski (the kingmaker of the underground) states: "In the foreseeable future, dialogue is more realistic than the overthrow of the authorities and external dependency or than permanent co-existence between the political authorities and the underground society" (Paris KULTURA No 5 1984). For further encouragement, he goes on: "If it turns out that the price of the protracted crisis in Poland is too high and burdensome for the Warsaw Pact and CEMA ('headed by the Soviet Union'), a reorientation in the policy of communists is conceivable--after all, no essential change will come about without the cooperation of society" (as above).

Such views at present are not rare. Western correspondents in Warsaw have been reporting recently on various illegal publications which call themselves moderate. Their message is best of all conveyed by a certain Maciej Poleski (pen name): "Instead of looking for a way to win in a total confrontation, concentrate on small achievable goals, which will translate into political pressure due to the fact of their simultaneous occurrence. The center, i.e., the TKK and Walesa, will be able to call for Solidarity support of the initiatives which manage to withstand the first onslaught of the authorities." (Paris KULTURA No 5 1984). Thus, an approach patterned after the KOR-type experience is suggested.

The idea of a meeting of the former National Commission of the NSZZ Solidarity in order to review each others' positions and work out a joint program was very popular among antisocialist activists immediately after the declaration of amnesty, in late July and early August. They counted on forcing talks with the government, supposedly in the name of national understanding. This concept fell through, since it turned out at the early preliminary stage that the pronouncements of individual opposition activists on the need for unity in action and on total subordination to the "legal leadership of the union" are only lip service. Differences as to the suggested avenues and tactics of further activities surfaced immediately. Internal division within the ranks of opposition present even before the imposition of martial law came to life again. Despite the formal recognition of L. Walesa as the leader, Jacek Kuron, Adam Michnik and Andrzej Gwiazda show leadership ambitions expressly and without concealing them. Zbigniew Bujak, who remains underground, has not given up such ambitions, either.

The meeting of the members of the former National Commission of Solidarity did not come about. In mid-August, L. Walesa publicly gave up this idea, coming out in favor of discreet bilateral discussions among individual functionaries. Lately, opinions have been heard to the effect that the underground, in cooperation with Walesa, should bring about the creation of the so-called shadow cabinet, i.e., an overtly operating body engaged in everyday commentary and criticism of the policy of the state authorities.

The Wroclaw extremists Jozef Pinior and Wladyslaw Frasyuniuk are displaying special activity in working out programs. The latter person has recently

offered a concept of action in the immediate future, which, among other things, states that:

--Solidarity must keep on operating in both the legal and illegal spheres;

--the powers of the leading center should be in the hands of the TKK, whereas Walesa together with the chiefs of former regional chapters would provide "a legal extension" of the TKK;

--self-government and trade unions must remain the main concerns of the opposition; no expressly political organizations such as parties should be created;

--Zbigniew Bujak is the number one figure in the "movement" today;

--activity should pursue the direction of evolutionary changes in the system of state rather than using "revolutionary" methods.

Other activists of the opposition are also trying to arrive at an optimal form of operation. Recently, opinions stating the need to abandon the boycott of official organizations and institutions have come to dominate, since in the current situation the support of the working class or its more vivid response to the propaganda aimed at it are not to be reckoned with. The boycott of workers' self-government is criticized in particular, because it supposedly deprives the opposition of influence on the work forces. The cases of enterprises in which the activists of former Solidarity have joined in the work of self-government and run successful election campaigns against "party candidates" are played up.

The struggle for dominating student self-government is another important field for our adversaries. It is considered that the influence of the opposition in some higher schools can be a good springboard for taking over the self-government of other vocational groups, for example, the cadre of engineers. Therefore, the law on higher education is now regarded as a safeguarded gain. Consequently, the obstinacy of persons advertising their opposition views in elections of rectors that provoke the state authorities is criticized.

However, the West continues to generate inspiration for the further boycott of trade unions, in the absence of which it will be difficult for the underground to demand trade union plurality. After this condition has been met, it would be advisable to discontinue the boycott in that sphere as well.

The consideration of programs currently underway in the community of the adversaries of socialism points up the intention to legalize both oppositional activities and the presence of rightwing tendencies in the elements of our social system. The view that only printing activities and channels of communication with the West are to remain in the underground is stated increasingly often. However, it would be naive to think that such concepts will be implemented in practice in their entirety. Similarly, it is almost

certain that the opposition will go on instigating various disturbances and public incidents if only the social mood oscillates in the direction desired.

The current indecision over programs shows that the feeling of having lost is finally getting through to the minds of our adversaries, though once again not all of them. An increasingly large group of opposition activists is coming to understand that this was not only a defeat in the struggle against the state, but primarily a defeat in actions designed to subjugate the minds of the working class. This can explain the declared inclination of some circles in the post-Solidarity opposition to "compromise."

Essentially, however, the leading circles of former Solidarity do not display any tendency to reconsider the line of 1981 in a self-critical manner and to admit defeat. Their entire "readiness to compromise" boils down to substituting a new formula: "trade unions against the system." This position testifies to the unchanged intentions of our own adversaries; therefore, there are no grounds to reconsider our attitude toward the political trend of the former Solidarity. Nobody will be taken in by the siren songs coming from those quarters.

However, we cannot restrict ourselves to revealing the conceptual void of the adversaries of socialism and unmasking their hostile intentions. The efficiency of the struggle against the opposition depends primarily on the positive actions of the party and state authorities in overcoming the consequences of crisis in both the economic and social spheres. As practice shows, only the persistent implementation of the line of the Ninth PZPR Congress leads to the restoration of the bond between the leadership of the country and the working class and society. This, in its turn, amounts to depriving the adversary of the base for offensive activities. This we must remember every day.

The lack of belief in the realism and sincerity of our intentions in developing the socialist democracy and providing safeguards against a recurrence of the distortions in which the crisis was rooted still lingers in some communities and provides the ground where the adversary still has room for initiative. Many people in our country who approve of the socialist system and desire its strengthening nonetheless have apprehensions that the old ways will return once the authorities get rid of the competition and the situation becomes fully stable. Our adversaries are counting precisely on us being unable to lay such apprehensions to rest by accomplishing positive facts on the road of socialist renewal. This is where they see their chance to improve their standing with the populace. We cannot afford to forget this.

9761

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POLITICAL 'LEBANONIZATION' IN 1980-81 CRITICIZED

Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 25 Oct 84 p 3

[Article by Artur Bodnar: "On the Subject of Political Pluralism"]

[Text] After August 1980, the country was shaken by a profound political crisis, in particular a crisis of the mechanisms of government, but nevertheless the people as a whole and their state managed to emerge safely from this crisis. For outside foreign observers Poland is in spite of this a politically restless country, full of internal antagonisms. The central thread of the political quandaries is the constantly repeated question of how best to arrange the domestic life of the people and its overall organization, i.e., the state. On the path of which solutions can the national optimum realistically be achieved?

The Polish People's Republic's 40 years have been dominated by an uninterrupted "forward inclination," the rapid construction of the economic infrastructure of the new order. These goals were at the same time supposed to justify historically the method of organization and the conduct of authority in the state. It was to a great extent arbitrary, and as result made little use of the aroused aspirations of the masses for joint participation in decisionmaking on matters of importance both for the state and for national and local society.

In today's Poland, socialist economic relations dominate, while the small-production and small-capitalism sectors are subordinate to these relations. This reality is socially accepted by the younger generation as well. As shown by the results of a survey conducted by the Institute for Research on the Problems of Youth, 75 percent of those born in the years 1948-1965 say that they support the basic principles of the socialist system, especially socialist ownership of the means of production and the principle of rewarding "everyone in accordance with the results of his work" (80 percent of those polled). These data are cited by PRZEGLAD TYGODNIOWY (No 42/84), which indicates at the same time that the greater part of youth has a negative view of the pace of the reforms and changes to date. This fact could be called the psychosocial law of the cognitive rebellion of younger generations, for which the achievements of their fathers are never sufficient and are always assessed as incomplete. That is the case at least until these generations grow up and take over the legacy of the departing generations.

According to the above-mentioned questionnaire, a considerable number of young people affirm the existing political order, while seeking an expansion of the mechanisms for social control. However, PRZEGLAD TYGODNIOWY also states that some of those polled think that Western parliamentary democracy is a desirable system. It is considered unrealistic by two thirds of the respondents, though.

These opinions are not new. The research by Prof B. Golebiowski conducted with a large number of young people in 1971 and repeated in 1975 revealed the fact that the democratic ethos has become a characteristic trait of the new generations of our people. Other research, for example that of A. Duma conducted in 1979 among adults, indicated a very high level of affirmation of the economic order of socialism and unfortunately a lower index of affirmation of the political model, which was an omen of the imminent political events that were first reflected during the Eighth PZPR Congress. These facts provide numerous warnings and indications for those who consider most effective the old administrative measures for solving new problems, or also those who live by images of political life in completely different epochs.

Recently the Catholic journal LAD (No 41/84) noted the elementary truth that we are all responsible for modern Poland, even though the responsibility for making decisions on its fate is not equally distributed. The younger generation, whose opinions I summarized above, will make decisions together and rule the country in the year 2000. To what extent will its present ideas of what is desirable become a rationalized hope and a practical guideline for actions, and to what extent will they be rejected, refuted by life?

A great deal will depend on consistent adherence to the political line worked out in the years 1980-1981 by the political forces governing our state, and especially by the PZPR. A great deal will also depend on the church, which is currently still burdened with functions that do not constitute its essence, and that are performed by it against its will as a result of the crisis and the activity of neophytes recruited from the ranks of the political opposition. There are also those who in their activity of educating youth form the image of a desired society free of any existing authority, with the exception of supernatural authority. They do not acknowledge that the law of the Polish socialist state is based in its framework on Christian ethics. Whoever breaks this law is at the same time directly or indirectly violating the moral principles taught by the church.

How then can one respond to the younger generation concerning its quandaries on the subject of a better arrangement than in the past for the political life of the people? The first answer that suggests itself is the requirement for the necessary study of civil rights, and for overcoming passiveness in the exercise of these rights, both in local affairs and in broader ones. In the second place, one should consistently voice the principle that the interpretation of rights and democracy in the state should be the one formulated in the political parties and other coalition forces governing the state. Consequently, one should not keep the younger generation away from membership in these parties. In the third place, it is necessary to defend the statutory and legal principles of all the representative organizations and social

organizations, and if necessary also fight for the establishment of new organizations grouping social activists regarding some matter, proposing more effective means of satisfying social needs in a manner not detrimental to the state.

The PZPR, as the party of the working class, the ZSL as the party of the peasant class, and other political organizations give direction to the activities of the state, and monitor the effectiveness of their program determinations. But giving direction to the activities of the organs of the state, and organizing everyday life, which is after all full of shortages and inconveniences, often contrary to common sense, are different matters. The latter cannot be removed without various types of social mechanisms operating in favor of innovations in everyday life.

Meanwhile, in social concepts, which have also developed on the basis of bad experiences, an omnipotent role is ascribed to political parties. Thus, in these concepts unrestrained rivalry among parties performs the function of a factor controlling and weakening this omnipotence. Such an image is also formed by our mass information media in describing the political battle among competing parties that takes place in the West. The myth of an effective party system has consequently arisen. What arguments can be used to overcome this myth?

In the years 1980-1981 two visions of the party system clashed in Poland. One developed on the basis of the political and systemic practice of the PRL, defending the political unity of the working class and the leading role of the PZPR in the life of the people and the state. Based on the requirements from August 1980, this concept did not deny that the political unity of the class is not the same thing as poverty of the organization of social life. It was acknowledged that the social effectiveness of the principle of the political unity of the class requires at the same time a plurality of the forms of the life of this class, and its being linked with the other large groups.

The other concept (which was not just KOR's) expressed the need for a plurality of political parties, created not according to a class criterion but rather according to ideological-political orientations, with a more or less transitory existence in social awareness, and at least in appearance loosely associated with a class criterion. Among these parties, free competition would take place for influence in trade unions and other social organizations.

Our system does not rule out the separation of political groups according to a criterion other than a rigorously understood class criterion. The associations of lay Catholics are an example of this. On the other hand, the problem lies in the significance of these types of groups for building socialism, the ways in which they are formed and operate in social life, their relationship to the higher needs of the people and the state, etc.

The concepts launched by the antisystem opposition in the years 1980-1981 were rejected by the political forces governing our state, for several reasons. Organizing political parties with mutually opposed programs, even if united by the idea of the destruction and the existing constitutional order, would

be a source of unending political battles that would destroy the people and the state.

In Western democracies, the rival political parties as a rule respect the existing system. In Poland, however, this kind of condition has been rejected. It would mean making Poland the principal arena for the ideological and political battle between the two systems, and at the same time confirming the thesis that Poland is the quicksand of Europe. Our people must always guard against having the principal conflict of the epoch transferred to the territory of Poland, since this threatens it with "Lebanonization." Poland cannot be a Trojan horse in the community of states of real socialism, as imagined by the leaders of the former Solidarity--in whose interest would we perform this function, and at what price? After all, the people cannot allow the divisions occurring among them to destroy the fundamental rules of their system and their state.

That is the way I understand the political realism of Poles at the end of the 20th century, and the limits to the formation and public conflict of the various ideological and political options occurring among Poles.

9909
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FINNISH VISIT SEEN AS END OF POLITICAL ISOLATION

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 1 Nov 84 p 7

[Article by Zygmunt Broniarek: "Return to Normal Dialogue"]

[Text] "Minister Vayrynen's visit means the return to a normal intergovernmental dialogue." These words used in reference to the Finnish foreign minister's visit to Poland mirror exactly its contents and significance. It should be noted that the word "normal" was used to refer to intergovernmental dialogue. This word and its meaning are of importance not only for bilateral Polish-Finnish relations. Had such a normal intergovernmental dialogue existed on a larger scale, the world would not have had to experience the problem it faces now.

Polish-Finnish relations have been good throughout the whole post-war period. With Finland we share the Baltic Sea as well as a long record of common experiences, often trouble-ridden ones. We value the fact that during our crisis the Finns have shown understanding for our essential reasons of state, which seems to have been influenced by their understanding of the value of the state as the basic form of a nation's existence.

Finland and its capital Helsinki were the host of the Helsinki Conference, whose Final Act has historic importance as its signatories recognized the status quo in the post-war Europe.

This fact has tremendous significance especially when viewed against the background of voices in some Western countries renouncing the Yalta and Potsdam agreements. Unfortunately, along with these voices come real facts like the deployment of Cruise and Pershing-2 missiles in Western Europe, including West Germany. It is not and cannot be for any realistically minded person a coincidence that revanchist sentiments in West Germany have gained in strength just after the beginning of the deployment of these weapons and that these sentiments are officially supported by West German authorities.

At a reception in honor of Minister Vayrynen, Minister S. Olszowski said: "The deployment of new American missiles in Europe and the attempts to undermine the post-war status quo on our continent disturbs the so strenuously created system of security and cooperation in Europe, which is inseparably linked to the capital of your country, Helsinki." Next, Minister

Veyrynen stressed the inseparable relations between the Helsinki Conference and the postconference developments on the one hand, and the security of Finland itself on the other. He said: "As a point of departure, we took our firm belief that by contributing to the common effort of 35 countries to establish a system of security and cooperation in Europe, we also consolidate our own security."

Of course, we are not in a position to foresee how the world and Europe will look like in 9 months, when we will be watching the old celebrations in Helsinki to commemorate the 10th anniversary of the Helsinki Conference. One thing is certain, however. There is a growing movement that supports the idea that the celebrations of the 10th anniversary of the Helsinki Conference should be not just a ceremony, a meeting of statesmen for the meeting's sake, a facade without any content behind it, but rather what both Finland and Poland deem crucial, an impulse, or best of all a series of impulses, for the return of Europe and the world to the 1970's, the years of detente and fruitful cooperation among countries of different political and social systems. But let us ask a question. Do not the visit of Minister Vayrynen and those of Greek Prime Minister Papandreou and Austrian Foreign Minister Gratz as well as the forthcoming visits of Ministers Genscher and Andreotti show the stamina and driving force of detente? Theoretically detente should be dead, and yet it lives. And it is the obligation of those who are in power in different countries to provide it with new stimuli.

Minister Vayrynen's visit to Poland was also an occasion to discuss in detail Polish-Finnish bilateral relations. The phrase "in detail" should be stressed here because experience teaches us that generalities have no *raison d'être* in serious interstate relations. Attention was focused on economic and cultural problems. As for the former, there has since long been a problem of equalizing our balance of trade with Finland. Mainly due to our coal exports to Finland, we have a surplus in our balance of trade which the Finns would like to reduce by our purchases of their products. In view of this, it is good that Minister Vayrynen was accompanied by a large group of Finnish businessmen.

Polish-Finnish cultural relations have been developing rather well, but there is a chance that they may develop well, even very well. In view of the fact that our respective languages are both local in scope and difficult, it is noteworthy that our cooperation in the translation of Finnish books into Polish and vice versa has not been unsatisfactory. The commemoration in 1985 of the 150th anniversary of the Finnish epos "Kalevala" will certainly contribute to making Finnish literature and culture more popular in our country. Minister Vayrynen was right in saying that the forms and structure of our cooperation specified in Polish-Finnish agreements must not be allowed to fossilize. Culture not only reflects life, it is also its inseparable part.

Minister Vayrynen's visit to Poland was an important event not only for our bilateral relations. It was also a contribution to normal dialogue, normal co-existence, to such modeling of international relations that proves good for Europe and the world, all of which the Helsinki Conference consolidated on the international forum, an effort in which Poland played a great part.

12607

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CANDIDATES FOR JUDICIAL POSTS FACE EXAMINATIONS

Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 16 Nov 84 p 5

/Article by Jolanta Woloszanska: "Cadres for Themes"/

/Text/ Improving penal policy, streamlining judicial proceedings, executing penalties and civil law obligations swiftly and persistently are but a few of the tasks which the resolution of the 17th Plenum of the PZPR Central Committee posed for the judicial system. Under such circumstances, it is logical to ask what kind of people will fulfill these tasks in the immediate future.

Some information on that can be gained from the judge's examinations, which are being held for the first time before six central commissions rather than in individual judicial districts.

Practical Examination

They enter the hall in threes and sit down at a long table opposite the six-member commission. They pick their sets of questions from the cards spread on the green tablecloth. Altogether there are 12 questions, 2 on each field of the law and 1 on sociopolitical sciences.

These are not regular test questions. The candidates must solve authentic cases culled from court proceedings before the examination board, consisting of judges who are outstanding specialists in a given field. This calls not only for considerable knowledge of theory but also for skill in its speedy application to the actual situation posed, justification of one's opinion and its proper rendering. Only with regard to sociopolitical issues do the candidates respond to tersely worded questions testing their outlook and knowledge of the current domestic and foreign policy of Poland and international relations.

One hundred and forty-seven candidates from the 3 study districts of Bialystok, Lodz and Warsaw are taking the examination before 2 examination boards, chaired by Minister of Justice Lech Domeracki at the Cadre Improvement Center in Popow. The candidates come from various social groups, centers, walks of life and experience.

Who are these young people, the majority of whom will carry out justice in the name of the People's Republic of Poland in a year, having served their probation term and already donned their judge's robes?

Dariusz Gornicki, who received the grade of excellent on the previous written and the oral examinations, has no doubts whatsoever about the choice of further professional involvement. He will remain with the court. As early as his candidacy term at the district court in Sokolka (Bialystok Province) he came especially to like the civil division, and this where he wants to preside.

"I am attracted by the responsibilities of this work, the opportunity to regulate complicated interpersonal relationships and even influence economic activities," he says. "The great flexibility of civil law gives the judge the satisfaction of searching for and selecting the most appropriate decision."

Tomasz Grochowicz from Warsaw, who also passed the examination that same day quite well, has not made a final decision yet. However, he is also rather inclined to stay with the criminal division of the court. As he puts it, this work seems to him to be the most concrete, he is more at ease with it.

Judicial Independence

Two words are most frequently repeated in conversations with the candidates concerning their future work in the judicial system: judicial independence. They state that this is the most valuable attribute of the profession, which hinges not only on written guarantees but also on the judges themselves, on their knowledge, integrity and ethics, their feeling of professional dignity.

They also talk about the need to strengthen the authority of the judicial system. Society should view it as an institution serving to safeguard the interests of citizens and their state.

What is standing in the way of this? As the candidates explain, it is primarily the construction of some misdemeanors and crimes that is incomprehensible for the average citizen. For example, the owner of a hard currency account in our country can make a transfer to another person. However, if the former withdraws the same sum and sells it to the same person, he will be committing a crime according to article 47 of the penal-tax law. People do not understand this difference.

Second, it is the fact that penal responsibility for crimes is still not unavoidable. In practice, even the trend toward stiffer penalties does not hit those for whom it was intended, i.e., those committing the worst and most harmful crimes. For example, small-time perpetrators

usually stand trial for speculation, those who their own community refers to as "deer" or "mugs." This community knows that the true criminals, the "sharks" of this field, are evading punishment.

However, my interlocutors are also aware of the occasional powerlessness of the court as an institution which should shape interpersonal relations conforming to the law and the principles of social coexistence. What good is it, ask my interlocutors, if the judge reinstates the wrongly dismissed person in his position, if this person returns to the old arrangements and contacts with the people who want to do him in? In cases of that kind, the role of the judge is completed at the exact moment the judgment is handed down...

Our conversation turns into a lively discussion in which the candidates, just relieved of the stress of examination, fervently dwell on their future work. While still bursting with the ideals acquired in college and during their candidacy, they are already aware of the complexity of the matter they will have to handle. But it is exactly this complexity, the opportunity to influence the life of other people and to set up social arrangements, that attracts them the most so far.

Checklist of Requirements

"Thorough professional knowledge, knowledge of social phenomena, skill in its practical application, definite political convictions, personal culture (after all, the judge rules in the name of the state)--these are the basic traits of a contemporary judge," says Judge Romuald Soroko, chairman of the provincial court in Warsaw, who led one of the examination boards in Popow and will shortly hire new assessors for work at the courts of Warsaw. "However, this does not exhaust the checklist of requirements. After all, if the courts are called upon to discharge educational functions, then every judge should have pertinent predispositions as well. Also, every division of the court--criminal, civil, family and labor--requires somewhat different traits of the judges involved."

Minister Lech Domeracki, with whom I talked in Popow during a break in the examinations, stresses the importance of the judges looking at each case through the prism of varied social and economic conditions, of distinguishing the background and reasons for which the case occurred. A different, narrow approach to the case which disregards the more general background brings about an improper interpretation of legal norms, conflicting with their social function and, consequently, leads to impracticable and inefficient decisions. Hence the great stress on classes in sociopolitical sciences during the studies.

Do this year's candidates meet these requirements?

The minister is happy with the level of examinations. He estimates it to be higher than last year, when the candidates were trained and

examined exclusively in individual court districts. Unfortunately, not all the courts have attached the importance to preparing the new cadre required by contemporary needs.

This year, 779 candidates took examinations in 6 main centers of the country. For the next year, the setting up of a single central training course and an examination board is planned (at this time, a Main Center for Cadre Training and Improvement reporting directly to the minister is being organized in the ministry).

The ministry strives for a situation in which a more numerous group of candidates is prepared as well as possible. Out of this group, the courts will select the best.

9761

CSO: 2600/212

PRIESTS ASSAILED FOR ANTIGOVERNMENT REMARKS

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 19 Nov 84 p 4

/Article by (jas): "Plain Facts"/

/Text/ The following letter, which arrived at our newspaper office, is quoted in full (the italics are ours /enclosed in slant lines/).

"To the Editors:

The article which appeared in TRYBUNA LUDU on 14 November under the headline "The Hate Continues" was read by me with amazement and indignation. My amazement and resentment result from the fact that this whole article is yet another in the succession of distortions of facts by a party newspaper, and an attack on the good name of Polish priests. /The facts of the alleged performances of the priests in their churches referred to in that article, using the cheap trick of giving just initials instead of full names, with undisclosed time and place, misusing the privilege of freedom of the press, are a pure fabrication of the editor, who must have gotten them out of thin air. I am not acquainted with the press law, but this is just another of your dirty tricks. Very few people believe that priests use their sermons to attack the authorities and the communists, and particularly using the language you quote. Our church and its members are too Polish, too patriotic, too loving of order and tranquility, ever to use that kind of expression. Therefore, do not tell lies and do not falsify facts."/

Even though it is clear from the text and tone of the letter that its writer cannot be counted among our friends, accusing TRYBUNA LUDU of falsifications and the author of the article of 14 November of dishonesty, we do notice with satisfaction the little bit of trust in us displayed by her: at the end of the quoted text she gave her address and signed her name Janina L. But since she made it clear that those are exclusively for our own information, we shall preserve her anonymity, again in accordance with the press law.

We are publishing here Mrs L's letter together with the editor's answer to her accusations because her distrust in facts might also be shared by other readers, who might then very justifiably be incensed by our "distortions" if those had really taken place.

/The following are the facts:/

1. The report of the homily delivered in the Warsaw Cathedral of St John by Father Stefan Niedzielak (the Western press agencies did not make a secret of his name), including the part about the "prince of darkness," was dispatched by the ASSOCIATED PRESS correspondent, whose office is located in Warsaw on Piekna Street.
2. The report of the homily of Father Antoni Lewek (whose initials A. L. were given in TRYBUNA LUDU on 14 November, including the part about "the communist ideology of hatred and atheism," was transmitted by a correspondent of UNITED PRESS INTERNATIONAL, accredited in Warsaw, who also gave the place of the sermon as the Church of St Stanislaw in Zoliborz.
3. Both reports were transmitted last week. In a telephone conversation between the author of the article "The Hate Continues" and an employee of UPI, the latter announced: "We have not noticed any inaccuracies in the quotations of our material by the Polish press recently."

This statement is true, because in the text of TRYBUNA LUDU from 14 November, it was made very clear that /Western agencies were our source for parts of the homilies delivered in Warsaw which we quoted./

Therefore, there were no distortions perpetrated by us. We also do not have any reason, using the language of Mrs L., to doubt the "Polishness" and patriotic feelings of the Catholic clergy. For Polish patriots, whether secular or clerical, the need for order and social tranquility as the basis of national reconciliation is indisputable.

Mrs L. and many others may not remember, but in a party newspaper we do remember very well the following part of the resolution of the Ninth PZPR Congress: /"The congress expresses respect and recognition of the Catholic Church and other religious organizations for their patriotic position and attitude of great responsibility toward Poland, and is in favor of further constructive dialogue and cooperation between state and church in the name of the good of our socialist fatherland." /

Our article was not an "attack on the good name of Polish priests."
It was a critical reaction to the actions of two citizens who by
virtue of wearing cassocks are not free from the duty of obeying the
law, of following the accepted principles in discussing matters
concerning the Polish people; they are not free from responsibility
for their publicly expressed words, inflammatory words which are
later quoted and used not at all in our Polish interests.

Hence our indignation at and publication of those two cases, which
unfortunately are not so isolated. We hope that Mrs L. and other
readers will share our fears: /hate never does any good./

12470

CSO: 2600/215

MEETINGS OF LEGAL BODIES REPORTED

Milewski at Supreme Court

Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 23 Nov 84 pp 1, 2

/Text/ On the 22nd of this month a general meeting of the Supreme Court took place, the first since the new law concerning the Supreme Court, which was approved by the Sejm on 20 September of this year, went into effect. Taking part were the chairman of the State Council, Prof Henryk Jablonski, and Politburo member and PZPR Central Committee Secretary Mirosław Milewski.

The first president of the Supreme Court, Prof Włodzimierz Berntowicz, discussed the genesis of the law about the Supreme Court. He pointed out that the adoption of the new law is a significant event, for it brings to a close a definite stage in the formation of this primary judicial organ in People's Poland. The status of the Supreme Court in the system of primary state organs was defined. The safeguarding functions of the political and socioeconomic system of the PRL, the achievements of the working people, social ownership, citizens' rights and their interests as protected by law, as well as educational duties in the area of developing and strengthening the legal consciousness of citizens, were specified.

Supreme Court presidents Jan Zak and Tadeusz Szymanek and Supreme Court Judge Kazimierz Piasecki discussed the tasks and principles of the action of the collective organs of the Supreme Court, the legal status of a judge of the Supreme Court, and also the procedure for undertaking resolutions that have the assurance of correctness and uniformity in the interpretation of law and court practice as their goal.

Henryk Jablonski took the floor during the meeting. Among other things, he emphasized the meaning of intellectual and moral qualifications of judges. We must demand of a judge, he said, not only appropriately broad legal knowledge and mastery of the difficult art of establishing the facts in accordance with the truth, and skill in defining its legal effects, but also the ability to establish deeply and discerningly the social background of violations of law, their causes and conditions. An intelligent verdict is not only a judgment in accordance with the law but one whose legality is harmoniously united by taking into consideration all individual and social aspects of each specific case.

In talking about the meaning of the Supreme Court's activity, the chairman of the State Council stated that his judgments, and especially the resolutions that contain instructions for interpretation and court practice, clarification of legal regulations that arouse doubts or whose application gives rise to divergence in judgments, and settlements of legal questions which give rise to serious doubts in a specific case, have a decisive meaning for the correct and uniform understanding and application of law by all the courts. The judgments and resolutions of the Supreme Court must therefore reflect not only great legal knowledge but also a deep understanding and knowledge of the realities of our social life.

Mirosław Milewski expressed thanks for the work and results achieved up to now. He wished the judges of the Supreme Court success in the realization of the foundations of the new law in the service of national legality.

In closing the meeting, the chairman of the State Council presented the group of judges with government decorations.

Participating in the meeting were: Prof Kazimierz Secomski, deputy chairman of the State Council; Michał Atlas, director of the Administrative Department of the PZPR Central Committee; Józef Zyto, prosecutor general of the PRL; and Tadeusz Skóra, first deputy minister of Justice.

Bar Association Meets

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 9 Nov 84 p 5

/Text/ The meaning of law and the legal profession in the functioning and development of a socialist government was discussed on the 8th of this month at the plenary meeting of the board of the Polish Bar Association /ZPP/.

The statutory task of the association, the chairman of the Main Board of the ZPP, Zdzisław Czeszejko-Sochacki, reminded the assembled group, is taking action to strengthen socialist government and law, develop socialist democracy, preserve self-management and order and social discipline. These problems were broadly reflected in the deliberations of the 17th Plenum of the PZPR Central Committee, in the discussion and in an adopted resolution. It was emphasized that socialist democracy is rule by law.

The prevailing desire that the government insure the defense of freedom and rights; personal safety and order, that it serve for the preservation of the principles of social justice in everyday life, must be accompanied by an awareness of duty with regard to this government. Rights are, after all, inextricably tied to obligations.

An integral part of the cultural policy of society, as emphasized in the course of the deliberations, is its legal consciousness. Legal education must be a continuously important current of general civic education. In a reasonably short time, a complex program of education dealing with the observance of laws and the principles of social coexistence will be worked out. It ought to begin

from the youngest age in all places of education and upbringing. Active members of the association, for understandable reasons, should not be absent in its preparation and implementation.

The achievements made up to now in the area of creation and application of law that aim at the democratization of public life and at the assurance of institutional guarantees for the ideas of democracy must be met with social approbation, which was also emphasized. The 17th Plenum of the PZPR Central Committee devoted many remarks to the fight against and opposition to social pathology. It was stated that it is essential to work out a report about the reasons, extent and tendencies of threats against the government, order, and social discipline.

In the resolution adopted at the plenary session, it was stressed that the process of perfecting government structures, their organization and functioning, has been taking place for several years without interruption. Serving this end is a law that encompasses all areas of social and economic life. In strengthening the government, states the document, the state of society's legal consciousness has enormous significance. It forms and defines civic attitudes, and in relation to this makes it possible and easier for citizens to take part in governing the state. The resolution of the 17th Plenum of the PZPR Central Committee pointed this out. It completely answers social expectations and needs, including those of the legal circle represented by the ZPP.

Gathering of Prosecutors

Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 20 Nov 84 p 5

/Text/ On the 19th of this month a briefing of deputy provincial prosecutors took place, which was devoted to a discussion of the effectiveness of action in the area of prosecutors' supervision of compliance with law, civil cases and preventive action.

Referring to the resolution of the 17th Plenum of the Central Committee and the recommendations of the Politburo of the PZPR Central Committee, the prosecutor general of the PRL, Jozef Zyto, pointed to the special role of the prosecutor's office in activity on behalf of strengthening the Polish state. It is, after all, called to safeguard legality, among other ways through supervising compliance with the law by other organs, organizations and citizens. He stressed that the prosecutor's office achieved measurable progress in this area, which is attested to by the verification in the current year of over 50,000 administrative decisions and judgments, addressing close to 14,000 preventive pronouncements, or the undertaking of over 16,000 various legal activities within the framework of civic legal protection of social property and civic rights. The correct implementation of the recommendations and instructions of the party requires further strengthening of the prosecutor's supervision of compliance with the law, civil law and preventive activity.

During the discussion attention was brought to the necessity of concentrating on those activities of the prosecutor's office that assure the maximum effectiveness of all work undertaken in this area. It was pointed out that in every

case in which the prosecutor ascertains a violation of the law action will be undertaken aimed not only at the restoration of the law, but also at the elimination of the causes and circumstances which promote its violation, and also at the extraction of consequences in the disciplinary sphere, in service or materially, from both the direct perpetrator as well as the individuals responsible by virtue of having discharged a supervisory function.

In the area of civil suits and work laws, the activity of the prosecutor's office will be directed on behalf of the complete deprivation of undue gain of all who obtained it not in accordance with law or the principles of social coexistence, and especially at the cost of individuals in a socialized economy. On the other hand, the responsibility of state and cooperative enterprises and the private sector in transgressions against social interests will be consistently exacted. For law, it was emphasized, must be applied to all equally.

12635

CSO: 2600/234

TERRITORIAL ADMINISTRATION WORKERS POLLED ON CIVIL SERVICE

Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 18, 19, 24 Oct 84

[18 Oct 84 p 4]

[Text] People's conceptions of government agencies and civil servants continue to evoke associations that are not the very best. Unresolved problems, closed windows and at times incompetence or insensitivity are brought to mind immediately. For some time, many steps have been taken that are designed to change this picture so that both the citizen and civil servant will be content, and that problems will be resolved in a competent and just manner in accordance with the letter of the law but in a manner that shows some understanding for the concerned party.

To a great extent, the effectiveness of the introduced changes depends on precise knowledge of the existing status. Thus, it is very fortunate that the CBOS [Center for Public Opinion Research] attempted to find answers to questions about how civil servants view themselves, the operation of their agencies and the administration in general, what disturbs them and what improvements they believe should be made.

Polls were conducted in June among primary level state administration employees. A total of 1,064 workers responded to the polls. In addition, 41 students at the CPKPAP [Center for Postgraduate Training for State Administration Workers] were polled.

Among the 1,115 respondents, 40 percent were males, over one-half of those polled (57 percent) were high school graduates and almost one out of three (30.1 percent) were college graduates. All in all, only 0.8 percent of those polled had less than a high school education. Of those polled, 51.4 percent were PZPR members, 11.1 percent belonged to the United Peasant Party and 1.7 percent to the Democratic Party. Concerning the workplace (type of agency), 40.5 percent worked for gmina agencies; 25.5 percent for city-gmina agencies; 26.8 percent for city agencies; and 5.9 percent for city-section agencies. City managers and mayors represented 12 percent of those surveyed; agency secretaries, 4.2 percent; department directors, 21.7 percent; all other workers, 57.6 percent; and CPKPAP workers (regardless of administration position), 3.7 percent.

To start, the respondents were asked to present an overall evaluation--on a national scale--of state administration workers and agencies. The evaluation of the vast majority of the territorial administration workers was positive: 3.9 percent, very good; 64.7 percent, good. Over one-fourth of the respondents were critical in their evaluations: 27.6 percent, satisfactory; 0.2 percent, unsatisfactory.

Then those individuals who evaluated the administration as very good or good were asked to name the primary virtues of the administration. The following qualities were identified: works well, promptly and efficiently, 54.6 percent; serves the concerned parties properly and courteously, 35.5 percent; serves the state and the public (interested, dedicated, and disciplined), 28.7 percent; well-trained cadres, 22.8 percent.

The individuals who evaluated the administration as satisfactory or unsatisfactory mentioned the following main shortcomings: cadre's professional training is poor, 28.7 percent; too bureaucratized, 27.4 percent; lack of properly qualified cadres, 23.9 percent; bad, impractical regulations, 15.2 percent.

It is interesting to compare the opinions of the administration workers with the evaluations of the citizens. In September 1983, 1,500 people were surveyed who were participants in a homemakers' panel created by the Poznan Academy of Economics.

The respondents rated the state administration as follows: very good, 0.9 percent; good, 19.5 percent; satisfactory, 44.9 percent; unsatisfactory, 11.6 percent; and 22.9 percent said it was "difficult to say."

As can be seen, the public's evaluations differ quite markedly from the self-evaluations of the civil servants. While only one in five of the respondents in the citizen's poll evaluated the administration positively (20.4 percent had replied "good" or "very good"), a decisive majority (68.5 percent) of the polled civil servants opined that the operations of the agencies and those employed in them was good. One out of 10 citizens acknowledged that the administration deserves to be evaluated as unsatisfactory (11.6 percent), but only a miniscule number of civil servants (0.2 percent) said that the state administration operates poorly.

In justifying their negative evaluations of the administration, the public most often mentioned the incompetence and nonprofessionalism of civil servants, the lack of courtesy and civility, and arrogance toward the concerned parties.

In due measure, complete knowledge about the self-evaluation by civil servants was obtained after the presented picture was supplemented with the opinions of civil servants concerning the operations of their "own" agencies, that is, the agency in which the respondent was employed. The following results were obtained: 11.2 percent of the respondents said their operations were very good; 70.6 percent, good; 16.3 percent, satisfactory; and 0.5 percent, unsatisfactory. All in all, 81.8 percent of those polled had positive evaluations.

Such positive evaluations of the territorial agencies by the civil service respondents differ markedly from the public's evaluations. Only 31.8 percent of the public believe that local agency operations (the agencies in their own communities) deserve to be evaluated as very good and good.

All of the civil servants who evaluated their own agencies as being less than very good were asked what could be done to improve the agency's operations. In first place (23.2 percent), the respondents said that organizational changes must be made; next, the number of positions must be increased (19.5 percent); increase wages (18.5 percent); train cadres to improve their qualifications (17.0 percent).

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In reality, it can be said that the research results confirm the current opinion concerning state administration operations. Although much has changed in this area for the better, the public continues to harbor many grievances toward civil servants; they continue to believe that these grievances are not being resolved as they should, thus the low opinion of administration work. The stereotyped civil servant that continues to linger in the public's mind also affects this evaluation. But civil servants themselves view their own work entirely differently, and their self-evaluation is significantly higher.

Why the divergence of opinion? Many questions remain to be answered here. First of all, there are the instances of truly poor work by civil servants. In addition, the citizen always thinks his problem will be resolved in his favor. If it is otherwise, it is the fault of the civil servants. It is a fact that the citizen is not always right, and there must be times when the civil servants must say so. In such cases, however, the civil servants should explain exactly to the interested party why this is so, but this does not occur all the time. Each incident that is not explained satisfactorily is another reason for a poor opinion about administration operations.

The fact that civil servants evaluate themselves higher than the average citizen is somewhat natural. Of course, everyone wants to see himself in a favorable light, and it also is easier to justify oneself. On the other hand, in evaluating their own agencies and the administration in general, civil servants look through the prism of the conditions under which they work, conditions resulting from regulations that often are still imperfect, from poor organization, at times from a complete lack of basic equipment and from wretched working conditions.

The research organizers also surveyed the opinions of civil servants in these matters. We will discuss this in our next article.

[19 Oct 84 p 4]

[Text] In June of this year, the CBOS attempted to obtain replies to the questions of how civil servants evaluate themselves, the work of their agencies and the administration in general, and what the possibilities are for improvements. In the previous article (RZECZPOSPOLITA 17 [sic] October)

discussed that part of the poll results that referred directly to evaluations of the work of civil servants. Today we present the opinion of civil servants on working conditions, the administration cadres and the motives to work for an agency.

Let us recall that the poll was conducted among primary level state administration workers. Of the 1,100 individuals who were asked, 1,074 responded. In addition, replies were received from 41 CPKPAP students. Among the 1,115 respondents, 40 percent were males, over one-half (57 percent) were high school graduates, and almost one out of three (30.1 percent) had higher educations. Only 0.8 percent of those interviewed had less than a high school education. Also, 40.5 percent of the respondents worked in gmina agencies, 25.5 percent in city-gmina agencies, 26.8 percent in city agencies and 5.9 percent in city district agencies. City managers and mayors constituted 12 percent of the respondents; agency secretaries, 4.2 percent; department directors, 21.7 percent; all other workers, 57.6 percent; and CPKPAP students (regardless of administration position), 3.7 percent.

Among other things, the poll organizers were interested in seeing if the administration tends to agree, and to what extent, with the current view about excess cadres and their redundancy. The primary and provincial levels were considered separately in the question. The results, in percentages of those replying, are shown in Table 1.

Table 1

<u>Evaluation</u>	<u>Primary level</u>	<u>Provincial level</u>
Too many	5.7	51.6
Just enough	25.4	26.3
Too few	65.7	2.8
Do not know	3.2	16.7

As indicated, the respondents assumed very different attitudes toward the number of cadres at the primary and provincial levels. A decisive majority of the respondents acknowledged that there were not enough cadres at the primary level. But less than 3 percent of those polled had the same opinion about provincial level cadres. The proportion of replies concerning the formulation that "there are too many" civil servants was almost the opposite. Only 5.7 percent of the respondents agreed that there are too many at the primary level, but over one-half agreed that there are too many at the provincial level.

Such a distribution of replies confirms the real shortage of cadres in primary level agencies. An analysis of the replies to the other questions indicates that workers dealing directly with citizen-petitioners are overworked.

The citizen's poll also requested opinions concerning the number of civil servants. (In September 1983 a poll was conducted among 1,500 participants on a panel of homemakers that was formed by the Poznan Academy of Economics.) A decisive majority (68.4 percent) observed that there are too many civil servants, 15.8 percent believed that the number of civil servants is right, and only 0.7 percent said that there are not enough civil servants.

The citizen's poll confirmed that the stereotype of an excess of administrators continues to prevail with the public, which can be related to the low work efficiency of the agencies.

Primary level administration civil servants believe in part that they are overworked because some problems that they handle should be resolved by other units. Over 60 percent of those polled believe that their agencies do such work. Among problems that should belong to the territorial agencies of state administration are: all types of distributions and allotments (31.1 percent); calculating various types of fees and payments (18.7 percent); and verification work (17.9 percent).

Work quality and satisfaction depend to a great extent on working conditions. The respondents were asked to evaluate working conditions in their agencies, using the academic scale of evaluation. The results are shown in Table 2.

Table 2 (in percentage)

<u>Element Evaluated</u>	<u>Unsatisfactory</u>	<u>Satisfactory</u>	<u>Good</u>	<u>Very Good</u>	<u>Average</u>
Business premises	15.0	39.4	33.4	12.2	3.42
Equipped with:					
--useful and functional office equipment	6.7	47.7	40.3	5.3	3.44
--typewriters, copiers, calculators, etc.	10.3	48.2	36.3	5.2	3.36
--office supplies, paper, envelopes, etc.	14.7	42.2	37.6	5.5	3.38
Regulation manuals, supplementary inserts	3.5	27.6	55.5	13.4	3.78

The data in the table shows that the agencies are poorly equipped with office equipment, machines and office material. Undoubtedly, this decreases work efficiency and thus work satisfaction.

In addition, the poll organizers asked: What bothers you most of all in fulfilling your work obligations? The answers were as follows: too many duties (18.3 percent); too many clients (15.5 percent); incorporation of operations, continuously adding on more tasks (12.3 percent); too many regulations that often are contradictory (12.0 percent). Only 1 out of 10 of the civil servants said that nothing disturbs him at work.

Questions were also asked about the "image" of civil servants. Those who were polled were presented a list of 18 qualities, of which one-half were positive and one-half negative. The respondents were asked to indicate those qualities that should characterize civil servants, those that characterize them, and those that should be especially cultivated and developed in civil servants.

Among the qualities that should characterize civil servants are competence (72.9 percent), sense of duty (52.5 percent) and courtesy (42.8 percent). Among the qualities characterizing civil servants are irritability (41.3 percent), sense of duty (30.9 percent) and courtesy (24.9 percent). And among those

qualities that should be especially developed are competence (57.2 percent), openness to people's problems (45.7 percent) and sense of duty (43.0 percent).

Those polled were also asked if they felt there are any shortcomings in their professional training. Every third respondent (36 percent) felt that his professional training was lacking in some way. The scope of these shortcomings was rated as significant by only 1.1 percent of the respondents; as average, by 11.9 percent; and as little, by 23.0 percent.

Interesting replies were received to the questions concerning motives for civil service work. "Such work appealed to me, its nature suits me," 17.1 percent; "the job was available," 15.6 percent; "pure chance, a coincidence," 14.5 percent; and "no other opportunities available," 13.3 percent.

These replies confirm that the cadres are in the profession mostly by chance, believing that no opportunities exist outside the agency. Despite this, a significant part of the respondents are satisfied with their present jobs, although to varying degrees. Every fifth respondent (21.4 percent) is "definitely satisfied," and 60.3 percent are "somewhat satisfied." Only 3 percent of the respondents were definitely not satisfied.

The question of whether or not the respondents thought about changing jobs was somewhat of a control question. The replies were as follows: often, 12.6 percent; at times, 53.3 percent; not at all, 32.0 percent. But only one out of three respondents does not intend to change his job. The most mentioned reasons why the respondents want to quit their agencies include: too much work, 49.9 percent; low pay, 42.9 percent; difficult nature of the work, (working with people, contact with the interested parties), 22.9 percent.

The presented research results prompt several thoughts. Above all, they confirm that the reasons for selecting civil service continue to be negative ones. Thus, consistent action must be taken aimed at improving the prestige of civil servants and creating conditions whereby people will enter the civil service by choice and not necessity. Undoubtedly, it is most important to improve the quality of civil service work, but it must be realized that it is very difficult to fulfill.

Also, taking care of those cadres we now have is very important. The fact that a large number of civil servants view themselves critically and that they feel a need to supplement their knowledge provide a basis for optimism. It is worthwhile to encourage these ambitions competently and to help satisfy them.

[24 Oct 84 p 4]

[Text] The two previous articles [RZECZPOSPOLITA 17 and 18 [sic] October 1984] discussed the poll conducted by the CBOS among primary-level administration workers. We discussed the views of civil servants concerning the quality of administrative work in general and the quality of work in their agencies. We also discussed what bothers civil servants at work and what changes they would like to make. Thus, the discussions were about the number and quality of cadres, and motives for entering civil service.

However, there is still one more very important element that undoubtedly affects administration work, that is, the obligatory administrative division of the country, the conditions resulting therefrom and the legal status of the civil servant. Both of these matters were also the subject of polls. The representatives of the workers of state administration territorial agencies were questioned about the 1975 reform. In general, the evaluations were negative. The replies to the question of whether the elimination of the countries [powiat] and the creation of the new, smaller provinces was a good decision were: yes, 11.4 percent; somewhat yes, 16.6 percent; somewhat no, 22.4 percent; no, 43.7 percent; difficult to say, 5.8 percent. Altogether, then, over 66 percent of the replies were negative, while only 28 percent were positive.

Those evaluating the reform positively said that its main advantages are: the authorities are more accessible to the citizen, 63.1 percent; the authority of the primary agencies has increased, 25.6 percent; the organizational structures are more even, 22.1 percent. The negative evaluations included: access to authorities is more difficult, 34.1 percent; smaller, economically weaker provinces were created, 25.9 percent; the growth rate of the administration has increased, 19.5 percent.

Evaluations of the reform by the public that were obtained with the aid of similar questions basically concurred with the evaluations presented by the cadres. The percentage of positive replies is almost the same. Every fourth citizen (24.9 percent) believed that the reform was good (28 percent of the civil servants had similar evaluations). There were differences in the negative replies. Almost one-half of the polled citizens (49.8 percent) evaluated the reform negatively, compared to 63 percent of the civil servants. Perhaps the reason for this is that administrative workers are more familiar with the reform's defects and are more aware of all the failures incurred by the changes in 1975.

Evaluating the legal acts that implemented the fundamental changes in agency operations was another area of interest for the poll organizers. Above all, the concern here was about the 16 September 1982 law on state agency employees and its accompanying executive orders. In general, the respondents were knowledgeable about the law's provisions, but to varying degrees: rigorously, 38.3 percent; generally, 53.5 percent; weakly, 6.3 percent. Less than 2 percent said they were unfamiliar with the law's provisions.

With reference to the resolutions contained in the mentioned law and in the supplementary executive orders, most respondents evaluated them positively, but the degree of "how positive" varied: very positive, 1.3 percent; positive, 41.3 percent; somewhat positive, 45.0 percent. Only 5.3 percent of the respondents evaluated the law's resolutions negatively. Almost 7 percent could not express an opinion.

Several detailed questions concerning the mentioned legal resolutions were also of interest. The respondents were asked: In your opinion, has the subsequent regulation (the second thus far) helped to stabilize agency cadres? Almost 60 percent of the replies were affirmative; 20 percent of the civil servants admitted that the extent of the relationship between the regulation on

compensations and cadre stability was significant, and over 40 percent admitted that the relationship was average. Over one-third of those polled denied that there was a link between the subsequent regulation and cadre stability (27.3 percent said probably not and 7.8 percent were undecided). These large percentage replies are proof that, in the opinion of those polled, pay raises will not be too high and will not fluctuate not influence cadre stability in the agencies.

The next question concerned opinions about the consequences of increased requirements for state administrative workers. In answering the question of whether this increase in requirements will encourage or discourage agency operations, almost 60 percent of those polled replied that it would discourage work (51.2 percent said "somewhat discourage" and 8.6 percent said "definitely discourage"). Almost one-third of the respondents said that raising the requirements for civil servants will "somewhat encourage" work in the agencies ("definitely encourage," 3.4 percent and "somewhat encourage," 27.8 percent).

During the last 2 years, military operational groups controlled the operations of the state administrative agencies. The polled civil servants were asked to evaluate the effectiveness of this control. Only 15 percent said that the control improved agency operations significantly. Over 40 percent believed that it did not accomplish much. But 30 percent of those polled were definitively negative about such influence. To the question of whether the military control groups should continue to operate in the agencies, 62.8 percent of the respondents replied negatively, and 22 percent replied affirmatively. The justification cited most often by civil servants was that the control groups were incompetent. It was noted that control should be conducted by competent groups, preferably ministerial groups.

Similar questions were asked in the citizen's poll. One-half of the respondents evaluated military control positively. A decisively large percentage of the citizens' positive replies cited greater faith in the effectiveness of the military control actions and the successful resolution of many problems.

One more interesting question from the polls conducted by the CBOS is related to our journalism work. The civil servants were asked how they perceived the general picture of the administration as portrayed by the mass media. Is it objective or is it biased? One out of four people polled (27.1 percent) believed that the picture is accurate, objective or somewhat objective. Almost 70 percent of the respondents perceived it as being biased. They believe that a one-sided picture is projected, and that the other side of the story is not given, that is, the side of the agencies or civil servants (48.3 percent); that individual facts are generalized (25.5 percent); that opinions are presented without knowing the administration's range of activities, its capabilities and competence (21.9 percent). The polls indicate that the administrators feel "wronged" by the biased picture that is presented of their activities. The respondents emphasized the need to inform the public more extensively than heretofore about the work of the territorial agencies of the state administration, and its competence and capabilities (87.4 percent of all those polled).

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The gathered opinions provide much to think about. We are only beginning on the path leading to the creation of truly competent civil service cadres and to improving agency operations. To do this, we must attract people into the administration to whom this would be a profession by choice and not necessity, require high requirements of them and create good working conditions for them.

The replies of the administrative workers will provide many details for those who should be interested in such matters, helping them to find the best solutions. The polls also confirmed that which can often be seen with the naked eye: the lack of basic equipment and poor organization, which are problems that must be resolved immediately without waiting for the overall reform of the administrative system of operations.

11899

CSO: 2600/133

MECHANIZED REGIMENT COMMANDER DISCUSSES CAREER, DUTIES

Warsaw ZOLNIERZ POLSKI in Polish No 39, 23 Sep 84 p 5

[Interview with mechanized regiment commander Major Stanislaw Sidor by Tadeusz Oziemkowski: "In the Direction of the Main Strike"]

[Text] [Question] Could a young commander in the 1960's move up in his career by climbing the different levels considerably more leisurely than recently?

[Answer] I cannot say anything responsible about that period, inasmuch as my service as an officer began only at the end of the 1970's. One fact, however, which is clear is that when I graduated from the Higher Tank Officer's School I was not able to forecast, even in my wildest flights of fancy, that I would achieve so much in barely 12 years.

[Question] Can you be a bit more specific...?

[Answer] ...that I would complete the General Staff Academy and be named regimental commander. Additionally, this regiment, while under my command, would be singled out by the minister of national defense himself, already for the fourth time, for the medal "For Outstanding Accomplishments in Military Service."

[Question] When you were named regimental commander you were barely 32 years old and were probably one of the youngest officers in such a high and responsible position.

[Answer] The circumstances had been such that as the permanent regimental chief of staff and barely a captain, I was running the regiment after hardly a year. I remember the day when my regiment went out on maneuvers as if it were yesterday. In record time we loaded up our people and combat equipment on rail transport and moved out onto the range. I will add that we operated in full tactical gear and received orders to move in the direction of the main strike. Our orders were not easily implemented: we had to operate on difficult terrain, at a fast rate of movement and practically a full hour in the attack.

[Question] It was a fact that you were then a young and inexperienced officer. Was it easy for you in such a situation to cope with leading such a large unit equipped with various weapon systems?

[Answer] Of course. I had little experience, but in making appropriate and quick decisions, especially during the regiment's march and the implementation of aggressive actions, I was helped to a considerable degree by my doctoral work, which I wrote at the General Staff Academy and which was entitled "The Various Methods of Attaining Superiority in the Aggressive Operations of a Tank Regiment."

[Question] What was the role of the staff in such a difficult undertaking?

[Answer] A well-working staff and an efficient system of communications and warning guarantee success in every combat operation. I had such a staff, and therefore...

[Question] ...you were successful?

[Answer] That may be putting it too strongly. Suffice it to say that we operated decisively, that all my orders to my subordinates, i.e., the subunit commanders, and the information from them concerning the situation, the enemy, etc., moved back and forth predictably. In other words, I was quickly and honestly informed about everything.

[Question] Your doctoral work at the General Staff Academy dealt with operations for a tank regiment, but you now command a mechanized regiment.

[Answer] I had to take a different look at combat capabilities, namely fire and maneuver, which tank and mechanized regiments have at their disposal. I also had to study a totally different organizational makeup and series of various elements. But I was not alone. I had, as I've already mentioned, an efficiently working staff and good commanders, who quickly grasped my intentions, and mature, excellently trained soldier specialists.

[Question] One could conclude that the regiment successfully executed its mission and the commanding captain (!) made a name for himself among his superiors.

[Answer] Of the units on maneuver, my regiment performed the best and, as a result (here I have to boast a bit), I was confirmed as regimental commander.

[Question] How long ago was that?

[Answer] Four years. Those were difficult, responsible years requiring the execution of complicated training missions, both in garrison as well as in the field. Especially recently.

[Question] Did that difficult challenge of 4 years ago have a counterpoint this year?

[Answer] Yes, in similar dimensions, but under extremely difficult terrain and weather conditions. Among other things: low temperatures, poor visibility (which made the successful execution of fire missions difficult), poor march routes and absolutely the worst terrain for attack operations.

[Question] How about a more precise description of this exercise?

[Answer] We executed a march and then an attack, in full combat gear, in the direction of the main strike by breaking through the enemy's strong defense. For 5 days and nights we were constantly on the move, while the situation was a kaleidoscope of variations, changing from minute to minute. We kept our heads and, which is most important, did not have any problems with our equipment--it had been well prepared--leaders, soldiers or specialists from the various units.

[Question] And which subunit did the best?

[Answer] The one commanded by Captain Wlodzimierz Switalksi.

[Question] So your regiment returned successfully from the range?

[Answer] Yes, but this success was not ensured by our return from the exercises I just described. We still had a whole series of missions to accomplish, which we did with the "assistance" of several district level control officers.

[Question] Successfully?

[Answer] We did not make a single slip, but decisively met all of our rifle, machine-gun and antitank fire requirements. The subunits tested were commanded by Jerzy Orlin and Stanislaw Piers.

[Question] After your return to garrison, did you have a chance to rest for awhile?

[Answer] We might have wanted some rest after our range training, but reality was unyielding: we had to perform seasonal maintenance on some of the more heavily used equipment.

[Question] With the tested and time-proven method of hosing it down?

[Answer] You bet; moreover, we had the best conditions for it. Additionally, we released some soldiers who had served their 2 years of service and assembled our new ones. We then had to train them in those areas where knowledge is required of every soldier.

[Question] What did the specialists from the different combat arms and those subunits which did not release anyone to the reserves do during this time?

[Answer] Antiaircraft specialists went off to a special training area and performed fire missions on antiaircraft missile equipment in teams of two and four, as well as individually. They were successful in their training, but it

was the antiaircraft platoon commanded by 2nd Lieutenant Wieslaw Dobrzynski which decisively dominated the training overall.

[Question] What about the others?

[Answer] Sappers who systematically train in the recognition of roads, the deactivation of mines, and the construction of mobile bridges also had their own special training areas. The same is also true for the scouts and anti-tank personnel. The antitank personnel finished third in training in the district, while Lieutenant Zbigniew Strusik brought the title "Fire Control Expert" back to the regiment with him. Also making a name for himself was Ensign Wojciech Kazimierowski, who received a certificate for being the best operator of a training antitank guided missile weapons system.

[Question] All of these requirements and missions would have kept not one but two regiments busy.

[Answer] There is no end to it all, however. One of our mechanized subunits and one artillery subunit participated in joint Polish-Soviet training exercises.

[Question] While the rest of your unit did what?

[Answer] We performed a very arduous phase in preparing the local area for fall and winter training. Without going into details, I have to stress that we are rebuilding the existing terrain base from the perspective of being able to utilize it for years to come. As a result of this new terrain base, once finished, we will be able to introduce special subunits onto it for integrated training. Simply put, in a 100-hour training cycle we will be able to instruct more soldiers from various specialties considerable more efficiently than heretofore.

[Question] Does the commander have any kind of special recipe for success in commanding a unit?

[Answer] Every commander at every level has such a "recipe." One needs systematically to set tasks and then methodically account for their execution. Every day I try to have a talk with my subordinates, and not only an official one. Beyond this, I have been in this regiment long enough to know on whom and what I can rely. The most important thing, however, is that a larger number of the professional cadre is so emotionally attached to this regiment that it is difficult to convince some that it is time to move on. Even when they are "threatened" with advancement to a higher service position.

[Interviewer] Thank you for the interview.

12247

CSO: 2600/225

ROLE OF MILITIA IN RURAL, URBAN AREAS ANALYZED

Warsaw GROMADA in Polish 7 Oct 84 p 5

[Interview with Deputy Commander-in-Chief of Citizens' Militia, Brigadier General Dr Jerzy Gruba, by Wojciech Borsuk]

[Text] [Question] The jubilee of the Citizens' Militia and the Security Service is also your jubilee. Allow me then to begin our conversation with an issue of a personal nature. Do you, General, find time for family life, leisure, or hobby activities?

[Answer] It would seem that a general should have time for private life. In our service, however, it is a rather complex problem. The higher one's position, the greater the responsibility and the broader the range of duties which are difficult to fit in the regular number of hours. You must also take into consideration the fact that a general is not a bureaucrat working in an office. As a Deputy Commander-in-Chief of Citizens' Militia, I carry out a number of activities all over the country. This is connected with trips to sometimes remote localities. During my absence many urgent matters accumulate which need to be solved. Some of these are sensitive matters, behind which frequently are bigger or smaller human miseries. One cannot delay attending to them until there is a right mood, hour, time of the day or day of the week.

From what I have said one can see that there is not much time left for family life, leisure and hobby activities. Those, however, who have decided to serve in our ranks, to serve society and the socialist state, must calculate this drawback into the price.

[Question] Thus, the Headquarters are your second, if not first home. You are familiar with the country's present situation. One hears about various militia actions such as "Safe Track," "Market," and "Mustang." One gets the impression that the disturbingly high level of crime seems to have declined and discipline in various domains of our society's life has improved. What do the facts say?

[Answer] The state of order and security in the country after the stormy period of 1980-1984 is slowly but steadily improving. The number of crimes is decreasing and their detectability is slowly growing. In a certain sense this is a reflection of the stabilization of the country's socioeconomic life.

Although this process is heading in the right direction, it still is not satisfactory enough for us. We are doing all we can to accelerate it so that life and work can be carried on in conditions of peace, without fears for one's property or health.

This process would probably be faster if the whole of our society, all of the appropriate organs, social, religious and other organizations, declared war on crime and all symptoms of social pathology, such as alcoholism, social parasitism, drug addiction and others. We know that in some gminas, the actions of the social front for combatting evil get results. Therefore life there is easier and safer.

This, however, is not yet common. Thus, there is a need for organizing various actions and operations in the most troublesome spots.

Among the latter we have included the the Polish Railways [PKP]. The whole of our disciplinary and repressive actions in the PKP is carried out within the "Safe Tracks" operation. From mid December 1983 to the end of August of the current year, 56 operations were carried out, in which the functionaries of the MO, SOK [Railroad Security Guard], ORMO [Volunteer Reserves of Citizens' Militia], the soldiers of the Polish Army and the MSW [Ministry of Internal Affairs], PKP employees and social activists participated. As a result, 1,127 crimes were uncovered and 1,371 perpetrators were arrested. These actions, carried out on the railway territory, on the one hand improved social discipline and order, and on the other contributed to the uncovering of a larger number of crimes and transgressions.

Speculation is another dangerous social phenomenon. The economic factors of supply and demand are, above all, the indicators of its size. Currently food articles are only to a small degree the subject of speculation. Speculation in deficit industrial goods, mainly furniture, some household articles, radio-television equipment, underwear, knitting industry products, construction materials, farming machinery, and so on, is now a problem.

In the current year, as a result of operation "Market," among others, inspection of stores revealed goods hidden from consumers amounting to 85 million zlotys, and goods to the value of 262 million zlotys were questioned for the disposition of misdemeanor courts; goods in the value of 400 million zlotys were secured from suspects who may be punished with fines. These figures are only an illustration of our problem.

[Question] Our readers are interested in whether the residents of the countryside more frequently than city residents violate law-abidingness and order. What criticism have they earned?

[Answer] In an 8-month period in the current year, crimes in the countryside constituted 24.1 percent of all the crimes committed in the country. In the countryside prevail fires and arson, fights and beatings, and traffic violations. The countryside's share in the illegal production of alcohol is also large. Bodily injuries and rapes occupy a high position in crime in the countryside.

Thus the direct answer should be the following: about 40 percent of Poland's population, for this is the figure for the countryside, committed about 24 percent of all crimes. The crime ratio per 100,000 inhabitants is 2.5 times lower than in the cities...

[Question] We were terrified by the crime in Poniatowa, we were angered by various pepper, leather or marjoram affairs. Which of the matters recently uncovered by the MO in the agricultural-food domain do you consider most important?

[Answer] Those dealing with meat, above all. Several Provincial Bureaus of Internal Affairs currently work on cases of organized seizure of large amounts of meat and meat products. In one of these affairs, where the value of the stolen meat reached about 7.5 million zlotys, 39 people were arrested.

We are also carrying out procedure against serious abuses in milk processing (in one of the milk cooperatives, for example, 6,000 liters of cream were stolen) and in grain procurement.

In the recent period, the disturbing phenomenon of the so-called sanitary and zootechnical slaughters has also been uncovered. The Agricultural Combine in the past 2 years bought 3,138 heads of slaughter animals at the value of 36.5 million zlotys. The meat, fat and smoked meats obtained by the slaughter were, of course, sold outside of the system of rationing.

[Question] Do countryside residents visibly help you in uncovering crimes? Are rural ORMO posts sufficiently numerous and active, and what do you expect from the worker-peasant inspection, the form of which is currently under discussion?

[Answer] The uncovering, prevention and prosecution of crimes in the countryside ought to be easy, one would think, because most of the countryside residents have better knowledge about the events in this milieu in comparison with the largely anonymous city life. In the countryside community, however, function certain mechanisms preventing militia from effectively fighting the negative phenomena occurring in the countryside. I have in mind the numerous family ties and concern about personal safety, which is not without importance. Of course, ORMO members play an important role in fighting negative phenomena. 1,127 ORMO posts are active in the countryside. Many posts work very well, with members constantly on duty, particularly in the evening hours; they patrol, respond to cases of violations of order in public places--in a word, feel joint managers of their areas. They display particularly great activity and self-sacrificing in actions connected with the removal of the effects of natural disasters, large fires, or searches for missing children. Of course, they do not replace militia units in the realization of their function of hunting and combatting crime and violators of the law. The ORMO in the countryside, like the whole of the organization, above all performs preventive-educational functions.

The contribution of other social forces to the maintenance of security and public order, and serving together with MO functionaries, unfortunately remains small. Likewise, very small is the involvement of the social aktiv in militia operations.

We expect that our actions shall be strengthened by the participation of the worker-peasant inspectorate. We have great hopes connected with it, particularly in combatting all symptoms of social evil.

[Question] Many people were afraid that the amnesty would increase robberies and attacks. Do preliminary reports confirm this?

[Answer] Until 15 September 1984, the amnesty decree was applied to 321.829 people, including 203.093 perpetrators of common crimes and 117.167 perpetrators of misdemeanours. We have not observed in connection with this act a deterioration in security. Statistical data point to a lower percent (less than 1 percent) of people who misunderstood the amnesty and committed new crimes.

[Question] You know, Comrade General, that GROMADA-ROLNIK POLSKI is a mine of letters. Among them, although infrequently, there are complaints that militia respond to a call sluggishly. There are also letters with pleas: "Make order, because there is a clique in our gmina, cooperative, or procurement center. There is no justice." Who should undertake proper actions in such cases?

[Answer] Citizens' Militia uncovers and hunts all cases of criminal activity, including organized cliques. The competence for intervention, in the first place, lies with commanders of MO stations and specialized services of the Regional Bureaus of Internal Affairs [RUSW]. As for appropriate response to citizens' calls, it is the duty of the MO stations and--in urgent cases--also of the RUSW. We realize that because of manpower shortages in the MO stations, an immediate response to a happening is sometimes delayed. We are, however, trying to solve this problem. We need time and patience.

[Question] It happens sometimes that a militiamen acts improperly, pretends not to know about a thieves' den or violates the law. How should this be counteracted?

[Answer] The irregularities and violations of law listed in your question happen in the department sporadically. Because of the character of the service, we are concerned with high morals, strict adherence to legal norms and principles of social coexistence. This, anyway, is obvious. Continuous supervision by higher-ups, educational activity of party organizations, functionary councils and the political-educational section, among others, serve the systematic raising of the discipline and the culture of work.

Not without significance, particularly in rural conditions, is the evaluation of the work of our functionaries by residents of the countryside.

Each case of a violation of service discipline and of the law is investigated. Service and disciplinary sanctions, including expulsion from the organs, are imposed on the perpetrators. Minister of Internal Affairs, Gen of Arms Czeslaw Kiszczak, spoke about these matters in the Sejm.

The functionaries of the department perform their tasks in difficult social conditions. This, however, cannot in the least justify any indecision toward the culprits. The department concerns itself with the professional and moral ethics of MO functionaries. We assume that they ought to set an example with their behaviour, because by virtue of their profession they are responsible for respect for the law and public order.

[Question] Some envy your privileges and your social and living conditions which are not bad. Legends circulate about how much an ordinary functionary earns. I do not suppose that there is a shortage of candidates for this service in which, they say, one has fewer cares than in civilian life?

[Answer] Precisely--it is a service. Thus it cannot be free of concerns and burdens unknown in other professions.

I cannot say whether work is easier for a physician, a cooperative employee, a worker, or a militiaman. I know one thing: our service requires sacrifices, it requires that one not concern oneself with regular schedule, and frequently causes a weakening of family ties. This is its price.

What do we get in exchange? The stories about privileges are a myth. There is but one privilege: after 30 years of service (if it coincides with the age of 50) one can retire with a pension. Most frequently--one must retire because of the state of health. Other "privileges" are less attractive: the average pay in the department is not competitive, consequently there is no surplus of candidates. Thus you are right when you say that the department has some personnel difficulties. The social and living conditions base is old and shrinking, and never was satisfactory; the housing shortage, apart from other commonly known difficulties, limits and often also completely prevents necessary personnel moves.

[Question] Despite complaints by some of those whom you, now without reasons, persecuted, society nevertheless is grateful to you for your daily work which is not free of risks; for your efforts to assure us safer living and order in the country. We wish you and ourselves more peaceful times, perseverance and successes in hunting crime and all sorts of violations of order. What else should we wish militia functionaries, particularly those in rural posts?

[Answer] Peaceful regions in which to work, good effects in uncovering and liquidating various manifestations of evil, and recognition by the working people of the countryside of their well performed duties.

ACTIVITIES OF WARSAW TERRITORIAL DEFENSE BRIGADE DISCUSSED

Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 7 Nov 84 p 6

[Article by Andrzej Jurczynski: "Soldiers of the Warsaw Territorial Defense Brigade -- For the People: They Study and They Work"]

[Text] It is 4:30. In the barracks of the Warsaw Territorial Defense Brigade a new day has begun. Thirty-minute morning physical exercises, getting dressed, breakfast... Punctually at 6:00 the soldiers leave for work. At 7:00 they are already at their posts.

"Within the framework of productive training," says the brigade deputy commander for political affairs, Lt Col Ryszard Gorecki, "our soldiers carry out many tasks in various enterprises for the national economy and in this way acquire specialized skills. The value of the work in the past year was more than a billion zlotys and this year, it will be greater still. We are participating in work on railroad tracks from Lodz to Terespol, we are working for "Ursus," for the Pharmaceutical Plants in Tarchomin, in "Stomile" in the Piast, the Transportation Equipment Plant, the Polish Aviation Plant, the Railroad Rolling Stock Repair Shops, and the Automobile Factory. We are active in such important construction as the Ursyny settlement, the sewage plant in Otwock, and the largest sewage plant in the country in Choszczowka. Obviously, the list is much longer and includes more than 60 locations."

Metro, Section B-6

A deep, boarded up excavation along Komisja Edukacji Narodowej Street signifies the beginning of the Warsaw metro line. Section B-6 is being built by "Energopol" of Nowy Dwor. Among the construction workers are soldiers of the Warsaw Territorial Defense Brigade.

Privates Andrzej Golen, Waldemar Rozycki, Roman Banaszek and Jan Wlodarczyk are working at the bottom of the excavation. They are carefully painting a concrete slab with tar, and laying down tar paper. They are carrying out so-called dilatation, colloquially speaking, what is concerned here is insulation that keeps water out of the metro tunnel.

"The effects of our work are obvious," says the deputy commander of the platoon, Cpr Jaroslaw Kurzawski. "My men are already trained workers. The brigade of insulators can lay as much as 20 rolls of tar paper in a day.

That is a lot. But what matters is not only the amount, but the quality of the work."

On section B-6, there is also a brigade made up of soldiers who are carpenters who construct the slabbing or board planking. In the opinion of the director of construction, they deserve a word of recognition for their conscientiousness and involvement. Soldiers of the Warsaw Territorial Defense Brigade also carry out tasks in other sections of the Warsaw metro.

On the Streetcar Tracks

On Swierczewski Street, opposite ZOO, we find the men of Cpr Darius Waska replacing streetcar tracks. Bogdan Wojciechowski, Boguslaw Stepien and Andrzej Beczkowski, privates first class, and Pvt Tadeusz Reszka are breaking up the concrete underlayment with pneumatic hammers. The work is hard, but they do not complain. Their task is laying new tracks on Swierczewski Street from Okopowa to Targowa.

Janusz Tyc, master, and Tadeusz Sawicki, subforeman, highly prize the work of the soldiers. They say that the soldiers are willing to work and all deserve recognition. Zygmunt Hladko, a compressor operator who has worked with soldiers for 7 years, has a very high opinion of them.

In the M. Nowotka Plants

Edward Szostek, plant deputy director for production, says, "The soldiers of the Warsaw Territorial Defense Brigade participate in the whole technological process of casting. Here they have received certification as qualified workers in such specialties as furnace operator and coremaker. We are satisfied with their work and treat the soldiers as full-fledged members of the workforce."

The foundry of the plants is hot, airless and noisy: very difficult working conditions. Masters Antoni Golas and Mieczyslaw Kaminski stress the industry and discipline of the soldiers. This is confirmed by Marian Ryczywolski who works with them in knocking out forms and cores.

Staff Sgt Jaroslaw Stepka, working in the foundry since April of this year, says that he has found here a new and attractive trade as a molder. Before being drafted into the army, he was a tractor driver in the Agricultural Circles Cooperative in Kuczborek near Ciechanowo. He believes that he has the possibility of working in a large industrial plant.

When the soldiers have returned from work and have had dinner, they engage in military training; we meet with the commander of the brigade, Col Zygmunt Kosmala:

"My men come from various provinces, most often from villages and small towns. Many have come to Warsaw for the first time and are not completely at home in the new surroundings. They are used to physical effort and work does

not tire them. Their attitude is marked by real patriotism and thrifty thinking. An example of this may be the capital repair of one of the barracks buildings. An enterprise asked 13.5 million zlotys. We undertook the work on our own, and it is costing us 3 million zlotys. This is also borne out by the cultivation this year of two hectares of fallow land. We give special attention to patriotic, international and civic education."

2950

CSO: 2600/242

POLAND

POZNAN, OLSZTYN DEFENSE COMMITTEES MEET

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 17-18 Nov 84 p 2

/Text/ The assessment of the implementation of the resolutions passed by the Provincial Defense Committee /WKO/ in March of this year with regard to the further strengthening of public safety, law and order, and discipline constituted the topic of the WKO meeting held on the 16th of this month in Poznan.

From the comprehensive analysis conducted at the meeting, it appears that the implementation of the resolutions passed by the WKO has brought positive results this year. The meeting participants emphasized, however, that there still are real threats in the area of criminal, economic and tax offenses in Poznan Province. They threaten both public property as well as the interests of citizens. Much of the meeting was devoted to the inadequacies of internal supervision in places of work. Numerous examples were given which point out that this supervision must be the fundamental and deciding factor in combating, revealing and overcoming inefficiency, wastefulness, crime and poor work discipline.

PZPR Central Committee Politburo member and Central Committee Secretary Kazimierz Barcikowski referred to these matters in his presentation, emphasizing that the decisive battle with criminal and economic offenses cannot be weakened because it leads to the relaxation of public order. This has to be a constant battle. "The broad battlefront against crime which is taking shape in the region of Poznan," remarked Kazimierz Barcikowski, "is a battlefront for discipline in the nation." An issue of great importance currently is the struggle for discipline in the area of production and the implementation of postinspection recommendations in this regard, around which the activity of social and trade organizations as well as plant self-government which function in a given enterprise must converge. Stanislaw Kalkus, PZPR Central Committee Politburo member, was present at the meeting.

* * *

During a meeting of the WKO in Olsztyn on the 16th of this month, an evaluation of the state of public law and order, and safety in the region was carried out. It was determined that criminal offenses had been halted. The WKO gave a positive evaluation to the course of the recruitment send-off ceremonies for those going off to military service.

9853

CSO: 2600/203

WRITERS PRESENT PROGRAM, OBJECTIVES

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 10-11 Nov 84 p 5

[Statement by the Board of the Polish Writers Union]

[Text] The Board of the ZLP [Polish Writers Union] at its plenary session on 8 November 1984 evaluated the state of the union's organization and the situation in the writers' community, and established tasks for the nearest future.

1. An important stage has been completed in the organization of the union, which now numbers 683 writers in 17 regional branches. For the most part, these are members of the former ZLP, and only 10 percent are new members. The authority of the union in the writers' community has grown considerably, which is attested to by the surge of applications for membership. The qualifying commission has so far reviewed about 150 applications and 50 are awaiting a decision. We are asserting that criteria for admission to the union have been raised.

2. We have entered into cooperation with fraternal organizations of writers of socialist countries. In the course of the year, agreements have been signed with the USSR, Bulgaria, Romania, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, the GDR, Yugoslavia, and the Union of Writers and Journalists of Palestine. These agreements anticipate mutual cooperation, consultations, support of translations, participation in literary events, and study trips. There have been about 300 trips abroad by Polish writers, and our union hosted about 150 colleagues from other countries.

3. The board believes that the union's main issue is concern about Polish literature, realized through concrete actions aimed at an improvement of the conditions of writers' creative work and cooperation in this regard with translators, librarians, booksellers, publishers and cultural activists. By carrying out continuous talks with the authorities, we have achieved some results in this domain. Fees for publishing and for literary work in film, television, and radio, and fees for meetings with authors, have been increased; the problems of pensions and retirement have been straightened out, and relief in the equalizing tax has been obtained. The activity of the literature fund, whose creation must be considered a serious achievement, allows

for grants and compassionate allowances to a large number of member and non-member colleagues.

4. The arrangement of many literary events and meetings of colleagues has been proof of a considerable animation of literary life and effective activity of regional branches. There was large attendance by Polish and foreign writers at the Iwaszkiewicz Days and the Warsaw Poetry Autumn. There was a national meeting in Bydgoszcz, there were Krakow Days of Literature, Swietokrzyskie Literary Meetings, and others.

5. In the 12 months of its existence, the union finally defined its character. We are an organization grouping writers of various world outlooks and artistic directions. We are an open organization and we do not wish the union ever to become a forum of political struggle, but we want it to be a plane of understanding in the literary community. Our actions serve all Polish writers independently of their membership in the organization, and serve to create fuller possibilities of development for Polish literature.

The union currently organizes the majority of active writers. We create no barriers for those colleagues who are still undecided, we understand their hesitation resulting from the difficult days of crisis and a complicated situation in the country. We are convinced that all those who do not succumb to political emotions will recognize our good will and desire for conciliation.

6. The situation in publishing evokes our great concern, particularly with regard to the long cycle of book production, the critical state of our printing, and the resulting low technical quality of books produced. We are also concerned by the progressive commercialization of publishing and periodicals which disorganizes the literary reading market and creates a real danger of lowering the artistic and ideological level of current publishing. We believe that an important task for the union is to undertake all possible efforts to change this situation. We believe that a path of quick print for the contemporary book and the shortening of the production cycle are necessary conditions for a normal functioning of literature and for improving the condition of working in the profession. The representatives of our union in the National Council for Culture and in appropriate social organizations, will continue to make efforts to assure that appropriate funds are assigned for the improvement of this state of things.

7. The union ought to participate actively in the shaping of the state's cultural policy. We are for an open policy, allowing for frank statements by writers of different orientations about the difficult issues of present times. We oppose unjustified intervention in the literary works published both in book form and for publication in periodicals, or for television, film or radio adaptation. We are worried by the state of popularization and the place of literature in the mass media. We believe that literary periodicals are far removed from problems of the daily life of our community and do not allow for means of expression for a wide body of writers. The lack of a national

literary weekly has a negative impact on the development of literature and the level of critical studies. We are making efforts aimed at changing this state of things.

8. The board believes that the current promotional actions on behalf of contemporary Polish literature abroad are incoherent and unsatisfactory, and it postulates that energetic efforts in this sphere be undertaken by appropriate institutions.

We believe that new critical studies of the literary output of the past 40 years are needed, as well as writers' profiles and a quick edition of a current and popular glossary of contemporary writers, necessary for popularizing literature in society.

9. We shall develop international cooperation, making efforts to enable the largest possible number of writers to make trips abroad, which are necessary for their creative work. The preparation of a conference for the leaders of writers unions of socialist countries, which will take place in November of next year, is an important task.

10. We support initiatives of literary meetings and meetings of colleagues, and believe that the work of young writers and the creation of conditions for their development is a particularly important task. Finding effective methods in this domain ought to become the subject of deliberations by both the Board of the Union and the boards of its branches.

11. Concern about the improvement of writers' material conditions will remain the focus of the board's attention. We are undertaking talks on the speeding up of the preparations for a new publishing convention and on softening the impact of inflation which acutely affects writers because of the long production cycle of the book, among other things. The ZSL Board also intends to intensify its concern about creative work homes, accelerate the building of the home for merited writers in Mlociny, strengthen its efforts for better health and retirement care, and help in solving writers' housing problems.

12. We believe that a congress of delegates ought to take place once the organizational work and the liquidation of the assets of the former union are finished, and after the conference of leaders of union writers of socialist countries, which is currently under preparation by the present board. Preparations to the congress will begin by the end of 1985. The congress, according to the statute, will be preceded by an election to branch boards and an election of delegates. The congress will strengthen our organization and confirm its democratic and fully self-governing character.

12270

CSO: 2600/213

PZPR POLITICAL SCIENTISTS CONFER ON RESEARCH AGENDA

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 15 Nov 84 p 5

/Text/ The preliminary discussion on the political science program for 1985-2000 constituted the main point of deliberations of the PZPR Central Committee Political Scientists Task Force, which held a meeting in Warsaw headed by Prof Jan Baszkiewicz.

In discussing the most important problems which should be found in the sphere of interests of the political scientists, the necessity of completing studies which had been begun earlier, among other things the political culture of the public, was pointed out.

Plans for the next 15 years should concentrate on the problems of the functioning of the political system of the PRL, the analysis of the class structure of our society, the shaping of social awareness, and Poland's place in the world. There are many questions awaiting answers from the political scientists. These questions concern the changes which have been occurring during recent years in our country, among others the role of the new trade unions in our political system.

The necessity of polemics with bourgeois doctrines was also pointed out. The research interests of the political scientists should also include the improvement of research methodology and that of the teaching methods of political education. A question also appeared in the discussion about the function of political science and the need for the diagnoses prepared by political scientists.

The meeting participants familiarized themselves with the activity of the Polish Political Science Society, which has been in existence since 1960 and includes 544 members.

Information about the situation in schools of higher learning was presented by Prof Bronislaw Ratus, director of the PZPR Central Committee Department of Science and Education.

BRIEFS

MILEWSKI ATTENDS SLUPSK MEETING--The "Problems of Improving and Developing the System of Health Protection in Slupsk Province" were discussed at the joint plenary deliberations of the PZPR Provincial Committee and the provincial echelons of the ZSL and SD in Slupsk. The following took part in the deliberations: Politburo member and PZPR Central Committee Secretary Mirosław Milewski, SD Central Committee Secretary Zdzisław Lasocki, and the deputy minister of health and social welfare, Brig Gen Jerzy Bonczak. /Text/ /Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 6 Nov 84 p 2/ 9853

URBAN ISSUES CLARIFICATION--"At the press conference on 13 November of this year, I said that the perpetrators of Fr Popieluszko's murder were at the Provincial Office in Bydgoszcz, where they put gasoline in their automobile tank during their trip for the purpose of committing the abduction. This /"Provincial Office"/ is how the Ministry of Internal Affairs briefly refers to the Provincial Internal Affairs Offices /WUSW/. At the request of the governor of Bydgoszcz, I would like to clarify in precise terms that reference was made to the WUSW and not to the office which is under the authority of the governor." Signed--Jerzy Urban. /Text/ /Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 15 Nov 84 p 2/ 9853

SIWAK AT PROSECUTORS MEETING--An official party meeting was held at the prosecutor general's office devoted to the problems of complaints and proposals from the public pertaining to the functioning of public authorities, offices, institutions and organizations. In taking part in the discussion, Politburo member and PZPR Central Committee Commission for Public Proposals, Grievances and Attitudes Chairman Albin Siwak pointed out the need for undertaking comprehensive activity for the full respect for the law and for its equal application toward all citizens. The tasks of the PRL prosecutor general's office for the strengthening of socialist law and order, and the principles of social justice were presented. /Text/ /Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 16 Nov 84 p 2/ 9853

WORKER, PEASANT AUDITORS REVIEWED--Under the chairmanship of Politburo member and PZPR Central Committee Secretary Włodzimierz Mokrzyński, a conference of provincial committee secretaries and deputy governors

was held. It was devoted to a discussion on the findings of experimental audits of worker-peasant inspectorates conducted in 13 provinces. /Text/ /Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 16 Nov 84 p 2/ 9853

PZPR FILM CRITICS--The problems of film reviewing were the topic of discussion at the meeting of the party film team affiliated with the PZPR Central Committee Cultural Department which was held in Warsaw on the 16th of this month. The shaping of the awareness and sensitivity of the viewer and inspiring creative discussions were considered to be basic functions of the literary output in this field. It was also felt that the criteria of evaluation should be based, above all, on the artistic and humanistic values of a film. The following took part in the deliberations: Edward Pawlak, Zbigniew Klaczynski, Bohdan Poreba, Jan Rybkowski, Adam Horoszczak, Barbara Mruklik, Jozef Gebski, Wacław Florkowski, Stefan Janik, Zygmunt Machwitz and Czesław Dondzillo. The meeting was presided over by the assistant director of the PZPR Central Committee Cultural Department, Henryk Zietek. /Text/ /Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 17-18 Nov 84 p 2/ 9853

LODZ DEFENSE COMMITTEE--At its latest meeting, the Provincial Defense Committee in Lodz assessed winter preparations in Lodz Province. /Text/ /Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 13 Nov 84 p 5/ 9853

SUWALKI DEFENSE COMMITTEE--On the 13th of this month, a meeting of the Provincial Defense Committee /WKO/ took place in Suwalki. The problems of shaping patriotic-defense attitudes of youth were discussed at the meeting. The WKO paid tribute to teachers for their personal involvement in shaping the patriotic attitudes of school youth. It also adopted a program of further work in this area for 1985. /Text/ /Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 14 Nov 84 p 2/ 9853

KATOWICE DEFENSE COMMITTEE--The state of implementation of proposals and demands presented by the public in Katowice Province during the election campaign to people's councils constituted the main topic of the WKO meeting which was held in Katowice on the 14th of this month. It was stressed that many concrete proposals had been implemented. The WKO also familiarized itself with the assessment of the progress of the implementation of the reform. /Text/ /Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 15 Nov 84 p 5/ 9853

ACT OF HOOLIGANISM--The Pomeranian District Directorate of State Railroads /DOKP/ in Szczecin has reported an unusual criminal act: an attempt to derail a train on a busy route. Concrete railroad ties were placed on the tracks of an overpass in the area of Wzgorze Hetmańskie on the route from Szczecin-Turzyn to Szczecin Główny by as yet unknown perpetrators. It is only owing to the quick reaction of Andrzej Mamdzel, the train engineer who was conducting the locomotive without any cars attached, that an accident did not occur and that this did not lead to the blocking of the route. It is worth adding that there are periods when a dozen or so trains cross this route in an hour's time. An investigation is being conducted in order to determine the identity of the perpetrators. /Text/ /Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 15 Nov 84 p 5/ 9853

YUGOSLAVIA

SWEDISH FOREIGN MINISTER ARRIVES FOR 2-DAY VISIT

Met by Dizdarevic

LD040033 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1904 GMT 3 Dec 84

[Text] Belgrade, 3 Dec (TANJUG)--Lennart Bodstrom, minister of foreign affairs of the Kingdom of Sweden, arrived in Belgrade tonight. At the invitation of Raif Dizdarevic, federal secretary of Foreign Affairs, he will be paying an official visit to our country until 5 December.

At Surcin airport Lennart Bodstrom was welcomed by his host Raif Dizdarevic. Lennart Myrsten, Swedish ambassador to Yugoslavia, was there to welcome him too.

Talks With Dizdarevic

LD041654 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1203 GMT 4 Dec 84

[Text] Belgrade, 4 Dec (TANJUG)--Talks between Federal Secretary of Foreign Affairs Raif Dizdarevic and Swedish Foreign Minister Lennart Bodstrom and their associates began in Belgrade today. The Swedish Foreign Minister is paying a 2-day official visit to our country.

At the beginning of the talks both sides set out positive assessments about their bilateral relations and stressed interest in the further development and enhancement of mutual cooperation in all areas of joint interest.

In a friendly and cordial atmosphere views were exchanged on the most important current questions of international relations. The problems of relations between East and West, the questions of disarmament and of the Stockholm Conference on measures to enhance confidence and security and for disarmament in Europe were discussed in particular. The activity of the Non-aligned countries movement and international economic problems--especially those affecting the developing countries--as well as the activity of the two countries in international relations were also prominent in the talks.

Great proximity or identity of stands toward the present "situation" in the world and on the prospects of renewing the dialogue and the talks on armament, disarmament and cooperation in the world was noted. Both sides expressed their expectations concerning a possible new significant contribution by the Stockholm Conference to this kind of development. In this context views were exchanged on the role and further cooperation between the neutral and nonaligned countries at the Stockholm Conference.

Federal Secretary Raif Dizdarevic informed his guests about the latest activities of the movement of Non-aligned countries and also about those due to take place on the topic of arresting the deteriorating development of the world situation and faster solution of many key problems, especially economic international problems.

The talks will resume tonight. They are expected to be devoted mainly to bilateral questions.

Dizdarevic-Bodstrom Talks Continue

LD050034 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2100 GMT 4 Dec 84

[Text] Belgrade, 4 Dec (TANJUG)--In the continuation of the talks between Yugoslav Foreign Secretary Raif Dizdarevic and Swedish Foreign Minister Lennart Bodstrom, who is on a 2-day official visit to Yugoslavia, views were exchanged on bilateral cooperation today, Tuesday.

Special attention in the talks was devoted to certain foci of crises and the possibilities for finding a political solution to them. Certain aspects of disarmament, especially in Europe, were also discussed.

In a friendly and cordial atmosphere, Dizdarevic and Bodstrom extensively analyzed bilateral cooperation. Satisfaction was stated with positive development of over-all Yugoslav-Swedish relations and mutual readiness set out for its further strengthening and diversification.

Assessing as positive the development of bilateral relations and cooperation and the mutual interest in their furthering, certain open questions burdening the promotion of relations, such as subversive activities of hostile emigre groups were discussed. Readiness was stated that by strengthening mutual cooperation these impediments be eliminated and surmounted.

Raif Dizdarevic accepted the invitation by Lennart Bodstrom officially to visit Sweden.

Meeting With Planinc

LD041651 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1604 GMT 4 Dec 84

[Text] Belgrade, 4 Dec (TANJUG)--Yugoslav Premier Milka Planinc at noon today, Tuesday, received the minister of foreign affairs of the Kingdom of Sweden, Lennart Bodstrom, who is on an official friendly visit to Yugoslavia.

In a cordial talk, in which Yugoslav Secretary for Foreign Affairs Raif Dizdarevic also participated, it was pointed out that friendly relations and universal cooperation between the two countries were developing successfully. The two sides voiced readiness to extend fresh contributions to the further development of cooperation. In this context, the great contribution by many Yugoslavs working in Sweden to the strengthening of close bonds between the two countries was pointed out.

In considering especially economic relations between Yugoslavia and Sweden, they pointed out the favorable results achieved over the last 2 years and emphasized the need for fresh efforts by Yugoslav and Swedish enterprises toward enlarging and consolidating cooperation in the domain of industrial coproduction and joint investments. This would practically open wide possibilities of promoting overall exchange.

Milka Planinc informed the visitor from Sweden with Yugoslavia's stands as regard the refinancing of its obligations toward foreign creditors and expressed expectation that Sweden, as before, will extend full support to Yugoslavia in the regulations of these obligations on a longer-term basis. In this way, more favorable conditions would be generated for the Yugoslav programme of economic stabilization. Such support by Sweden at the same time would also represent a significant contribution to the consolidation of future economic cooperation between the two countries.

Minister Bodstrom delivered regards from Swedish Prime Minister Olof Palme to Prime Minister Milka Planinc and renewed the invitation for her visit to Sweden in the near future.

Djuranovic Receives Bodstrom

LD041655 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1612 GMT 4 Dec 84

[Text] Belgrade, 4 Dec (TANJUG)--Presidency of Yugoslavia President Veselin Djuranovic at the Palace of the Federation today, Tuesday, received the minister of foreign affairs of the Kingdom of Sweden, Lennart Bodstrom. In a cordial talk of some length, they exchanged views on Yugoslav-Swedish relations and on current international questions.

Cooperation between Yugoslavia and Sweden on the bilateral plane and within the United Nations and other international forums was assessed favorably.

It was pointed out that cooperation between Yugoslavia and Sweden was particularly favorable within the group of neutral and nonaligned countries at the Stockholm Conference on Disarmament in Europe. The wish of the two sides was emphasized to act on a successful outcome of the meeting in Stockholm by means of concerted efforts.

Djuranovic and Bodstrom pointed out the need to exert influence on the overcoming of world tensions and called for the creation of conditions for a broad international cooperation. They pointed out the general and economic

interdependence in the world, and the mutual concern of the developing as well as industrialized countries for the outstanding international economic problems to be solved, and for more favorable conditions to be created to overcome the difficult position of the developing countries.

Djuranovic and Bodstrom pointed out the significance of the activity of the movement of nonaligned countries as regards the elimination of adverse developments from international relations.

Dizdarevic Hosts Dinner

LD050053 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2135 GMT 4 Dec 84

[Text] Belgrade, 4 Dec (TANJUG)--Raif Dizdarevic, federal secretary for foreign affairs, this evening gave a formal dinner in the Palace of the Federation in honor of Lennart Bodstrom, minister of foreign affairs of the Kingdom of Sweden, who is on an official visit to our country.

Addressing the guest, Raif Dizdarevic said that today's talks between the two delegations had shown how much proximity there was between nonaligned and active Yugoslavia and Sweden, which though neutral is involved in all matters of peace and cooperation.

Speaking about the similar views of Yugoslavia and Sweden on many issues in international relations, Dizdarevic recalled that they were also reflected in the cooperation at the Stockholm conference, their joint membership of the group of neutral and nonaligned countries which for years had been making a contribution to international cooperation and the joint efforts to preserve the spirit of Helsinki at the conference.

The federal secretary also stressed that during the talks they had not avoided questions which might be a hindrance to good cooperation between the two countries. They had been talked about openly with the aim of eliminating all obstacles which might threaten the friendly relations between the two countries. In conclusion, Raif Dizdarevic expressed the conviction that this visit was an important contribution to preserving and further advancing the friendly relations between Yugoslavia and Sweden.

Replying to the toast, Lennart Bodstrom stressed the usefulness of the talks, which contributed to better mutual knowledge and understanding of the situation in the two countries. The Swedish minister talked in particular about Yugoslavia's development and, as he put it, its prominent position in international policies and especially in the Nonaligned Movement.

Talking about relations between Yugoslavia and Sweden, Lennart Bodstrom pointed to their nature which was indicated by the fact that 50,000 Yugoslavs were temporarily working in Sweden and the same number of Swedes visited Yugoslavia. He also recalled the non-bloc position of the two countries.

In conclusion, the head of Swedish diplomacy also expressed the conviction that this visit would mean a further contribution to the development of friendly relations between Yugoslavia and Sweden.

SLOVENE BOOK ON ALBANIANS CRITICIZED

AU141856 [Editorial Report] Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian on 7 December 1984 on page 11 and on 9 December 1984 on page 11 carries reports on the book "The Albanians," just published by Cankarjeva Zalozba of Ljubljana.

In a 1,100-word report on 7 December, R. Popovic reports on a Ljubljana DELO article by historian Ignacij Voje entitled "Dangerous Views of Historical Development" (which appeared on Ljubljana DELO in Slovene on 6 December on page 9 on the "Literary Pages"). Assessing the book, which has 14 chapters written by 13 authors, Voje points out "the unacceptable historiographical method" of some of the contributors, singling out Jahja Drankoli and Skender Rizaj for particular criticism. In treating the Albanians in the Middle Ages and under the Turkish empire, Voje says, Drankoli and Rizaj use their sources in a biased way to show that Kosovo was inhabited predominantly by Albanians. They ignore Turkish censuses showing a majority Serbian population. Voje accuses Rizaj of having written a text "intertwined with much nonsense based on personally invented theses" and says that "it is wholly unacceptable for publication."

In a 1,400-word article on 9 December, Sava Dautovic reviews the books, saying: "A nice idea--to give the Slovene public an exhaustive and objective historical presentation of the past and present of the Albanians in Yugoslavia--has been grossly frustrated." Dautovic quotes from the publisher's introduction to the book which says that "the interest of the public in the causes of what happened in Kosovo continues to be very high" and that there is "too little" information.

Dautovic questions the selection of writers who contributed to the book, observing that "different or disputed interpretations of some events and personalities of Albanian history" could be presented through the works of historians like Hasan Kalesi, Halit Trnavci, and Bogumil Hrabak, for "even within Kosovo historiography, as we can see, there exist Albanologists and 'Albanologists'!"

Dautovic concludes: "Judging by all this, 'The Albanians' is a poorly prepared book both as regards the content and the general idea, and in this book historical facts about the Albanians and their relations with the Slav people, especially the Serbs, are again unnecessarily befogged and politicized." He thinks that the book "in many ways resembles the articles in the first volume of the second edition of the Yugoslav Encyclopedia, which in their time were subjected to sharp scientific and social criticism and were rejected."

CROATIAN LC DISCUSSION ON COLLECTIVE WORK

LD112258 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1428 GMT 11 Dec 84

[Text] Zagreb, 11 Dec (TANJUG)--The carrying out of Tito's initiative on collective work, decisionmaking and responsibility has significantly deepened democratic relations, a development which is visible in all the spheres of society. It has given rise to a broader involvement of the basic organizations of the LC and other socio-political organizations and, in particular, leaderships. It has also given rise to a higher level of activity in the delegate system.

These assessments of the application of the principle of collective work to date were voiced by Vlado Mihaljevic, chairman of the Croat LC Central Committee Commission for Communists' Activity in the building of the political system of socialist self-management, at a session at which the commission today discussed the experience gained in the realization of this principle and the assessments of topical ideo-political issues in this connection. This theme was discussed at a joint session which was also attended by members of the Croat LC Central Commission for cadre building of the LC.

This discussion in the Croat LC Central Committee marked the opening of a public discussion on this theme, which will serve as preparation for one of the sessions of the republican Central Committee.

Speaking about the positive experience so far gained in applying the principle of collective work, decisionmaking and responsibility, Mihaljevic underlined that an ever-increasing number of capable cadres were emerging on the public scene, which indicated that the cadre basis had grown wider and that the number of the so-called "irreplaceable people" had diminished. Political offices had been deprofessionalized to a considerable extent and there were fewer leadership tendencies and less careerism and, likewise, there were no "affairs" connected with individuals who had been occupying an office for a long period of time.

Mihaljevic went on to speak about a number of negative phenomena, among which he mentioned the short terms of office of leading people, which hindered the introduction of team work. Also, there was horizontal rotation in certain environments and the influence exerted by the expert apparatus had noticeably increased wherever the election of collective organs had not been approached with sufficient attention.

The tendency of some people to accumulate offices--such as the top office in an organization of associated labor, a corresponding office in an administrative organ and an office in the leadership of the LC--was also in evidence.

Mihaljevic stressed that the principle of the term of office of 1 year had been applied even where there was no need for it and that insufficient attention had been paid in the meantime to the responsibility of individuals in collective bodies.

At the end of his introductory speech Mihaljevic suggested a number of changes. The first suggestion was that the principle of the term of office of year to year should not be applied to social organizations. He further suggested that the terms of office in the municipal assemblies and the republican assembly and the assembly committees should be for 2 years with the possibility of a further 2-year extension. He suggested an alternative solution for the republican leadership and the leaderships of the socio-political organizations at the republican level, where the terms of office would be for 1 year or 2 years with the possibility of further extending them by the same periods of time. In Mihaljevic's view these proposals would most likely make it possible to eliminate the shortcomings which existed in the application of the principle of collective work, decisionmaking and responsibility. In this connection Mihaljevic advocated the adoption of the same criteria throughout the country.

Vlado Mihaljevic spoke at the end about the terms of office of the leading people in the organizations of associated labor, expressing the view that some limitations should be introduced in them as well.

This is only the beginning of the debate on this theme and the discussion consequently yielded different views and assessments. However, all the speakers in the discussion were unanimous in expressing the conviction that the principle of collective work, decisionmaking and responsibility should continue to be developed and that the debate on the duration of terms of office was a necessary part of this process but not the reason for it. They also expressed the view that the forthcoming election activities made it necessary to resolve the existing dilemmas. Speakers suggested that the Croat Assembly's commission for the constitution and other socio-political organizations should make proposals on this theme.

CSO: 2800/122

YUGOSLAVIA

BRIEFS

ROZIC MEETS PLO OFFICIALS--Belgrade, 11 Dec (TANJUG)--In a talk here today between members of the PLO Executive Committee Jamal Surani and Muhammad 'Abbas and president of the Yugoslav Socialist Alliance Federal Conference Marjan Rozic, Yugoslavia reiterated full support to the just struggle of the Palestinian people, under the leadership of the Palestine Liberation Organization, for the creation of its own autonomous state. During the talk, the PLO officials informed Rozic about the decisions of the recent, 17th session of the Palestinian National Council in Amman, decisions which have been fully upheld by the Palestinian people, non-aligned and other countries. The PLO representatives also stressed their gratitude to Yugoslavia and the socialist alliance for their consistent support and aid to the Palestinian people. Further promotion of relations between the PLO and the Yugoslav Socialist Alliance was also discussed during the talk. [Text] [Belgrade TANJUG in English 1647 GMT 11 Dec 84 LD]

SOFIA TU DELEGATION IN KOSOVO--In the [word indistinct] visit to Kosovo by a trade union delegation from Osetian region of Russia, which is led by (Ramazan Lukayev), secretary of the Trade Union Council of the Northern Nohetian ASSR, the delegation visited the cities of Rahovec and Djakovica today, where they toured several factories and were acquainted with working plans. The delegation also visited cultural sites in Djakovica. [Summary] [Pristina Domestic Service in Albanian 1800 GMT 7 Dec 84 AU]

LCY DELEGATION VISITS POLAND--Belgrade, 14 Dec (TANJUG)--An LCY study delegation, led by Ivan Brigic, member of the Bosnia-Hercegovina LC Central Committee, left Belgrade for Warsaw today. The visit to the Polish People's Republic is taking place within the framework of the cooperation programme between the LCY and the PZRP. The delegation will familiarize itself with the activity and tasks of the PZRP in developing the Polish sociopolitical system. At Belgrade airport the delegation was seen off by Rajko Djuricanin, head of the Department for Political System and Sociopolitical organizations of the LCY Central Committee Presidium. [Text] [Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1657 GMT 14 Dec 84 LD]

OUTGOING GUINEAN AMBASSADOR--Yesterday Veselin Djuranovic, president of the SFRY presidency, received Alfa Bacar Barry, ambassador plenipotentiary of Guinea to the SFRY, prior to his departure from our country, and had a friendly talk with him. [Text] [Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 8-9 Dec 84 p 7 AU]

DPRK DELEGATION DEPARTS--Belgrade, 11 Dec (TANJUG)--A study delegation of the Korean Workers' Party, led by Pae Ui-hwan, deputy head of the Economic Department of the Korean Workers' Party Central Committee, left Belgrade today. The delegation was seen off by Djordje Koncar, advisor in the LCY Central Committee Presidium. During its stay in our country the delegation visited the Macedonian Socialist Republic and the Socialist Autonomous Province of Vojvodina. [Text] [Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1402 GMT 11 Dec 84 LD]

ARBITRATION COOPERATION WITH BULGARIA--Sofia, 12 Dec (TANJUG)--The talks of the representatives of arbitration commissions of the Chambers of Economy of Yugoslavia and Bulgaria on the adoption of an agreement on future cooperation in the sphere of arbitration have ended in Sofia. These were the first talks by representatives from Yugoslavia and Bulgaria in the arbitration sphere. The basic principles of cooperation have been agreed upon, and the text of the agreement which is to be signed in Belgrade next year was drafted. The Yugoslav delegation was led by Radomir Djurovic, chairman for arbitration of the Chamber of Economy of Yugoslavia, and the Bulgarian delegation was led by Zhivko Stolev, chairman for arbitration at the Bulgarian Chamber of Commerce and Industry. During their stay in Bulgaria, members of the Yugoslav delegation gave several presentations to Bulgarian businessmen on the Yugoslav experience in the arbitration practice. [Text] [Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1857 GMT 12 Dec 84 LD]

LCY PRESIDIU SESSION--[Editorial Report] Belgrade Television Service in Serbo-Croatian at 1830 GMT on 30 October carries a 40-second report on the session of the LCY Central Committee Presidium on that day chaired by Ali Sukrija, discussing preparations for the 13th LCY Congress. Among those attending the session, the following can be identified: Ali Sukrija, Dusan Dragosavac, Jure Bilic, Hamdija Pozderac, Dimce Belovski, and Milan Pancevski.

ZAGREB MEETING WITH PENSIONED OFFICERS--Zagreb, 6 Dec (TANJUG)--The Presidium of the Republican Conference of the Federation of Reserve Officers of Croatia, the Central Committee of the LC of Croatia, the Command of the Zagreb Army District, and the Republican Staff of the Territorial Defense organized a meeting and talk with retired and reserve generals and admirals from the territory of the SR of Croatia in the Zagreb Army Hall today. [Text] [Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 7 Dec 84 p 5 AU]

LCY CC PRESIDIU SESSION--Belgrade Television Service in Serbo-Croatian at 1830 GMT on 23 October 1984 carries a 50-second video report on the session of the LCY Central Committee Presidium on that day discussing tasks of members of the LC in efforts to further promote the social position and role of women today. The film clip permits the recognition of the following among these attending the session: Ali Sukrija, Miljan Radovic, Vidoje Zarkovic, SFRY Presidency President Veselin Djuranovic, Bosko Krunic, Petar Matic, Dobrivoje Vidic, Dragoslav Markovic, Andrej Marinc, Mitja Ribicic, and Milan Kucan. [Editorial Report]

SFRY PRESIDENCY SESSION--Belgrade Television Service in Serbo-Croatian at 1838 GMT on 24 October 1984 carries a 30-second video report on the SFRY Presidency session held on that day chaired by Veselin Djuranovic and discussing several issues including the topical problem of employment. The film clip shows the following at the session sitting at the usual circular table in the following order, clockwise: an unrecognizable man, Milka Planinc, president of the Federal Executive Council, and two unknown men, one empty seat, Josip Vrhovec, an empty seat, Branko Mikulic, Radovan Vlackovic, Veselin Djuranovic, Presidency Secretary Muhamed Berberovic, an empty seat, Lazar Mojsov, Nikola Ljubicic, Sinan Hasani, three empty seats, Foreign Secretary Raif Dizdarevic, and Defense Secretary Admiral Branko Mamula. [Editorial Report]

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