

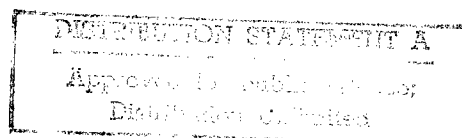
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19 March 1985

East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS



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19 March 1985

EAST EUROPE REPORT
POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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BULGARIA

ARMY ACCOUNTABILITY-ELECTION CONFERENCES REVEAL WEAKNESSES

Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 12 Dec 84 p 2

[Editorial: "Major Political Event for Army Communists"]

[Text] The accountability-election meetings are a major political event in the life of party members and party organizations in the armed forces. In accordance with the principle of democratic centralism, a frank and critical comradely discussion among BCP members has been undertaken, dealing with the major and minor problems of army developments and the work and struggle for the implementation of the historical resolutions of the 12th Party Congress.

The leadership of the Main Political Administration of the People's Army discussed the preparations for and holding of accountability-election conferences in primary party organizations, which have already been held. The basic conclusion is that political organs and party committees are engaged in purposeful work for keeping accountability and election meetings of primary party organizations in the army on a high organizational and political level. The tasks of the various service and party units have been properly clarified in their essential lines. The necessary prerequisites have been provided for preparations for and efficient holding of accountability-election meetings and the active participation of the party members in their work. A profound study is being made at the meetings of the main problems on which the attention of the party bureaus and party members was concentrated during the past period. Urgently and with concern priority is being given to weaknesses and unresolved problems related to enhancing combat readiness and combat and political training to a new level. The aspiration is manifested objectively to assess the contribution of the party organizations to the implementation of the course of comprehensive intensification in the respective army collectives and the comprehensive solution of problems of efficiency and quality in military activities. The implementation of assignments related to enriching the internal life of the primary party organizations and improving their organizational and ideological activities is being discussed more profoundly.

Along with the positive features, it was noted that weaknesses are being allowed to occur as well. The main shortcoming is that some party bureaus were unable to abandon the familiar analysis system. Their reports do not always provide a clear and precise answer to the level reached in reorganization and the quality changes which have taken place in the overall activities of party members and party organizations. They do not indicate whether or not

a change, a radical turn in the qualitative solution of problems, has been achieved. The manner in which party work influences the turn into action and assignment of every party member and commander and all army collectives the use of the achievements of scientific and technical progress is not analyzed skillfully and critically everywhere. The study of the condition of quality everywhere and in everything and demanding political liability of the party members who lower results in troop training are not entirely imbued with the spirit of the 15 July 1984 RABOTNICHESKO DELO editorial.

Some gaps exist in the problems and tasks relative to the social development of the army (labor) collectives. A deeper self-analysis of the internal condition and development of party organizations and the assertion of the positive aspects of their life and work after the 12th BCP Congress and the National Party Conference (1984) are not always achieved in assessing the internal life of the primary organizations and their organizational and ideological activities.

The reasons for such weaknesses rest above all in the political organs and party committees and their insufficiently efficient and creative leadership in making the accountability-election meetings a model of revolutionary discipline and action by the party members. Some of them insufficiently direct and help the party bureaus and organizations in bringing up the main and basic features in assessing the situation and creating conditions and a mood for decisive changes in the work and its results, in the spirit of the new tasks, requirements and criteria. The preparations made by some party bureaus and their secretaries are unsatisfactory. They are not always able to refract the problems developed in the post-congress works of Comrade Todor Zhivkov in accordance with the conditions of the individual party organization or military collective. For this reason, the new vision and new understanding in their approach to preparing for and holding the meetings are not displayed everywhere.

The leadership of the Main Political Administration of the People's Army draws the attention of political organs and party leaderships to the need to take additional measures to clarify the nature of the requirements governing a new revolutionary way of thinking and acting and their application in the study of party work. Such activities must be based on the further mastery of theoretical developments and practical approaches developed by Comrade Todor Zhivkov after the 12th Party Congress and, particularly, at the November 1984 BCP Central Committee Plenum. The implementation of the main tasks, the solution of which will determine to the greatest extent the successful implementation of the party's course of comprehensive intensification and further enhancement of combat readiness in the armed forces, must be discussed with even greater attention. Care for the development of problems related to improving the style of leading bodies and the fuller application of scientific and technical progress in troop management and training must be intensified even further in preparations for and holding of primary organization meetings in staffs and managements. A critical study must be made of whether or not the necessary conditions are being provided and the manner in which the tasks of enhancing the military professional and technical standards of military cadre training and the application of leading domestic and foreign military experience are being implemented in practice.

The meetings must provide an even more profound study of the party work done in implementing the plans for combat and political training and development of the socialist competition. They must indicate how to identify reserves for upgrading training efficiency and evaluate the individual contributions of party members in this area.

Greater creativity must be displayed in problems of social development of army collectives. A self-critical and comprehensive assessment of achievements must be made. An answer must be given to the question of how the basic principles and trends in the party's social policy are being mastered and applied.

A new and much deeper self-analysis of the internal conditions and development of the primary organizations is needed. The question of what kind of work is being done for the practical application of the stipulations of converting the primary party organization into the representative not only of the party in the collective but of the collective in the party, into a prototype of its future condition and a permanent support of party members in their aspiration to develop and advance, must be provided. The current condition of party collectives must be compared more clearly with evaluations and conclusions to be drawn after completing the survey on enhancing the role and combat capability of primary party organizations. The changes which have taken place and the problems to be resolved must be assessed. The question of mastering the new approaches in the comprehensive activities of the party organizations and of the results of the restructuring of their work style and opening a wide access to new developments must be raised sharply. The reports and debates must reveal maximal aspiration toward personal evaluations in the spirit of the contemporary strict requirements facing the party members. The extent to which every party member is not only ready but prepared to bear honorably the high title of communist must be determined clearly and accurately.

The main feature in assessing ideological education should be its influence on the ideological orientation of the party members for active and creative participation in the struggle for upgrading the quality of comprehensive military activities. Its contribution must be stressed in identifying the tasks based on the contemporary explosive international situation and in decisively upgrading the political and class vigilance of the personnel.

It is particularly important to provide a more specific and profound assessment of the activities of party leaderships in the comprehensive and efficient display of youth capabilities above all in the course of their army training and strengthening the discipline. The implementation of the stipulation according to which the trade union organizations must become the public guarantors for the implementation of the economic and social policy of the party in the armed forces must be assessed better.

The main task of the political organs and party committees is to enhance their role, responsibility and competence in managing the meetings. A differentiated attitude and a specific approach must be adopted for each separate party organization. The situation within it must be properly known and efficient means of changing it in a positive direction must be applied.

The political organs must promptly inform the party leaderships of the results of the accountability and election meetings held so far and take urgent measures to eliminate weaknesses and shortcomings. The entire work must be aimed at high-quality preparations for forthcoming meetings so that they may become a partywide school for political training.

The accountability and election meetings, which are a major political event for the army party members, must contribute to the greatest extent to the assertion of the primary party organizations as generators and bearers of new developments and a leading force in the struggle for improving the quality of military work and enhancing the standard of army combat readiness.

12970

CSO: 2200/98

BULGARIA

BULGARIAN DAILY ON SFRY FOREIGN DEBT, AGRICULTURAL DIFFICULTIES

AU281221 [Editorial Report] Sofia OTECHESTVEN FRONT in Bulgarian on 27 February carries two articles dealing with aspects of the SFRY's economic life.

The first is a 600-word article on page 5, attributed to "our correspondent in Belgrade" and entitled "Creditors Pose Difficult Conditions." It deals with the "new round of negotiations between the SFRY and the International Monetary Fund on the financial 'help' given by the West to the SFRY and the country's debt to foreign countries." The author points out that the issue "has focused the attention of the Yugoslav television and press, which reviewed the work of various public-political forums, which have dealt with this issue." a meeting of the Serbian Academy of the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts devoted to the "crisis of the Yugoslav economic system" is described. At the meeting the participants have stressed that "nobody has forced the country to accept high interest loans," and that "it has itself decided to adopt this course." Academician Kosta Mihajlovic is reported as saying at the meeting that by doing so "the country has itself placed its neck under the knife," and that "everybody must understand that 'the capitalist system is not a generous aunt' which will open its purse out of sheer generosity." The purpose of the negotiations is defined as "alleviating the burden on the Yugoslav economy, postponing the payments, and receiving additional financial help." The Yugoslav press and radio are quoted as saying that "the International Monetary Fund and the West must show understanding." The press also points out, according to the author, that "the salaries paid in Yugoslavia are higher than the country's real revenue." "Such a formulation of the situation," the author says, "will inevitably prompt a further decrease in the population's standard of living." The author also points out that "since along with other negative phenomena in the SFRY's economy the economic crisis is strengthening, the International Monetary Fund is demanding direct control over many economic areas," and he concludes with the hypothetical question: "Who knows what the price of the new loan will be?"

Another article in the same newspaper, signed by Stanislav Stanchev, "BTA correspondent in Belgrade," and entitled "Searching for a Solution of the Difficulties" (page 7, 400 words), deals with "Vojvodina's difficulties in securing the annual quota of grain. The author says that "2 years ago a long-range program on developing agriculture was adopted on Vojvodina, but so far, according to BORBA 'not even the first step has been made.'" Other Yugoslav newspapers are quoted to the same effect. Turning to difficulties

in other areas, Stanchev concludes: high inflation and other problems of the Yugoslav economy have created great problems also for the processing industry. Many plants ended the year with big losses. The price of milk and bread was increased recently. The new prices are considered more realistic, and the hope has been expressed that they will solve the problems of the processing industry to a certain degree."

CSO: 2200/122

BULGARIA

ZHIVKOV GREETES RADOYNOV ANNIVERSARY MEETING

AU281054 [Editorial Report] Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian on 27 February, on pages 1 and 8 carries a 600-word report on a meeting in Kazanluk marking the 90th anniversary of the birth of General Tsvyatko Radoynov, "professional revolutionary and fierce patriot and internationalist." Stoyan Karadzhov, chairman of the BCP Central Control-Auditing Commission read a "greetings leader from Comrade Todor Zhivkov to the participants in the meeting."

In his 400-word letter Zhivkov reviews Tsvyatko Radoynov's life and points out that "Tsvyatko Radoynov found in the USSR his second motherland, which sheltered him and offered him the opportunity of developing into a talented military specialists and authoritative commander." Further on Zhivkov describes Radoynov's involvement in the partisan movement in Bulgaria and says: "He greeted the fascist bullets in the dark cellars of the Sofia garrison firing range with a boundless love for our working people and the USSR."

No further processing planned.

CSO: 2200/122

BULGARIA

FORMER BULGARIAN AMBASSADOR PRAISES COLUMNIST CEBRIAN

Sofia BULGARSKI ZHURNALIST in Bulgarian No 12, 1984 on pages 31-37 carries an article by Krum Bosev, former Bulgarian ambassador to Spain, entitled "Cebrian: From the Diary and Recollections of an Ambassador," in which the political stance of Spanish journalist Juan Luis Cebrian and that of his periodical EL PAIS, as they were observed by the author in the late 1970's, are lauded. For text see JPRS-WER-85-024, WEST EUROPE REPORT, 28 Feb 85 pp 67-81.

CSO: 2200/82

BULGARIA

BRIEFS

NEW AMBASSADORS ARRIVE--John Henry Allan Howell, newly appointed ambassador of Australia, [spelling of following three names as transliterated] Pierno Mayudu Dialo, newly appointed ambassador to the Republic of Guinea, as well as Sulayman Lsidibe, newly appointed ambassador to Mali, and Filip Binye Koroye, newly appointed ambassador of the Federal Republic of Nigeria have arrived in our country. [Text] [Sofia ROBOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 19 Feb 85 p 6 AU]

YORDANOV, USSR ARTISTS CHAIRMAN--Sofia, 21 Feb (BTA)--Today, Mr Georgi Yordanov, candidate member of the Politburo of the CC of the BCP, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers and chairman of the Committee for Culture, received Mr Nikolay Ponomarev, chairman of the Union of Artists of the USSR. Mr Svetlin Rusev, chairman of the Union of Bulgarian Artists, was also present at the meeting which passed in a friendly and cordial atmosphere. [Text] [Sofia BTA in English 1619 GMT 21 Feb 85 AU]

STANKO TODOROV ACTIVITIES--Pernik, 18 Feb (RABOTNICHESKO DELO correspondent report)--Stanko Todorov, chairman of the National Assembly and Politburo member of the BCP Central Committee, attended a joint session of the Pernik Municipal People's Council and of the Trade Union Municipal Council in Pernik town. Khristo Bonin, first secretary of the Pernik Okrug BCP Committee and People's Councillors, attended the meeting. Boris Chilev, chairman of the local People's Council Executive Committee, read a report on the 1984 activities of the local people's council and on the high and stable rates in the socioeconomic development of the local conurbation system. Above plan production worth 4,712 million leva was produced, over 138 million leva worth of basic funds were commissioned, and 115 new products have been introduced. Stanko Todorov made a statement in which he pointed out the considerable contribution of the Pernik working people to national economy and discussed the basic tasks which the people's councils are now facing in connection with the party instructions on creative approach, on revolutionary thought and action. [Text] [Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 19 Feb 85 p 6 AU]

KUBADINSKI AT YOUTH MEETING--On 14 February in Sofia a meeting of the Republican Staff of the "Memory" International Youth Rally, devoted to the 40th anniversary of the historic victory of the Soviet people over Hitlerite fascism, took place. The meeting was attended by the chairman of the Republican Staff, Pencho Kubadinski, member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo

and chairman of the National Council of the Fatherland Front. [Excerpt]
[Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 15 Feb 85 p 8 AU]

ALEKSANDROV ATTENDS SOFIA MEETING--On 15 February an accountability session of the Sofia City People's Council took place. It was chaired by Ggeorgi Georgiev, first secretary of the BCP Sofia City Committee. The meeting, which adopted the complex territorial plan, and the city budget for the current year, was attended by Chudomir Aleksandrov, member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and first deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers. [Summary] [Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 16 Feb 85 p 2 AU]

LUKANOV RECEIVES ROMANIAN MINISTER--On 14 February Andrey Lukanov, candidate member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, received Petre Gigea, minister of finance of the Socialist Republic of Romania. Matters of mutual interest in the area of economic cooperation were discussed. The meeting was attended by Belcho Belchev, minister of finance. [Text] [Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 15 Feb 85 p 8 AU]

CAMBODIA LEADERS CABLE ZHIVKOV, FILIPOV--Todor Zhivkov, general secretary of the BCP Central Committee and chairman of the State Council, and Grisha Filipov, chairman of the Council of Ministers, received a telegram from Heng Samrin, general secretary of the Kampuchean People's Revolutionary Party and chairman of the Council of State of the People's Republic of Kampuchea. On behalf of the Central Committee of the Kampuchean People's Revolutionary Party, on behalf of the Council of State of the People's Republic of Kampuchea, and on behalf of the entire Cambodian people, the telegram expressed deep gratitude for the condolences conveyed on the occasion of the death of Chan Si, Politburo member of the Kampuchean People's Revolutionary Party and chairman of the Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Kampuchea. [Text] [Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 2 Mar 85 p 6 AU]

DAYLIGHT SAVINGS TIME BEGINS 31 MARCH--Sofia, 4 Mar (BTA)--1985 summer time will begin in Bulgaria on 31 March, Sunday, at 0000 hrs. All clocks shall be moved one hour ahead. Astronomical time will be reinstated on 29 September, Sunday, at 0000 hrs. [Text] [Sofia BTA in English 1835 GMT 4 Mar 85 AU]

DELEGATION TO URUGUAY--A Bulgarian delegation, headed by Nikola Manolov, secretary of the State Council, departed for Uruguay today in order to attend the festive ceremonies on the occasion of the inauguration of Julio Maria Saaguinetti, newly elected President of Uruguay. [Text] [Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 2030 GMT 26 Feb 85 AU]

CSO: 2200/122

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

GUN WITH ELECTROMAGNETIC ACCELERATOR DISCUSSED

Prague ATOM in Czech No 12, 1985 pp 8-9

[Article by Eng Josef Mandak, CSc: "Cannon With Electromagnetic Acceleration of Projectiles"]

[Text] A conventional cannon, in which the projectile is propelled by gunpowder gases within the barrel, makes it possible to attain a limited initial velocity of projectiles. Many designs were conjured up in the past to attain a random initial velocity. These were, first of all, cannons with a low- or high-pressure chamber, with a tapering barrel and cannons with a piston and light gas which attained initial velocities of up to 6,000 m/s. All designs are characterized by the fact that the concept of new cannons is a derivation of the conventional design. Testing of electromagnetic acceleration of projectiles through substitution of the release of energy chemically bonded in gunpowder by accumulated electrical energy was conducted as early as World War II. In the recent past were launched experiments with conduct of fire from a cannon which once again uses the principle of electromagnetic acceleration. For example, it is known from Western sources that initial velocity on the order of 3,000 m/s was attained with a special projectile weighing 300 grams.

A projectile with electromagnetic acceleration offers the following advantages: conduct of fire without unwanted external manifestations (flash, report, smoke) reduced barrel wear, uniform acceleration of projectile with a constant initial velocity, doing away with undesirable limitations of the projectile's initial velocity (velocity barrier) attained at the same time with smokeless gunpowders. Research in this sphere of problems shows that in the case of projectiles with an initial velocity of approximately 13,000 m/s there occur entirely new unexpected phenomena when the projectile reaches its target.

Initial research aimed at the practical implementation of electromagnetic acceleration of projectiles was conducted as early as the beginning of this century. It was not until 1941 through 1944 that J. Haensler succeeded in attaining the desired results in Berlin. A projectile weighing 10 grams was accelerated to a velocity of 1,200 m/s. Similar experiments were continued after World War II (e.g., in the United States between 1946 and 1950). However, at that time there were no indications that they could be used in the design of a weapons system. Continuation of experiments during the early 1970's in Australia brought about additional advances in electromagnetic

acceleration of projectiles. It became possible to achieve an initial velocity of 5,900 m/s with a projectile weighing 10 grams with the aid of a 50 megajoule energy accumulator. Additional research was conducted by the late 1970's in a number of countries.

The essential principle of a cannon using electromagnetic acceleration of projectiles is constituted by a carrier of length l , through which passes flux I , located in a homogeneous magnetic field, is affected by force F (Figure 1A), which is perpendicular to both the carrier and the magnetic field and which is in direct proportion to the intensity of the magnetic field, the magnitude of the passing flux and the length of the carrier.

The force F imparts, in accordance with Newton's Second Law, to a carrier (projectile) of weight m an acceleration a which is in direct proportion to force F and indirectly commensurate to weight m .

The attainment of great acceleration of the projectile calls for the generation of a strong magnetic field and considerable flux.

In accordance with the above-mentioned immutable natural laws it is possible to determine theoretically, e.g., by computation, that the acceleration of a projectile weighing 1 kg to 5,000 m/s during 2 ms, with a magnetic field of induction $B = 20 \text{ Vs.m}^2$ (which at the present time is the maximum magnitude attainable by means of supraconductive coils), calls for the current to reach a magnitude of $2.5 \times 10^6 \text{ A}$. The kinetic energy of a projectile weighing 1 kg and flying at a speed of 5,000 m/s is 12.5 MJ.

At a theoretical efficiency of 100 percent the cannon with electromagnetic acceleration of projectiles must develop in this case an energy of $6.25 \times 10^9 \text{ W}$ at "discharge."

So far there are three basic known types of cannons using electromagnetic acceleration of projectiles. All their designs are based on the generally valid Faraday's Law.

Accelerator With Induction Coils

This type (Figure 1B) consists of two induction coupled coils, one of them is fixed--driving (performing the function of a barrel in conventional design), the other mobile coil corresponds to a projectile. After engaging a switch the current flowing through generates in the vicinity of the driving coil a magnetic field which induces into the driven coil current I_2 . This exposes the driven coil to the effects of force causing its gradual acceleration. The effectiveness of this type of accelerator is limited primarily by the induction coupling between the coils and is theoretically estimated at 40 percent. The maximum achieved in the conducted research was 15 percent.

Slideway Accelerator

This type of accelerator (Figure 1C) was examined already in the 1920's by designers Fauchon and Villeplee, but never found practical application.

Engaging the switch produces in the discharge circuit a magnetic field of induction B resulting from the flow-through of current I . This produces acceleration of the projectile in the indicated direction. Its effectiveness is approximately 10 percent. The key reason for its low efficiency is constituted by losses sustained in the generation of the magnetic field. An improvement can be achieved through the use of supraconductive materials, which encounters technological problems. The advantage offered by this type in comparison with the preceding type consists in the simplicity of its concept. The main difficulties are encountered in the transmission of current from the feeder line and vice versa. Analyses show that this design currently holds the greatest promise for implementation in future development. In addition to its simplicity, the attendant technological problems also proved to be manageable.

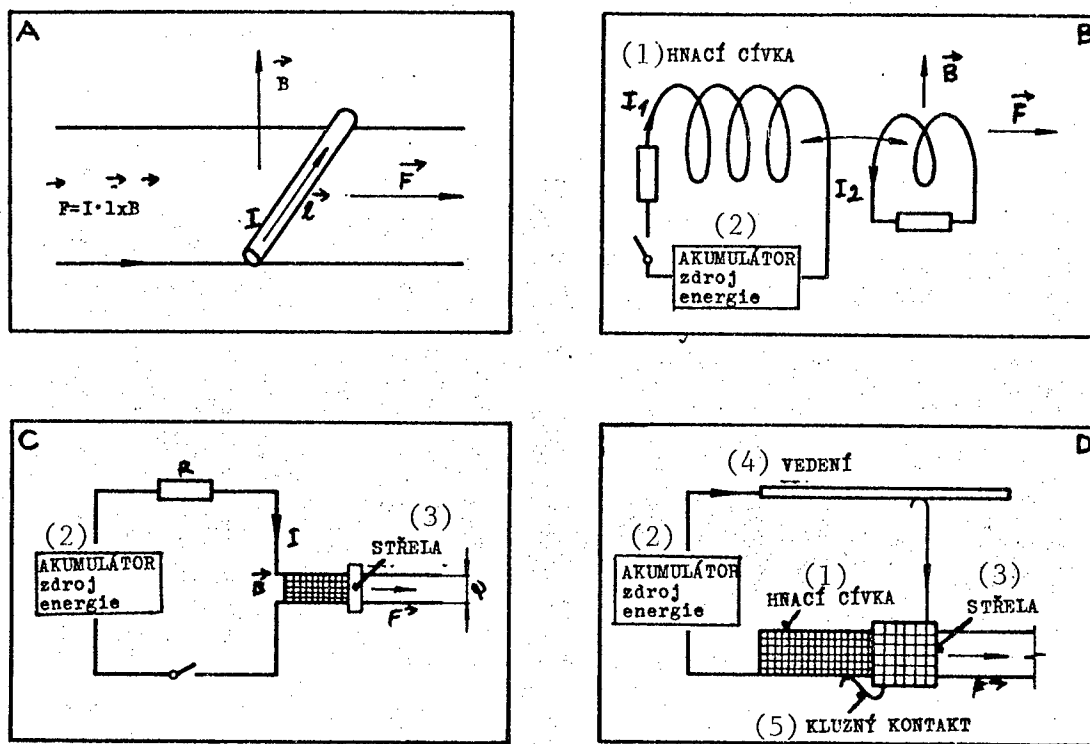


Figure 1. Representation of principles

(A) Representation of the effects of force on a conductor located in a homogeneous field, (B) accelerator with induction coils, (C) slideway accelerator according to Fauchon-Villeplee, (D) accelerator with sliding coils

Key: 1. Driving coil 4. Slideway
2. Accumulator (energy source) 5. Sliding contact
3. Projectile

Sliding Coils Accelerator

The third practically tested type is an accelerator using sliding coils (Figure 1D). Its design makes use of inductive repelling forces for acceleration of a sliding coil (projectile). The difference between this type and the induction coils accelerator is constituted by the fact that both the driving and driven coil and the slideway form a closed current circuit, while the design of the accelerator using induction coils involves a separated system of coils. Its advantages include a substantially more suitable connection between the driven and driving coil which, however, is compensated by the disadvantage posed by the sliding contact where there occur relatively large thermal and mechanical losses (as the result of friction force). Magnetic fields are generated so as to have the resultant force exert its effects in the direction of the arrow. It turns out that the theoretically attainable efficiency is up to 25 percent; however, a mere 2 percent was achieved under actual conditions.

All types of projectile accelerators call for attaining strong currents for the generation of a considerable magnetic field in the short period of several milliseconds. Here the required output is on the order of megajoules, as arrived at by calculation. Coming up with a design for a source of electrical energy for the mentioned magnitudes is no simple affair. The design and actual construction of a source is one of the key problems that will have to be resolved along the path to practical application. The key requirements on a devised source are: considerable output and a large capacity per unit of volume, because the space into which such a source would have to be placed is considerably limited, primarily by the combat area, in which are located many instruments. Envisioned as a source are available energy accumulators based on the principle of condensers and galvanic cells, but also specially designed homopolar (unipolar) generators (HG). The latter have been used for the generation of strong currents ever since the beginning of this century. However, it was not until the past several years that it became possible to resolve the set of problems closely related to technological problems, so that even today it is possible to come across a design with practical application. Figure 2 shows the principle of the design of a homopolar generator with a metal cylinder rotating in the axis of symmetry under the effects of a constant homogeneous magnetic field. Induction voltage is generated during rotation on the basis of the generally valid law. A connected appliance can collect a strong current on the order of 10^5 A, because the resistance of the rotating disk is relatively small. A modern HG design is shown in Figure 3. Here the current does not flow in a radial, but in an axial direction. Contacts between the stator and rotor--which for a long time were also a limiting element of design--are made up of liquid metals. It ought to be pointed out that problems are encountered not only in the design of a source of electric energy, but also in its transmission, including coupling and disconnecting, as they cause interruptions of current on the order of MA and induced voltage pulses of up to several tens kV.

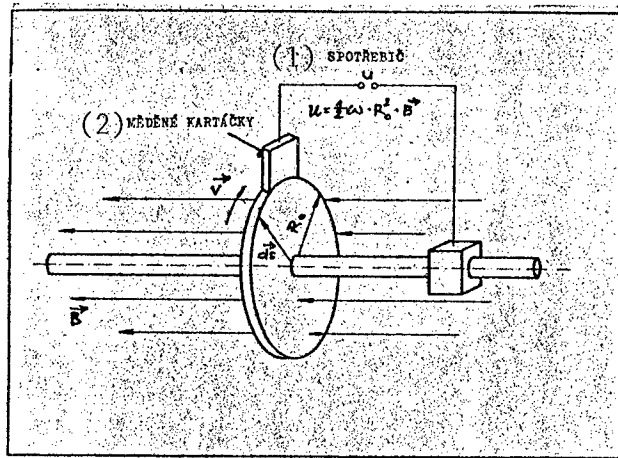


Figure 2. Layout of a homopolar (unipolar) generator

Key: 1. Appliance

2. Copper brushes

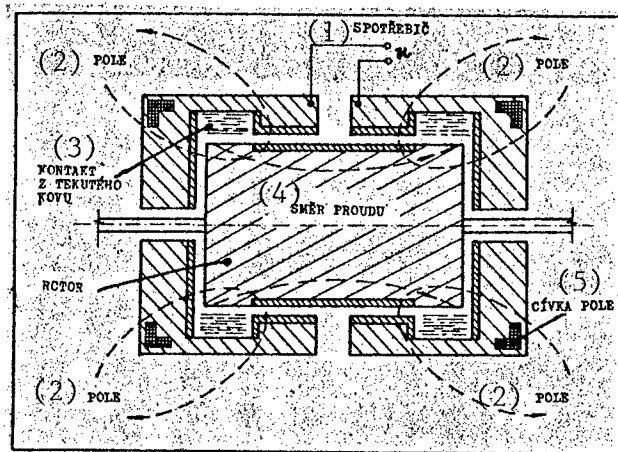


Figure 3. Modern axial homopolar (unipolar) generator with liquid metal contacts

Key: 1. Appliance

2. Field

3. Liquid metal contacts

4. Direction of current

5. Field coil

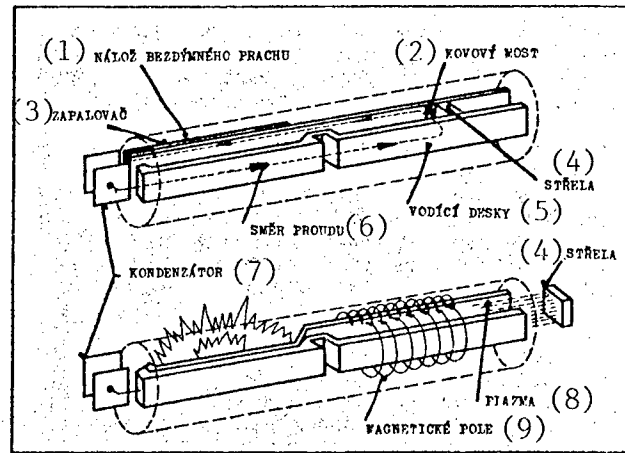


Figure 4. Electromagnetic cannon with EFCR detonator
(Explosive Flux Compression Railgun)

- | | |
|------------------------------------|-------------------------|
| Key: 1. Smokeless gunpowder charge | 6. Direction of current |
| 2. Metal bridge | 7. Condenser |
| 3. Detonator | 8. Plasma |
| 4. Projectile | 9. Magnetic field |
| 5. Guiding plates | |

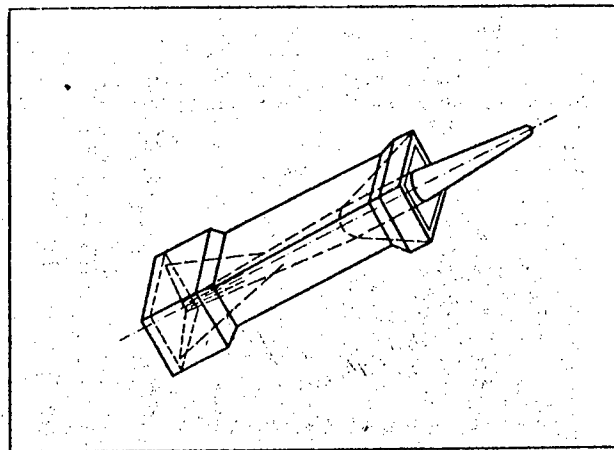


Figure 5. Projectile for slideway accelerator

From this analysis can be derived a certain measure of the prospective development of the design principle of cannons with electromagnetic acceleration of projectiles. Figure 4 shows in graphic form the design of an accelerator built by a federal laboratory in California, where it has been in operation since 1980 and, according to sources from abroad, achieved an initial velocity of up to 9,000 m/s with projectile weight of up to 3 grams. Figure 5 shows the potential configuration of a projectile for a slideway accelerator.

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

BACKGROUND, STATUS OF CHURCH-STATE RELATIONS OUTLINED

Bonn AUS POLITIK UND ZEITGESCHICHTE-Supplement to DAS PARLAMENT in German No B 2/85, 12 Jan 85 pp 25-37

[Article by Reinhard Henkys, head of the Evangelical Publicity Center of West Berlin: "State and Churches in the GDR"]

[Text] In every period of GDR history, the party and state leadership has devoted a lot of attention to the churches in that country. Secularization has proceeded apace in these 36 years. In 1949 almost every citizen of the German Democratic Republic as well as of the Federal Republic was also member of a Church. By now we may assume religious ties to persist only among four of ten GDR residents. And yet the importance of church policy appears not to have declined, though both substance and direction have undergone considerable change. In fact, in the developed socialist society, Erich Honecker's SED assigns rights of cooperation to the churches which have become a minority and are no longer rooted in the consciousness of large sections of the public--rights that were explicitly denied the majority church in the 1950's, the period of the construction of socialism.

Membership in Organized Religion

The development of the membership in organized religions among the GDR population was recorded in census counts only until 1964. In 1946 around 95 percent were still members of a religious community (82 percent Protestant, 12 percent Roman Catholic), in 1950 roughly 94 percent and in 1964 barely 68 percent (59 percent Protestant, 8 percent Roman Catholic). We must assume that membership in organized religions dipped below 50 percent in the 1970's. According to the estimates of church experts, it is likely now to be below 40 percent. Officially, though, the churches have not for some years past corrected downward the earlier figures quoted by them.

According to the figures not confirmed by any statistics, the eight Protestant churches merged in the Church Union have a combined membership of 7.8 million, the Roman-Catholic jurisdictional regions a membership of 1.2 million. There are furthermore the (Protestant) free churches with around 115,000 members. All this in a residential population amounting to 16.7 million. Sects probably account for 150,000, Jewish congregations for about 600, and there are also a few followers of non-Christian religions (Islamic guest workers and

students). All these latter categories may be disregarded for practical purposes.

In the course of the general decline, the predominant status of the Protestant regional churches was preserved in the GDR, an area which had been almost exclusively Protestant ever since the Reformation, though the Catholic Church enjoyed a relative increase as the result of the flow of refugees and resettlers from the East and was soon represented in the entire GDR by its own congregations. The main compact area of Catholic settlement is Eichsfeld in Thuringia. Like the free churches, the Catholic communities living in a "double diaspora," tend to be relatively more resistant to secularization than the congregations of the Protestant regional churches.

Since the GDR was transformed from an antifascist-democratic state (1949 Constitution) into a socialist state (1968/1974 Constitution), Christians have no longer been represented in the political leadership stratum. Their representation by the CDU in state organs and people's representations has merely marginal significance. The SED which directs all parties and social organizations with the exception of the churches, does not accept church members in its ranks. Professions that can be exercised and offices that can be held only on condition of fitness for membership in the SED (police, career soldiers, management jobs) are therefore out of reach for Christians.

Culturally influential strata also have by now been largely de-Christianized. As a consequence of the greater age of the membership of Christian congregations (Christening figures have long been below 20 percent, in large cities below 10 percent of births), Christians are a minority even among the rural population, and self-employed artisans and traders and the technical-economic intelligentsia.

However, since the 1970's, interest in the church or church sponsored activities (youth work, peace and environmental groups) and communities has steadily risen among young people who were neither baptized nor brought up in a religious environment. Increasing numbers of non-Christians are attending religious instruction (Bible classes, confirmation instruction); sometimes they are indeed in a majority. Still, few decide to have themselves baptized. In the Protestant Church more and more voices are now raised, who question baptism as the valid criterion for church membership. That, plus the ban on statistical records, is another reason for the wide fluctuations in the data on church membership.

Churches

There is no legal duty of registration for churches and religious communities. Official sources formerly cited a total of 27, lately of 39. This probably includes communities of merely local significance.

Since 1969, the Protestant regional churches have been merged in the Union of Protestant Churches in the GDR and ceased being members of the Protestant Church in Germany (EKD) which used to represent Protestantism in both German states. The eight regional churches differ substantially in size

and, together, count around 7,200 congregations with more than 4,000 active ministers and many other assistants. The Church Union has assessed total membership at about 7.8 million since the late 1970's. The following are members of the Church Union:

Protestant-Lutheran Regional Church of Saxony (2.35 million),
Protestant Church of the Saxon Ecclesiastical Province (1.5 million),
Protestant Church in Berlin-Brandenburg (excluding West Berlin, 1.4 million),
Protestant-Lutheran Church in Thuringia (1 million),
Protestant-Lutheran Church of Mecklenburg (750,000),
Protestant Regional Church Greifswald (formerly Pomerania, 450,000),
Protestant Regional Church of Anhalt (220,000),
Protestant Church of the Goerlitz Church Ecclesiastical Region (former Silesia, 125,000).

The Saxon, Thuringian and Mecklenburg regional churches have also combined in the United Protestant Lutheran Church (VELK) of the GDR, the others are organized as the GDR section of the Protestant Church of the Union (EKU).

The Roman Catholic Church in the GDR counts around 940 parishes with 1,300 priests, plus deacons, spiritual and charitable aides as well as 2,500 nuns and 120 monks mainly working in charitable institutions. It is divided into six jurisdictions headed by bishops. The largest bishopric and the only one entirely on GDR territory is Meissen (according to official data: 270,000 Roman Catholics). The Berlin bishopric also includes West Berlin which is independently administered by the local Church (160,000 excluding West Berlin). The diocesan offices Erfurt-Meiningen (250,000), Magdeburg (240,000) and Schwerin (90,000) are independently managed sections of West German dioceses, the Goerlitz Apostolic Administration is the German residue of the Breslau Archdiocese. The Berlin Conference of Bishops (until 1976 the Berlin Conference of Priests) is the management body of the Roman Catholic Church in the GDR; its membership is composed of the bishops and the three suffragans. Berlin Cardinal Meisner is the chairman.

Legal Status of the Churches

There is no precise state-church law in the GDR. Article 39 of the 1968 Constitution grants all citizens the right "to confess a religious faith and practice their religion." It also notes: "Churches and religious communities organize their affairs and act in accordance with the Constitution and the legal provisions of the GDR. Details may be settled by agreement." Article 20 guarantees freedom of faith and conscience. This provision includes the state's abandonment of the right to set material laws for the churches. Wherever state laws include provisions specific to religion, they settle the rights and limits of the citizens' religious practice (for example in penal procedure). The code of penal procedure and the labor code take note of the particularities of church employment (the right of clerics to refuse to give evidence, the right of church personnel to speak in public.) Since the abolition of public law entities, the churches, their congregations and legally independent institutions have been distinctive legal entities and therefore not subject to civil law or the law governing associations. The

feasibility of agreements was used to organize church training for works of charity including medical institutions.

In 1957, the government created the office of state secretary for church affairs. He and his agency are directly subordinated to the chairman of the Council of Ministers (and, simultaneously, to the study group on church issues at the SED CC). At district, kreis and municipal level, the deputy council chairmen, competent for internal affairs, handle the respective affairs. The state secretary has no executive authority. He upholds party and government policy vis-a-vis the churches. His influence consists chiefly in the fact that all contacts between churches and government agencies must be effected via the state secretary or his agency. In the 1970's, matters got to the point that the state secretary (within certain limits) presented the churches' wishes vis-a-vis government agencies and served as liaison for talks. However, no success was achieved by the efforts of the Union of Protestant Churches to enter into direct negotiations with the ministries for Popular Education and Defense for the purpose of conflict settlement.

Persisting Features of SED Church Policy

At no time has the state-church relation in the GDR been free of tensions. In the first 20 years, particularly, confrontation and conflicts were well to the fore. Still, even when the conflicts were at their height, the SED was guided less by the ideological goal of general atheism than by its objective of securing and preserving power for the party as well as consolidating the socialist state and its system of society. To this day, GDR church policy and Germany policy are intimately connected.

So far there has been no serious attempt in the GDR to abolish the autonomy of the churches. While the SED subjected all other social organizations and associations in turn to the leadership principle of "democratic centralism," the churches retained their independence. They autonomously decide the substance of their operations, their internal laws, organization and personnel whom they direct and represent to the outside. They maintain their own training facilities for church related professions, without state supervision. The SED has never questioned the freedom of religious pursuits and religious services nor the right of the churches to carry on religious instruction of children and juveniles.

Restrictions vis-a-vis the churches, administrative obstructions and political pressure on Christians have always concentrated on sectors subject to the regulatory competence of state or social institutions. Limitations of religious freedom whenever it reaches beyond religious practice and the internal autonomy of the religious communities, are the consequence of the restrictions on freedom imposed in the GDR on all citizens; disregarding a few individual instances, there is no evidence of limitations specifically directed to religious freedom.

Even in Stalinist times, SED church policy did not really follow the Soviet example. Within certain limits, it took account of German traditions (for

example theological faculties or sections at universities) and preserved some church privileges or customary rights (state subsidies, no collectivization of church agricultural and forestry lands). Above all, the SED has always tried to respond to the GDR's special situation of being the only country of the Eastern Bloc with an entirely Protestant tradition. The GDR's church policy therefore focuses on relations with the Protestant Church--whether in conflict or cooperation--, and no attempts have been made to play the minority churches off against it.

The First 10 Years

Writings and contemporary remarks by ecclesiastical personages frequently refer to the 1950's as the age of the church war. In fact, due to the SED's pursuit of the transformation of the antifascist-democratic into a socialist state by a "revolution from above," the period after the establishment of the GDR was characterized by acute conflicts between state and church and the--successful-- efforts by the state to eliminate the influence of the churches and religious affiliations on social and political life.

However, none of this amounts to a church war if this term is meant to describe a conflict within the church such as occurred in the 1930's between the Hitler-dominated "German Christians" and the "Confessional Church." Despite some "peace ministers," distinguished for propaganda reasons, the SED had no influence whatever on internal church affairs. Ministers and congregations were at one to oppose attacks and interventions by the state.

Persecution of the Church was far more restrained than in Hungary or Czechoslovakia, for example. Though some Christians and theologians were prosecuted, no show trials were held. No bishop was arrested. On the other hand, the various conflicts had the result that many active Christians--in particular secondary school students and members of the Young Congregations--evaded political persecution or discrimination (specially exclusion from schools and universities) by fleeing to the West.

In the 1950's, the SED created facts with regard to the churches, that are now part of "normal life" in the GDR, for example the privatization of tithes which now have the same legal status as gambling debts, the elimination of church directed Christian instruction from the schools and as part of school hours, the introduction and political enforcement of the youth consecration which was to counter the Protestant Confirmation rite, the follow-up censorship of the church press by means of the postal service's monopoly on distribution. These measures and others were accompanied by massive propaganda for secession from the Church, backed by political and administrative pressure. This propaganda served the SED to create devoted cadres in key professions, particularly in the educational system. Also involved was a largely primitive and therefore fairly ineffective atheist and anticlerical propaganda on the Soviet model.

It is quite evident that the attacks on the Church, Christian customs and religious features were directed primarily to the bourgeois society and its representatives.

The main motivation was the class war, not war on the churches. Still, the end result was the decisive weakening of the Christian congregations by the decimation of the traditionally most involved strata and the far reaching bar on the access of those remaining in the GDR to socially influential professions.

The internal class war initiated by the SED from its leading position in the state was right from the start conducted in conjunction with an external class war, directed against the Federal Republic and its reunification concept which denied the GDR's right to existence and the SED's legitimacy. This western-democratic reunification concept had widespread roots among the GDR population. In addition it enjoyed what amounted to organizational backing by the Protestant Church.

After World War II, German Protestantism merged in the Protestant Church in Germany (EKD), an institution which, in the realm of ecclesiastical organization, anticipated reunification. Initially it was approved and even cultivated by the GDR. The EKD preserved formal political neutrality in the inner-German dispute. Vis-a-vis the GDR, it referred to the antifascist-democratic 1949 Constitution and the goal of reunification at that time championed by the GDR also. Of course this actually implied the EKD's interpretation of the GDR's temporary nature and the illegitimacy of the socialist transformation of the state. At the outset, the SED had considered the EKD as something like a partial ally of its Germany policy, due to the widespread advocacy by German Protestantism of a disarmed and cewrtainly neutral reunified Germany. However, in 1957 the EKD and the Federal Government concluded a military chaplaincy contract. The SED considered this to mean the EKD's opting for the Bonn concept and against the GDR and, consequently, broke off government relations with the all-German Church in 1958. The Church's offer to conclude a similar contract with East Berlin was interpreted as mockery and duly rejected.

Fight Against the EKD

Subsequently Walter Ulbricht changed the direction of his church policy. The churches in the GDR were to be urged to opt for the socialist German state and its political objectives, and they were also to be encouraged within the EKD to exercise their influence for the toleration of this attitude and for the Church generally keeping its distance from the Federal Republic's integration in the West. In July 1958, the government negotiated with a delegation of GDR Protestant Church representatives (who had been charged by the EKD to conduct these negotiations). The communique published subsequently offered some first indications. The government promised to review anti-Church measures, while the Church delegation--for the first time--stated that Christians respected "the development of socialism" and would, as citizens, contribute to the "peaceful construction of popular life" as per the laws of the country.

To create the proper conditions for the new church policy, the SED ceased all atheist propaganda. At the same time, the anticlerical propaganda directed

against the "NATO Church" became more shrill but concentrated mostly on persons living in the West. Public attacks on bishops and ministers in the GDR, who remained loyal to the EKD, were increasingly rare. The Church's rank and file was to be recruited for socialism and used to put pressure on "reactionary" Church leaders to induce them to change direction. Christians were to become part of the "socialist human community," proclaimed by Ulbricht and led by the SED.

As its tools, the SED used the now completely subordinated GDR CDU and collaborationist minigroups such as the new Union of Protestant Ministers. On the occasion of his election as chairman of the Council of State in October 1960 and to the dismay of many old communists, Walter Ulbricht stated to the People's Chamber: "Christianity and the humanist objectives of socialism are not opposed." In February 1961, in the course of a conversation with a delegation of "progressive Christians," led by Leipzig theology professor Emil Fuchs, he said the social and humanist goals of socialism agreed to such an extent "that a joint pursuit positively suggests itself." In the widely publicized Wartburg talks with Thuringian Land Bishop Moritz Mitzenheim in August 1964, Ulbricht actually spoke of the "common humanist responsibility" linking Marxists and Christians.

This concept of the social integration of the Christian population and the churches' subordination to party objectives failed to materialize, because the secularization of society in the sign of ideology and the administrative limitation on Church operations outside the strictly religious sphere continued unabated. After the construction of the Wall in 1961, persons affected lost almost all opportunities for evasion to the West. Ultimately Christians were not mobilized; instead congregations sank further into resignation. The church leaders could not do much about that. They had been placed in a situation in which continued adherence to the all-German church organization in the EKD--political anathema to the SED--amounted to a confessional issue. At the same time the EKD organs--assigned competence for the representation of church concerns vis-a-vis the "wielders of public power"--had become incapable of taking action: Vis-a-vis the state because it did not recognize them; internally because the Wall prevented joint consultations and direction. All that was left them was formal survival. From the aspect of politics, the age of the Cold War offered scope for a flexible attitude to neither state nor church.

The situation began to change only when the possibility of detente emerged, and the consolidation stage of the GDR had been completed. In view of the hopelessness of their situation after the construction of the Wall, the Protestant regional churches in the GDR used the occasion of the new GDR Constitution of April 1968 to initiate a reorientation. Until that time, their membership in the EKD had been politically combatted and administratively obstructed, but it had not been challenged from the constitutional aspect. This state of affairs threatened to end with the new constitution, because its provisions regarding the churches were officially interpreted to the effect that the opportunities for church organization also finished at the borders of the GDR. June 1969 witnessed the establishment of the Union of Protestant Churches in the GDR; its eight member churches retired from the EKD.

Beginning Normalization

The Protestant regional churches had thus created the formal conditions for the party and government for their part to review earlier attitudes and initiate the rearrangement of the state-church relationship. This happened in the aftermath of detente and the transition from Ulbricht to Erich Honecker as SED leader.

The foundation of the Church Union and the related end of the all-German EKD superficially appears to have been a success scored by Ulbricht. In fact, though, his victory was very limited indeed. He did not achieve his ultimate objective of subjugating or at least politically integrating the churches as followers of the system (as had been done in Hungary). The new Church Union explicitly refused to add to the legal and organizational separation of church and state, required in the Federal Republic, by "taking sides" ideologically "in the international class war, in favor of progress, humanism and peace," to use the contemporary phraseology. The Union professed the continued further pursuit of the spiritual "special commonality of Protestant Christianity in Germany" and included in its constitution the express competence of its organs for the discharge of the resulting joint tasks to be undertaken with the churches in the Federal Republic.

It took the SED almost 2 years to come to terms with this and to appreciate the opportunities relative to detente offered by this attitude. The SED's situation was eased by the first independent vote of the Church Union in the realm of applied Christian political ethics: In early 1971, the Conference of Church Leaderships--the management organ of the Church Union--unreservedly approved the ecumenical program for combatting racism and thereby took its stand at the side of the liberation movements, specially in Africa. Shortly thereafter, in February 1971, official relations were initiated between the GDR Government and the leadership of the Church Union.

Subsequently both the state and the Protestant Church endeavored to reduce the area of confrontation. The Church Union developed its self-interpretation as "Church in socialism," stressed its desire to be a confessional and service community in and for the socialist society. It thus acknowledged the political realities and explicitly stated that it did not wish to play the role of a political opposition. At the same time, though, it gave notice of its claim beyond its championship of the religious interests of church members to comment from its own standpoint the basic issues of human intercourse in state and society, and to take an active part.

The state, for its part, abandoned the attempt to "socialize" the Church from the inside or treat it as a "class enemy" and combat it as the residue of a "bourgeois society" superseded by socialism. It accepted the fact that the Church and its leadership were one and the same and thereby ended the policy of the construction of ecclesiastical facades, that had characterized the Ulbricht era. The CDU lost its status as spokesman of the real and "progressive" church people. SED and government have ever since negotiated with the "real existing Church" instead of with selected phantom partners--

willing to adapt themselves but not legitimized by the Church (Emil Fuchs, Bishop Mitzenheim). Various earlier and long-lasting conflicts between state and church were settled. The religious nature of ecclesiastical operations outside the strictly religious sphere was acknowledged (providing, for example, for exemption from the need to apply for permits to organize many Church sponsored events), the construction of churches in new socialist residential areas was allowed, and so on.

The Conversation of 6 March 1978

The tentatives for advancing from confrontation to a limited cooperation between state and church received confirmation and considerable impetus by a conversation between Erich Honecker, chairman of the Council of State and SED general secretary, and the executive board of the Protestant Church Union, led by Bishop Albrecht Schoenherr, on 6 March 1978. This settled various contentious issues, such as the admission of church employees to the state social insurance system, rent payments for cooperatively used church land, and so on. It was particularly significant that Honecker agreed the right of the Church in addition to the traditional radio broadcasts of church services to independently address the public at large in a monthly informational radio broadcast and six television broadcasts per annum.

This was appraised as concrete evidence that the SED--having long abandoned antireligious and anticlerical propaganda--now confirmed the Church's right to social activism even in the socialist state. Honecker talked of common tasks for the achievement of humanist objectives. Schoenherr emphasized that state and church were addressing the same people. As the yardstick of the positive relationship between state and church, desired by both parties despite continuing antagonism between ideology and Christian faith, Schoenherr described the experiences of the individual Christian citizen in his local social situation. Subsequent to this conversation of 6 March, when both parties started with the assumption of the need to respect the other's independence, the Church was able to substantially expand its public operations and even strengthen cooperation with the EKD.

The conversation of 6 March 1978 did not even try to resolve the substantive ideological conflict between the socialist state--sworn to Marxism-Leninism--and the Church--sworn to the Gospel. The tension between the educational objective "communist personality" and the freedom of faith and conscience, in particular, was not abolished. The promised tolerance and the right to cooperation of Christians in the "organization of the developed socialist society" run up against limits especially in the sphere of the school and education in general, whenever parents or children fail to conform to the socialist adjustment required of all. That applies to all citizens. However, Christian children and parents are more frequently led by their faith to refuse conformity and to go their own way.

Especially in recent years this has been very obvious with regard to the issue of peace. Honecker expressly confirmed the Church's right to its own peace effort, nor has that confirmation ever been withdrawn. However, the consequences are not accepted if they diverge from the socialist norm. The

Church's objection to military training at school--introduced with mandatory effect in 1978--had no effect whatever. The social dissemination of Christian-pacifist attitudes--tolerated by the SED within the scope of religious discussions--continues to be obstructed, even combatted (for example the public wearing of the Church's peace symbol "swords into plowshares").

Shedding Ideological Baggage

Still, the shedding of ideological baggage in the state-church relationship is both the prerequisite and the--at least intermediate--result of the GDR's church policy characterized by the date 6 March 1978. In the course of detente and to promote it, both parties in fact agreed no longer to question each other's fundamental rights and to seek cooperation wherever it appears feasible to both of them. Differences are no longer to end in confrontation but in talks to seek a pragmatic consensus.

Typical of this change are various statements by Klaus Gysi, the current state secretary for church affairs. On television, in early summer 1980, he described as "ahistorical" the question of the withering away of religion and the churches. This question neither arises, "nor are we raising it." A year later, in London and Geneva, Gysi explained to an international audience Honecker's church policy, describing it as a "historic experiment." His Geneva address includes these sentences: "As long as the church remains a church, it will have to be independent. In our opinion it will therefore never be fully integrated as a social force in our society. Nevertheless it is our duty to find a modus vivendi. We appreciate that a good part of the long road ahead is bound to be traveled by both of us. That compels us to consider how to travel it together." As regards the state-church relationship in practice, he said: "We wish for a relationship that is cooperative-constructive whenever we agree and, whenever we do not agree, provides for tolerance of actual state decisions. In all other regards, respect for the identity of the other, respect for the independence of both parties." (K. Gysi, "Church and State in the GDR, lecture at the Ecumenical Center, Geneva, on 29 May 1981," text in EPD DOKUMENTATION 28/81).

Separation of State and Church

Inside the GDR, too, publications are now available to document the fact that the ideologues are following the directives of the state's pragmatic church policy. To be mentioned is the description of the "Buendnispolitik im Sozialismus" [Policy of Alliances in Socialism], edited by a collective of authors and published in 1982 by the East Berlin Dietz Verlag. Wolfgang Kliem, director of the Institute for Marxism-Leninism at the Academy for Social Sciences at the SED CC, is said to be the author of the section entitled "Socialism and Religion" (pp 249-257).

Using the cue word "separation of state and church," the author stresses on the one hand the consequent freedom of the church of state interference in its affairs and state intervention in internal church life, teaching, preaching, internal church legislation and personnel decisions, religious instruction and financial affairs, on the other he stresses "the separation of church and

state also means that the Church does not interfere in exclusively secular concerns." This assertion is further explained as follows: "Actually, the socialist society is no more an 'atheist society' than the capitalist society is a 'Christian society'," and "in contrast to bourgeois materialism and atheism and despite its attitude of criticism vis-a-vis religion, Marxism-Leninism therefore does not teach any 'fight' against religion nor the construction of a 'realm of reason'. It does teach the necessity to overcome capitalism and construct the communist society as the approach to a human life without exploitation and oppression. In general we may claim that the religious issue is subordinated to the class issue" (p 253).

On this basis, SED ideologues may well tout further guarantees for the freedom of conscience, faith and religion, the full involvement of the faithful in the organization of the developed socialist society and the fight to preserve peace as well as "the development of constructive church-state relations, based on trust, frankness and realism, including the independent cooperation of the Church in the accomplishment of the tasks set by the Ninth SED Congress."

"Church in Socialism"

The Church responds to this shedding of ideological baggage by state and party by interpreting itself as "Church in socialism." This phrase turned up in the first reports from the Conference of Church Leaders to the synod of the Church Union (1970 and 1971) and the relevant synodal decisions. The 1971 conference report says: "A confessional and service commonality of churches in the German Democratic Republic will have to precisely define its situation: In this particular society, not next it nor against it." The term "confessional and service commonality" belongs to ecclesiastical linguistics. It represents and defines the Church's claim to social relevance. The Church thus intends to operate beyond the sphere of its members. It does not pronounce any claims to privileges or codetermination rights but states its firm intention to address this society from its own premises and to be at its disposal in a service capacity.

In concrete terms this means the socialist society as it exists in the GDR, in which the Church lives, and in the shaping of which Christians are to collaborate. In its negative connotation, this concept amounts to the abandonment of opposition to the system, to withdrawal to a religious ghetto or a "third place." In positive terms, the Church thereby stakes its claim to the involvement of the independent social efficacy of Christians and the Church in the guaranteed freedom of religion, its hope of possible changes in society (at the 1972 Union Synod, Heino Falcke expressed the hope of Christians for an "improvable socialism"), and it takes seriously the humanist approaches of the system. As Church spokesmen have repeatedly stated, the "Church in socialism: intends to measure the socialist state by the latter's own principles, its humanitarian and peace objectives, rather than apply alien criteria.

In a politological study now to hand ("Wider die Militarisierung der Gesellschaft: Kirche und Friedensbewegung in der DDR" [Against the

Militarization of Society: Church and Peace Movement in the GDR], Melle, 1984), Eberhard Kuhrt arrives at the conclusion that the concept of the "Church in socialism" brings to the state a specific understanding, unknown to the state itself, and permits the Christian to better understand the state than it understands itself." The socialist state's claim by its policy to realize a more humane society is thereby divested of its ideological nature and taken seriously:

"This way of 'taking seriously' the state and its self-interpretation has turned into a leitmotif of ecclesiastical statements on the function of the Church in society, a perception central to the concept 'Church in socialism.' It means the acknowledgment of this states' self-legitimation as a state endeavoring to construct a more humane social system. The churches takes this as a cue for asserting their right to critical collaboration and judging the political measures of the state by its own humanistic claim. It follows that the 'taking seriously' applies only to the objectives of government policy, not the party's assertion that it alone is able to find the right approach to these goals. It is therefore the partial taking seriously of SED policy and, in view of the trust expressed by the acknowledgement of the declared objectives as genuine, justifies the claim to criticize the means adopted according to the yardstick of Christian charity." (p 59)

Kuhrt also, and more clearly than other authors, drew attention to the fact that, in Honecker's statements, the acknowledgement of the Protestant Church's social independence, implicit in the conversation of 6 March 1978, applies to those sectors of social life, which basically enjoy a consensus of state and Church: Ecumenical peace efforts and backing for the state's detente policy, humanitarian aid to distressed peoples and those fighting for their liberation, charitable works in the GDR. According to his analysis (to be largely agreed), the continued pursuit of detente represents the main consensus: "It includes both the government's expectation that the churches will continue to back GDR foreign policy and the Church Union's expectation of a domestic policy aiming to gradually implement human rights." However, this consensus is still on a small scale and needs to be much expanded: "For the state-Church relationship, its signal nature consists in the fact that both parties appreciate each other's ability and willingness to arrive at a consensus. However, the variation in accents set by the two parties with respect to detente, foreshadows persisting differences about the interpretation of the phraseology of this agreement." (pp 53f)

The Catholic Church and the State

Ever since the Reformation, the Roman Catholic Church has not had a real popular base on the territory of the present GDR, excepting only some small Catholic settlements in Eichsfeld and the Sorbian region. The postwar influx of Catholic refugees from the eastern territories, on the other hand, involved the necessity of establishing congregations and ministries in the entire country, though buildings and other prerequisites tended to be lacking. Naturally, close contacts evolved with the native Protestant Church congregations, which often provided shelter. This fact as well as the

developing common diaspora situation in the atheistically directed state tended to bring local Catholics and Protestants together.

At the same time, the "double diaspora" caused the Catholic bishops to be particularly cautious in the political-social sphere and--at least with regard to these issues--keep aloof from the dominant Protestant Church, its conflicts with and rapprochements to the state. The desire to maintain the Catholic identity in the worst possible conditions resulted in concentration on pastoral care for Catholic congregations and the virtual abandonment of attempts to join in the social dialogue. The Catholic Church made full use of its advantage as a minority church not to be the first one to attract official notice and, due to its particular features, to offer fewer points of contention.

This holds true, for example, for the conflict about the youth consecration. This rite, introduced with the greatest emphasis in the GDR in 1954 (and having no real parallel in the other countries of the Eastern Bloc) was evidently conceived by the party to serve as a counter event to the Protestant Confirmation rite for 14-year olds, widespread as a general bourgeois custom. It does not exist in the Catholic sphere. Admittedly, both churches agreed in declaring participation in the youth consecration basically incompatible with the profession of Christianity, but the alternative was far less acute for Catholics: The first communion and confirmation of Catholic children take place long before the age of Protestant Confirmation or youth consecration.

The Roman Catholic Church also stayed on the sidelines with regard to the state-church conflict about the "all-German" organization of the churches, which dominated church policy in the 1960's. Of course, the situation of the Roman Catholic dioceses was in some respect even more sensitive than that of the Protestant regional churches: Only a single bishopric is located entirely on GDR territory. After the construction of the Wall, the Catholic Church was therefore compelled to adopt pragmatic subdivisions without in principle touching upon the composition of the dioceses lying on both sides of the border. Apostolic administrators were appointed for the sections of West German dioceses situated in the GDR, and these are independent of the West German episcopates.

The independent organization of the jurisdictional districts in the GDR proceeded gradually but always with Vatican assistance. This permitted the GDR leaders to save face. It had always acknowledged the international nature of the Catholic Church and was therefore less offended in its concerns for prestige and sovereignty by the long delays in the respective decisions than it was in the case of the EKD because in this latter case, West German clerics were at least de jure involved in personnel and management decisions for the GDR churches until 1969. It is much easier for the GDR to come to terms with the opposite case: The Catholic bishop domiciled in East Berlin continues to be in charge of the West Berlin section of the diocese.

The Bishop of Berlin is also chairman of the Berlin Conference of Bishops, set up in 1973 by a Vatican decree (it was formerly called the Conference of Prelates). All GDR Catholic bishops cooperate in this conference. Earlier

there had been simultaneous membership in the German (Fulda) Bishops' Conference, but the government had forbidden the GDR bishops to attend these meetings.

The efforts by the Catholic Church to keep aloof as much as possible from political conflicts or rapprochements induced the various bishops and the Bishops' Conference only rarely to issue public comments on political issues. Pastoral letters critical of the government were read from the pulpit only when basic Catholic convictions were directly affected--for example the downgrading of parental rights in state schools or the decontrol of abortions. The Catholic bishops in the GDR did not even publicize their objections to military education as a subject of instruction at the schools. Not until the turn of 1982/1983 was some kind of a change to be noted, when the GDR bishops issued a joint pastoral letter on peace to all their congregations and incorporated in that pastoral letter basic ecumenical attitudes and appraisals which had long been emphatically championed by the Protestant Church Union.

This traditional restraint has induced the Catholic Church in the GDR to keep a definite distance from the Protestant concept of the "Church in socialism" and the sociopolitical section of the 6 March 1978 conversation. It did not try for a comparable arrangement with Honecker. Nevertheless, the basic facts distinguishing state-Church relations ever since 6 March 1978 also apply to the Catholic Church.

The Church and Responsibility for Peace

The prime field of state acknowledged and encouraged social activism by the churches is represented by the work of the Protestant and Catholic charitable institutions with regard to health care and social services. Representatives of the state have repeatedly and publicly admitted that they do appreciate that the churches are able to train and motivate people for helping their fellow men who have few or no opportunities. Protestant and Catholic charities, for example, provide one out of two rehabilitation places for the most severely handicapped people in the GDR. The Protestant charities employ around 15,000, the Catholic institutions 7,400 full-time staff. Together they maintain 85 hospitals with more than 12,000 beds, 108 homes and institutions for the handicapped (7,000 places), 344 senior and nursing homes (14,000). Staffs are trained in more than 100 church run training institutions.

The churches manage by a voluminous book production in their own publishing houses, weeklies and monthlies as well as radio broadcasts to reach a limited public. Church music is much appreciated. Church conferences also involve many GDR citizens beyond the circle of the core congregations. In the Luther Anniversary Year (1983), seven Protestant Church conferences registered some 200,000 attendants. Some of these events were even broadcast--a first. Here as well as in peace work, environmental groups, and so on, the churches are grasping the opportunity to familiarize the GDR public with topics, views and convictions which are normally concealed.

In recent years, the work for peace has been the most conspicuous social field of operations of, above all, the Protestant churches in the GDR. Official statements by GDR clerics on the topic of field and disarmament demonstrate an increasing tendency to so-called nuclear pacifism, not so far shared by the official EKD bodies in the Federal Republic. Still, consultations with the EKD in 1982 resulted in the joint statement: "Nowadays no objective or value can justify a war. The prevention of war is the prerequisite for the realization of human rights, freedom and justice." (EPD, 18 August 1982)

With regard to the goals of peaceful coexistence, a system of European peace based on the Heelsinki CSCE [Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe] final communique, a security partnership between East and West and nuclear disarmament, the Protestant Church Union fully agrees with the GDR leadership. It totally backs detente and Honecker's declared intention to "limit the damage," his objective of a "coalition of reason" and the "community of responsibility" of the two German states. However, within this framework, the GDR Church advocates a greater contribution by the GDR and the other socialist states to the establishment of trust and the development of the peaceability of their own societies.

In this context, the Church peace workers criticize the increasing militarization of all spheres of daily life. When it failed to have any success with its objections to the introduction of military education as an obligatory school subject, the Church Union in its sphere matched state military education by a program of education for peace. Church studies justify the political rationale of pacifism: Resolutions by the Church Union Synod include the rejection of the spirit, logic and practice of the system of deterrence.

Since the introduction of conscription in 1962, the Protestant Church in the GDR has championed the right to conscientious objection. The 1964 decree on unarmed military service in pioneer units is based on Church submissions. A leaflet drafted by the Church in 1965 for the ministry among conscripts, "On the Church's Service to Peace," justifies conscientious objection not only as an individual-ethical and Christian decision but also notes that the service of the pioneers and the readiness of total objectors to go to prison represent a "more definite witness" for peace than conscript service interpreted as service to peace.

It took until the end of the 1970's for the Church Union to officially return to this doctrine, while the pioneers who formed the core of the rank and file groups active for peace since the 1960's never forgot it. In 1981, an initiative "social peace service" with several thousand petitions addressed to the synods and signatures collected among Protestant young people and others elicited a broad response. At times the peace decades, special peace workshops and forums enjoyed large attendances. The symbol "swords into plowshares," chosen as the common insignia for the peace decades, was a popular badge in the GDR. Eventually this resulted in hostile state reactions and counter campaigns by the FDJ.

The independent peace efforts of the Protestant Church (which I will not describe here in detail) have become the "programmatic center" (Kuhrt) of the groups--especially of the young--assembling in and around the Church. In Western eyes, they represent the "independent peace movement of the GDR." The state-church consensus of 6 March 1978 indeed refers specifically to the Church's independent advocacy of peace. It was therefore able as an independent, not subordinated and yet loyal institution to provide a forum for discussion at the service of the groups which had lined up primarily to protest the militarization of their own country, thereby offering them an opportunity for having their say. At the same time, though, it acts as a moderator: The Church tries to explain to the state that Christian pacifism is compatible with the objectives and the system of the GDR, and it tries to explicate to the peace groups that its protest is addressed to wrong developments which are not necessarily linked to socialism. The party and state leadership, for its part, tries to restrict independent peace discussions and actions to the Church proper and accord as little publicity as possible to the critical potential demonstrated, but without eliminating the Church's freedom. It endeavors to balance two interests: On the one hand to preserve the Church's power of integration for groups and incipient protest movements not susceptible to party influence, and on the other to block the social reform push stirred up by them.

11698

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GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

DEMAND FOR RECOGNITION OF CITIZENSHIP RENEWED

Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 31 Jan 85 pp 1-2

[Article signed "Ws." datelined Berlin 30 Jan 85: "East Berlin Demands 'Respect Without Reservation' from Bonn"]

[Text] On Wednesday [30 January 1985] the GDR clarified what it understands by "respect" of GDR citizenship: change or abolish Article 116, Section 1 in the Basic Law together with the Reich and Citizenship Law of 1913 and all internal legal regulations which refer to Article 116 of the Basic Law and which lay claim to "all Germans" within this meaning. (Article 116, Section 1 reads: "Unless otherwise provided by law, a German within the meaning of this Basic Law is a person who possesses German citizenship or who has been admitted to the territory of the German Reich within the frontiers of 31 December 1937 as a refugee or expellee of German stock or as the spouse or descendant of such person.")

The demand for "respect of GDR citizenship"--one of the four Gera demands by Honecker--in concrete terms means the following: release of 16 million Germans who live in the GDR from German citizenship, restricting German citizenship to "citizens of the FRG"--whereby almost two million West Berliners would be without a country--and recognition of GDR citizenship as the exclusive citizenship of all Germans living in the GDR. With this demand, which ends all discussions in the FRG about whether "respect" of GDR citizenship is something other than its "recognition", the GDR has made it clear that it is striving for a revision in the basic agreement and is demanding that the FRG relinquish the essential factor in its national conception of self.

The uncompromising demand by the GDR for changing the Basic Law and our citizenship law, for unconditional recognition of GDR citizenship is contained in a long article which was published on Wednesday by NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, the SED central organ. It is signed by A.Z. and thus can easily be recognized as an official statement from the SED Central Committee. By referring to the request on the part of West German politicians and even the minister for inner-German relations that the GDR should once and for all state what it understands by respect of GDR citizenship, a clear and unmistakable answer is given in the article. It states that there is no state without citizens. In concluding the basic agreement it had not been possible to reach agreement

about this "simple truth" "since the FRG, acting contrary to international law, was still not prepared to recognize GDR citizenship." Despite this, however, it has not been relieved of the duty "to recognize GDR citizenship and to respect it without reservation." After 12 years it is now time "that the FRG government" renounce "the guardianship duty which allegedly was conferred upon it for all Germans and that it recognize the facts of the current situation."

The concept "respect" means that citizens of a country must be viewed and treated as such by other countries. The article goes on to say that the FRG's reference to Article 116, Section 1 in its Basic Law and the concomitant inclusion of GDR citizens is "contrary to international law." The exercise of personal sovereignty by a country is limited exclusively to its own citizens. This means that a country can assert its protection laws and associated protection duties only for its own citizens. Accordingly, the FRG is obligated "to renounce the inclusion of GDR citizens as 'German citizens'" and to abstain from issuing and withdrawing identity papers for GDR citizens. There is further the demand that the FRG must "discontinue the presumption of exercising protection laws for GDR citizens," respect the allegiance of GDR citizens to their country, stop the "unlawful" extension of the country's jurisdiction to GDR citizens. It must not conduct investigations against GDR citizens for actions in GDR national territory and thus not extend criminal jurisdiction of the FRG "to the national territory and citizens of the GDR in a manner contrary to international law." Bonn must now prevent the responsible agencies in the GDR from legitimately punishing GDR citizens, who have committed crimes against the GDR, its foundations and its citizens.

The article continues stating that a country must shape its legal system even in questions of citizenship in harmony with international law and in international relations refrain from any infringement on sovereign rights of other countries in respect to their citizens. Accordingly the FRG is obligated to undertake changing or abolishing the internal regulations which conflict with respecting GDR citizenship and to exercise no pressure on third countries to commit them to the "FRG's position vis-a-vis the GDR in questions of citizenship in a manner that is contrary to international law."

The article enumerates a large number of "examples of contempt of GDR citizenship by the FRG." Under the heading "presumption to exercise protection laws for GDR citizens" the activity of German foreign representations and even the Permanent Mission in East Berlin is attacked. With reference to the Bonn consular law of 1974 the article states that the FRG denies the sovereignty of the GDR by presuming diplomatic and consular protection laws for GDR citizens and by interfering with the GDR's passport sovereignty. This law requires FRG consular officials to guarantee advice and assistance to all Germans within the meaning of Article 116, Section 1 of the Basic Law. Such a presumption is the advisory activity of Bonn's Permanent Mission in East Berlin and Bonn's embassies, respectively, in other socialist countries for GDR citizens, "especially in questions of emigration," but also the acceptance of GDR citizens in FRG foreign representations "and exercising pressure to force emigration."

The article again also denounces the fact that election notices and questionnaires to identify individuals liable for military service were sent to "GDR citizens who are temporarily living in the FRG for official reasons." In the opinion of the GDR it is particularly reprehensible that FRG agencies and foreign representations issue identity documents for the FRG to GDR residents and withdraws GDR papers; of course, in this connection no mention is made of the fact that this only happens if the affected Germans from the GDR expressly demand it. In this connection the authors of the article, in enumerating the list of Bonn's sins, even unintentionally call the attention of GDR residents to a practice which they actually wanted to suppress: "FRG agencies issue GDR citizens temporary travel papers in the event of a temporary stay in the FRG and during the time these temporary travel papers are used by GDR citizens retain their identity papers."

12124

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HUNGARY

GROSZ SPEECH AT FESTIVE ANNIVERSARY MEETING

AU221526 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 14 Feb 85 p 3

[Text] On the evening of 2 February, a festive meeting was held in the Vig Theatre on the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the liberation of Budapest. Karoly Grosz, member of the MSZMP Central Committee and first secretary of the Budapest party committee, gave a festive speech which we publish below:

"This is a day of remembering and reminding. Four decades ago, on 13 February 1945, at 2100 Moscow time, the Soviet capital greeted the heroic troops of the Second and Third Ukrainian Front which liberated Budapest, the capital of Hungary, with a 24-salvo salute from its 324 cannons," Karoly Grosz began his speech and then continued: "We remember with respect the fallen heroes and turn with thankful words to the living, to the mourning parents, children, and brothers. We will never forget the deeds of the heroes, we will preserve their memory from generation to generation, their grave will always be covered by fresh flowers. We pay a respectful tribute to the Bulgarian, Yugoslav, U.S., and British soldiers, and to the sons of all the other nations who shed their blood and sacrificed their lives for the liberation of Hungary and of our capital. We dip the flag of remembrance and respect to the Hungarian resistance fighters, the volunteers who participated in the struggle for our liberation."

The Efforts of the Best

Then Karoly Grosz stressed:

"Now that after 40 years we are summing up our own participation in the liberation of our country, the question justifiably arises: Why were not the Hungarian progressive forces as strong as in many other European countries? Why were they unable to take upon themselves more of the struggle against fascism? We cannot avoid answering. Our children, our grandchildren, and we ourselves must know what happened in this country in the years and decades prior to liberation. It is a historical fact that from the second half of the thirties, the best sons of the Hungarian people courageously took up the struggle against Hungarian and international fascism. The most important opposition was expressed by the political attitude of more than 100,000 organized workers; under the influence of the Hungarian Party of Communists and the left wing of the Social Democratic Party, they condemned fascism and

the war against the Soviet Union from the beginning. This considerable force was unable, however, to halt the policy of national destruction of Horthy's counterrevolutionary order. The progressive forces did not get wide support from the masses that would have materialized the hope for victory. The 1 million-strong industrial working class, the 4 and 1/2 million-strong peasantry, the several hundred thousand-strong intellectuals and employees did not recognize in time as a group its interests and the need for a union of forces concerned for the fate of the fatherland. In addition to citing the cruel terror of the governing fascist system, we must look for the reasons for this lack of recognition in the nationalist, chauvinist, racial, and demagogic propaganda that misled the nation, and in the modest organization of the progressive forces. Thus our people became the historical victims of reactionary politics," said Karoly Grosz, and in the following part of his speech he pointed out:

"The Hungarian communists issued their words of warning in time: There is need for national unity to face the strengthening fascism. The intellectuals gathered in the March Front called the masses into struggle, the Hungarian Historical Remembrance Committee demanded the creation of an independent, free, democratic Hungary. The organized peace rally of the youth workers on 6 October 1941 at the Batthyany Memorial Candle, and the patriotic demonstration of the Budapest workers on 15 March 1942, were a demonstration of mobilization of forces against fascism and against the war. In 1944, the Peace Party already appealed to the Hungarian people to take up armed resistance. The Ujpest fighters took up arms against the German fascists and the Hungarian Nazis, and so did the action group led by Lajos Feher, the partisans led by Zoltan Fodor, Ferenc Kiss, Sandor Nogradi, Gyula Uszta, Marton Szonyi, members of the MOKAN committee. The efforts of the Hungarian antifascists, the best sons of our people, became part of the struggle for the liberation of our country."

Fundamental Transformation

The first secretary of the Budapest party committee remembered the struggle for the capital and the first period of liberty:

"It is difficult to follow the span of 4 decades of our free life. Here in the Carpathian basin, a short time, fundamental political, economic and social change has taken place which, under different circumstances, would have taken several centuries," he said. "Our people, the working class, led by the party, took final possession of the country, built a socialist state with all its organs, institutions, including the Armed Forces safeguarding our peace and security. We laid the foundations for the industrialization that transformed the country. The socialist reorganization of agriculture was a historic deed. The small peasant farm became socialist agriculture. Its effect on the life of the country can be compared only with that of the agrarian reform and the industrialization. Our agriculture, with its production methods and its output, today belongs to the world's forefront."

The structure of our society has been fundamentally transformed. During the years several million people changed professions, place of residence, and way of life. The new generation, educated, and ready for deeds and creative shaping of our future has grown up, is present, and has already become a determining force in our society. If sometimes we are slightly impatient, if we would prefer to witness a more accelerated development, let us not forget: Characteristic of our society is that the way of thinking and culture of millions has changed, and the education and professional knowledge of the entire society are of a higher level.

Together with the whole country, our capital, Budapest, also developed--and this will be so in the future too. Budapest today has really become the symbol of the socialist fatherland--attractive both at home and abroad. The city is the home of more than 2 million people and the working place of another 200,000 people who commute. Budapest's industry is producing today twice that much as in 1949, although at that time almost half of the entire domestic industry was in the capital. New production branches requiring modern knowledge emerged, for instance, electronics. Our capital is the widely influential intellectual and scientific center of our country. During the 40 years, with our sweat and blood, we have not only revived our capital from its ruins but we have built another Budapest, qualitatively better by an entire age than the old one.

Our party and government have been devoting great attention to our capital. As a result of this, it has been able to develop dynamically even in economically more difficult years, and it is still developing," concluded Karoly Grosz, and after providing brief information on the implemented development programs, he said:

"We can say that we have turned this city into our homes. We have turned it into a place in which, even if not without problems, life is humane. Humane, because we are living and working in security, calm, and under honest circumstances. On this occasion too we must thank with deep respect all those who have made extraordinary efforts and sacrifices for the development of our country and our capital in the course of 40 years, gratitude to the workers, peasants, intellectuals, party members and nonmembers alike."

"There has been no period in our country's history as active as these 40 years," continued the first secretary of the Budapest Party Committee. "We evaluate modestly and realistically but also proudly even our socialist achievements of outstanding importance. We feel with justification that nowadays we are better appreciated in the world than at any time in long centuries. But we also cannot hide the fact that in the course of decades since our liberation, our development has not been unbroken, it has not always been on the ascendant," the speaker recalled the events of the 1956 counter-revolution, the damage caused not only to our country but to the entire international communist and workers movement. "Therefore, we cannot forget its lessons. There are people today, however, who are searching with increasing frequency and increasing emphasis of calling to account as to who are responsible for the fifties. Do not search for them! We are here. We, who were

still children or already adults, were working with passionate belief and determination day and night--perhaps applauding and chanting more than necessary--are not ashamed of the first decade of the history after the liberation, either. We condemn the breaking of the law, the failure to consider the people's opinions, the abuse of power, the double-dealing, the desertion of our political allies, and the neglect of our national interests. But we remember another kind of fifties, too. The period when we destroyed the opposition of a cruel governing class, when we reconstructed the country in ruins, when we sent thousands of worker and peasant youth to the university or to responsible work and position. And they held their ground there!

It is not necessary to commit crimes. The crimes of the fifties could have also been avoided. For the reasons why these could nevertheless happen, we must look in Hungarian history, in the international situation, and in the human frailties of the leaders of those times. But we will not allow anyone to deny the self-sacrificing work of millions and to disregard with a phlegmatic shrug the efforts to create new things.

Sincere Counting

Speaking about the tasks facing us, Karoly Grosz stressed: "These are not smaller than ever in the past 40 years.

"It is our experience of 4 decades that we cannot solve our tasks without social unity. That is why we are guarding the national unity achieved through social debates and mutual confidence. We must develop a political atmosphere of readiness for action, a socialist democracy increasingly penetrating our society, and the appreciation of decent and honest work."

In the concluding part of his speech, Karoly Grosz said: "The political atmosphere in Budapest is calm and balanced.

"In these weeks--in the same way as everywhere in the country--the capital's communists too, are preparing for the 13th congress of our party. On membership meetings, party meetings, they sum up the achievements and failures of the work done since the 12th congress. The accounts so far have been sincere, critical, and self-critical. They reflected the real problems of the day. We possess many valuable proposals. Our party membership, the entire people look upon the 13th congress with expectation. It expects from the congress to give answers to the questions presented by life and to supply clear-cut action programs. We can consider this as a sign of high level confidence towards the party.

Our most important task for the coming years is to discover and exploit through consistent work the resources inherent in the socialist system in all areas of social life; with the increase of the production capacity of our people's economy and with the gradual acceleration of the economic development to create the material conditions for the increase in the standard of living, for the improvement of living conditions, and for the better assertion of social justice; with the development of our democratic institutions in the line of socialist goals to further strengthen the national unity.

"The guidelines of our party's congress reflect our future. Our people's economy proved its capacity for burdens in the more difficult years, and our people and the society proved their strength and unity. This has been and remains the firm basis from which, continuing our road into the coming years, we can arrive further in the further development of our achievements"--said the first secretary of the Budapest Party Committee in conclusion of his festive speech.

CSO: 2500/268

HUNGARY

WORLD WAR II DOCUMENT ON DEFENSE MINISTER'S RESIGNATION

Budapest KRITIKA in Hungarian Aug 84 pp 13-15

[Annotated by Attila Bonhardt and Sandor Szakaly: "About the Reasons for a Resignation. Defense Minister Vilmos Nagy's 1943 Memorandum to Miklos Horthy." This is one of the articles criticized in the Bucharest journal ROMANIA LITERARA, 6 Dec 84; see JPRS Report EPS-85-008 of 15 Jan 85. Passages enclosed in slantlines are printed in italics/

[Text] For nine months during World War II (from 24 September 1942 until 12 June 1943), Colonel General Vilmos Nagy^a was minister of defense in the "Hungarian royal government" under Miklos Kallay. While he was minister, he strictly adhered to legality. Thanks to his efforts, the living and working conditions of the Jews and non-Jews serving in the auxiliary and special labor companies improved considerably.

As a nationalist, Vilmos Nagy strived to keep a certain distance from the Germans, opposed meeting unconditionally their economic and military demands, and was known to be absolutely loyal to the regent. He soon found himself in the cross fire of attacks from the extreme right. The Arrow Cross and Imredy's followers both accused him of being openly pro-Jewish and unpatriotic. After the 2d Hungarian Army's catastrophe at the Don in February 1943, the extreme right's attacks became even louder. The Arrow Cross blamed Vilmos Nagy for the catastrophe, because he had not sent enough units to the Eastern Front.

Seeing the attacks against the government and especially against himself personally, Vilmos Nagy twice offered his resignation to the regent. But both times, at audiences with the regent on 2 May and 20 June 1943, Horthy assured Vilmos Nagy of his confidence in the defense minister.

But when strong German, and even Italian, pressure was added to the extreme right's attacks, Vilmos Nagy felt that the right thing to do was to resign. According to his memoirs ("Vegzetes esztendok" [Tragic Years], Budapest, no date of

publication), Prime Minister Miklos Kallay informed him on 2 June 1943 that now the regent would accept Vilmos Nagy's resignation.

Whereupon Vilmos Nagy wrote his resignation and, on 8 June 1943, submitted it to the regent, through Prime Minister Kallay. His resignation read in part as follows: "Regarding your recent visit with the German head of state, the Hungarian government finds itself in a difficult situation.^b

"The cause of this situation, to my knowledge, is that the Germans are dissatisfied with my efforts.

"On the 2d of this month,^c the prime minister informed me that the Hungarian government must take steps to improve relations with the Germans, and that now not only the Germans but also the Italians want me to relinquish my post as defense minister.

"Although Your Grace assured me of your complete confidence during the audiences granted me on 2 and 20 May, I now feel obliged to request that I be relieved of my post as minister of defense even if you do not revoke your confidence in me."

The regent granted Vilmos Nagy's "request" and relieved him of his post as minister of defense, on 12 June 1943.

The document we are publishing was prepared before the acceptance of Vilmos Nagy's resignation, in the period of the sharpest attacks by the extreme right, presumably after the 2 May 1943 audience with the regent. The "Report . . ." prepared for Horthy is the final draft, with corrections penciled in by Vilmos Nagy in his own hand. He submitted this memorandum to Regent Horthy on 3 May 1943.

At the same time as the "Report . . ." for Horthy, Vilmos Nagy wrote also a memorandum to the prime minister, reminding him of the following: "Deputy Ferenc Rajniss^d has filed notice of a question to the entire cabinet for oral answer, regarding the apparent need for the departure of the Hungarian royal defense minister, Vitez [a title awarded to indicate decorations for valor] Vilmos Nagy de Nagybaczon. At the same time, Deputy Jozsef Piukovich^e also has filed notice of a question for oral answer, likewise addressed to the entire cabinet, regarding the defense minister's unusual personal relations in the Bacska." Due to space limitations, we are not publishing this memo, which may be regarded as an abridged version of the "Report . . ." prepared for Horthy. In this memo Vilmos Nagy informed Kallay of having learned that deputies Ferenc Rajniss and Jozsef Piukovich were planning to put to

the government questions attacking Vilmos Nagy not only in his capacity as minister of defense, but as a private individual as well. He went on to explain that although the questions concerned him personally, they would be put to the entire cabinet. To spare the government embarrassment, therefore, he would not attend that session of parliament. The purpose of his memo was to aid the prime minister in formulating the answers to the questions.

The Military Historical Archives (Hadtorteneti Leveltar) in Budapest recently acquired through purchase the document presented below, and also the mentioned memo. Neither document has been published before, and only a combined summary of the two documents can be found in Vilmos Nagy's already mentioned memoirs.

We are presenting the document word for word and have corrected only the typing and grammatical errors. We have added explanatory notes where we thought them necessary, and have expanded several abbreviations, in parentheses. The words and sentences that Vilmos Nagy crossed out in the document are presented in square brackets. And we have printed in italics the words and sentences he inserted.

The united right-wing parties¹ have decided months ago to force my resignation by pillorying me with accusations to be brought against me in parliament.

They claim that my attitude regarding the Jewish question has harmed the Hungarian nation's universal interests; and since I am not willing to satisfy every military demand that the Germans make, I am an obstacle to complete and smooth cooperation with the Germans, and therefore I am jeopardizing the Hungarian nation's interests.

They want to prove in a variety of ways why I am "pro-Jewish," and therefore they intend to raise allegations and spread rumors about me that in part are of a financial nature and in part pertain to my family. [and which, in their opinion, can serve to demonstrate that I, under these circumstances and with such a past, am unfit to serve as minister]

On the basis of confidential inquiries, I know exactly that the Imredy group's² campaign against me is not the isolated action of individual deputies, but a program that the party alliance³ has adopted long ago, for the purpose of bringing about my downfall. In these efforts the members of the Imredy group are in agreement with all elements of the extreme right who are denouncing me as "pro-Jewish."

The objectives that the Imredy group wishes to achieve are diverse. A certain aspect of popularity also plays a role, in that Imredy's party wants to take advantage of the dissatisfaction of those extremists among the civil servants and soldiers who bitterly resent that I am curbing the inhuman excesses against the Jews and am advocating Christian charity, and not the slogans of extremist propaganda.

According to the statement of a deputy belonging to Imredy's party,⁴ Imredy and his followers equally regard Your Grace, Interior Minister Ferenc Keresztes-Fischer⁵ and myself as enemies. In their opinion, we are the three pillars on which Hungary's present system of government now rests, and the party alliance's aspirations will remain hopeless so long as we remain in our posts. Our removal is the most important prerequisite for the assumption of a role by the party alliance in the future.

The drive launched against me is a chapter in the party leadership's uniform, centrally directed and plan-conforming movement, in which the deputies⁶ filing notices of questions to the government for oral answers are merely playing out their assigned roles, but it is again Bela Imredy who is behind the conspiracy.

Imredy and his followers want to gain more favor with the Germans. The leaders of the party alliance are not concealing even at home that they would make a much greater military contribution than the present government is making to the joint war effort. Toward Germany they are now able to present the attack against me as the party alliance's effort to thwart the policy that, according to Imredy and his followers, is preventing Hungary's full mobilization on the side of the Axis Powers.

Certain signs indicate that there is at least tacit agreement, if not specific understanding, between the two national socialist camps⁷ on the drive to discredit me. On the question of my "successor," however, there already seem to be significant differences.⁸

In many instances, amidst the members' constant applause, the speakers and officers at the party alliance's district conferences have been making sarcastic comments about the defense minister's measures, especially the allowances for the family members of Jews called up for labor service, the treatment of persons in labor service, and the exemption of Jews.⁹ On the other hand, Karoly Bartha,¹⁰ my predecessor, and Jeno Ratz¹¹ were praised systematically at the district conferences, respectively at the meetings of the party alliance.

Within the Arrow Cross Party, mainly Gabor Vajna¹² and Karoly Marothy¹³ are inciting against me, and Ferenc Rajnisch (sic!) is mediating between the two camps in this matter, because Szalasi and his followers refuse to negotiate with Laszlo Baky,¹⁴ who is providing intellectual guidance for this drive within the Imredy camp.

The explanation to Laszlo Baky's behavior I see in that the Budapest Command, on my intervention, did not send a delegation of officers to the funeral of Dezso Mokcsay,¹⁵ a retired colonel and a deputy belonging to Imredy's party. For Mokcsay had also been a member of Szalasi's party, and I was informed that they and the Arrow Cross in general were planning to use the funeral for a demonstration. Since I myself had witnessed such a demonstration on the occasion of Inf Gen (Infantry General) Tamassy's funeral¹⁶ and did not regard as permissible in any event that members of the officers' corps participate, or play an active role as it were, in the demonstration to be held at the funeral, I ordered the Budapest Command to persuade the family to withdraw

its insistence on a funeral with military honors. And that is what happened. In conjunction with this, Baky wrote me a letter angrily objecting to this procedure and demanding an explanation of my action. I gave him an explanation orally, in my office. At that time he seemingly understood and accepted my reasons. But soon thereafter the gathering of information about me and the intrigues against me began.

Concerning Imredy in turn, a case is about to be brought against him before a court of honor. The case stems from the libel suit in conjunction with the deputy regent's election.¹⁷

[Imredy has also let me know that he would greatly appreciate an opportunity to show me the documents pertaining to his ancestry--a matter that has been aired also in the press recently--so that I too could become convinced that there is no Jewish blood in him.¹⁸ My informant gained the impression that if I were to support Imredy in this respect, the notices of the questions to be raised against me in parliament might be withdrawn. This again is very typical of the sinister objectives and motives behind my harassment.]

/Against Rajnisch (sic!), on the other hand, military proceedings have been instituted because of his subversive statement in the proceedings against Erdos, a former major.¹⁹/

Among the accusations against me, the following are conspicuous:

1. That I had my brother, General Bela Nagy, elected to replace me on the boards of directors from which I had resigned following my appointment as minister. [It is claimed that I had a seat on eight boards. What is regarded as particularly intolerable is that I had my brother elected as board chairman of the Hartmann Company in Szabadka, and as a director of the Tsuk Fur Company in Budapest.]
2. That my brother's wife is of Jewish origin.²⁰
3. That I acted as witness when Jozsef Hartmann, a factory director, converted to the Calvinist faith.
- [4. In conjunction with the preceding, Hartmann is alleged to have committed several irregularities.]
5. That I have received 480 cadastral yokes of land from the state.
6. That I am lagging behind the spirit of our time on the issue of labor service for Jews and am opposed to it; that I am lenient in these matters and am even demanding that the Jews be treated humanely.

To explain the individual points, I wish to report the following:

Re 1. With the permission of the Chief of the General Staff²¹, I served as board chairman of two companies prior to becoming minister. These were the Hartmann Company of Szabadka, and the Danube Aircraft Factory. Approval was pending for my serving as board chairman of the Fur Products Factory as well.

The general meeting of stockholders elected my brother to the board of the Danube Aircraft Factory at a time when I was still board chairman. He was elected to the boards of the other two enterprises after my resignation and without my having influenced his election. I wish to add that the Hartmann Company is not an operating company, because its plant in Szabadka has been leased to the Hangya Cooperative. In other words, the firm is not doing any business whatsoever. The insinuation that the mentioned firms have profited from this situation is malicious distortion because it is false. I have never given these companies any business advantage, and neither my brother nor anyone else from these companies has ever turned to me in their affairs.

When I was appointed minister, I resigned all my economic positions. I never had a seat on eight boards.

My brother was retired in 1929 as a colonel and brevet general, with a pension of 660 p (pengos). He was forced to seek civilian employment, again with permission, so that he could live as befits his rank.

Re 2. My sister-in-law did indeed convert to the Calvinist faith in 1929. I have never denied this and have never felt ashamed of it, even though today it is customary to deny such conversions and to disown the converts. This I refuse to do. Anyway, this concerns my brother's family and is his personal affair. My sister-in-law's origin does not influence my ideological and religious views. Only politicians led by Imredy, who is of Jewish origin himself, are capable of bringing up and holding against me my brother's marriage of 14 years ago.

Re 3 and 4. It is true that I acted as Mr Jozsef Hartmann's witness when he converted to the Calvinist faith. I have always been and am delighted that even today it is possible to win followers for Christ's teachings and the religion of love. This is not a sin, rather a duty of every believer in Christ.

I have known Mr Jozsef Hartmann nearly 38 years. We were together on the front. He served as commander with the 19th brigade. He has three decorations with swords and was awarded also the German Iron Cross Grade II and the Turkish Iron Crescent. He fought bravely also under enemy attack.

/Neither as an officer nor as an individual/ could I have refused the request of a former comrade-in-arms [at a time when he needed support the most].

The malicious rumors in conjunction with his citizenship proved false. The State Security Center has clarified this. There can be no doubt regarding Mr Hartmann's integrity.

Re 5. I purchased an estate [of medium size] in Ipolyvisk in 1940, /two years before I was appointed minister/. Its area is only 279 and not 480 cadastral yokes. I bought this estate (it was allotted to me) under the statutory conditions and forms, /with the approval of the Ministry of Agriculture/, on a 47-year mortgage. Incidentally, I am a vitez [thus I would have qualified for a grant of entailed land] and have four children and three grandchildren.

[I have not acquired anything since I became minister.]

Re 6. Regarding the question of labor service, conditions were so horrible when I took office²² that only with superhuman effort was I able to establish order within the units in the rear.²³

By means of an appropriate order,²⁵ I have attempted to humanize the situation created by Law No XIV of 1942.²⁴ Up to now a Jew, even if a Christian by religion, was cast as prey to [the basest human passions] cruel, brutal and, one might say, often bestial treatment. When everyone was proclaiming that it was a patriotic duty to torture, destroy and murder Jews, the ones sent to the Ukraine for labor service were virtually condemned to death. The grossest arbitrary actions occurred in conjunction with the call-up of Jews. Arrangements were made to call up Jews who were in someone's way, and who had to perish as noxious individuals, regardless of age or social status.

I was receiving reports day after day about the brutal treatment. In some places the raging cadres and, regrettably, also the officers [driven by the so-called ideas of the time] introduced such brutal and inhuman treatment of the men in labor service that decent Hungarian soldiers became fed up and reported it.

In many instances, men in labor service have died as a result of the beatings, overwork and poor nutrition. I had the judges advocate investigate and establish these horrors, and I am trying to put an end to them.

[This was the situation in which I found the men in labor service.] Official investigations established that at several labor service units the sick were not sent to hospitals. Men seriously ill with tuberculosis, heart trouble, epilepsy, or stomach ulcers were left to suffer in the camps, and no commander was to be found who would have [humanely] created order, because the regulations then in force prohibited showing the Jews any favoritism. And the superiors [infected with extremist views] regarded even humane treatment as favoritism. Out of revenge or for gain, even the old and decrepit were called up who could do no useful work.

This is why the SAS [Urgent, Immediately, Hurry] call-up orders²⁶ had to be abolished and replaced with the call-up of age groups based on conscription.

It became necessary to regulate the administration of service and the treatment of personnel in the same way as the Service Regulations prescribe for every member of the armed forces. I have tolerated neither greater severity nor special privileges, but have strictly demanded humane treatment for those whose work we need.

I have launched a campaign to exterminate the blackmailing of, and also bribery by, the men in labor service and their relatives.

I have settled also the question of utilizing doctors, veterinarians, engineers and pharmacists.²⁷

In conclusion, I feel obliged to outline my standpoint on the further use of the Hungarian army.

I have always said that we must hold out on the side of the Axis Powers until final victory. However, this does not mean that I am willing to drive the Hungarian nation into complete destruction as well.

Since Hungary has already been participating beyond its strength in the war against Russia, the country must not be allowed to weaken further as we proceed toward the final outcome.

The nation must have an army against the threats of attack by the Romanians, Slovaks and perhaps the Serbians.²⁸ We now have at home only 4.5 light divisions.²⁹ No additional forces from these divisions must be allowed to leave the country so long as these threats exist, and until we are able to provide at least approximately modern equipment for our divisions.

Romania's behavior is so uncertain that all safety precautions against it are warranted. Romania is constantly insisting that the present situation must be changed because it will not renounce its claim to the northern part of Transylvania and is even demanding the territory as far as the Tisza River.

If the Anglo-Saxons land somewhere in the Balkans or if the German army's situation becomes critical, Romania will probably turn its back on Germany.³⁰ In this case we can expect that Romania will attempt to reoccupy with its home army the northern part of Transylvania.

We must prevent this at all cost.

Therefore we cannot offer any additional forces for use beyond our borders. And this is why I regard the offers that Imredy and his followers are making to the Germans not only as sheer military ignorance, but as a direct criminal attempt against the Hungarian nation's interests.

But as a minister of the constitutional government, I cannot adopt a different standpoint also because every speaker on the foreign-affairs committee of both houses³¹ has set this requirement for the government.

Another important consideration is that the Hungarian army's equipment--and I am not searching whose fault this is--is still incomplete. We have yet to replace many things, because the 2d Army has lost practically its entire combat materiel. We must restore this army to our battle order by next spring, so that the country may again have 10 to 12 combat divisions.

Above I have characterized and reported on my activity and conduct to date. Although I believe that I have not departed in any way from the guidelines that I received from Your Grace before and also after my appointment as minister, I nevertheless feel obliged to raise the question of whether I can count on Your Grace's continued confidence in the future as well.

3 May 1943

Delivered in the Regent's Military Office to General Miklos Bela Dalnoki, chief military aide.

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FOOTNOTES

- a. Vilmos Nagy (Vitez, de Nagybaczon, a Szekely nobleman) was born 30 May 1884 in Parajd, Udvarhely Megye (Transylvania), to a Calvinist, Szekely-Saxon family. Lost his father at an early age. Graduating from high school, continued his studies at the Ludovika Military Academy. Finishing at the top of his class, was commissioned an infantry lieutenant in 1905. Attended the General Staff's War College in Vienna in 1909-1912. In World War I, served as staff officer on various fronts. Under the Hungarian Soviet Republic, was assigned to the General Headquarters of the Red Army. Worked in the Ministry of Defense from 1919 to 1924, was assigned to the Commander-in-Chief of the Hungarian Army in 1924 and 1925, and served as the defense minister's military aide from 1925 to 1927. Was chief of staff of the Budapest 1st mixed brigade from 1927 to 1931, and then military aide to the Commander-in-Chief of the Hungarian Army until 1933. Commander of 1st mixed brigade's 2d infantry regiment from 1933 to 1935, with promotion to general in 1934. Deputy chief from 1935 to 1936, and then chief from 1936 to 1937, of the Military Administration Group within the Ministry of Defense. From 1937 to 1939, commander of the 1st mixed brigade and then of the I Army Corps, with promotion to lieutenant general in 1937. Inspector of infantry for the Commander-in-Chief of the Hungarian Army in 1939 and 1940, then commander of the 1st Army until 1941, with promotion to infantry general in 1940. Served as minister of defense from 24 Sep 42 until 12 Jun 43. After the Arrow Cross Party came to power, was in Hungarian and German captivity. Returned to Hungary in 1945. Lived in Piliscsaba until his death on 21 Jun 76.
- b. Vilmos Nagy is referring to Horthy's Klessheim visit on 16-17 Apr 43. At this meeting with Horthy, Hitler inveighed against the Hungarian government's policies, demanded additional military forces, and also proposed to Horthy a radical solution of the Jewish question.
- c. On 2 Jun 43.
- d. Ferenc Rajniss (born 24 Jul 93 in Bartfa, died 12 Mar 46 in Budapest) was a journalist and politician of the extreme right. A leader of Janos Sallo's National Front, and then of the Hungarian Renewal Party. From 16 Oct 44, minister of education and culture in Szalasi's government. The People's court sentenced him to death as a war criminal. Executed.
- e. Dr Jozsef Piukovich (born 1895 in Bacsalmas, date and place of death unknown), an economist of right-wing persuasion. Elected deputy on the ruling party's program in 1939. Joined in 1940 the Hungarian Renewal Party headed by Bela Imredy.
- f. The questions were not put to the government because that session of parliament was prorogued, with Horthy's approval.
1. The ruling party's extreme-right opposition in parliament comprising the Hungarian Renewal Party, the National Socialist Party, and the Arrow Cross

Party. The first two parties formed a close parliamentary alliance. The third cooperated with the first two only on certain questions.

2. The parliamentary faction comprising the deputies of the Hungarian Renewal Party headed by Bela Imredy, the former prime minister, and other politicians of the extreme right grouped around them.
3. The parliamentary alliance formed in September 1941 between Bela Imredy's Hungarian Renewal Party, and the Hungarian National Socialist Party led by Fidel Palffy, Laszlo Baky and Kalman Hubay.
4. We have not been able to identify this deputy.
5. Ferenc Keresztes-Fischer (born 18 Feb 81 in Pecs, died 3 Mar 47 in Attersee, Austria), a politician. Served as interior minister from 24 Aug 31 to 4 Mar 35, and from 14 May 38 to 22 Mar 44. Took a hard line also against movements of the extreme right. When the Germans occupied Hungary, the Gestapo arrested him and sent him to concentration camp.
6. Ferenc Rajniss and Jozsef Piukovich.
7. Reference to the alliance between the Hungarian Renewal Party and the Hungarian National Socialist Party, and to the Arrow Cross Party headed by Ferenc Szalasi. Both camps stood on national socialist principles, and advocated unconditional German friendship and authoritarianism. The supporters of the party alliance were middle-class deputies of the extreme right who were repelled by the Arrow Cross Party's social demagoguery. The base of the Arrow Cross Party came from the lower popular strata who were misled by pseudosocial promises. The two camps differed also in their approach to the problem of nationalities. Szalasi and his followers did not abandon the idea of Hungarian supremacy, while the other two parties accepted the so-called "ethnic group" principle that the Third Reich advocated. According to this principle, the German nationalities in southeastern Europe would each be linked separately into Germany's Lebensraum. The two national socialist camps were competing constantly for the Germans' patronage and for the support of the bourgeois middle class. Relations between them were always tense, and they occasionally formed ad hoc alliances only to attack the government from the right.
8. We have no definite information on whom Imredy, Szalasi and their respective followers wanted as Vilmos Nagy's successor. There are certain indications that Imredy and his followers had Jeno Ratz in mind.
9. Exemptions could be granted from the so-called anti-Jewish laws on various grounds: e.g., merits in World War I, active participation in counterrevolutionary movements, Olympic champions, etc. From 1939 on, the circle of persons who could claim exemption became ever narrower.
10. Karoly Bartha (Vitez, de Dalnokfalva), a colonel general of engineer troops, respectively colonel general (born 18 Jun 84 in Budapest, died 22 Nov 64 in Linz, Austria). Defense minister from 15 Nov 38 to 24 Sep 42.

11. Jeno Ratz (Vitez, de Nagylak), an infantry general, then colonel general (born 20 Sep 82 in Nagybecskerek, died Dec 51 in Budapest). Chief of the General Staff from 5 Sep 36 to 14 May 38. Defense minister from 14 May 38 to 15 Nov 38. A deputy of the Hungarian Renewal Party in 1940-1944. Minister without portfolio and deputy prime minister from 22 Mar 44 until 19 Jul 44. Chairman of the fascist upper house as of 8 Nov 44. The people's court sentenced him as a war criminal to death by firing squad. The president of the republic commuted his sentence to hard labor for life.
12. Gabor Vajna (born 4 Nov 91 in Kezdivasarhely, died 12 Mar 46 in Budapest). A retired major, Arrow Cross politician, deputy of the National Assembly. Interior minister of the Szalasi government from 16 Oct 44. People's court sentenced him to death as a war criminal. Executed.
13. Karoly Marothy (Meisler), fascist politician, deputy of the National Assembly. With his group on the extreme right, joined the Arrow Cross Party in 1939.
14. Laszlo Baky (born 13 Sep 98 in Budapest, died 29 Mar 46 in Budapest), a retired gendarme major. After retirement, joined the Hungarist Party in 1938, and subsequently the united Arrow Cross Party. A deputy of the National Assembly from 1939 on. Finding the Arrow Cross Party "too radical," left it in 1940, resurrected with Fidel Palffy the Hungarian National Socialist Party, and became one of its leaders. By forming this new national socialist party, Baky and his followers won over from the Arrow Cross Party a substantial proportion of its middle-class support, thereby rocking the party in its very foundations. Hence the hatred that Szalasi and his followers felt for Baky. As a leader of the Hungarian National Socialist Party, Baky was one of the architects of the party alliance with Imredy and his group. As state secretary of the interior in the Sztojay government, Baky played an active role in the deportation of Hungarian Jews. After the war, the people's court sentenced him to death. He was executed.
15. Dezso Mokcsay (born 1886 in Ungmogyoros, died 1943? in Budapest), a retired staff colonel, a founding member of the Arrow Cross Party, and deputy of the National Assembly.
16. Arpad Tamassy (de Fogaras), retired colonel general of engineer troops (born in 1870?, died in Budapest in 1939?).
17. In conjunction with the deputy regent's election, journalist Sandor Balazs accused Imredy of perfidy. Bela Imredy sued for libel, but the case ended with Sandor Balazs's acquittal. The court said in effect that the accusation against Imredy had been justified. As defense minister, Vilmos Nagy started proceedings against Bela Imredy, a reserve officer, before a court of honor.
18. In 1939, Bela Imredy's political opponents produced a birth certificate according to which one of Imredy's great-grandparents had been Jewish. In the wake of this revelation, Imredy had to resign as prime minister.

19. We do not know anything more about this case.
20. Vilmos Nagy's sister-in-law, Olga Nagy (nee Gross), was a "baptized Jew, otherwise a pure Jew" by birth. The extreme right used this as a pretext to attack Vilmos Nagy.
21. The Chief of the General Staff at that time was Ferenc Szombathelyi.
22. Vilmos Nagy refers to his appointment as minister, on 24 Sep 42.
23. On 1 Feb 43, Vilmos Nagy established the post of "inspector of the labor service units in the rear" and appointed Jeno Roder to it, a major general recalled temporarily from retirement. Roder performed his duties conscientiously. On the basis of his reports, Vilmos Nagy introduced many measures on behalf of the Jews in labor service. He disciplined many of the officers who had lost their self-control. The labor service units at the front were under the authority of the Chief of the General Staff. Vilmos Nagy had authority only over the labor service units in the rear.
24. "Law No XIV of 1942 Modifying and Amending Law No II of 1939 on National Defense, and Law No IV of 1938 on the Recognition of Combat Service in the 1914-1918 World War." Horthy and Kallay signed this bill into law on 29 Jul 42.
25. On 21 Dec 42, the defense minister issued his General Order No 55,000/Presidential Section/1942, which implemented Law No XIV of 1942. This order regulated exemptions, labor service, etc. in detail.
26. The SAS call-up orders meant immediate call-up. Anyone receiving such an order had to report to his unit within hours.
27. Jews in the listed professions did not work in labor service units but were assigned duties for which they were qualified, respectively they substituted for the called-up non-Jewish doctors, engineers, etc. in the rear.
28. /Then/ such a threat did not exist.
29. A Hungarian light division consisted of two regiments, unlike the Russian or German three-regiment divisions. The Hungarian light divisions were reorganized into three-regiment units in the summer of 1943.
30. Vilmos Nagy's "prophecy" proved entirely correct in August of 1944.
31. Vilmos Nagy means the National Assembly's Upper House and Chamber of Deputies.
32. The date, the text following the date, and the initial are penciled in Vilmos Nagy's handwriting.

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HUNGARY

REPORTS ABOUT CHINESE REFORM

Preliminary Discussions, Economic Zones

Budapest MAGYARORSZAG in Hungarian 14 Oct 84 p 5

[Article by Ferenc Sarkadi Kovacs: "Distribution of Report Cards"]

[Text] The camera was looking toward the Gate of Heaven. Hundreds of thousands waited in mute silence on the square before the gate. Suddenly the gate opened and a black limousine with the Hung Chi (Red Flag) mark appeared, with Deng Xiaoping, this time as commander-in-chief of the army. It was as if the ramp of the marble bridge before the gate were about to launch the solitary traveler, then the limousine rolled down the slope on the other side. Deng Xiaoping went 2 kilometers along the "Eternal Peace" avenue which crosses Tiananmen square. He greeted the soldiers who, after a few minutes, marched before Deng's eyes, already returned to the gate terrace. Armed soldiers, tanks and--for the first time--intercontinental rockets. "For the first time" is natural, for the last military display in Beijing was in 1959. The parades ended in the years following that, citing reasons of thrift. A double blow hit China at that time--the senseless waste of the economic "great leap", the voluntarism which paralysed agricultural production, and natural disasters as well. The country was on the verge of starvation. (The Chinese statistical office recently made public that at that time 10 million people died due to natural catastrophes and "factors produced by man.")

The "Spirit of Denial"

For a good 10 years the internal Chinese power struggles had put civilian parades on the black list. The preparations had been cancelled in 1971 because of the Lin Biao case. Now, after nearly one and a half decades, the China returning from Calvary showed signs of its renewed self-confidence and production strength. Models and men depicting the China of today were paraded on stages drawn on wheels, pictures of a moving exhibition in encyclopedic completeness. On one stage were model families with a single child (family planning), on another agricultural products (the agricultural policy giving room for material incentive), on a third a gigantic refrigerator with open door, full of food (rising standard of living, purchasing enthusiasm, a good supply of goods). Leading Chinese sports figures (China's Olympic successes), model artificial satellites, computers (China is trying to overtake the front rank in peak

technology also), a model of the "civilized street" (human coexistence under ordered circumstances). And so forth.

This was a testimonial to almost 6 years stamped with the name of Deng Xiaoping, a birthday present to the politician completing the 80th year of his life. Deng was present in everything even without it having to be underlined with additional devices. He viewed the parade and gave his brief speech from the same place which Mao Zedong had proclaimed the people's republic in 1949. But a "spirit of denial" was embodied in the mass demonstration; on this occasion the portrait of not a single living leader was raised on high.

A party decision forbids the exaltation of living politicians, too, but in a volume published last year Deng Xiaoping himself urges modesty: "Cadres at the highest level must give an example in the development of the best traditions of the party, in illustration of the principle that the road of moral teaching is long and that of providing an example is short." But they have transferred into the present from the ancient past not only the Confucian requirements made of the "wise leader." They have also salvaged, for example, the faith in the strength of numbers, the slogans supported by numbers, the shortest path for sending a political message. If we look only at the 35th year of the existence of the people's republic, now being celebrated, there were in these three and half decades the struggle against the "three evils," then against the "five evils," and a number of other campaigns and movements. A slogan which promised "ten thousand years of happiness is exchanged for 3 years of hard work." (Some do not rule out that the "four modernizations" are "four" and not "five" or "three" by chance, since a Chinese can easily link the good deeds of the four modernizations with the ill luck of the "gang of four," and thus can develop in himself a behavior approving of the present policy.) The validity of the thesis is reduced by the fact that Zhou Enlai had announced the four modernizations even before the "cultural revolution," when the "gang of four" had not yet vanished.

In Three Zones

It is similarly a continuation of the old traditions of guidance that the leaders must understand the writing of poetry and literature, must have mastered calligraphy. In ancient China both were among the most important criteria when selecting officials. Calligraphy is a constituent part of Chinese culture; it is an art. The manuscripts were put in public view, or cut on public buildings or stone tablets, and the common people tried to judge from the beautiful writing the personal excellence of each politician. (In recent weeks Deng Xiaoping has had to prepare inscriptions for two newspapers and a stone tablet. A saying of Deng has been inscribed on a renovated section of the Great Wall of China and the name of an "economic daily" and of a brand new women's weekly were formed by the printers on the basis of Deng's calligraphy. All this, however, is simply a tradition; it is not a sign of a personality cult.)

Deng's sayings figured in the 1 October parade also---in a striking way on the models portraying the special zones. Their significance need not be sought in their content; what we have here are rather everyday statements. Their history

goes back to early spring, when the politicians generally leave sunny, but cold and windy Beijing to make tours of warmer climes. On this occasion Deng chose three special economic zones from the four in South China. Many had already visited the special economic zones and some felt that "with the exception of the five star reg flag (the Chinese national flag) one did not find a socialist character in the zones; they were almost like Hong Kong." Chen Yun, the number one economic policy maker of China among the top leaders, very much emphasizing planning and offering market regulators only with moderation, and Deng had not yet visited the zones. In early spring Deng Xiaoping visited Shenzhen, Xiamen and Zhukai with a populous retinue. In order to avoid a stir they visited the region in minibuses with light absorbing brown window glass instead of in the big black limousines. In Zhuhai he prepared the epigraph "The Zhuhai economic zone is good." In Shenzhen he prepared the epigraph "The experiences gained in the development of Shenzhen have proven themselves. Our policy approving creation of the economic zones is correct." (In saying farewell to the Shenzhen party secretary Deng avowed that "I had the idea of the special zones first, and then the central committee made a decision about it." In plain language this means: He who criticizes the special zones and compares them to the old concessionary areas is criticizing Deng. He who opposes them is opposing Deng.)

Is there resistance to the zones and how great is it? Was there open fighting, stiff resistance or only normal debate, after which unity was reestablished at a higher level? Deng took on his early spring tour Yang Shangkun, permanent deputy to the chairman of the military committee (to Deng), and Wang Chen, Chairman of the central party academy, the Wang Chen who a year ago was among the first to castigate the "intellectual pollution" of China, one hotbed of which was understood to be the special economic zone. Both may have been suitable mediums to pass on the position and messages of Deng to the resisters, persuading as having been persuaded. (Of the two it may have been Yang Shangkun who had less need of persuasion.)

It is also a fact that in the fall of this year the spokesmen for the Chinese leadership proclaimed with extraordinary energy the need for reforms, for an opening to the outside world. Such slogans are being circulated in China as "Time is money" and "Efficiency is life." Reform will be the primary theme of the upcoming party conferences (a plenum of the central committee in October and the national party conference to be held next year.)

Tobacco and Case

Every year above eighty counts as a gift. Deng, running a little race with time, is working with redoubled strength to see that the renewal of China puts down ever deeper roots. Hu Yaobang, first secretary of the party, presumably this is also the optimism obligatory for a politician in a leading post, recently offered the opinion before his visitors that the resistance to the reforms is only limited, that what is involved is rather backward thinking. "This," he explained, "is like when a man has already given up smoking, but still holds on to his cigarette case."

Plenum on Economic Decisions

Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 21 Oct 84 p 3

[MTI report: "Economic Decisions at the Plenum of the CPC CC"]

[Text] On Saturday the third session of the Twelfth Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party adopted a program-setting document about the reform of the Chinese economic system.

The resolution summing up with general validity the reform experiments thus far points out that the advantages deriving from the socialist system have not brought the expected results in China and the most important economic reason for this is that the rigid economic structure does not correspond to the growing needs of the productive forces. The functions of government organs and of enterprises were not clearly separated, the state exercised extreme and rigid supervision over the enterprises, did not attribute sufficient significance to commodity production, to the law of value and the regulating role of the market, and realized absolute equality in distribution.

The document places in prospect changes in everything, setting forth that the essential task of socialism is the development of the forces of production, creating ever greater social plenty and satisfying the growing material and intellectual needs of the people.

The resolution considers the key to national economic reform to be a strengthening of the enterprise, paying attention to economic regulators and a reform of the price system. By virtue of the reform the enterprises must become relatively independent economic units in fact and an end must be put to the situation where enterprises were mere dependencies of government organs.

In connection with the carrying out of price reform the resolution points out that on the one hand this affects the entire national economy and on the other hand it affects every Chinese family, so the reform must be carried out with extraordinary circumspection and in a planned and systematic way. Starting from the principle of planned commodity management, China needs a planning system in which the law of value will be realized. The economy of China is a planned commodity economy and not a market economy completely at the mercy of market forces--the resolution states. Binding plan indicators and guideline planning fit into this system; the role of the former will decrease and the role of the latter will increase. Binding plan indicators will continue to be in effect in the case of products which affect the entire national economy or the wellbeing of the people and whose distribution in China the state will continue to assume itself.

The resolution also urges a change in the levelling which is manifested in wage payment and the development of different forms of a system of responsibility in the urban economy also, ensuring that the director will be responsible for managing the factory, production and certain personnel questions. The document touches on various economic forms, on bringing in foreign capital, on use of mixed Chinese and foreign undertakings or undertakings operating

exclusively with foreign capital, as beneficial supplements to Chinese socialist management. China must continue to conduct a flexible economic policy vis-a-vis foreigners and must reform the foreign trade structure. National isolation cannot lead to modernization--the resolution states.

The session of the CCP also passed a resolution that a national conference of party delegates is to be held in September of next year. About 1,000 delegates will participate in this. According to Saturday's report the agenda of next year's party conference will include a debate of and acceptance of proposals connected with the chief guidelines of the seventh Chinese economic and social development plan (1986-1990), the coopting of new members into the central committee and other organizational questions.

Commentary About Plenum Decision

Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 26 Oct 84 p 2

[Article by Peter G. Feher: "Repairing the Reviewing Stand"]

[Text] Tourists visiting Peking this year must put up with no little discomfort. In the spring they began to repair the reviewing stands before the winter palace of the onetime emperors. They closed the chief entryway and one can approach the inestimably valuable monuments only through a side door. The workers worked diligently--according to Chinese custom--and practically hid from the outside observer with their scaffolding the picture of Mao Zedong hung above the main gate, the only one which can be seen publicly in the Chinese capital today. The portrait stares unblinkingly at the teeming maelstrom in the square of Heavenly Peace, which hardly resembles what it was in the life of the man to be seen in the portrait. On the first day of October--the 35th anniversary of the proclamation of the Chinese People's Republic--the parade units of the armed forces of this country in change paraded before the freshly repaired reviewing stand.

The buses carrying the tourists can find parking in the central square only with difficulty. But it is apparent even to the more observant viewer that in crossings and on the main roads trucks carrying agricultural products are arriving virtually one after another. From vegetables to meat, from the favorite fruits of South China to ocean fish, everything can be found in the unloading areas. And this is so not only in Beijing but also in the other larger cities of the Chinese People's Republic. The swift development of agriculture is the direct consequence of resolutions adopted by the central committee of the Chinese Communist Party in 1978. At that time the plenum made economic work the central task, putting in the foreground individual interest in such a way that the framework of the larger producing units still remained. The result was not long coming, because already at the beginning of the 1980's agricultural production had increased to such a degree that the purchasing sites got into trouble as a result of the "excessive onset." The income of the peasants increased and in the inner city of Beijing it was not unusual to find families the members of which had come to the big city to spend the money they had saved. Frequently, however, they were forced to depart empty handed because Chinese industry was not yet able to manufacture

in sufficient quantity the articles of common necessity which before long will be the indispensable appurtenances of Chinese households.

Such, for example, are refrigerators, black and white television sets, and now increasingly color television sets, electric fans, considering the climate, and the very popular stereo sets. So in good time the so-called urban reform came on the agenda, that is, the reorganization of the guidance of industry. The central committee of the Chinese communist Party passed a resolution in the interest of this. The program-setting document, consisting of 16,000 Chinese characters, emphasized that thus far the advantages deriving from the socialist system had not sufficiently "proven themselves" in China. The most important economic reason for this was that the rigid structure did not correspond to the growing needs of the forces of production.

The unanimously adopted resolution of the central committee intends to decrease in the future the number of enterprises falling under central plan direction. Supervision by the government will continue in effect but--discounting the basic industrial articles--the prices of products will be regulated by market supply and demand.

Government organs at various levels will guide the enterprises not directly but rather only in principle. "We are now putting our enterprises to the test, enterprises standing on a foundation of social ownership, operating under state planning and the supervision of state laws and serving socialist modernization, and in the course of this test the consumer will judge the activity of the enterprise directly on the market," the document of the central committee states.

The supreme leadership in Beijing makes no secret of the fact that it intends to break up the monopoly situation of the producing units, and thus also to encourage the enterprises to introduce new and modern technology. In connection with this they intend to gradually dismantle the previous price supports. Even today about 25 percent of all expenditures by the state budget are turned to price supports. During the past 30 years, according to official statistical data, the price index has increased by only 1.1 percent per year, and wages have been kept at a very low level. Another problem has appeared in wage policy also. Levelling continues to be in effect. Years ago they issued a slogan in agriculture, "Let us break the iron rice bowl," and they gave priority to a distribution of income according to work instead of equality--when everyone got a little bit of food.

But in industry they adhered stubbornly to wage payment according to category, independent of who worked how well and how much. Now there will be a change in this question too. The resolution of the central committee sets forth unambiguously: Differentiation according to wages must be increased in the various occupational branches so as to realize to its full extent the principle according to which those who work well and diligently must be rewarded and lazy people doing bad work must be punished. They must realize the principle according to which there will be more money for more work and less money for less work.

These statements appear all the most important because a consistent implementation of economic reform will inevitably be accompanied by an increase in consumers' prices. For this reason the Chinese leadership intends to carry out the entire "conversion" over 5 years. The resolution indicates that in the future measures must be taken so that the real income of those living in city and village will not decrease as a result of the price adjustments.

There will also be a change in the area of large central investments. Heretofore it was the practice that in such cases the government allocated the money to carry out the projects. In the future all large investments belonging in the state budget can be carried out exclusively with the aid of bank loans.

Experiments were being conducted in three designated large cities of China prior to the reform program. The CCP CC made its decision on the basis of the results of these and after a careful filtering of the experiences. This is understandable, for very important questions are involved, in a country of one billion inhabitants. Repairing the consequences of errors made in the past is extraordinarily difficult. It will require long years, in some cases decades.

In addition to all this the party leadership must deal with the resistance of the "old guard," which sees capitalist tendencies in the reforms. In a recent speech Hu Yasbang, first secretary of the CCP CC, noted that the new economic measures were clashing with retrograde individual and group interests. What sort of people can carry out the reform is increasingly becoming a central question of Chinese cadre policy. The basic criterion is support of the reforms, Hu Yasbang said. At the same time, people who became members of the CCP at the time of the "cultural revolution" make up nearly half of the membership of the Chinese party.

Those who on the first of October viewed the military parade from the freshly repaired reviewing stand have planned a Chinese future which differs completely from earlier ideas. Even if the only Mao picture placed in the public square hung over their heads.

Description of Plenum Decision

Budapest MAGYARORSZAG in Hungarian 28 Oct 84 p 6

[Article by Ferenc Sarkadi Kovacs: "Sixteen-thousand Characters"]

[Text] "China has come to understand that socialist planned management is planned commodity management, based on the public ownership of the tools of production, where the law of value must be carefully followed and applied." This statement was made by RENMIN RIPAO, the paper of the Chinese Communist Party, 2 days after the central committee adopted a 16,000 character resolution about a comprehensive reform of the structure of the national economy. The party document summarized the experiments, experiences and lessons thus far. In the possession of certain experiences the "free" signal was not given starting from zero; this was a program for an undertaking which had

tempted a number of Chinese politicians for the past 15 years, the modernization of China. According to an English journalist the real surprise in this document was its unvarnished tone: "It reminds one of the case when an outstanding economics professor lectures a student too weak for his class."

Ten "University Semesters"

China has had ten university semesters, 5 years, to learn the historic lesson. The central committee provided this much time to carry out the basic reforms. This is a short time compared to the complexity of the tasks and the size of the country, even if the Chinese reform process is not starting from nothing; the seeds of the reforms were planted at the end of the 1970's in Sichuan and in Anhui province. But among the industrial and agricultural reform experiments it was the latter which were put first and so it was decided that these must be extended to the entire country.

The agricultural reforms are based on simple recognition: "The individual interest of the peasant must be permitted to realize itself," let the farmer (and the state) prosper. He should be interested in producing more, because then he will retain more which he can sell. The result is that China has reaped a series of record harvests. In 4 years they went from 320 million tons to nearly 400 million tons, and this year they will probably exceed even this limit. Experts hypothesize that China can go even further with this impetus, but supplementary investments will become unavoidable after a time, for example the use of artificial fertilizer or seed types with greater yields.

For the time being the Chinese village is satisfied, and if the Chinese countryside is tranquil the whole country is tranquil, goes the Chinese political axiom. The country records about 60 million people living from agriculture who are struggling with difficulties making a living and they have worked out urgent measures to liquidate these difficulties. But China has basically solved the feeding of one billion people.

The Chinese leaders have come to the similarly obvious recognition that with agricultural reforms alone the reform process is only half done, if not less. Even now the larger portion of the national income is produced in the cities; a reform of the entire economic system is absolutely required if they want to realize the national goal--to quadruple the 1980 industrial and agricultural production value by the year 2000 and reach or approximate a national income of 1,000 dollars per capita. One cannot know if it was deliberate that once again the comprehensive reforms, including a reformation of the urban-industrial systems, was confirmed at a "third plenum", a number sympathetic to numerology. The industrial and agricultural reforms together will be linked to two "third plenary sessions" now, the third plenum of the 11th central committee (December 1978) and the third plenary session of the 12th central committee (October 1984). The sequence 11 and 12 refers to the fact that the central committee in question was elected by the 11th and 12th party congress respectively.

Decreasing Role for the Midwife

It is an unambiguous identifying characteristic of the reform ("kaiko" in Chinese) that it points in the direction of decentralization. The excessive midwifery over the enterprises will end. The level of decision-making will descend, for the sources for enterprise flourishing are known better on the spot than in distant offices. They want to make the enterprises compete. Competition is necessary, as one can read from the 39-page resolution (in English translation). "We must make our enterprises subject to the judgment of the consumers on the market, and only the best should survive."

The number of binding plan indicators will decrease, although they cannot and do not want to end state supervision of industrial and agricultural products of vital importance to the nation. But as a whole the plan must be flexible and only approximate. Good economic performance "cannot be achieved relying exclusively on administrative tools and binding plan indicators."

The sphere of authority of the enterprise director will increase. What is more, beginning next year an experiment will start in 3,000 important state factories to have the director fill his post only for a definite time. In general this time will be 4 years, after that he can remain in his post if the factory worker congress--worker council--approves of it.

If the director proves incompetent he can submit his resignation or be removed from his post sooner. But in the final analysis the success of the comprehensive reform depends on whether they will succeed in reforming the irrational price system. The state spends enormous sums on subsidies. According to some estimates the subsidies for consumer goods, housing and transportation syphon off one quarter of the budget, even more if we add the industrial subsidies. This causes a deficit and the money printed to cover the deficit is a bearer of inflationary tendencies. Value proportional prices reflecting the laws of supply and demand must be developed circumspectly so that real income does not decrease, the resolution states, and it trusts that "there will never be general and spiral price increases" in China.

Deng's Crucial Role

Since the reforms will undoubtedly give greater scope to market forces the economic and budgeting regulators hold out a prospect for a breakup of egalitarianism--among other things the egalitarianism manifested in wage payment. A part of the Western press, in a completely absurd manner, sometimes says that "China is moving toward capitalism." What is really involved is a far-reaching socialist experiment in the course of which they will adjust to economic laws, make use of rational and modern guidance methods and depart from methods which have proven ineffective, in a gigantic, backward and complex country. It is a fact, however, that mention of capitalism touches a sensitive nerve in China, for it is not 10 years since Deng Xiaoping was called "a person taking the capitalist path" simply because of the ideas he was airing even then. Now the mark of his hand is on the economic reform document, even if it is primarily the group work of apparatuses and special committees.

Deng does not have any state or government office, but his person (and personnel questions in general) has become the subject of speculation in connection with another decision. They will convene a party conference in September of next year. The holding of party conferences is rare in the history of the Chinese party, but very important decisions are always made at them. Such, for example, was the Zhunyi conference of 1985 when Mao Zedong, eliminating his competitors, became leader of the Chinese party. Or the conference held in the pleasant coastal resort of Beidaihe in 1958, where they adopted a resolution on setting up people's communes. Once again they are putting economic questions on the agenda at next year's party conference, as well as a "solution to organizational problems," which suggests an exchange of personnel. Hu Yaobang, first secretary of the central committee, said to former Japanese foreign minister Ito Masajosi that one could count on the "retirement of three or four high-ranking leaders" and the next day the interpreters for the first secretary said that Hu Yaobang was thinking of personnel exchanges to be carried out in the secretariat of the central committee.

The secretariat is not the highest in the hierarchy of summit organs, but it is considered the motor of the apparatus. Nor is it excessively in the realm of fantasy that there will be personnel changes in the summit organ, in the permanent committee of the politburo. Of the six members two have not appeared regularly in public for a long time. One of them, Ye Jianying, was not even present at last week's central committee session, because of illness.

There is also a hypothesis that others will retire from the summit body if the 80 year old Deng Xiaoping himself also retires. Such a scenario, it is said in diplomatic and journalistic circles in Beijing, would make it possible for younger leaders to try out what the burden of leadership means "in life," while still enjoying the physical presence of Deng.

At present the prestige of Deng Xiaoping is very great. (In one of the photographs attached to the central committee document he is sitting in an armchair; Hu Yaobang stands beside him.) Deng has said that he would like to live until 1997 in order to see how China will take back Hong Kong from Great Britain. Not only his vital strength but his sense of humor is unbroken. Joking about his small stature, he said to Chancellor Kohl the other day that small stature was not a problem, "because if the sky falls down it will not hit me first, it will hit the giants first."

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COS: 2500/217

HUNGARY

FUNCTION, PURPOSE, FORM OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS INSTITUTE EXAMINED

Budapest SZAKSZERVEZETI SZEMLE in Hungarian No 10, 1984 pp 38-42

[Interview with Director of Hungarian Foreign Affairs Institute, Gyula Gyovai by Ferenc Szalay: "Political Science and Foreign Policy"; date and place not specified]

[Text] [Question] What branch of science does the Hungarian Foreign Affairs Institute deal with? Is it a scientific institute or an institute directly promoting practical foreign policy?

[Answer] One of the most important tasks of the institute is research, i.e. research, areas and problems which are important to Hungarian foreign policy, of outstanding ideological-political importance, or essential for the development of theory and scientific discipline dealing with international political relations. Another major area of work performed by the institute is the analysis of current policy and ad hoc questions. The publication of results is a very important part of the activity conducted at the institute. Our institute has an independent journal in which we would like above all to publish works that originate at the institute, or at least we try to do this. Recently the number of our publications has increased significantly. In addition to their institute products our colleagues also publish frequently in other journals, daily newspapers and they appear on radio and television where they give their views on timely questions of world politics. Therefore, we can say that a part of our work is research while another part consists of a more practical nature.

[Question] Then the institute deals, in fact, with foreign policy?

[Answer] With one branch of political science. For example, one department of the Political Science Association deals with international political affairs, and our institute is the base institute for this department. In practice, this means that the international political department depends primarily on the institute for its international relations, or when, for example, it organizes conferences. That is, we try to extend maximum help to the work of the department for international political affairs. Of course, this is a relatively young discipline within political science. Its scientific nature is still debated at various forums, but it is my opinion that political

studies cannot exist without a scientific base or bases. This is also true of foreign policy.

[Question] We speak frequently these days of 'politology', political science. What is your opinion of it? Is it a fad, or are we speaking of something much more serious? Or has it come to the forefront now for some reason?

[Answer] A multitude of various institutions in the world and many research places have started dealing with questions whether policy making, in our case international policy making and international policy planning, has characteristics, patterns, tendrils which can be studied through scientific methods. Various experiments have been conducted and are being conducted in this process. It is now indisputable that if policy is to make correct decisions, it must consider research results in the most varied scientific areas. There is need for the knowledge of scientific workshops dealing with economics, historical sciences, and legal disciplines without which well-founded decisions over the long term are impossible. There is a great deal that is latent in foreign policy decisions. Security interest, international efforts, or--in the case of states which belong to a political and military bloc--alliance interests. Foreign policy is no longer simply a domain of diplomatic relations, but rather an area which must analyze in a complex way the phenomena evident in world development, economic trends, changes in the military-scientific-technical revolution, demographic changes, and trends which in the final analysis--especially when considering long-term trends--determine the situation and possibilities of individual countries. And with all these, definite tasks are turned over to the foreign policy of a given country.

[Question] You said that the institute has two main areas, branches of activity. One is of a theoretical nature and--to put it in this way--it is not used directly in foreign policy decisions. The other is more practical, that is, it can also be used directly in making and preparing decisions. Where and how are the results of the institute used?

[Answer] Our institute is organically linked to the Foreign Ministry, and in its work it also cooperates closely with departments of the Central Committee. The use of the institute's products (when, how, how much, and in what form) is indeed a characteristic area of practical and scientific cooperation. In the social and natural science area one of the most exciting questions of our time is when, how fast and in what way the results of scientific work are put into practice and in what way they can be built upon. It is a concern of the whole world to determine what the best methods and forms are for this purpose. I would not dare say--and in fact we are far from it--that we have found the most effective forms for doing this. The institute is young, just 11 years old. We are in a state of our development where the most varied experiments are being conducted as to how this cooperation can really be made effective. It is essential for research and at the same time the greatest help if it receives concrete incentive and inspiration from practice as to the direction in which it should conduct research work and in what direction it should be active. Moreover, it is necessary to study and research the problems which

have arisen from the mobility of science itself, and of course this must be made usable also on behalf of practice.

[Question] What kind of expertise must the researchers have? Does the working staff of the institute consist of theoretical experts or politicians?

[Answer] Twenty researchers work at the institute. Some of them used to work in the diplomatic field; others were engaged in theoretical work at research institutes. Among them there are lawyers, historians, economists and experts in military security problems. Representatives of many branches of science make up the research cadre which in the final analysis has one task: to study international political relations and international political ties. Whether in the research of countries, regions, or in the research of certain subjects they must become true experts in the area.

[Question] What is the structure of the institute like?

[Answer] The institute is structured according to two organizing principles. Horizontally, the institute consists of departments dealing with the socialist world, the developed capitalist world and the developing world. This is the base. Here we have need for collecting and systematizing information in order to know the several basic trends of mobility that are occurring in the world and are determining its political development. According to the vertical principle of organization we group the researchers of the three departments by problem areas. For example, when we analyze the problems of East-West or North-South relations, the research groups are of mixed composition. There are some subjects which require representatives of all three areas to participate in researching a given problem.

[Question] That is to say, one researcher can belong to a number of such groups at one and the same time?

[Answer] Yes. We endeavor to have each researcher specialize in a given country or region, and in addition it is also desirable for researchers to specialize according to problem areas. Such for example is the European security problem area which calls for the study of many elements of East-West relations. Such is the research group which studies the broadest areas of international security that are of particular importance in the present state of military competition.

[Question] What are the institute's main research areas at present?

[Answer] For many years now the greatest attention has been devoted to the state, situation and mobility of East-West relations. Within this, of course, we move basically in the sphere of East-West political relations, and we study the general political characteristics of East-West relations: detente and the existence and effect of tensions. Another area is research in the security elements of East-West relations, that is, the military-security elements in the East-West rivalry. This refers, above all, to certain questions in the great global struggle between NATO and the Warsaw

Pact. In recent years there has been no relaxation in military competition, but rather an increase due to NATO decisions. A third area consists of certain ideological aspects of East-West relations, Hungarian foreign policy participation in the cultivation and development of East-West relations. Due to the 1970 detente years, all small European countries have a much greater share in the cultivation and development of relations than before. To the extent that the Cold War minimized the possibilities of small countries, detente created great opportunities for them to participate in debating the formulation, shaping, and development of the international political problems of our day. In respect to Europe it is well known that Hungarian foreign policy has been playing a very active role since the latter half of the 1960's.

[Question] I would think that the institute would have to concentrate to a certain degree in any event on Europe because we are affected most closely, after all, by our continent, even though it cannot be isolated of course from the others. Do you deal specially with European questions?

[Answer] Country research work fits naturally into the research of East-West relations. Among the European participants we follow and analyze those political activities that are most important for us. For example, the FRG played a particularly important role in the period of the European detente, and at that time we followed and studied the formulation of the FRG foreign policy and the measures it was taking. Of course, we also followed the steps taken by the small, neutral countries. Recently, the internal development of Western Europe has brought the conservatives back to power in many countries. This process and its political conditions put their stamp on the entire European situation. It is of particular interest how these forces and governments will act toward the middle of the 1980's. While we concentrate on Europe, we also see that today the European continent is only one arena of international politics, even though it is for Hungary the most important one. As far as we are able, we also try to keep up with the analysis of other regions with the help of outside experts.

[Question] What is the international reputation of Hungarian policy in foreign affairs?

[Answer] This is a very difficult question to come to grips with. I would say that basic is the respect for the domestic and foreign policy of the Hungarian People's Republic. We are speaking of how Hungary's position and the respect for Hungary has changed in the past decade and one half in international circles. While it was in a rather difficult situation in respect to the cultivation of Western relations in the first half of the 1960's, Hungary has expressed increasingly greater international activity since the second half of the 1960's. At the root of this development is the fact that Hungary has drawn attention primarily because its practical building of socialism has made it an interesting country from many points of view both in the East and the West. Naturally, Hungarian foreign policy builds on this, and can build the measures it takes on this fact. Proceeding from this, Hungarian foreign policy has in the past decade worked off to an unprecedented extent the

partly historical disadvantages related to the development of Hungarian history in this century. I am now speaking primarily of the world outside the socialist community rather than of the socialist community. Among Hungarian political sciences it was primarily economics that evoked great international attention and recognition. Hungarian economic development in the past 25 years has had an extremely positive effect on the development of the science of economics, and the development of science in turn has served practice very well. In foreign policy research development we are a young institute. One decade in the life of an institute can actually represent only the beginning and the period of preparatory development. During this period we have succeeded in building stable, continuous relations with our socialist partners and with a considerable number of Western partner institutes realized in part through continuous research exchanges and round-table conferences.

[Question] Are these conferences organized around a given subject of discussion?

[Answer] When we take into consideration our partner's endowments and area of interests it seems rewarding to try to place a given subject at the center of the research work. Thus with our Finnish partner institute we study the questions of European security. With the foreign affairs institute in Bonn, on the other hand, we follow several political aspects of East-West relations. In the 1970's we had a very interesting relationship with the Canadian institute. We held four round-table conferences, alternately in Hungary and Canada. At these conferences we tried to survey a wider orbit of East-West relations. Canada is situated on the other side of the ocean, and therefore global questions were on the table in many instances. It appears most effective when we emphasize a given subject, research it jointly for several years and exchange our research results. The present economic conditions cause serious problems for every institute, and no institute is in a position to conduct a continuous and systematic exchange of large delegations. It is more efficient if on the basis of international agreements the experts and researchers form permanent work relations.

[Question] Do you deal in some way with the international workers' movement, the trade union movement?

[Answer] Not up to now. In respect to the workers' movement we have always proceeded from the point of view that it is more efficient to cooperate with partner institutes that research and study only this subject. In recent years we have a number of times participated in theoretical conferences where problems of the international workers' movement and of the international trade union movement have also been discussed, but we went there with our own subjects. That is to say, with the kinds of political experiences we primarily deal with. We will seek to do this in the future as well, and I think this is directly related to our goals.

[Question] Thus it is all a matter of manifold work. What are the plans of the institute for the near future?

[Answer] Last year the Foreign Affairs Institute entered on its second decade of activity. Evidently this second decade will place even more tasks before us. We must organize our research and our tasks relating to the analysis and study of international political relations in such a way that the greater part of our research will be publishable and accessible to the public. Therefore, one of the key and basic tasks of the institute for the coming years is to increase the number of those good quality publications by which we can reach out to a public opinion interested in international political questions. In this way it would be more firmly entrenched into the domestic scientific and political life of the public and would be of the domestic intellectual life dealing with international policy.

[Question] Thank you for the discussion.

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HUNGARY

TIES WITH HUNGARIANS ABROAD ENCOURAGED

Budapest IFJU KOMMUNISTA in Hungarian No 11, 1984 pp 49-53

[Article by Istvan Balazs: "The Pull of the Homeland"]

[Text] "Why do we have two eyes, not one? In order to see things from two sides. To be able to put them in their place. To grasp them in their proper size and extent, that is, to comprehend the world in an appropriate dimension" (Gyula Illyes)

The Hungarian tourist in the anecdote is standing at a busy intersection in London, Paris or Zurich and inquires in Hungarian how he might get to some sight of the city. We might say that his attempt is hopeless, for Hungarian is not a world language. But behold, soon a gentleman appears and gives directions in perfect Hungarian. So is Hungarian a world language? Not at all. But it is true that in most large cities of the world--from New York to Stockholm, from Cape Town to Jerusalem--there are residents--sometimes more, sometimes fewer--who speak Hungarian as their mother tongue. They have emigrated from Hungary and settled in the so-called western world.

In the course of their history the Hungarians--like the Irish or the Poles--have lived through waves of mass migration a number of times.

At present about 1.5 million Hungarians live in the western world. The generation of those who settled in the west at the end of the last century, between the wars and in the second half of the 1940's is passing away; today the "fifty-sixers" make up the bulk of the first generation Hungarians. Second and third generations born abroad are becoming increasingly characteristic of the composition of western Hungarians and assimilation into the receiving country seems unavoidable among them. It is estimated that there are now 800,000 Hungarians living in the U.S., more than 100,000 in Canada, about 250,000 in Western Europe, about 190,000 in Africa and Asia--primarily in Israel--and 35,000 in Australia and New Zealand. These data are from a book by Miklos Szanto titled "Hungarians in the Great World" which appeared in Budapest in 1970. He and a few others--Julia Puskas, Kazmer Nagy--have also published a number of studies in the past decade about the history of the Hungarian diaspora, its composition, past, present and probably future.

We do not have room in our present article to deal in any detail with emigration prior to the war. But probably our readers are more interested by the recent past, the present and the future--primarily by what pertains to the possibilities of perserving Hungarianness and maintaining contact with the homeland.

The first generation emigrants, the stratum which grew up in Hungary, are those who are tied to the homeland by living memories. It is obvious, however, that their feelings, the contacts linking them to Hungary, differ according to when and under what circumstances and for what motives they left and settled abroad. Naturally we cannot undertake here to characterize these many types of contacts. But we can say that the majority of them are loyal to the present, socialist Hungary. That is--even if they do not agree with everything--they accept our social arrangements as a fact, are happy for our successes and gladly visit home. In maintaining contact with them socialist Hungary also is guided by loyalty. As Denes Sinor, a university professor in Bloomington, said: "We either keep in contact with socialist Hungary or we do not keep in contact with Hungary. Looked at from the other side, either the mother country accepts that we live as we do or it losses us.... We should not look for what separates us but rather for what binds us together."

It is in the interest of both sides that this should be so. It is in the interest of the Hungarians living abroad, whose Hungarianness is a value to be preserved, whose relatives live in the homeland and whose memories of the past tie them here. And it is in the interest of Hungary too, which also can be enriched by these contacts, but the bridge which the diaspora can represent between the mother country and receiving country. We might put it this way: It is in the interest of the univereal Hungarian nation that the homeland and its distant sons build harmonic, good contacts.

The second generation, naturally, feels itself to be primarily the sons and daughters of the receiving country. The extent to which they are aware of being Hungarian in addition depends primarily on their parents. In this respect we can find great extremes, beginning with those Hungarians born abroad who do not know a word of Hungarian all the way to those who not only speak it but even read literature in the mother tongue of their parents. Those who did not teach their children Hungarian thought that if they "confused" them with Hungarian it would be more difficult for them to completely fit in at school, into the new homeland. No less an authority than Piaget, the famous French pedagogue, has refuted this view: "From the viewpoint of intellectual development it makes no difference which language a small child learns first; later, entering the community, he will also soak up the language of the receiving country like a sponge." A teacher and translator living in Sweden, Janos Csatos, whose children speak only Hungarian among themselves although his wife is Swedish, argues thus: "A person who masters two such different languages and cultures as the Swedish and the Hungarian gains an incredible intellectual mobility and so can later accept yet another language and culture more easily."

It is an interesting phenomenon--characteristic not only of the Hungarian diaspora--that the third generation, the grandchildren, frequently turn to

the old homeland with lively interest. Many of them study Hungarian as a foreign language, searching their origins, their roots, and visiting Hungary is a great experience for them.

Of course, the family may not be the only arena for preserving the Hungarian language, an awareness of being Hungarian. There are a number of Hungarian church groups, primarily in the United States and Canada, and the priests serving here consider it an important mission to nourish and strengthen the Hungarianness of their followers. The number of Hungarian associations, clubs, schools, Boy Scout troops and Hungarian language newspapers and periodicals throughout the world can be measured in the hundreds.

What Does the Homeland Do?

It has been official Hungarian policy for more than a quarter century past to open the door ever wider for organized, official forms of contacts between the Hungarians scattered about the world and the homeland, depending on the development of the world situation and the recognition of the receiving countries that they themselves gain if the ethnic groups living there keep their national awareness alive. The base feeding these contacts is regular visits home and correspondence with relatives, friends and acquaintances, which generally strengthen a feeling of sympathy toward contemporary Hungary in our compatriots living far away.

The activity of the World Federation of Hungarians has expanded and become quite varied since its reorganization, that is since 1959. It offers orientation and information in the most varied questions, organizes artistic groups--which appear in Hungarian associations and clubs throughout the world--, provides guidance in legal problems and offers aid in finding relatives and acquaintances living in unknown places.

The first Budapest review of Hungarian graphic artists living abroad was organized in 1970--with the cooperation of the Ministry of Culture--and the second such program was organized in 1982. On both occasions more than 200 artists of Hungarian origin sent their works from the New World, Australia and Europe. Also at the initiative or with the cooperation of the World Federation of Hungarians there was a meeting of American businessmen of Hungarian origin, a meeting of economists of Hungarian origin, a tour of Hungary by American Hungarian Catholic priests and Hungarian Reformed Church ministers from abroad and, in August of last year, the World Meeting of Hungarian Physicians. In every case it was the unanimous opinion that the meetings were extraordinarily useful and offered a great experience for the participants, who hope that they will continue. The Hungarian Forum formed in the meantime--under the leadership of Dr Zoltan Szabo, retired minister of health and former first secretary of the World Federation--is preparing additional meetings of intellectuals. Next year there will be a meeting of Hungarian agricultural experts from at home and abroad and a meeting of librarians. In 1986 there will be an exchange of views in Budapest of natural scientists and technicians and in August of this year they organized a meeting of those doing research on the situation of scattered Hungarians, with the participation of Hungarian experts from at home and abroad.

The World Federation has also established contact with the official organs of those states where the so-called multicultural concept enjoys state support. Talks have been held on several occasions with leaders of the Swedish Educational Directorate and the Canadian Multicultural Directorate. (An agreement with the former sets forth the modalities for cooperation involving further training for those teaching Hungarian in Sweden.)

The journal of the World Federation, MAGYAR HIREK, printed in color, appears every 2 weeks--with an English language insert every month since July 1983, thinking of the second and third generation too. It reports to its readers about the life of the homeland, its problems and joys, and provides information about significant events of the Hungarians living in the west. The "Write Us!" competition announced first in 1961 and again in 1981 was memorable. In it the paper asked its readers to write about their lives, the story of their emigration, the background of it, their fate in the new homeland and the development of their contacts with the land of their birth. A photo competition titled "Our Visit Home" was announced for a second time this fall.

The radio program titled "Land of Our Birth" speaks to Hungarians scattered around the world over the waves of the ether, with a purpose similar to that of its sister journal.

Textbooks, Camps, Study Courses

The First Mother Tongue Conference was held in Budapest and Debrecen in 1970. It was here that the American professor Denis Sinor voiced the words already quoted, which since then have represented the basic principle for the movement. The first conference was followed by others. The fourth was held in 1981 in Pecs and the fifth will be held next year in Veszprem. The chief theme every time was keeping alive abroad the Hungarian language, Hungarian culture and an awareness of being Hungarian. With time the methods were refined and the possibilities expanded. The question of bilingualism and teaching Hungarian as a second language has become a central theme. Hungarian is not a foreign language even for the young generation which no longer speaks Hungarian for many threads tie them emotionally to the language of their parents and grandparents. This is why the experts adopted the "second language" terminology. Between meetings of the Mother Tongue Conferences a Patronage elected from among Hungarians in Hungary and abroad carries matters forward.

At the initiative of the Mother Tongue Conference a number of special textbooks have appeared which are used throughout the world in an ever broader sphere. It is a common aspect of these books that each of them builds on a certain level of Hungarian knowledge. As we have pointed out, there are more and more children and young people of Hungarian origin in western countries who meet with the Hungarian language entirely as a second language. Study material--books and cassettes--are prepared for them too and a pedagogical committee debated the first results of this work at a meeting of the Patronage of the Mother Tongue Conference last year.

For years the Patronage of the Mother Tongue Conference (AKV) has received the children of Hungarians living abroad at summer camps combined with study. The smallest ones--younger gradeschool children--spend 2 weeks 2 weeks at trade union children's resorts in Fonyod, Zamardi or Boglarlel. The little ones quickly make friends among the Hungarian children and maintaining contact with them also means good language practice. In addition they participate in language classes 4 hours per day. The great majority of the teachers working here constitute a basic staff which has been teaching for years on the banks of the Balaton. Here also one needs a routine and a good pedagogical vein, since the task is quite complex. It makes a difference whether one is dealing with seven year-olds or ten year-olds since one must differentiate according to the knowledge level of the children. Playfulness must play a large role among the small ones and the teachers must see to it that vacation study represents not a burden but rather an employment gladly undertaken. And the work of the teachers cannot be limited to the four study hours alone. They try to tie each shopping trip, excursion and other program with practice of a living language, not to speak of the fact that the little ones expect the teachers to act as sort of "baby sitters." It is a tradition that most of the small children come from Burgenland--obviously because of the relatively small distance. As an average for many years about 50 come from the neighboring Austrian province. But they also come from overseas and from a number of European countries. The total is generally around 200.

The famous northern Hungarian school city of Sarospatak provides a home for the Sarospatak Summer College for teenagers. Here also the differences in age and knowledge present a hard test for the teachers, the great majority of whom are local secondary school teachers. And here also a routine and great circumspection are needed so that the young people will return home with pleasant memories "despite" the fact that they had to study over the summer, at vacation time. In addition to language instruction in the strict sense significant time is devoted here to learning about Hungary--literature, history, folk art--although obviously the two are inseparable. They supplement one another. Ample free-time programs add spice to the camping--from wood cutting to sports--and as a finale the young people take a one week tour of the country. This year 70 young people appeared for the one month program, most of them from the United States and Canada and from France, Holland, the FRG, Brazil, Finland and Sweden. This year for the first time about 20 secondary school students from Hungary also participated in the Sarospatak Summer College. The "profit" for them was an opportunity to practice English or German and the youngsters from abroad could get closer to Hungarian reality and to the everyday language through them. It is an interesting fact worthy of note that in recent years young people not of Hungarian origin have appeared at Sarospatak too. They were "lured" to the summer college by their Hungarian friends or had developed a desire to know Hungary or the Hungarian language better as a result of earlier summer vacations in Hungary.

The latter case occurs even more frequently at the study course and festival organized every 2 years for western Hungarian folk dancers. (On such an occasion I myself met an Ecuadorean girl living in Sweden and a young man of Greek origin from the United States.) Of course the great majority are Hungarian or of Hungarian origin. The ever greater interest in Hungarian folk

dance which can be found among them proves that not only language can represent a living link with the former homeland of parents and grandparents. Even people who do not speak Hungarian dance the Hungarian dances with great enthusiasm and it is precisely love of folk dance which leads many of them to study the Hungarian language and to get to know Hungary better. We should mention here that in the fall of last year the AKV and the Popular Culture Institute started for the first time a 12 week basic dance instruction study course for interested Hungarians living abroad.

The list of summer camp and study possibilities is expanding further. For the second time this year children of Hungarian origin from the English language area came to a language practice camp organized by people in Bacs-Kiskun County. They practice Hungarian and their hosts practice English. This summer was the premier of a camp in Tiszakecske for friends of the zither, and a Hungarian group from Burgenland also attended.

We end the report on the summer programs of the Patronage of the Mother Tongue Conference with a strictly adult program, the teachers' further training study course in Debrecen, which is given a home by the Teacher Training College. Here for several years the most populous groups has been that of Hungarian teachers from Sweden. This circumstance is explained by the fact that school instruction in the mother tongue for ethnics has state support in Sweden and the Swedish education authorities have recognized the Debrecen study course as official further training for those teaching the Hungarian language. This year 23 came from Sweden and 20 from other countries (from France, the United States, Denmark, the FRG, Austria and Holland). They initiated special programs for those from Sweden--Hungarian-Swedish historical contacts, Hungarian-Swedish comparative linguistics, and university instruction in Sweden (lectures by the Swedish professor Oszkar Lazar). We give here only a few titled as a taste of other lectures in the study course: Attitudinal differences of the mother tongue and the foreign language; Language instruction for teenagers; Hungarian literature from beyond our borders; Folk songs, folk games and language preservation; Having two homelands; Hungarian economy--World economy; Demonstration teaching at the Debrecen Summer University.

More and more parents of Hungarian origin would like to have their children taught at some university in Hungary with a good reputation. Most of them choose a medical or technical university, but there are also young people preparing for careers in philosophy, music, graphic arts or coaching. A scholarship from the Mother Tongue Conference helps a number of young people complete their studies, naturally primarily those from whom it can be expected that when they return home they will work to preserve the Hungarian culture and language.

English-Hungarian language secondary school instruction has been organized in Koszeg at the Jurisits Gymnazium for Hungarian children living in the west.

There is no doubt that at all times the world's political situation also has an effect on the contacts between Hungarians in the west and the homeland. It is obvious that a strengthening of detente, of trust between the two world

systems, can create ideal conditions for this. As a result of many years of carefully thought out work reacting sensitively to various needs and interests the bridges of contact rest on solid pillars even in our contemporary world full of tension.

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HUNGARY

MILITARY LIFE, WORKING CONDITIONS DEPICTED

Budapest NEPHADSEREG in Hungarian 5 Jan 85 p 7

[Interview with Major General Ferenc Meszaros, higher unit commander, by Ferenc Grof: "Concerning the Development of Living and Working Conditions"]

[Text] A constant development of living and working conditions is a social goal and task. Within the units of the army also the supreme military leadership is doing everything possible to develop further the results we have achieved in this important area. With significant moral and material support, the troops of the people's army also are making serious efforts in the interest of mobilizing their intellectual and material reserves to make the living conditions of those working in their units better and more cultured, to create conditions for the high level performance of military service. How and to what extent can a higher unit participate in this work? Looking back several years, what can the commanders and party political organs active there show as their achievements? Ferenc Grof, deputy leader of a column in our paper, talked about these questions with Major General Ferenc Meszaros, commander of a higher unit.

[Question] In the course of past years the development of living and working conditions, of a system embracing virtually every area of military life, has represented a central question for the higher unit. How have the placement, supply and work performance conditions of the line soldiers changed and in what areas do you want to go further in the years ahead?

[Answer] Our most important goal in developing the living and working conditions of the line soldiers was that they should be able to do their military service, including training and free time, amidst cultured conditions. What do I mean by this? At first hearing most may think about what the camp is like from the inside, but this is only a component and not a basic question. Perhaps I can illustrate with an earlier example what I mean by the comprehensive content of living and working conditions. At one of our tank units keeping the technical equipment in operation caused much trouble for the soldiers. It meant physically tiring, hard work because the tank washing equipment did not work. But the work was also made difficult by the fact that

the vehicle repair shops lacked the basic conditions to carry out the tasks. The system of service conditions had not kept up with the modernization of the technical equipment, so serious tensions arose in this area. We established a modern shop complex, built high pressure washing equipment and thus improved working conditions. The technology required this also, but we took these important steps primarily in the interest of the people working with it. The case is not a unique one, for in the course of the past 4 years we have renovated the shops and washing equipment of all our units. This was our goal, and now we can speak of it as an achievement. What was the renovation work like? It did not consist only of repairing the buildings. We also modernized our social community installations, and where there were none before we built dressing rooms and showers. Among other things we built in work protection equipment which insures accident-free work performance. We cared for environmental protection too. Under no circumstances can oil or other pollutants get into places where they might damage our living conditions--thanks to the storage, transportation and cleaning possibilities developed. Because in the course of the activity of the soldiers the terrain too is part of the working conditions. If the exercise area is harsh, then it has to be, because difficult conditions do not occur in reality. We cannot change the terrain, just in order to create ideal conditions so that it will be easier to work on.

Among the important changes of recent years I might mention that we renovated the sick bays of all our garrisons and barracks and where there were none we built new ones. We created mental hygiene screening stations which enabled us to select out from among the soldiers the people with poor adaptability, those inclined to aggression and with other pathological characteristics. And this is only one element of a health service extending to every detail.

In the course of carrying out our developmental tasks we were thinking in complex systems. The construction and renovation of our visiting rooms, libraries and youth clubs could be realized as a result of such a view also. At one of our air defense units, for example, we established youth clubs which meet the demanding expectations laid down by the political leading group. But we tried to realize this high level in our other large garrisons too when developing one of the most important arenas for spending free time. It has become characteristic that our clubs consist of three areas. This makes it possible to offer programs, social games and individual activities requiring quiet. The majority of the soldiers enjoy their stay in our barracks, which has a significant effect on the development of the discipline situation, in addition to carrying out battle preparedness and training tasks at a higher level. If we try to create inside the fences of the barracks favorable conditions for the young soldiers, bringing the living and working conditions closer to their individual needs, then they will find opportunities for useful activities. How the efforts have paid off so far is proven by the fact, among other things, that violations of discipline arising from arbitrary leaving of the barracks or desertion have decreased.

We also count it as a very significant achievement that we have provided hot water to all our line units with the exception of one--where construction is now under way. So the possibility of cleaning up, of taking a bath, is

available to the soldiers every day after training--in addition, naturally, to the centrally prescribed weekly baths. In addition to using the material support of our superiors we are mobilizing our own resources and tools and with the cooperation of the carpentry shops of the regiment and higher unit we are constantly supplying our soldiers with new, built-in cabinets. This work has been completed at a number of garrisons already.

The situation of supply plays no small role in the development of living and working conditions. I will not go into details about everything which our higher military leadership ensures us with great attention and care--supplying the new uniforms or adjusting the mess hall norms. Let me limit myself to the tasks planned and the results achieved by the higher unit or to a few of our more important goals which we expect to realize in the not too distant future. For example, we regard the reconstruction of our auxiliary farms a task for several years. We have invested about 5 million forints in this area in recent years. We were guided by the need to make their production more efficient and in the near future we will be providing more and better quality products to improve the feeding of our soldiers.

Within this question, I would touch on another area which can be regarded as important in the life of every soldier--the 24-hour duty. This is one of the most burdensome tasks of military activity. We were not indifferent to the circumstances under which our soldiers carrying out duty tasks performed their responsible work, so in the past period we renovated all the service localities of the higher unit and developed civilized conditions for those on duty.

[Question] Care for the professional staff is also a constant and important task for the higher leadership of the army. How have the possibilities within the higher unit been made use of in this area? What sort of problems have you solved in the interest of providing better conditions?

[Answer] Year by year our professional staff carries out its tasks successfully, with great will and devotion, not afraid of sacrifice, despite the ever more difficult conditions. The efforts which the party, state and military leadership have made in recent years in the interest of improving the living and working conditions of the professional staff, or at least seeing that they remain the same, are worthy of respect. We also knew that we had reserves in this area and we have done everything possible to bring them to the surface and build them into the daily practice of our lives.

What sort of problems did we have? In the first place we had to deal a lot with professional soldiers getting ready to give up their service relationship. Our strength situation was not favorable and we knew that we could not get enough young officers and noncoms from the military academies and noncom training schools to be able to remedy these problems within a short period of time. An effort to hold on to the professional staff figured among our basic goals. The other force moving us to action was that we knew precisely what burdens our personnel were carrying and the work done under the changed conditions requires much greater care.

We regarded as one of our most important goals a solution to the housing problems of the professional staff. We succeeded to the extent that today there are no first category housing claims in our higher unit. We have no basic quality problems. The longest waiting time for housing at our higher unit is 2-3 months, but in most of our garrisons a person newly authorized can get housing immediately. This is not the result of our having got more money for purchase or construction of housing. We concentrated on renovating and modernizing our existing housing. You cannot find in the area of our higher unit any housing heated by oil or tile stoves. Also we combined small area housing into larger units, thus improving their quality and degree of comfort.

We have considered and are still considering it very important to create and maintain good contacts with the local party and state organs of the garrisons. This fruitful system of contacts has no small part in the fact that the wives of our officers and noncoms not only have jobs but the majority of them can work in places matching their special training. We have been able to provide nursery and kindergarten placement for every child. I must note that these achievements have not required any sort of material investment.

But we have mobilized significant material resources in the interest of improving the living conditions of our unmarried young officers and noncoms. Bachelor quarters were renovated at all of our units with the exception of two garrisons. We built new ones where they had not existed before or where they proved too small. We now have 2-3 men in each area and we have quarters with cooking facilities as well as washing facilities.

We have improved the place of work conditions of our professional soldiers essentially on our own, with our larger investments. Instead of the earlier crowded offices with outmoded or sparse furniture we can now find in our units work areas supplied with renovated equipment. The carpentry repair shop established at our higher unit had a large part in this; experts here renovated the great majority of the equipment provided to platoon and company commanders. But I might list other work areas as well--shops and warehouses--in which the conditions for improved work performance have been realized. It is well known that the office is not the primary work site for a professional soldier; he does not perform the majority of his daily tasks there, but rather on those sites, shops, warehouses and exercise fields to which training calls him.

We have not neglected to improve conditions for the relaxation of the professional soldiers or conditions for spending their free time well, either. We have built a modern weekend rest area. We were able to provide a pleasant time on the banks of the Balaton for 142 families in six groups in our project here, providing all conditions for recreation and relaxation. One can find in the two and three-room wooden houses all the comforts of home--television, radio, refrigerator, stove and bathroom. One family takes each dwelling area, so they can bring their children or even parents and relatives without restrictions. I must mention how cheap they are, so that they are popular especially among those with larger families and among young married couples. There are also centrally assigned accommodations so we can provide rest and recreation for a significant number of professional soldiers fatigued in their work.

Certainly our efforts listed above played a role in the fact that in our higher unit the number resigning from the service has decreased by more than a third in recent years and most of our professional soldiers requesting transfers do not want to leave the higher units.

We could not have achieved such results without the constant support of our superiors, which manifested itself materially as well. We have supplemented this with our own strength, ideas and work, thus there have been successes in a few areas for which--I feel--we can be justly proud.

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HUNGARY

SECONDARY SCHOOL DEFENSE INSTRUCTION FOR FUTURE MILITARY CADETS

Budapest POLGARI VEDELEM in Hungarian Dec 84 pp 24-27

[Article by Lieutenant Colonel Pal Markos: "Secondary School Defense Colleges"]

[Text] On the basis of a decision by the minister of defense 10 years ago the first secondary school defense college started its operation in Eger in preparing the youngsters who want to pursue a career as professional soldiers. The establishment of the Eger college was followed by more recent ones. In 1978 the preparation of the youngsters was started at Nyiregyhaza and Tata, and in 1983 at Gyor, Szeged and Balassagyarmat. The next goal is the establishment of a nationwide network extending to all counties by the end of the decade, to be reached by founding new defense colleges.

Today, after 10 years of experience, it can be stated that the higher quality, more duty-bound cadres of new students in the military academies are more trustworthily supplied from this source than from the earlier one, and thus also the necessary number of students registering with a more demanding selection has become possible.

The secondary school defense colleges carry out the continued secondary school curriculum and education of the eligible youngsters on account of their social circumstances, who are physically fit for it, in good health, who with their parents support take upon themselves the obligation of continuing their studies at some military academy, and after successfully finishing secondary school they choose professional military service as their lifelong career. The students slated for the colleges study in specifically designated secondary schools (college preparatory schools, vocational high schools) of a given city, generally in homogeneous collegians' classes, studying on the basis of the study plan and schedule valid in that given school.

The most important task of the youngster who has been accepted to the defense college is, during his college years, the best possible fulfillment of the secondary school requirements. In addition, the social life, order and definite organizational structure of the college helps him to prepare for life at a military academy, for the career of the professional soldier.

A fundamental requirement for the defense college pupils is that they maintain at least a B-average. Furthermore they may participate in the collegiate

vocational groups--e.g. motor vehicle, communications, model-building, military history, etc--which also serve as military preparation.

Physical preparation is based upon the system of requirements of secondary school physical education, in addition it is important to learn to know and to love the defense exercises (e.g. rifle shooting, karate, skiing, excursions into nature, etc). The physical education and fitness training in college is oriented accordingly, thus the abilities of the youngsters are developed systematically, daily by morning gymnastics, twice a week by compulsory team-sport training sessions and also by competitions in intercollegiate sports as well as within the college.

Defense education and preparation contributes in an organized manner to the youngsters' getting to know the tasks, organization and fighting technology equipment of the Hungarian People's Army.

The proper conditions for educating the pupils are assured--besides the permanent and well-prepared faculty--by libraries and reading halls, study and club rooms, training and conditioning halls, bedrooms for 6-8, bathing facilities, etc.

All pupils receive complete and free board. This includes complete supply of clothing (uniform, street and sports clothing), four meals a day, health care and the full cost of school supplies. Further, every collegian receives monthly 230 forints pocket money which can be increased by another 150 forints, depending on grades and behavior.

Today the significance of the defense colleges can already be well valued and sensed. Since 1982, every year they have sent about 200 well prepared, talented, graduated youngsters who are truly attracted to the career of a soldier, who are also physically able to fulfill the demands of military service, to the military academies, as if signalling that this college system is becoming a definite and almost irreplaceable supply base for officer training.

Let us examine these colleges individually.

Secondary School Defense College No 1 came into existence in Eger. On the tenth anniversary of its establishment it assumed the name of a native of the town, one of the heroes of the 1848-49 war of independence, Colonel of the Hussars Janos Lenkey. The successful operation of the college is aided by the circumstance that Eger is one of the significant school cities of our country and thus also a city of students. The college was given space in a self-contained complex of buildings near the center of the town.

The pupils receive instruction in the Istvan Dobo high school and Vocational High School for Forestry, in the Erzsebet Szilagyi high school, in the Geza Gardonyi high school and in the Vocational High School for Machine and Instrument Industry. In these renowned secondary schools the academic work of the students is worthy of praise, they have an average grade of B, and they participate successfully in the cultural and sports events of the schools, in working for the party, in the subunits of the Young Guard. Year after year

the best ones among them have also successfully competed in the county and national academic contests.

The young people who graduated in the Eger secondary schools have strengthened the reputation of these schools at academies and universities both at home and abroad. The same is true for the armed forces where, since 1982, these young Eger defense college graduates have already received their diplomas.

Secondary School Defense College No 2 was given a home by Nyiregyhaza. In this town--besides two institutes of higher learning--there are nine secondary schools operating, out of these, the Pal Vasvari high school organized independent classes for college students.

Characteristic for the level of academic work here is the fact that, first in 1982, and ever since, all young people who have received a graduation diploma could continue studying at an institute of higher learning.

The college is located at the edge of town, in modern buildings surrounded by a park and by sports fields, and the pupils are taken to the school and back by a special bus. More than 50 percent of those studying here have a grade average of "outstanding," "A" or "B." Highly popular is work in the vocational groups and in the autonomous art groups. Their theater and folk dance group as well as their zither orchestra has already won frequent acclaim. The pupils are setting up on their own the regular program of the college broadcasting station. Also popular among the pupils are the local parachuting and flying departments of the MHSZ, and many participate in their work.

Secondary School Defense College No 3 found a place at Tata, at one of the most beautiful locations of this old city. The college building is a modern construction built for this purpose, ensuring ideal conditions for the students in very beautiful natural surroundings, equipped with all the necessary sports and other auxiliary equipment.

The pupils of the college study in the Jozsef Eotvos high school, one of the most highly renowned and oldest secondary schools of the city. Characteristic for the level of academic work here is the fact that among the top 10 in the national secondary school competitions every year there are 5-6 young people from the Tata "Eotvos." But also characteristic is the fact that in sports, especially in ball games, rowing and gymnastics, the school's sports club has trained youth champions. The pupils always compete successfully in the city, county and national secondary school contests and in the Spartan games held among the defense colleges. The literary theater stage and the orchestra of the college are renowned. With great success do the vocational groups of radio and communications technology, karate and model building operate here. Three classes of the college students have already become students at the military academies.

The newest are Secondary School Defense College No 4 at Szeged, Secondary School Defense College No 5 in Győr and Secondary School Defense College No 6 at Balassagyarmat, which started their operation in 1983. In Győr and Balassagyarmat, they received a temporary home in the civilian colleges there.

By the time that the colleges will have their full quotas of students, the college buildings providing independent homes will be ready also.

The Szeged students study in the Ferenc Rozsa, Miksa Deri and Istvan Vedres vocational high schools in the automobile-electrical, machine and building industry divisions which also furnish an orientating basis for their later studies at institutes of higher learning.

The pupils of the Gyor college were accepted in the Miklos Bercsenyi transportation vocational high school and high school in the automobile mechanic, physical education and general high school divisions in which, here also, the special preparation for higher learning plays a role.

At Balassagyarmat, among the walls of the Balint Balassi high school, the defense college students pursue their studies with the help of highly experienced teachers. For them and for the pupils of the new class accepted so far, the building--an artistic monument--of the former county administration seat is being renovated; the young people will be able to take possession of it in the fall of 1985.

During the years of transition, both here and at Gyor, their present quarters adequately ensure the proper conditions for studying and educating; they are provided for on a level similar to that of the other colleges.

District and regional unit development demands further efforts, the results of which will be seen in just a few years. Thus, it can be expected that a secondary school defense college will be opened in 1985 at Zalaegerszeg, in 1986 at Pecs, and later on such colleges will start operation also at Szekesfehervar, Szolnok and Bekescsaba.

The full development of this network on the basis of both being near to the dwellings and of capacity makes it possible, in the long run, to create a popular form of education; these colleges today are housing about a thousand and expect about 2-3,000 yearly in the future, mainly children of laborers, so that a significant part of the future commanders of our people's armed forces should be educated out of them.

Improving and safeguarding the level of professional officer replacement is a decisive factor in fulfilling the high-degree of ethical, political, professional and leadership demands put upon the commanders of the People's Army.

Those applying to be accepted to the defense colleges--on the basis of the call to compete, published yearly by the Ministry of Defense--the Induction Center of the Hungarian People's Army take an entrance examination which has the function of determining the fitness of the applicants. If they are fit, they gain acceptance on the basis of their grade point average in grammar school, naturally in a college located close to their place of residence. In the decisions whom to accept--other conditions being fulfilled--advantage is given to the children of laborers with several children, of professional soldiers, of those having received certain awards (like the For Worker-Peasant

Power Medal), of those who died a hero's death, and the youngsters cared for by the state and applying from a children's home.

This is especially significant insofar that the possibility of continued study should be open also for the talented youngsters who live and grow up in otherwise more difficult, less favorable social surroundings. Helpful in this is also the fact that for the young people who have achieved in the course of their high school studies and at the graduation examination an outstanding or excellent grade point average, a possibility opens up at domestic or foreign universities to learn professions that can be utilized in the course of their professional military service.

For the majority of the college youngsters, however, the certain possibility of continued study is given by the three domestic military academies where, after the 4-year curriculum is over, the students receive--besides the military qualification and rank--also a diploma in civil engineering or business administration.

12772

CSO: 2500/167

HUNGARY

SINGING OF TRADITIONAL NATIONAL ANTHEM ON TV REQUESTED

Budapest UJ EMBER in Hungarian 17 Feb 85 p 2

[Article: "Thanks and a Request"]

[Text] Hungarian Television surprised its viewers, whose ranks number in the millions, with a wonderful gift at the beginning of this year. Every evening its programming ends with the national anthem while we watch scenes of the parliament, of our founder king, Saint Stephen, of Heroes' Square with the millenium memorial, and of some of our other artistic and historical treasures that deserve respect. We don't believe that even one viewer would watch the rest of the evening program without waiting to watch this to the end, and who would not be seized by the uplifting feeling that he also belongs to this nation and lives in this homeland--the common homeland of us all.

But at the same time, let us make a request: wouldn't this daily program be even more complete, more uplifting, if the anthem weren't just played by an orchestra but also sung? After all, Kolcsey's immortal verse is the foundation on which Erkel's music is built, and the lyrics and music together became the universal prayer of a whole nation. The program planners of Hungarian Television deserve our thanks, but maybe they could also fulfill this request.

CSO: 2500/284

HUNGARY

BUDAPEST RADIO INTERVIEWS SZOT OFFICIAL GAL

LD201428 [Editorial Report] Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian at 0330 GMT on 20 February begins its "Good Morning" program, which contains a live studio discussion with Laszlo Gal, deputy secretary general of the National Trade Union Council (SZOT), which is interspersed with music and news bulletins. Presenter Deszo Pinter begins by introducing Gal and thanking him for rising so early to participate in the program.

The program then continues at 0345 GMT when the first question is put to the deputy secretary general. Asked about the number of people made redundant by employers in 1984, Laszlo Gal replies that some 5,000 workers were found to be surplus to requirements in that year. In each case the enterprise involved had to inform the local council which would help redundant workers find jobs or provide retraining for them. The funds available for retraining amounted to 200 million forints annually, but only 10 million forints were actually spent on this in 1984, which indicates that movement in this area is still slow.

Pinter asks: "What is the viewpoint of the trade unions in this matter of redundancies? Do they accept that this regrouping is a necessary and a normal process?"

Gal replies: "That is a normal process. After all, technology and techniques are undergoing a revolutionary change and, as a result people become redundant to needs. So it should be regarded as natural that one may have to change one's place of work. As a consequence of that, the trade unions are paying attention primarily to ensure that trade union members and workers who become surplus to requirements at individual workplaces should be able to find alternative employment and should not suffer financial disadvantage. Let me note, however, that for me and for the trade unions it is not an attractive feature that some managers may claim: Well, we have made 150 workers redundant and that is to our credit.

"Well, real credit is due to those who, by way of the good organization of the productivity of labor and work and other tasks can employ their labor force in a sensible, economical and efficient manner. We accept it as normal that labor may become redundant however; in such cases suitable alternative employment must be found."

In answer to a question about the results of the current labor competition, held in honor of the forthcoming party congress and the 40th anniversary of Hungary's liberation, Gal says that no centrally compiled statistics are available at present. However, savings in economizing with materials, a part of the labor competition, amounted to 7 billion forints in 1984 and energy saving was about the same. Last year 120,000 innovations were proposed, of which 60,000 were introduced and their total value amounted to 6 billion forints. As for inventions, these could be valued at 6-8 billion forints.

At 0400 GMT Laszlo Gal says that trade unions arrange package holidays subsidized rates for 400,000 of their members each year while enterprises accounted for another 1 million employees. He says that rising costs made it necessary to charge union members more for their holidays, but they are still only paying one third of the costs.

At 0500 GMT the SZOT deputy secretary is asked if any changes are planned in legislation on pensions. He replies that there will be no changes in 1985 or in the near future. He adds that preparations for the seventh 5-year plan, 1986-90, include a reassessment of pensions but no decisions have yet been taken.

The question and answer session continues at 0530 GMT, when Pinter says: "Let me put to you just one question now--a very important question raised by many of our listeners. What is the trade unions' stance on the latest round of price hikes? Several of the questioners noted that this is a sensitive issue. In my view, it is not because there must clearly be a trade union stance on this."

Gal answers: "Trade unions--just like their members--dislike the increase in retail prices. At the same time they accepted the reasons given by the Council of Ministers and the National Materials and Prices Office. These are as follows: the improvement of our international balance of payments, a balanced budget and energy saving made this rise in consumer prices both necessary and inevitable. I would like to add straight away that the trade unions did not just accept a rise in retail prices but also the whole of the people's economic plan when they met in session in December 1984. The SZOT presidium discussed the whole of the people's economic plan three times during 1984. It formed its view on the plan and conveyed its opinion to the Planning Office and the government. What is the point of this? Well, there were several variations, applying not only to retail prices but also to wages and other issues. In the planning phase there was an option for a 6.5-percent increase and another one for 8.5-percent. The trade unions held the view, all along, that the rise in retail prices should be as low as possible. After all, society's tolerance, as gauged from the information we received, was not unlimited.

"At the same time it must be said that the people's economic plan does not only contain a 7-percent increase in consumer prices but also offers the possibility of a 7.5-percent rise in wages. True, those who will primarily benefit from this 7.5-percent wage increase are the enterprise collectives

which provide a better performance for society by pursuing the course of economic efficiency. In other words, wage increases are to be in line with productivity. Parallel to that, substantial social welfare policy measures were introduced as part of the plan. These include a childcare fee which is in line with the amount paid in sickness benefits and is payable during the first year of a child's life. This naturally forms a part of the population policy. There are a number of other measures which are also part of the people's economic plan. These do not compensate for the substantial and serious effect of the rise in consumer prices. There is no question of anyone on the unions' side claiming that one should welcome this increase because it is not so. However, it needs to be understood and accepted."

At 0545 GMT more questions were put to Laszlo Gal. Pinter asks: "In our country the trade unions are the most comprehensive organizations representing people living on wages or salaries. If I am right, there are 4.5 million trade union members. There can be no genuine trade union movement anywhere in the world without political direction. That applies, of course, also to our country. At the same time we often hear it said that trade unions in our country act independently. What does this independence mean?"

To which Gal replies: "Basically, this independence means that the trade unions, while professing and following the MSZMP's policy, lead their own organizations on the basis of their own decisions and resolutions. The second criterion of this independence is that Hungarian trade unions share in power and policy-making. Thus they express their views and submit their proposals on every fundamental issue on every occasion. The third criterion is that they are partners and not subordinates of the Council of Ministers. So, as partners they have equal rights with the government. Finally, the fundamental task of the trade unions is to serve their membership.

"In what form is that independence expressed? Well, the trade unions do not merely wait for some proposal to be prepared by the administration, the Planning Office or some other organization but they themselves work out a standard of living policy, wages policy, social welfare policy and a regional policy. They present these proposals to the appropriate organizations and they negotiate, as partners, with the Planning Office and other organizations about these issues."

The studio discussion ends as Gal outlines the ways in which unions are helping in the training of the young. Asked about the legal limits on overtime, he points out that this subject comes within the scope of collective contracts at work-places. In general the limit placed on overtime is approximately 35-40 hours a month. However, no overtime is allowed in jobs that are in some way harmful to workers' health.

The program ends at 0610 GMT.

CSO: 2500/266

HUNGARY

BRIEFS

SARLOS, U.S. JEWISH COMMITTEE--A delegation of the U.S. Jewish Committee led by Alfred Moses, chairman of the organization's executive committee, is visiting Hungary from 10 to 14 February at the invitation of the National Representation of the Hungarian Jews. The delegation visited several institutions of the Jewish community and became acquainted with the community's life. The guests paid a call on Laszlo Lekai, cardinal, and Tibor Bartha, Presbyterian bishop, chairman of the Ecumenical Council of the Hungarian Churches. The leading personalities of the delegation were received on 13 February by Istvan Sarlos, member of the MSZMP Politburo and chairman of the National Assembly. During the meeting, which was held in a cordial atmosphere, views were exchanged on current international issues as well as on joint tasks concerning relations between countries and the strengthening of confidence. Talks were held in the State Office for Church Affairs with Imre Miklos, state secretary and chairman of the office, on the relations between the state and the churches and on the possibilities of expanding international cooperation. Present at the visits of the delegation was Imre Heber, chairman of the National Representation of Hungarian Jews. [Text] [Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 14 Feb 85 p 4 AU]

PDRY PEOPLE'S FRONT VISIT--A delegation of the Organization of the Yemen People's Defense Committee led by Taha Alawi Mohsen, secretary of the central leadership, visited Hungary from 11 to 16 February at the invitation of the National Council of the PPF. The delegation was received by Jenő Kovacs, deputy department head of the MSZMP Central Committee. Robert Ribanszki, secretary of the National Council of PPF and Taha Alawi Mohsen informed each other on the situation of their organizations, movements, and discussed the current tasks in the implementation of the cooperation agreement in force till 1968. Gyula Suto, secretary of the Hungarian Solidarity Committee, informed the delegation on the internationalist solidarity of the Hungarian people. [Summary] [Budapest MAGYAR NEMZET in Hungarian 18 Feb 85 p 3 AU]

MONGOLIAN CREDENTIALS--Budapest, 25 Feb (MTI)--Dangaasurengiyn Saldan, new ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of Mongolia to Hungary, Monday presented his credentials to Pal Losonczi, president of the Presidential Council. The ceremony was attended by Deputy Foreign Minister Gabor Nagy. [Text] [Budapest MTI in English 1747 GMT 25 Feb 85 LD]

GYORGY ACZEL HONORED--Budapest, 25 Feb (MTI)--Janos Kadar, first secretary of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party Central Committee, congratulated Gyorgy Aczel, member of the Political Committee and secretary of the CC, a veteran of the workers' movement, on the 50th anniversary of his party membership and gave him an honorary certificate of the HSWP CC. [Text] [Budapest MTI in English 1740 GMT 25 Feb 85 LD]

CSO: 2500/267

POLAND

DAILY VIEWS U.S.-SOVIET MIDEAST TALKS

AU221120 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 19 Feb 85 p 5

[Franciszek Nietz commentary: "Toward Realism"]

[Text] The Soviet-U.S. talks on the Middle East conflict are beginning in Vienna in an atmosphere of caution against too great expectations. It would be too much to call this meeting talks, because the sides wish just to exchange views and to consult each other before committing themselves to major bilateral negotiations. It has been Washington in particular that has stressed that the talks in question will be informal and limited. It has done so for the fear that the public might treat these talks as a possible hint that the Reagan administration has changed its stand.

In the view of the representatives of the State Department and the White House the purpose of the "exchange of opinions" is to avoid erroneous evaluations and to reduce the risk of Soviet-American confrontation in the Middle East. At the same time, the Americans have stressed that the talks do not at all mean that the United States has accepted the Soviet proposal for an international conference in order to settle the Middle East conflict with the participation of the two superpowers.

However, there is no doubt that the Vienna meeting is proof that the U.S. administration is now approaching the most important Middle East problems in a more realistic manner, albeit this approach has in a way been extorted by circumstances. The United States has failed to impose on the Arab countries its own formula for peace in the Middle East, to establish a military monopoly in this area, and to relegate the USSR from its traditional positions.

Most Arab countries and Washington's allies in Western Europe continue to advocate with increasing frequency not only that the USSR should actively participate in searching for peaceful solutions in the Middle East, but also that the crisis in this area should be resolved in line with the Soviet proposals for a settlement.

CSO: 2600/680

POLAND

LEGAL RIGHTS OF STATE TO CONTROL PRESS CLARIFIED

Warsaw PANSTWO I PRAWO in Polish No 12, Dec 84 pp 34-43

[Article by Leszek Wisniewski: "The Powers of the Administrative Organs and the Main Administrative Court in Press Law"]

[Text] On 26 January 1984, the Sejm adopted a law--the press law.¹ For the first time in the history of the Polish People's Republic there was legal regulation of the problem of press law, taking into account the scope of freedoms and their limits and guarantees in the process of benefiting from freedom of speech and freedom of the press in the public news media, by means of the press, sound, and vision.²

This is already the third law in this term of the Sejm that deals with freedom of speech and the freedom of the press, following the 31 July 1981 law on the control of publications and shows,³ and the 28 July 1983 law on the POLISH PRESS AGENCY.⁴ These laws, together with the hitherto fragmentary regulations in criminal, civil, and administrative legislation, constitute a fundamental step toward the comprehensive regulation of the freedoms of speech and the press.

The purpose of this article is to present the problem of the powers of the organs of state administration in the press law, and the scope of the control authority of the NSA [Main Administrative Court] in regard to administrative decisions and refusals to provide information to the press.

I. The press law establishes that engaging in printing or publishing activity requires a permit. This permit is not required when the publisher only intends to publish one title. Independently of this, the publisher is obligated to obtain separate permits for publishing a newspaper or journal. A permit is also required for the operation of institutional television or radio stations, and service activity in the field of small-scale printing. The following are not subject to the press law: official publication organs (DZIENNIK USTAW, MONITOR POLSKI, etc.); reports by the Sejm and its organs; the internal publishing departments of the people's councils; the official publications of the courts and arbitration commissions and the press publishing departments of diplomatic representations, consular offices, and international organizations which, on the basis of laws, treaties, and international customs, enjoy the right to engage in publishing activity.

The state organ authorized to make a decision on a permit and to issue press permits is the Main Office for the Control of Publications and Shows [GUKPiW], and in the field of small-scale printing, the permits are issued by the minister of culture and art. The regulations pertaining to permits are not applicable to the broadcasting activity of the Committee on Radio and Television, "Polish Radio and Television," or to the POLISH PRESS AGENCY and the Polish Film Chronicle, where the activity of these entities is governed by separate regulations.

The exception undoubtedly results from the assumption adopted in justifying the previously published "draft press law" (October 1982), where "the exclusiveness of the state's rights in the area of radio and television" was asserted.⁵ This exclusion was expanded in the law on the POLISH PRESS AGENCY, in which it was established that PAP is the government press agency. The press law establishes that a physical or legal person desiring to obtain a permit for publishing activity must submit a written application to GUKPiW containing the detailed information discussed in articles 19 and 20 of the law. A physical person is in addition obligated to attach to the application for the permit an opinion from the governor, which should justify the need to establish a private publishing enterprise. A negative opinion from the governor, however, cannot be the basis refusing to issue a permit, because such a reason for refusal is not stipulated in the press law (article 22 paragraph 1). It is thus difficult to establish for what purpose this opinion is required, and whether it is permissible to refuse to issue an opinion for the interested party.

The law also specifies that the person managing the publishing house must be a citizen of the Polish People's Republic who has a full capability for legal activities and has not been deprived of civil rights. The publishing house cannot be managed by a person who has been convicted of a crime against the basic political and economic interests of the PRL, a crime committed in order to obtain property benefit or for other base reasons, or a crime defined in the press law.⁶

A decision refusing to issue a permit to engage in publishing or printing activity, or to publish a newspaper or journal, must be issued if providing such a permit would constitute a violation of the laws or of the right to protect the name of an already existing press title. On the other hand, a negative decision on publishing a newspaper or journal can be issued if "the person submitting the application, in addition to calling on the office, does not demonstrate a social need for the publication of a new newspaper or journal, and especially in a case in which the program line and thematic scope of this newspaper or journal would coincide with those already existing" (article 22 paragraph 2), and also when the person submitting the application has not indicated the source of the supply of paper and the possibility of printing or production by some other type of equipment (article 22 paragraph 3).

This arbitrarily defined possibility of a refusal gives rise to reservations, both in view of the fact that it preserves the monopolistic position of an already existing newspaper or journal in the area of its program and thematic

line, and also because the problems of a supply-technical nature, such as the source of the supply of paper or the possibility of printing, can constitute an independent legal basis for issuing a negative decision. Under the conditions of the economic reform, the decision on the existence of newspapers and journals competing with each other in the area of a program and thematic line should be made by the readers, not by an administrative organ. On the other hand, the supply of paper and the possibility of printing are internal problems for the publishing house or editorial board, realized within the framework of legally permissible contracts for deliveries and supplies.

A previously issued permit for engaging in publishing activity or a permit for issuing a newspaper or journal can be withdrawn (after prior warning) if the GUKPiW establishes that the newspaper or journal has systematically or flagrantly violated the norms of the press law and other laws, gone beyond the scope of the permit issued, or made a permanent change in its basic thematic scope.

The principle of permits that was established in the press law was assessed during the debate by Deputy J. Stefanowicz as follows: "I know that the draft uses the term 'permit.' In my opinion this is unnecessary, since it aroused suspicion and antagonism...Essentially this actually has to do with the registration of titles, and thus mainly a formal act, almost a mechanical one, rather than a government decision, as the term 'permit' suggests. Obviously, it is never completely certain to what extent practice will be in accordance with the letter and spirit of the law."⁷

The reporter, Deputy T. Lubiński, in presenting his opinion on the draft to the Sejm, stated, "Other proposals have been submitted and rejected by majority vote after consideration--specifically, permitting a publishing initiative not restrained by anything, consisting solely of registering an already published title and leaving matters to the free operation of the market, with the elimination of any intervention at all by state organs in the organization of press activity."⁸ He justified the adoption of the permit procedure by stating that "in the PRL, a certain news system has already been formed, which there is no reason to disrupt; one should gather, not disperse, all forces in society, regardless of their world view, around the idea of national reconciliation, and in connection with this one cannot take the risk of depending on the free operation of the market in such fundamental matters as the formation of public opinion and the entire educational function of the press."

These controversial views require analysis from the point of view of the state and the law. Article 83 of the PRL Constitution states: "The Polish People's Republic ensures its citizens the freedoms of speech, press, assembly and public meetings, processions and demonstrations." It should be emphasized that the Constitution uses the concept of civil freedom, and that it is not treated as identical with the concept of a civil right. In the section on the basic rights and obligations of citizens, the Constitution uses the expression "freedom" in the articles that guarantee the freedoms of speech and the press, the freedom of assembly, the freedom of conscience and religion, and personal freedom. Also, article 67 paragraph 1 of the Constitution says that the PRL,

consolidating and augmenting the achievements of working people, strengthens and expands the rights and freedoms of citizens. Then the other articles in this section speak of the rights of citizens: to work, to rest, to health protection, etc. In these cases there is no mention of a freedom, but rather of the right to something, since a civil right is one thing and a civil freedom is another. For example, when we speak of the right to work, we have in mind the legally guaranteed opportunity to appear with a respective claim for obtaining a job (for example, at an employment department) or for returning to work (at the Appeals Commission or the Court of Labor and Social Insurance). On the other hand, when we speak of the freedom of labor, this means that no one can force anyone to perform specific work, to the extent that laws do not provide for deviations from the principle of the freedom of labor, in the form of an exception.

There is not always a differentiation in the Polish and foreign literature between the concepts of a civil right and a civil freedom. Many authors used them interchangeably or treat the concept of a freedom as an expression traditionally used to designate certain civil rights. Others also use the term "right to a freedom," which can be justified only if we have in mind the right to guarantees specified by law for a given freedom (for example, the right to appeal to a court against an administrative decision that limits a freedom, the right to demand the fulfillment of a publishing contract, etc.).

The following differences between a right and a freedom can thus be cited:⁹

a) A civil right is accompanied by a normatively established obligation of a specified service for the one who is entitled. Using the terminology of Roman law, we can state that in the case of a civil right, it has to do with "dare" or "facere" (someone should give something or something should do something) for the one who has the given right. There thus exists a relationship of such a nature that one person is entitled to a service and the other is obliged to give this service, and is thus obligated to take an active position. In the case of a civil freedom, the situation is the reverse; it has to do with preserving a passive position (non facere), or not interfering with the exercise of the freedom. Thus here there is no obligation on the part of another person to perform the service, and above all the other person has an obligation to refrain from actions that prevent or hinder someone's exercising the freedom. A person exercises his freedom himself, by an act of his will, in such a way that, for example, he decides to externalize a view of his publicly (exercising the freedom of speech and the press), participate in a public assembly (as part of the freedom of assembly), join a political party or a society (exercising the freedom of association), belong to a religious persuasion of his choice (exercising the freedom of conscience and religion), etc. Assistance (and thus an active position) on the part of the state and its organs in the exercise of these freedoms by citizens results from the official guaranteeing function of the state organs with respect to the citizens exercising the freedoms. For this purpose, society maintains the state apparatus or social institutions. This assistance can also result from the fact that the state administers national property, and is obligated to make it available to citizens exercising freedoms (e.g., paper, printing presses, radio and television stations, etc.), as it is obliged by article 83 paragraph 2 of the Constitution.

b) For the appearance of a civil right, it is necessary to have a legal norm creating this right. In such a legal norm, the state commits itself in its name (or commands other persons) to perform a specific service (i.e., to provide leave to a worker, free education and medical treatment, and a pension or annuity). Without such a norm creating a civil right, there are neither entitled persons nor obligated persons, and the given right simply does not exist. On the other hand, for the existence of a given civil freedom, a legal norm is not necessary. A legal norm does not constitute the basis for the freedom of an individual. A right is necessary to limit this freedom. In today's world, freedom cannot exist without restrictions. Restrictions on freedom are necessary in order to guarantee the possibility of exercising freedom for everyone in an equal degree and in an equal scope. Otherwise, the right of the stronger would prevail under conditions of social anarchy.

The purpose of the normative regulation of a freedom is thus to declare the freedom of an individual in a given area in order to emphasize his social rank or in order to stress the restoration of the freedom or to expand it in comparison with a preceding state, to limit a freedom to an essential extent, and to guarantee the freedom (legally and materially).

c) The exercise of a civil right requires cooperation with the person obligated to render the service, because most frequently the norm establishing the right defines individual determining conditions on the fulfillment of which the use of this right depends. In practice, this cooperation consists of the citizen's submitting, to an organ of the state or a different obligated person, an application by which he demonstrates the fulfillment of the conditions required for the right, and this organ, after examining the request, concretizes the entitlements resulting from the general norm to fit the individual case, usually in the form of a clearly specified decision. The legal norm may also specify a different method for benefiting from a civil right when it is possible for a citizen to exercise the right directly with the authorization of a legal act, or when it is exclusively a question of benefiting from the right to protection of rights and freedoms already possessed. The exercise of a civil freedom takes place differently. The bearer and disposer of the freedom is a person and not the state. As we have already stated, the state, by means of legal norms, only limits the freedom and guarantees it within the limits of its official functions with respect to society. Thus, if the citizen wants to benefit from the freedom within limits not subject to legal restrictions, he should not be obliged to submit a request for permission from a state organ; rather, he should decide himself and exercise the freedom himself, while respecting the existing restrictions. Cooperation with a state organ is essential when the citizen wants to benefit from the right to protection for this freedom or from the right to other guarantees for it. The state should leave the freedom at the disposal of the citizen, and it can require notification of who wants to exercise this freedom, when, and for what purpose only in reference to ensuring public order. Then the disposer of the freedom himself decides whether to benefit from it, and the state organ can issue a decision prohibiting it, within the limits permitted by the law, when the intended means of exercising the freedom threatens security or public order, or is in conflict with another legal restriction.

It follows from what was established above that if the legislator intends to regulate a given freedom in a law, he should take into account two suggestions: the law's regulation of the civil freedom should deal with a description of prohibitions or orders, and not cite what is free, because everything else that is not prohibited or ordered is permitted, without any need for it to be cited in detail; and the law should take into account the form of the applications and the prohibiting decisions (when the announced means of benefiting from the freedom is in conflict with the law), and not the form of the appealing requests and the permitting decisions.

It was certainly with this understanding of a freedom that the proposals of some deputies were formulated during the work on the draft press law, which were subjected to a critical assessment by the reporter, Deputy T. Lubiejski. If the law fulfilled the above-cited manner of legal regulation of the freedom of the press, then Deputy J. Stefanowicz would also be right about the merely registering and monitoring activity of the administrative organs in regard to this subject.

Free operation of the market, with the elimination of any interventions at all by the state organs in press matters, cannot be accepted from the viewpoint of the theory of the socialist state. In the light of Marxist doctrine, the problem of the freedom of the press and the limits of this freedom should be examined while taking into account the determining conditions for social development and the conclusions resulting from the theory concerning the class nature of the state. It follows from Marxist dialectics that the clash of opposites is the driving force for all development, including social progress. Against the social background, within the framework of the socialist order, this law of dialectics can serve a useful function when the conditions exist for the clash of different views, schools of thought, and alternative programs in all fields and in the entire sphere of nonantagonistic contradiction.¹⁰

The Marxist theory of the class nature of the state, however, establishes political limits for the dialogue. They are set by the interests of the classes and social strata performing the leading role in the state. By means of legal norms, they protect their position and erect protective barriers against various threats to their power. Obviously this has to do with real threats and not imagined or exaggerated ones, and it also has to do with threats affecting the basic assumptions that constitute the system's foundation, since legal restrictions cannot constitute a barrier to presenting different paths leading to the realization of the goals of socialism, and in particular they cannot hinder criticism directed toward state organs, social organizations, or people responsible for policy at the national and regional levels. In accordance with the constitutional principle of legality, the restrictions dictated by the need to protect class interests must have legal support. Official voluntarism causes damage in every field; in the field of public information, however, this damage is especially severe and always double-edged. This is why there exists, and always will, an ongoing need for an unusually careful and rational weighing of the scope of restrictions caused by class considerations (and not just class considerations, since the protection of public morality, personal property, etc., is also involved), and the extent of the freedom of the dialogue.

The press law (with certain exceptions) took into account all three of the elements considered above, and thus the possibility for the clash of different views in the press, and the need for criticism of negative phenomena, and it established the extent of limitations on the freedom of the press. Furthermore, explicit legal requirements in this area were established. Article 2 of the press law obligates the state organs to create conditions that make possible the activity of editorial boards of newspapers and journals that differ with respect to their programs, thematic scope, and the views presented, and article 3 prohibits restricting or in any other way hindering the printing and acquisition of newspapers, journals, and other press publications because of their program line or contents. This prohibition is directed toward the printing and distributing of the enterprises that have received the press for printing and distribution, since it is mainly on them that the unimpeded flow of production and universal access to the press depend.

The norms protecting the right to criticize negative phenomena are aimed at even more people. Articles 1 and 6 establish obligations, rights, and guarantees for the press in the sphere of exposing and criticizing negative phenomena in social and economic life, while on the other hand article 5 actually talks about the civil right to criticism and to provide information to the press, and establishes legal protection for people who are making criticisms or providing information, within the limits permitted by the law.¹¹

The restrictions on the freedom of the press that serve to protect the principles of the state's system result mainly from the same principle of granting licenses that makes it possible to grant, refuse, or withdraw press permits, depending on whether there is or is not a threat to legal order, including the systemic principles stated in the PRL Constitution. This same function can also be performed by the principle of applications (registration), existing in conjunction with legal prohibitions and the supervision established over their being observed.

II. For the first time in the history of the Polish People's Republic, the principle of court supervision over the legality of administrative decisions on matters affecting the freedoms of speech and the press was instituted in the 1981 law on the control of publications and shows. The press law expanded the extent to which this principle was binding on administrative decisions made on the basis of that law, and on refusals to provide information to the press. An appeal to the NSA against administrative decisions can be made on the following matters: 1) the issue of a permit to conduct press publishing or printing activity (article 19 and article 22 paragraph 1); 2) the issue of a permit to publish a newspaper or journal (article 20 and article 22 paragraphs 1 and 2), or the cancellation of this permit (article 21 paragraph 1); 3) the issue of a permit to make changes in an already possessed permit to publish a newspaper or journal, in the following areas: the title of the newspaper or journal, the frequency of its publication, its maximum size or format, its maximum one-time circulation, the extent of its dissemination, and the publisher of the newspaper or journal. It should be added that GUKPiW should be informed immediately about changes in these last items, which it is mandatory to supply in the application for a permit to publish a newspaper or journal, since a violation of this obligation entails the possibility

of a withdrawal of the permit (article 23); 4) the withdrawal of a permit for publishing or printing activity, and for publishing a newspaper or journal (article 23); 5) the issue of a permit, the cancellation of a permit, or concerning the withdrawal of a permit for the operation of institutional television and radio stations in organizational units other than state enterprises or state organizational units. This means that the obligation to apply for a permit applies to cooperatives, political parties and other social organizations, and religious associations (an exception is equipment for broadcasting religious services, which is discussed in article 29 paragraph 2) and units of the nonsocialized economy (article 29); 6) suspension of the activity of an institutional radio station in a state enterprise or another state unit (section 2 paragraphs 3 and 4 and section 12 paragraph 1 of the 9 July 1984 Council of Ministers decree on broadcasting stations and institutional television and radio stations, DZIENNIK USTAW No 40, item 210); 7) the issue of a permit to conduct printing and service activity in the sphere of small-scale printing (article 30), and the withdrawal of a permit (section 6 of the 20 August 1984 Council of Ministers decree on the detailed rules for the granting of permits, and the registration and supervision of printing enterprises, plants, and equipment, DZIENNIK USTAW No 40, item 213), and also the registration and withdrawal of the registration of small-scale printing equipment and of plants manufacturing seals (article 30 paragraphs 3 and 4 of the press law, and section 8 paragraph 2, section 10, section 13, and section 17 of the above-mentioned Council of Ministers decree of 20 August 1984); 8) the expression of consent for a change in the place where the activity is conducted or the establishment of an additional location for printing production, an expansion of the scope of activity, and an increase or decrease in the number of machines and equipment or their replacement (section 4 paragraph 4 of the above-mentioned Council of Ministers decree of 20 August 1984).

An appeal to the NSA can also be made on the subject of a refusal to provide information to the press in regard to the protection of a state and official secret or another secret protected by law (article 4). The appeal may deal not only with the refusal to provide information itself, but also with the fact of failure to observe the legally required determining conditions for this refusal (such as, for example, written form, the three-day deadline established for issuing the refusal, a lack of justification for the refusal, etc.).

At the time of the filing of an appeal against a refusal to provide information, in accordance with article 4 paragraph 4 of the law, the appropriate regulations from the Code of Administrative Procedure on appealing administrative decisions to the court are used in the proceedings before the NSA.

The right to request written confirmation of a refusal to provide information in regard to a legally protected secret can be exercised exclusively by the chief editor, and only he can appeal such a refusal to the NSA. This right arises from the general principle of the press law (article 4) establishing the obligation of state organs, state enterprises, state organizational units, cooperative and social organizations, and persons engaged in economic activity on their own account to provide information to the press on their activities.

This obligation varies both with respect to the matters on which information should be provided, and depending on the entities obligated to provide information.

The right of the chief editor to request a written and justified confirmation of a refusal to provide information in regard to the protection of a secret, and the right to appeal this refusal, apply exclusively to the recipients cited in article 4 and the thematic scope established there. This right, however, cannot be exercised by the chief editor with respect to the organs of the state government (i.e., the Sejm, the Council of State, and the people's councils), and with respect to the organs for the administration of justice, although these organs were not exempted from the obligation to provide information to the press in areas not considered secret. Furthermore, the press law, in article 41, establishes that the publication of reports on public meetings of the Sejm and the people's councils and their organs, agreeing with the truth and honest, remains under the protection of the law, and is to contribute to the performance of the basic tasks of the press, such as realizing the principle of the openness of public life and social supervision, exposing and criticizing negative phenomena, and the other tasks discussed in article 1 of the press law. This provision does not apply to the activity of organs of the administration of justice, but only organs of the government. This is understandable, since press reports on the proceedings of the Sejm and the people's councils, as well as the proceedings of their commissions, have greater significance from the point of the view of the people's power and the openness of public life than does the coverage of individual court cases.

The right to appeal a refusal to provide information to the press in regard to a secret constitutes a fundamental step toward reducing information barriers. The 14 December 1982 law on the protection of state and official secrets¹² does not allow for any possibility of appealing decisions by the management of state organs, enterprises, or cooperatives in regard to establishing the matters covered by secrecy. Thus, in practice an information barrier could arise for society on matters of vital interest to it as a result of the hasty inclusion of a given problem in the category of a state or official secret.

During the past period, many production plants have attempted to conceal from the public their lack of concern for environmental protection. Really alarming indicators concerning pollution of the soil, water, and air by production plants were treated as confidential data that the press was not supposed to report. Similar treatment was given to facts demonstrating negligence in the area of work safety and hygiene, and data on changes in technology and procedures leading to a decrease in the quality of products, without a change in price being considered by the producers. The legislature took the voice of public opinion into account and put under court control refusals to provide information to the press that were justified by protection of a secret.

The interesting speech by Deputy G. Rejman during the parliamentary debate on the draft press law contained, among other things, the statement that "the Main Administrative Court received extensive authority and powers in

establishing the justifiability of a denial of information to journalists."¹³ This statement can give rise to doubts, in light of article 16 section 2 and article 196 section 1 of the Code of Administrative Procedure, which discuss the right to appeal decisions by organs of the state administration to the NSA because of their being in conflict with the law (control of legality). The law on the press law did not make changes in the Code of Administrative Procedure. Thus, there could not be any change in article 16 section 2 and article 196 section a of the Code of Administrative Procedure that would expand the scope of the NSA's powers concerning the right to investigate an appealed refusal, from the point of view of its essential justifiability as well.¹⁴ Article 4 of the press law, permitting an appeal against a refusal to provide information, does not establish that this refusal is an administrative decision in the sense of the Code of Administrative Procedure, and only speaks of the appropriate application of the regulations in the Code of Administrative Procedure on appealing administrative decisions to the court during this court's examination of appeals against a refusal of information.

The NSA's right to investigate the legality of a refusal to provide information to a journalist does not mean, however, that the court is restricted to establishing things exclusively of a formal nature, leading to the investigation of whether the given problem that was to be the subject of a report is included or not included in the list of matters covered by state or official secrecy.

The law on the protection of state and official secrets considers a state secret to be information whose disclosure to unauthorized persons can endanger the defense, security, or other important interests of the state. It cites six categories of such information (article 2). This list is not an exhaustive one (the expression "in particular" is used), and the general subjects considered to be state secrets are cited there. Nevertheless, the main and central state organs, the regional organs of the state administration at the provincial level, and the president of the National Bank of Poland, with respect to the banks, were obligated (in article 6) to define in detail the information constituting state secrets in lists compiled especially for this purpose, which were subject to publication in the official journals or in other publications of the organs establishing these lists (only the lists of information dealing with defense, the armed forces, and the security of the state are not subject to publication).

An official secret is considered to be information that does not constitute a state secret, with which a worker became acquainted in connection with the performance of his duties in a state, cooperative, or social organizational unit, and whose disclosure can endanger a social interest or the justified interest of that organizational unit or a citizen (article 3 paragraph 1). In this case as well, the law obligates the managers of these organizational units to compile a list of the types of information constituting an official secret.

It is also within the court's power to investigate whether the list itself was prepared legally, i.e., whether the inclusion of a problem in the category of secrets was done while taking into account all of the provisions of the law on the protection of state and official secrets, including the provisions on

what can be considered to constitute such a secret. Thus, within the limits of its powers to investigate the legality of an appealed refusal to provide information to a journalist, the NSA will also investigate both whether the refusal is in accordance with the formal-legal and also material-legal requirements resulting from the press law and the law on the protection of state and official secrets.

Obviously, it is not possible to use the pretext of the protection of a state or official secret to conceal information on inefficient management, violations of the law, and particularly crimes committed. The constitutional principle of legality rules out the possibility of using the law to protect lawlessness. Although this is an unquestioned rule, it is unfortunate that the law on the protection of state and official secrets did not include it explicitly, as a warning to the proponents of voluntaristic methods of performing a public function.

In this case as well, the press law performed a supplementary function with respect to the law on the protection of secrets, since it established criminal sanctions for officials of state and social units obligated to provide information to the press, for a violation of this obligation, and this for dishonest information, and for concealing the truth from society, in addition to a sanction aimed at everyone for hindering or suppressing criticism (article 41 in connection with article 11 paragraph 2 and article 44 of the press law). This sanction also filled a similar gap in the 1981 law on the control of publications and shows, which provides for a penalty for evading control and making censorship prohibitions, but does not consider sanctions for a state official's hindering or suppressing criticism.

If a journalist has doubts about whether information obtained from the managers of units or authorized by them is true, he can contact the workers directly and freely gather information and opinions among them. The managers of state units were in fact obligated to make it possible for journalists to establish such contacts with the workers. This will have fundamental significance in practice, especially in the case of critical publications.

FOOTNOTES

1. DZIENNIK USTAW No 5, item 24.

2. The controversial problem of the binding power to date of the 21 November 1938 decree on press law by the chairman of the Council of State is discussed by B. Michalski in "Obowiazywanie dekretu prasowego z 1938--problem kontrowersyjny" [The Binding Nature of the Press Decree of 1938--Controversial Problem], PANSTWO I PRAWO No 4-5/1966; I. Dobosz in "Procesy prasowe w Polsce w latach 1960-1975" [Press Trials in Poland in the Years 1960-1975], Krakow 1979, pp 8-11; J. Bafia in "Prawo o cenzurze" [Law on Censorship], Warsaw 1983, pp 39-40. The doubts on this matter were finally resolved by the new press law, which in article 60 annuls the binding power of the 1938 decree of the chairman of the Council of State on press law.

3. DZIENNIK USTAW No 20, item 99; amended DZIENNIK USTAW No 44/1983, item 204.
4. DZIENNIK USTAW No 44, item 202.
5. The draft press law was published in PRASA POLSKA No 1/1983.
6. Press crimes are discussed by J. Bafia in "Polskie prawo prasowe" [Polish Press Law], PANSTWO I PRAWO No 10/1984, pp 45-46.
7. DIARIUSZ SEJMOWY No 1/1984, p 16.
8. Ibid, p 12.
9. I discuss this problem at greater length in "Gwarandje podstawowych praw i wolnosci obywateli PRL" [Guarantees of the Basic Rights and Freedoms of Citizens of the PRL], Wroclaw 1981, pp 34-47. The doctrinal origin of this differentiation was presented by Deputy R. Buchala during the debate at the meeting of the Sejm on 26 January 1984 (DIARIUSZ SEJMOWY No 1/1984, p 15). See also F. Sieminski, "Prawo Konstytucyjne" [Constitutional Law], Warsaw 1976, pp 124-128.
10. The problem of contradictions is discussed by J.J. Wiatr, "Przyczynek do zagadnienia rozwoju spolecznego formacji socjalistycznej" [Contribution to the Problem of the Social Development of Socialist Formation], Warsaw 1979, pp 196-229; and H. Bialyszewski, "Teoretyczne problemy sprzecznosci i konfliktow spolecznych" [Theoretical Problems of Contradictions and Social Conflicts], Warsaw 1983.
11. The legal protection of critics guaranteed in the press law should be examined in conjunction with the protection stipulated in the Code of Administrative Procedure [CAP] (article 225). Press editorial boards can also mediate in settling appeals and applications, in accordance with articles 248-252 of the CAP.
12. DZIENNIK USTAW No 39, item 263.
13. DIARIUSZ SEJMOWY No 1/1984, p 16.
14. "In accordance with the contents of article 16 section 2 and article 196 section 1, decisions by organs of the state administration can be appealed to the NSA on the basis of their being in conflict with the law. The task of the court in this regard is not to assess the propriety, correctness, or justice of the determinations of these organs, but rather only to monitor whether the regulations of the law in effect were adhered to during the process completed by the final decision, and whether their application in the concrete matter was correct and took into account legality and action in accordance with social interest and the proper interest of citizens (article 7 of the CAP)"; NSA ruling in Warsaw on 22 October 1981, I SA-2147/81, ONSA No 2/1981, item 104, pp 180-181.

9909

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POLAND

EFFECTIVENESS OF INSPECTION TEAMS QUESTIONED

Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish No 2, 12 Jan 85 p 16

[Article by Daniel Passent: "Calling for an Owner"]

[Text] From the Press: "The Misdemeanor Court of the President of the City of Elblag, after acquainting itself with the question of citizen N. N., the son of Jan, born 30/1/58, resident in Elblag on Czerniakowska Street, of whom it is accused that on 14 March 1984, in Elblag, as the owner of a private furniture store, he put up for sale furniture that did not meet the demands of quality in Polish Norm No. PN-74/F06002--recognizes him as guilty of committing the act he is charged with and imposes the punishment of a fine in the amount of 10,000 zloties and commutation of 30 days of arrest at the rate of 200 zloties per day, the legal costs in the amount of 150 zloties, and the cost of publishing a notice in the press at the cost of the accused."

Should the producers or the sellers of bad goods be punished by the court and populate our lockups? If so, why are not there rotting in jail the creators of the hundreds of kilometers of pipe which have to be changed in thousands of buildings at the cost of society, breaking the glass, hammering the walls, and ruining apartments, schools, and hotels? Why are those bookbinders remaining free who make books without a few dozen pages or upside down, and those book-sellers who "put up for sale" such books? How come you do not find in a place of seclusion all those who crookedly and with any kind of glue attach labels on bottles, jars, cans, and boxes, in such a way that just looking at these packages gives you the impression that they contain goods not meeting the demands of quality in the Polish Norm? Would it not be necessary to call to account those who, as a favor, charge an exorbitant rate for a night in a hotel, where the curtain is holding on only by its word of honor, the radio rattles, the faucet drips, doors to the bathroom do not shut, and the bathroom tiles are laid so crookedly that they do not correspond not only to our norms but to no norms at all?

If misdemeanor courts will want to investigate the cases of all--not only private--manufacturers of shoddy goods, how much time and what authority will be required to assert who ought to be held accountable for such things as the paint on some new automobiles coming off in sheets, for medical equipment, for the skyscraper on Dzierzynski Square and the circus on Kruczkowski Street? If all the manufacturers of shabby goods went to jail, how many people would remain free? Whenever I spit out a piece of bone from a sausage or pull out

hairs from a headcheese, I have a desire to put someone in jail, but is this the way?

The misdemeanor court in Elblag (if Mr. N. N. was not selling furniture dangerous for the users; for example painted with toxic paint) is simply trying to do the job of the market. In a well-functioning economy, N. N. ought to lose customers and go bankrupt, which would be a punishment much more severe than the 10,000 zlotys. But can a misdemeanor court do the job of the economy?

No misdemeanor courts, penalties, or inspections are able to replace an owner, no inspection will look with the proverbial "owner's eye that fattens the horses." For some time we have been witnesses to a blooming of various inspections of a size not observed since the war in socialist Poland. All this constitutes a reaction to universally evident mismanagement, dirt, and fraud. These inspections, of course, are rather costly in themselves, they require that a large inspection apparatus working full time be maintained, in addition to social activists who inspect during their work hours, their workshops often remaining empty. The system of developed inspection uncovered much that was wrong, but frankly speaking, this was seen with the naked eye, without the help of a specialized apparatus.

For example, in DZIENNIK ZACHODNI (29 November 1984) we read a large note that Worker-Peasant Inspectorates inspected housing units on several streets in Katowice. "The Commission consisted of: chairman Robert Sz.--counsellor of the WRN [Provincial People's Council], members--Henryk K., and Stanislaw P.--both councilors of the WRN. Moreover, in the inspection participated: engineer Eugeniusz A.--representative of the Katowice city government (the Department of Municipal and Housing Economy), Wlodzimierz G.--Gliwice city government (department as above), Maria L.--representative of the same department, engineer Andrzej S.--director of the Gliwice MZBM [Municipal Board of Housing], and engineer Janusz W.--Gliwice MZBM."

Firstly, it is too bad that the note did not say whether the councilors are workers or peasants, because it appears that it is neither worker nor peasant but bureaucratic inspection. Councilors, the employees of municipal economy departments, and the directorship of the MZBM, perhaps disguised themselves in rubber boots, padded jackets, or the asbestos work clothes of steel workers. This, however, does not change the fact that not one worker or peasant was mentioned in the composition of the commission. I myself am not an advocate of multiplying commissions, I believe that there are too many of them, but if I understand it well, the point of the idea of worker-peasant inspection was to give people employed at hard labor and not behind a desk, the feeling of co-ownership, coresponsibility, and the right to look behind the facade. On the other hand, as far as councilors, engineers, directors, and the employees of the municipal economy are concerned, it is after all their duty to know the area of their work without putting on the costume of any inspectorate (it was a good thing that they did not disguise themselves in uniforms and did not pretend to be a military inspection).

Secondly, let us now see what our commission saw with their bureaucratic-worker-peasant eyes: "In the inspected building on 3 Wiertnicza Street, owned by the MZBM, and having examined how the building is prepared for the winter, the commission found, among other things, holes in the roof, damaged gutters suitable only for replacement, and damaged facades. In the apartment of one tenant, the plaster was falling down, in another the tenants complained that the ceiling was being flooded. Since the tenants cannot use the attic, they dry their laundry on the staircase. The building was built in this century and has not been thoroughly repaired."

The commission found that before thorough repairs, rainwater must be diverted to the existing storm collector. The commission formulated the conclusions: "to secure the roof from within the attic and to replace the gutters and the down spouts before 15 December. (...) At 40 Pszczyńska Street (building from 1902, 19 families, managed by MZBM) it was likewise determined that among other things the roof, the gutters, and the downspouts were damaged, and that there were damp patches on external walls, the rainwater had seeped to the basemement, and the commission formulated similar conclusions."

The author of the report concludes optimistically that an appropriate team will evaluate the results of the inspection, and that the reaction of the tenants was very positive. In Bytom "they downright asked hopefully 'How about us?'" I received the impression that this question is not so much a call for another, even authentic inspection, as much as a call for an owner. In order to assert that there is a hole in the roof, that gutters are leaking, and that water gathers in the basement, not to mention damp patches on the plaster and facades, one does not need an inspection, workers, peasants, or directors, because any child can see it. Of course one can take a walk in an area for which someone is responsible and call this a worker-peasant inspection. But what would be the gain besides checking of another campaign? On the other hand, commission members who because of their office and their work in the MZBM and in the departments of municipal and housing economy are responsible for these damp patches and these holes give themselves a doubtful testimony. This reminds us of a school boy who conducts an inspection of his own notebooks, finds blotches of ink, F grades, and errors in them, then formulates to himself conclusions, gives himself deadlines, and assigns responsibility. To whom? To himself, of course, because it is his notebook.

Whose, on the other hand, are the buildings on Wiertnicza, Pszczyńska, or thousands of other streets? They are ours, common, collectivized; in other words, nobody's heart bleeds at the sight of hanging gutters, falling plaster, and nobody secures the roof before holes appear, nobody eliminates cracks before they assume catastrophic dimensions. Everybody waits until the building becomes useless like the Bristol Hotel, only later to name a special team for conservation of a historical objects which--as we read in ZYCIE WARSZAWY--"volunteered" to rebuild this object, which will have to take at least 4 years because specialists and materials must be gathered.

And where were the owners, ten, twenty years ago, when it was known that this building would require repair at any time and that each day it was closed would mean loss of money, because a closed hotel does not earn? Are they not more guilty than the citizen in Elblag who stood before the misdemeanor court? Not only single buildings but whole streets, districts, and housing colonies are being destroyed before our eyes and everybody only complains that the housing industry does not turn in a sufficient amount of apartments, which, please note, often require repairs right from the start. When one reads that spas such as Sopot or Krynica are coming to ruin, and at the same time learns that in Polanice Zdroj, for example, not a single apartment has been built for many years, one comes to the conclusion that inspections will help little and what is needed instead is an authentic owner; we must turn over these buildings, roofs, gutters, and basements to ownership other than bureaucratic. A building owner used to be cruel, but he cared, or else wrote the building off as a loss, exploiting it in the meantime and charging high rents for apartments for poor people. Nowadays there are no soulless building owners, but on the other hand buildings are often in terrible shape. We must take them away from bureaucrats, who parody inspections of themselves, and turn them over to owners. Perhaps we should create cooperatives composed of all tenants, perhaps buildings should be turned over to agents, or perhaps we should again interest private people in a share of revenues--I do not know. As long as the hole in the roof will not at the same time be a hole in someone's wallet, it will be true to say that after the war we rebuilt Poland in brick, but we will leave it messed up.

12270

CSO: 2600/488

POLAND

REFLECTIONS ON POPE'S TRIPS TO POLAND HEAVILY CENSORED

Czestochowa NIEDZIELA in Polish No 1, 6 Jan 85 pp 1, 2

[Article by Bishop Ignacy Tokarczuk: "Teaching for the Time of Ordeal"]

[Text] The teachings of Pope John Paul II during his first and second pilgrimages to Poland have been a great gift to our nation. But the gift has not yet been truly explored or acknowledged. The scope of his teaching is enormous, and one can hardly deal with all its threads. I have therefore selected some issues which to me seem the most essential, although the selection might appear arbitrary.

The issues I am going to present have been arranged in chronological order, as they appeared during the papal catechesis along the route traveled by John Paul II.

At the very beginning of his teaching the Holy Father touched upon the most vital issue, that of love. Love is the apogee of perfection. It is the only measure of the progress of evangelization. The proof for the love of God is the love of man. The love of God is not a question of mood or emotion. Christ taught that the love of God is expressed by one's relation to one's fellow men, in particular to one's enemies.

Let us then deal first with the most sensitive subject today, absolution. To begin with, let us try to define precisely what absolution is, and what it is not. Absolution does not imply feeling. Emotional states are often independent of man. One cannot order oneself to feel, or not to feel, empathy toward somebody who is evil. Even saints used to encounter difficulties in this domain. Saint Joan Frances de Chantal to the end of her days experienced the emotional traumatic rejection of the man who had shot her husband during a hunting party. But absolution does not depend on feelings. Neither does it mean assuming a posture of indifference or nonresistance to evil. Christianity does not enjoin it. We know from the Gospels how radically Christ treated people insensitive to mild persuasion, people of ill will. In the temple he knocked down their stalls, and called the Pharisees "whitewashed tombs." Such behavior certainly did not indicate sympathy. But when dealing with weak people, meek ones, those striving for improvement, Christ was immensely delicate and subtle. Absolution does not involve indifference or passivity; on the contrary, it shows great spiritual effort.

Neither does absolution mean blurring the difference between good and evil. The difference should be emphasized: good should be called good, and evil called evil. One cannot allow misrepresentation. Absolution is not a lack of justice, it rather renders justice more acute, since it requires unveiling the whole truth upon which justice is built.

An essential feature of absolution is the refusal to be guided by hatred. If man allows hatred to prevail over him, he finds himself on a lost position, he has been vanquished. Hatred is destructive, it builds nothing and destroys all. Those guilty of Father Popieluszko's murder, who were guided by hatred, in fact destroyed themselves, their families, and their community; they covered with shame their own names and those they represented.

Another feature of absolution is lack of lust for vengeance. It does not mean giving up the administration of justice: the punishment should always be commensurate with a man's guilt. The third feature of absolution is unconditional condemnation of evil, not of man. Man should be treated apart from his deeds, from the evil he might have wrought. One has to understand the complex situation in which he had acted. When passing judgment on a man, one always has to keep in mind the following factors: the inherited conditions independent of him, and the environmental impact. To a large extent they determine man's actions. One should always be careful, therefore, in passing judgment on the man himself. But evil should be condemned absolutely, and spelled out by name. Only God can properly judge a man, since only He knows all the conditions and circumstances. Even in the most law-abiding countries, unjust sentences may be passed, because it is not always possible to discover the genuine causes of crime. One should therefore be most careful in rendering opinions and judgments, in particular when emotional factors are involved.

Those are the essential features of absolution. Christ said that a Christian should differ from a non-Christian in his ability to embrace enemies with love expressed in good will and understanding. A Christian can distinguish between evil and its perpetrator: he condemns evil, but does not judge the man, leaving the right to judge to God alone.

[---] [Passage deleted on the basis of the 3 July 1981 law on control of publications and performances, article 2, point 1 (DZIENNIK USTAW No 20, item 99, amended 1983 DZIENNIK USTAW No 44, item 204)].

One should clearly say what absolution is, lest anyone confuse it with indifference. If society and the church understand the sense of this ordeal and pass the test, they will achieve greater maturity. At the same time, it should be pointed out that the recently rising tide of evil also raises a new mainstream of good. Inflicting suffering stimulates prayer and creates the need for invoking the love of Christ, which is not weakness but rather enormous power and victory.

Another major issue in the Holy Father's teaching in his native country concerns the problem of dialogue. Everywhere there is a need for dialogue as a way of solving all the problems of the contemporary world. It is necessary in the social and political domains, in the state, and even inside the church itself.

Dialogue is needed in particular between the clergy and the laity, as well as within the clergy itself. In his talk to the Episcopate in the library of the Jasna Gora monastery, the Holy Father emphasized the need for collegiality. And collegiality means dialogue.

In the early centuries of Christianity an essential state of equilibrium determined the importance and the role of the laity and the episcopate inside the church. Laymen, priests and bishops were aware that both the former and the latter are irreplaceable in the fulfillment of their duties. In later ages this equilibrium was unsettled. In recent years the laity has matured and resumed its responsible functions inside the church. The church should acknowledge the importance of the laity and promote its coming of age. It should notice that the laity has grown more responsible, and become prepared to assume certain functions inside the church. But dialogue between the laity and the clergy is necessary to render it possible. It happens, however, that we often are unable to engage in dialogue, we are unable calmly to listen to somebody else's opinion, we assail the man, not the problem. We lack the culture of dialogue. The problem of the maturity of the laity depends to a great extent on the clergy's ability to engage in dialogue. The laity should be trained and prepared for this dialogue, and for its new responsible functions. Here one should clearly pay attention to the division of roles and responsibilities. The Laity and the clergy have different scopes of responsibility.

There are areas of work and functions where a layman is irreplaceable, there are others when a priest is irreplaceable. And one should know to distinguish between them. If each priest would try to create around himself at least a small community of active laymen, we would have in Poland at least a million and a half (i.e., some 5 percent) people prepared to participate in the renewal of the church in the spirit of the Second Vatican Council. Then that 5 percent of society would be able to activate the remaining 95 percent, operating as the nucleus and contributing to the rise of the consciousness and the responsibility of the nation as a whole.

The third problem raised by the Holy Father during his pilgrimage is the love of truth. He mentioned it in particular in his talk to the representatives of Lublin Catholic University. Without truth human life is virtually impossible. There have been historical eras when men used to lie out of weakness, but they were ashamed of lying, they blushed when their lies were revealed to them. Today the problem of "scientific" lie has emerged.

Neither social nor economic life can develop normally without truth.

[---] [Passage deleted on the basis of the 31 July 1981 law on control of publications and performances, article 2, point 1 (DZIENNIK USTAW No 20, item 99, amended 1983 DZIENNIK USTAW No 44, item 204)].

Lie degrades men. Man was created for truth, and wishes to serve the truth. When he is lied to he rebels. There have been many crises in history, but they were easier to survive in the climate of truth. In the climate of lie, a crisis may become even more tragic.

Another important issue raised in the papal evangelization is the problem of freedom. The pope talked about this at the 10th Anniversary Stadium in Warsaw. He also pointed out the way to the victory of freedom. Freedom is one of man's most cherished notions. But we should clarify what we mean by the term "freedom."

We distinguish between internal freedom and external freedom. There is freedom from something--consumer's freedom--and freedom to do something--creative freedom. Everybody recognizes the need for external--political or social--freedom; not everybody understands the need for internal freedom. Political or social enslavement is hard to take, but even more difficult is inner captivity. The road to external freedom leads through internal freedom. An ancient philosopher, who was a slave, expressed this idea: "My masters are externally free, but innerly I do not succumb to the evil they are submitted to. As a man, I am internally free. They are socially free, but at the same time they are slaves in their private life. But I am internally free as a man, even though I belong to the social group of slaves." Not everybody can grasp that he is internally enslaved. People submit to internal captivity--through alcoholism, debauchery, or drug addiction. They are captive through hatred. This captivity was the cause of Father Popieluszko's murder. It was done not by uneducated people, not by illiterates out of the woods, but by officers with high education and diplomas, made captive by a terrible hatred; that hatred killed not only the priest but themselves as men, as members of society. That is why moral victory, the abolition of internal captivity, is an essential precondition for social and political victory. [Adam] Mickiewicz said: "To the extent that you improve and enlarge your spirit, you will improve your laws and extend your frontiers." At present there is no armed warfare, but moral fight goes on. The frontier runs through human hearts. The face of the world depends on whether love or hatred, truth or lie, will prevail in man's heart. Nobody can remain indifferent in face of this choice between good and evil. Indifference and passivity are identical with siding with violence and brute force. That is why it is so important to understand what internal freedom means.

[---][Passage deleted on the basis of the 31 July 1981 law on control of publications and performances, article 2, point 1 (DZIENNIK USTAW No 20, item 99, amended 1983 DZIENNIK USTAW No 44, item 204)].

Freedom from something is conceived as freedom from all ties, constraining rules, or barriers. It means freedom in its negative, consumer sense.

Another sense of freedom--freedom to do something--expresses freedom to create, to achieve self-fulfillment, to live in dignity. But not everything which seems constraining is actually so. Some laws and rules serve freedom itself. Let us consider the following example.

A road runs atop a steep embankment. On both sides barriers have been erected. Only an abnormal man would claim that those barriers constrain his freedom to move along the road. A thoughtful man would realize that the barriers protect his freedom to reach his goal. God's Ten Commandments fulfill a similar role of protection.

[---] [Passage deleted on the basis of the 31 July 1981 law on control of publications and performances, article 2, point 1 (DZIENNIK USTAW No 20, item 99, amended 1983 DZIENNIK USTAW No 44, item 204)].

Thus we see that the concept of freedom requires precision.

A major issue raised by the Holy Father concerns the situation in agriculture and the importance of farmers' toil. John Paul II talked about this at Niepokalano and in Poznan. Farmers are the people most attached to nature, what they get out of the soil depends on the toil invested in it. The more they love it, the more honest their toil, the more lavish the nourishment. Nothing protects the borders of our country better than the farmers whose roots are in it, who have loved it for generations and considered it their own.

There is a lot of talk here about the defense of our western borders, but the essential truth that the farmers, whose roots are in those lands, would defend them best, is not always recognized. [---] [Passage deleted on the basis of the 31 July 1981 law on control of publications and performances, article 2, point 1 (DZIENNIK USTAW No 20, Item 99, amended 1983 DZIENNIK USTAW No 44, item 204)]. That is why the ministry of farmers today is so important to the church.

Another most significant issue, many times mentioned by the Holy Father, concerns the attitude of the church toward politics. This subject was dealt with by John Paul II not only in Poland, but also during his Latin American pilgrimage.

First of all, it should be made clear what we mean by such terms as "church" and "politics." Church means all God's people, thus the laity, the clergy, and the hierarchy. The laity's attitude toward politics within the church is a separate issue. Here we will deal exclusively with the relationship between the hierarchical church and politics. The term "politics" has a double meaning, too. It can be perceived as a drive for power, for personal or class gains. Obviously, such politics is not appropriate for priests and bishops. History has shown that it might even be harmful. But in its other meaning, politics can be perceived as concern for order in one's home, and engaging in this kind of politics is not only a right but a duty of each priest and bishop. Our adversaries would like to confine all our concerns within the sacristy and to scale down our prophesy to an abstraction confined to the theory of the Gospel. Some priests sometimes succumb to such pressures. But we should remember that the Gospel, the teachings of Jesus Christ, are the source which should throw light on all the problems of human and social life. Christ wishes to deprive nobody of power, he wishes to help both the authorities and society in arranging life free of complications and mistakes. That is why concern for peace and order at home is so important. Let us recall the teachings of Saint Thomas Aquinas, who pointed out that social order and the achievement of proper economic standards are necessary for the maintenance of moral order. Poverty and disorder corrupt people. Striving to improve in life and in the social order is therefore the priest's duty.

A few years ago research carried out on the world views of the younger generation indicated that 70 percent of young people subscribed to the Catholic viewpoint. Similar research now indicates that 90 percent of young people regard themselves as Catholics. This increase undoubtedly stems from the social condition and the increased authority of the church. Youth needs genuine values.

[---] [Passage deleted on the basis of the 31 July 1981 law on control of publications and performances, article 2, point 1 (DZIENNIK USTAW No 20, item 99, amended 1983 DZIENNIK USTAW No 44, item 204)].

Another most significant issue raised by the Holy Father, man's work, was dealt with in Silesia and at Czestochowa. The Holy Father also discussed the issue of work in his encyclical "Laborem exercens." He has pointed out there that work is man's vocation. Man, created in God's image, is destined to contribute to the creation of the world through his work. Assisted by gifts received from God, he is destined to cooperate with Him in the act of creation, to create civilization and culture. Practicing any profession means cooperation with God in the act of creation, all work is service to mankind. All work has its religious sense, and it is just that sense that should be restored to work, be more clearly illuminated.

The Holy Father devoted a major part of his teachings to the posture and work of the Polish clergy. The pope demands from priests evangelical radicalism. Evangelical radicalism demands serious approach to the Gospel. The work of evangelizing the world depends on whether the clergy approaches the Gospel seriously. We are children of our age, and we have to value its laws and requirements, but at the same time we should keep faith with the Gospel.

The Polish nation lives in a unique situation. Although it has sinned much, it has enormous values as well. The religious culture in Poland is undoubtedly superior to [---] [Passage deleted on the basis of the 31 July 1981 law on control of publications and performances, article 2, point 1 (DZIENNIK USTAW No 20, item 99, amended 1983 DZIENNIK USTAW No 44, item 204)], and produces genuine values. In this process the role of the church is particularly essential.

To function properly, [the church] has to create an adequate network of dioceses and parishes. The parishes should not be too large. In overly large parishes people remain nameless, pastoral work becomes difficult. Dioceses, too, should not be too large. During the ad limina visit of the Polish bishops, the Holy Father reminded them that the Second Vatican Council defined the need of each diocese to be self-supporting, to support a seminary, and to have not more than 1 million inhabitants. The 37 million-strong Poland might therefore have some 40 dioceses. Thus, we are in for an effort to reorganize our dioceses and parishes. We should set an example to the world of how to solve problems of ecclesiastical organization, just as the Polish working people have demonstrated to others how the linkage between work and religious life might become possible.

The Holy Father also touched upon the issue of keeping faith with the national culture [---] [Passage deleted on the basis of the 31 July 1981 law on control of publications and performances, article 2, point 1 (DZIENNIK USTAW No 20, item 99, amended 1983 DZIENNIK USTAW No 44, item 204)]. This has been possible only because [Poland] has maintained her Christian culture. National culture resembles a sound circulatory system, which supplies values to each cell. Every nation has its own culture. The fact that Polish culture has its most profound roots in Christianity is its greatest fortune. And we must therefore act with utmost concern to lose nothing of it. Our culture has 1,000-year-old roots, and their undermining should not be tolerated. We have to do our best to erect our religious and national life on sound foundations.

12485

CSO: 2600/594

POLAND

DEVELOPMENTS IN KIELCE DIOCESE STIR CONTROVERSY

Bishop Criticized for Attacking Government

Warsaw ARGUMENTY in Polish No 1, 6 Jan 85 p 15

[Article by J.N.: "From the Church Press: Revelations of Bishop Jan Gruda"]

[Text] Millions of pilgrimages to Czestochowa, tens of thousands of pilgrims on foot, hundreds of thousands of participants in the procession on the occasion of the feast of Corpus Christi on the one hand, and on the other, numbers which look strange against this background, numbers that illustrate participation in obligatory Sunday worship. Bishop Jan Gruda presents these numbers in an article, "Pastoral Concern for Maintaining the 'Sacrum' of Sunday and of Holy Days," published in the monthly KIELCECKI PRZEGLAD DIECEZ-JALNY (No 3, 1984), the official organ of the Kielce diocesan curia.

The measure of the degree to which holy days are kept is attendance of the faithful at Sunday Mass. Based on the data collected by church sociologists, Bishop Jan Gruda indicates that highest attendance was attained by the dioceses of Przemysl and Tarnow (more than 75 and 78 percent); the Kielce diocese is in the average group, in the 15th place at 53.2 percent; last in the list is the Szczecin diocese with 30.1 percent. We may assume, then, that on the average, every second Catholic in Poland who is obliged to attend Mass on Sunday ignores this precept. Speaking in Catholic terms, he sins, breaking the law of the Church. Thus, on the one hand we have mass shows that take place under slogans identifying the people with the Church, and on the other, more than half of these people behaving completely differently from the way the clergy would them to behave.

This is not all. The participation of Catholics in the Mass is even more curious if we look at groups with respect to age, occupation and education: Bishop Gruda writes: "Attendance is most systematic among school children, then among people in the 40-60 age bracket. Catholic men age 25-40 are weakest in fulfilling their church obligations. This is the group of people who are most active in the community, professionally occupied, rarely thinking of the final end -- the best practicing Catholics are the farmers, then workers and tradesmen. The lowest position is occupied by those engaged in intellectual work, particularly those with a higher education."

These are not statements that resulted specifically from studies carried out, for example, by lay sociologists. But when Bishop Gurda formulated his opinions on the sources of this state of affairs, he ignored all the distinctions presented here. If there are more people with a higher education among nonpracticing Catholics, it would seem that education extinguishes religion. If a farmer is more religious than an intellectual worker, then it might be worthwhile to consider the function of profession in the formation of attitudes toward religion. Bishop Gurda cannot omit these circumstances, but clearly he diminishes them. In his opinion, the primary causes are "conscious and planned laicizing activities." Actually, this state of affairs is influenced by a change in social structures, as he writes, as well as by a new life style, but the decisive factor is actually the laicizing strategy. If, for example, there is a change in life style, if material values take priority (control not by needs, but by profit), if the sense of the "Sacrum" disappears, if there is even "an excessive drive for personal freedom," it is because "These changes are supported and helped by a planned and very effectively implemented laicization that manages to satisfy the daily needs of man while omitting and excluding religious values."

Most amusing here is this "excessive drive for personal freedom," since if it were to find a protector anywhere, it would actually be among many church propagandists who contrast the individual with the public, the citizen with the state, and behavior that brings anarchy to community life with established lawful order.

But returning to the subject: it is a pity that Bishop Gurda did not indicate who "planned" this laicization, who is implementing it so "effectively."

Identifying the sources of weakening discipline in the form of absence from Mass as being due to a change in life style supported by "laicization," Bishop Gurda writes that this is most evident in:

"a) the organization of unusual shows, for example, screenings of interesting films, meetings, matches during church services; organizing Sunday excursions that make it impossible for participants to attend Mass;

"b) introducing secular rituals (for example, ceremonious giving of names, etc.) has no other purpose than to move matters connected with religion from a community plane to a purely private, personal plane, in a word, to the margin of life;

"c) presenting the Church as an exclusively political institution which, using religious means, is aiming at supremacy over the state;

"d) launching, especially among youth, a secular ethic that undermines the Christian system of values (a softening of moral attitudes)."

Bishop Gurda's article appeared in a journal intended almost exclusively for the clergy. For this reason, it is difficult to assume that this is a propaganda attempt meant specifically to influence the average Catholic reader. It is rather a manifestation of a certain, fixed mentality, a mentality that

holds that if something affects social consciousness and is not Catholic, does not emanate from the Catholic religion and the Church itself, then by the same token it must be directed against Catholicism and against the Church. It must be anti-Catholic and anti-Church, must be "programmed," must be the result of impious antireligious plans.

Here let us bypass the question which is familiarly known as the philosophy or ethics of Kali: whatever Kali does is good; if someone does the same thing, but is not responsible to Kali, then it is bad. We will bypass trifles such as: that religious propaganda massively prepared within the Church is a fact that everyone accepts as something normal, but the idea that there should be a place for lay propaganda becomes a stumbling block for those conducting religious propaganda. Let us consider the fact that, in this light, all talk on the part of clergy favoring the integrity of a pluralistic world view, a pluralism of cultures, freedom to develop one's own world view becomes meaningless. What Bishop Gurda wrote goes substantially beyond a dialogue on the question of the concept of pluralism. I assume that practically each of the points he brought up must arouse objection not only among people active in lay circles, but also of ordinary liberals.

A case in point is the complaint about organizing "unusual shows," films, matches during services, etc., with the idea of drawing people away from services. Who would believe this today? Such methods were dropped a long time ago, several years ago, when in official spheres, the policy of confronting the Church spheres on various fields was replaced by a policy of flirting with them. I do remember how, a few years ago, free film showings were organized in movie theaters. But these were organized by representatives of the Mazowsze region of Solidarity during the May 1 parade in Warsaw. Moreover, with a result no better than in the past, westerns were shown on TV during Corpus Christ, for example. As far as matches go, it would be worthwhile for Bishop Gurda to ask presidents of sport clubs as to why sports meets are organized for one time or another. It seems that they have other things in mind than a simplistic battle against religion. I believe that even among them there is a fair number of the faithful, and they must feel hurt by the charges that are being made here.

Bishop Gurda believes that secular rituals, for example, the ceremonious giving of names, aims to shift religious matters into the private sphere. How he deduced this, I do not know. It must be by some kind of neck-breaking logic. Meanwhile, he failed to notice somehow that, first, there are quite a few people living in Poland who are not Catholic, but certainly have the same right to a solemn experience of family joys, such as the birth of a child, and there is no reason why we should have to look to the Church to provide for this; second, the birth of a new citizen has a significance for the state without regard as to whether he is the progeny of Catholics or of people of other convictions with respect to worldview.

With respect to the question of whether the Church is a political institution or not, I would rather not say. Events will suffice as an answer. Meanwhile I will agree that there is no such thing as an exclusively political institution. But no one is saying this.

Finally, as to the last matter, launching secular ethics for the purpose of softening moral attitudes. I am afraid that this insinuation was formulated because Bishop Gurda knows secular ethics only from simplistic propaganda statements, only from those sources that form a caricature of it. It is astonishing how easily people of bad will in the Church make accusations, and how difficult they find it to undertake an honest criticism of books that represent secular ethics, for example, the works of H. Jankowski, M. Michalik, M. Fritzhand, T. Kotarbinski and scores of others, who would undoubtedly rub their eyes in disbelief if they found out that they were softening the moral attitudes of the people.

The revelations of Bishop Gurda are a unique testimony of the times. These new signum temporis reflect a state in which the side that is perhaps statistically weaker, but morally purer is actually the secular side. One must not resort to methods such as those described above without maintaining and consolidating a mentality of integrity in one's own milieu.

Church Responds to TV Program

Krakow TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY in Polish No 4, 27 Jan 85 p 3

[Article by Bishop Stanislaw Szymeccki, bishop of Kielce, Auxiliary Bishop Jan Gurda and Auxiliary Bishop Mieczyslaw Jaworski: "A Word From the Kielce Bishops Pertaining to the Parish in Boleslaw"]

[Text] Beloved of the diocese: On the first Sunday of Advent, 2 December 1984, we began the Synodal Year of the Faith with the slogan, "The just man lives by faith." In the pastoral letter read on that Sunday, among others there the words, "By faith we make a place for God in space and time. We build churches for God to be places for Him to live among us. This is a great expression of faith ..." (----) (Law of 31 July 1981, "Control of Publications and Spectacles," Art. 2, Point 1 /DZIENNIK USTAW No 20, item 99; 1983 ed. DZIENNIK USTAW No 44, item 204/).

On 16 December 1984, because the bishop transferred the pastor of the parish in Boleslaw, a group of people locked the church and instigated a disturbance among the parishioners, making the charges known to the whole country in an undignified manner, including lies and slander.

The truth about Boleslaw is as follows:

1. Division and misunderstandings in this parish have been going on for many years. They have led to a sad breaking up of the community of the faithful into several groups even as early as 1956. It is not necessary here to enumerate the causes of the disruption or the various factors which led and are leading to the disruption of the parish.
2. For the good of the whole parish community, the bishops of Kielce, un-

derstanding the problems of this parish, resolved to replace all the clergy (the pastor and two vicars) in order to create a new climate and new possibilities for pastoral work.

3. The bishop in Kielce proposed that the present pastor in Boleslaw consider other parishes. After being presented with several successive proposals, the pastor finally agreed to move to the Krajno parish. As a result, he was relieved of the parish in Boleslaw and named pastor in Krajno. This is a normal method for entrusting and accepting clerical positions in the Church, in agreement with the regulations of Church law. Transfer of clergy to other parishes is an ordinary practice done by the bishop, who takes into consideration the good and needs of the faithful of the whole diocese. Moreover, every priest on the day of his ordination publicly and ceremoniously promises reverence and obedience to his bishop ordinary and his successors. It is part of the essence of priestly service which has as its purpose the good of the faithful and is to be an imitation of Christ Himself, who came to serve and give His life for the people.

The pastor, Father Wladyslaw Zachariasz, after receiving the nomination to the new parish, himself asked the bishop ordinary in the presence of the chancellor of the curia, that he not return to Boleslaw or even appear there to remove his personal things.

4. The whole parish community in Boleslaw accepted this change, except for a very small group of people. It is true that several persons were collecting signatures "for the pastor," but the list did not reflect the will of all the parishioners since some persons were included in the list without their knowledge, and others did not know what they were signing. This what they themselves said.

These are the facts about Boleslaw. On 4 January 1985, Polish Television gave a report on the "conflict in Boleslaw." Polish Television, from which the whole country has the right to expect honest information, verbal culture and a positive influence on the education of the younger generation, once again gave evidence of its low level, arousing a distaste and objection among the right-thinking community. The fact alone of intruding a television crew into the rectory and church in Boleslaw without permission of the parish administrator defies all principles of the norms of community life. We must complain that television manipulates facts and people, disseminates lies and sows social disorder. For it is not true that the small group of "actors" in the report represents the whole parish community in Boleslaw. It is not true that the former pastor of Boleslaw is being wronged since he accepted the nomination to a new position which is also a part of the diocese, and not any kind of "exile," as the press slanderously claims.

It is not true that the bishops do not want to discuss the matter with a delegation of faithful from Boleslaw. The bishops received representatives of the parish in the curia building, and in recent weeks, Bishop Jaworski visited the church in Boleslaw three times, spoke to the body of parishioners and expressed a readiness for further discussion. It is not true that the

church in Boleslaw is "occupied" by clerics and the rectory by parishioners." Since Christmas, liturgical activities and religious services have been proceeding normally. It is true, however, that in its report, Polish Television presented a false picture of the facts without direct contact with the people who were slandered. It is true that Polish Television took advantage of the irresponsible presentation of a small group of Boleslaw residents. ... Finally, it is true that the day after the television report, the same group from Boleslaw came to the diocesan curia and, behaving arrogantly, among other things, made an attempt to break down the door of the residence of the bishop ordinary, who was away at the time.

Therefore, it is not true that there is a conflict between the Boleslaw parish and the bishop or the curia, as television and the press is trying to tell people. There was an irresponsible and emotional action of a small group of people that engendered shame and pain in the parish community. We must complain that this presentation was exploited for inciting unrest and division in the Boleslaw parish community, that Polish Television (----) (Law of 31 July 1981, "Control of Publications and Spectacles, Article 2, Point 1 /DZIENNIK USTAW No 44, item 204/) did not apply the principle "audiat et altera pars," "the other side must also be heard," that is required in human relations. Without this principle, information becomes manipulation and interpersonal relations, a jungle!

Dear members of the diocese of all our parishes, and particularly the Boleslaw parish! I am calling on your faith, your sense of the Church established by Christ. I remind you of the archpriestly prayer of Jesus: "Father, that they may be one!" and His death on the cross undertaken with the purpose of gathering "into one all the dispersed children of God" (John 11:52). I would like to remind you of the words of the Vatican II Council from the Constitution on the Church: "...the holy Council teaches that bishops, as appointed by God, became the successors to the Apostles as shepherds of the Church. Whoever listens to them, listens to Christ, and who scorns them, scorns Christ and Him Who sent Christ" (Luke 10:16; Canonical Codex 20).

The Boleslaw parish, divided and torn, a parish in which Christ was again crucified, needs unity that has its source in Christ. This unity can be built by service to the pope, the bishops and priests and the faithful laity living in unity with the bishop.

The Kielce Church was never reconciled to the disruption in the Boleslaw parish. It is a wound inflicted on the whole Kielce Church, which hurts us bishops, the priests and the laity. No one can be indifferent to it. For this reason let us pray more frequently and fervently for unity and love in Boleslaw.

Dear members of the diocese! Let us be one! Let us not be carried away by emotion. (----) (Law of 31 July 1981, "Control of Publications and Spectacles," Article 2, Point 1 /DZIENNIK USTAW, No 20, item 99; 1983 ed., DZIENNIK USTAW, No 44, item 204/).

We assure parishioners in Boleslaw of our special prayers and love. We thank them for the fidelity they maintained to the true Church of Christ (...) We forgive from our hearts those who, perhaps in anger, offended the bishops and priests. We ask all the faithful of the parish in Boleslaw to help rebuild the disrupted unity by kind words and a Christian attitude.

We ask all members of the diocese for daily prayer for the parish in Boleslaw: so that all might be one!

We cordially bless all people of good will.

2950

CSO: 2600/527

POLAND

CONSOLIDATION OF MARXIST STUDIES IN UNIVERSITIES SUPPORTED

AU251344 Warsaw NOWE DROGI in Polish No 1, Jan 85 pp 152-160

[Antoni Draga article: "Issues of the Development of Marxism and Social Sciences"]

[Excerpts] The story events in 1980-81 threw into especially glaring relief the complicated processes by which political attitudes and political culture are developed throughout the system of national education. The economic, social, and political crisis affected directly the efficiency and effectiveness of the instructional and educational process in the Polish schools. The intensification of the political struggle resulted in confrontation in schools, and the socialist character of the educational process promoted in Polish schools became the subject of this struggle. In higher education schools the conflict was being waged under the slogan that the social sciences should give up their "ideological doctrinarism" and that the Marxist methodology in the social sciences should be eliminated from Polish schools. The discussion of these complicated issues, which was launched by Henryk Bednarski's article "Marxism-Leninism and Development of Social Sciences in the PPR" has revealed the importance of the Marxist-Leninist sociopolitical sciences for the practical and theoretical activities of the PZPR.

The basic task of higher education schools be to ensure that during their studies students get to know the achievements of the Marxist-Leninist social sciences and master the proper methodology of analyzing the complicated social processes. I think that it is worth examining these issues during the discussion, which was launched by H. Bednarski's article. It seems to me that efforts to propagate the achievements of Marxism-Leninism and to foster students' attitudes along these lines are as important as to ensure that the social sciences fulfill their scientific role.

The poll carried out by the Polish Students Association in May 1984 showed that Polish students' political knowledge is "haphazard," chaotic, and based on hearsay and not on scientific analyses. For example, when answering the question "what does the term 'nation' mean?" Most respondents listed elements of culture as the determining factor of the existence of a nation. Some 84.5 percent of respondents said that the common history of a community makes it into a nation, 81 percent of them thought that common culture is the determining factor in the existence of a nation, and 78 percent stressed the

importance of the common language. Very few of them listed such important factors in the existence of a nation as an independent state and efforts to establish it, common territory, and the community of economic life.

Poll questions were answered by 402 third and fourth year students in higher education schools in Poznan, Warsaw, and Wroclaw. Their answers can be regarded as approximately representing the entire student community. What is especially intriguing is that as many as 78 percent of respondents replied negatively to the question: "Were the events in the most recent Polish history that are usually defined as 'blanks' discussed in the course of lectures?" Yet we all know that these events continue to be discussed by students with particular fervor.

Many conclusions can also be drawn from an analysis of the other data of the poll concerning students' knowledge of Marxist theory. This data shows that "most respondents go for a non-Marxist definition of the nation and for the cultural and ethical factors in the development of a nation, ignoring the economic factor, which is the top factor in the Marxist theory, and other factors such as the existence of one's own state, efforts to set up such a state, and common territory. Most respondents are unable to cite the Leninist definition of the 'social class.' Students' replies to the question of whether classes exist in present-day Poland are vague. If they think that classes do exist in the PPR they advance the rigid, Stalinist division in line with which the 'workers class,' 'peasantry,' and the 'intelligentsia' exist in socialism. Respondents are unable to give a precise definition of materialism and have difficulties in giving the Marxist definition of the 'state.'" These replies force us to indulge in bitter reflections. They show that students' knowledge of the works of the classics is very poor.

No doubt it would be exaggeration to unreservedly accept the results of this poll, but the fact is that they do confirm the intuitive views of some people that the intentions of higher education schools and those of students are wide apart at some point. We must not be passive in the face of this state of affairs. I think that we must always continue to improve sociopolitical curricula so that they are more effective in influencing students' attitudes and the systems of their values. We must have a uniform ideological-educational front in higher education schools, otherwise the opposite attitudes, about which we have spoken, will consolidate.

The position of the social sciences depends on the allies they win and on the way they propagate the results of research. The social sciences must demolish all kinds of myths and prejudices, which become weapons in the hands of adversaries in the course of time. I think that we have still much to accomplish in this regard.

The crisis of consciousness, which is a result of the policy in the seventies, has imbued the awareness of young people with nonsocialist ideas and values. The crisis of consciousness could be seen in the attitudes of young people at the beginning of the eighties. One consequence of this crisis has been the crisis of the ideological identity of the young generation as well as a serious weakening of the socialist youth movement, including the student movement.

Marxist theory and the many years of its practical implementation pose two tasks for the youth movement:

--The ideological-educational task of integrating the young generation around the aims of socialist construction, of fostering the socialist political, ideological, and moral attitudes as well as the skills of leadership, and of organizing social and production efforts;

--The task of representing the interests of young people and of struggling for their implementation.

Since the implementation of these tasks by the youth movement in the seventies had been criticized, it was necessary to make a new approach to this implementation under the difficult conditions of our social and political crisis. The events and processes taking place in the academic community after August of 1980 created particularly complicated conditions for implementing the socialist program. The breakdown in the educational function of higher education schools and the frontal attack against the Marxist contents of the curricula of the social sciences have affected the educational work of the Polish Student Association. The results of these processes are now affecting the effectiveness of association's activities. We can risk the assertion that without the rehabilitation of the ideological and educational function of higher education schools it will be impossible for the youth movement to effectively fulfill this function.

The social and professional organization such as the Polish Student Association can be only one of the elements of the system by which students' attitudes are developed during studies. The basis of this development is the higher education schools' ability to correctly comprehend and implement their tasks and functions in all areas, including the area of the social sciences. This means that the association also has the duty of more extensively assisting the implementation of these tasks and functions. An effective implementation of the sociopolitical curricula in higher education schools calls, inter alia, for:

--The publication of suitable didactic aids, textbooks, and sources;

--The development of such extracurricular activities as the scientific movement, student scientific publications, and student radio stations;

--The popularization of the Marxist texts containing analyses of the modern times and of the causes and course of crises.

It is also necessary to modify teaching programs in such a way as to make it possible for arguments to clash and for new values to appear during lectures. In the present situation of the academic community we must always bear in mind that the "philosophers have merely produced different interpretations of the world, but what is necessary to do is to change it." (K. Marx: "Theses About Feuerbach") This means that the instruction contained in "The 11th Theses About Feuerbach" should determine the range of the activities that must be undertaken in the immediate future.

POLAND

BRIEFS

EDUCATION ACCORD WITH USSR--An agreement on cooperation this year between the Ministry of Science and Higher Education and the Soviet Ministry of Higher and Secondary Specialized Education was signed in Warsaw. The agreement was signed by Prof Czeslaw Krolkowski, deputy minister and Prof Nikolay Krasnov, first deputy minister. [Excerpt] [Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1830 GMT 1 Mar 85 LD]

TRADE UNION MEMBERSHIP FIGURES--In January 100,000 persons joined trade unions. At present there are over 5 million members in trade union organizations. Altogether almost 50 percent of those employed by socialized sector belong to new trade union movement, including about 650,000 pensioners. Membership of young people in trade unions is low, it is a traditional phenomenon, in 12 voivodships only about 10 percent of union members are young, and in 26 voivodships they constitute about 20 percent of all members. [Text] [Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0300 GMT 1 Mar 85 LD]

CZECHOWICE LODZ VISIT--Tadeusz Czechowicz, Politburo member and chairman of the Central Committee Youth Commission, is attending a 2-day Lodz session of the commission to discuss ideological and educational situation in vocational schools. [Summary] [Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 22 Feb 85 p 2 AU]

KALKUS VISITS POZNAN--Politburo member Stanislaw Kalkus on 21 February attended a solemn function in Poznan to mark the 40th anniversary of the city's liberation. [Summary] [Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 22 Feb 85 p 2 AU]

GLOWCZYK ATTENDS PLOCK PLENUM--Jan Glowczyk, Politburo candidate member and Central Committee secretary, attended the plenum of the PZPR Voivodship Committee in Plock. The plenum passed a resolution on party tasks in developing and propagating culture in Pomerania and Kujawy territories. [Text] [Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 22 Feb 85 p 2 AU]

CC'S MICHALEK IN PLOCK--Central Committee Secretary Zbigniew Michalek attended a function to mark the 35th anniversary of the farm producer cooperative named after Polish-Korean friendship in Modelo, Plock voivodship. [Summary] [Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 22 Feb 85 p 2 AU]

POREBSKI ATTENDS WROCLAW PLENUM--Tadeusz Porebski, Politburo member and Central Committee secretary, attended in the Pafawag plant in Wroclaw the

itinerant plenum of the Wroclaw Voivodship Committee of the PZPR to discuss party tasks stemming from the 16th Central Committee Plenum resolutions. [Summary] [Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 23-24 Feb 85 p 2 AU]

LEADERS AT WARSAW CONCERT--Jozef Czyrek, Politburo member and Central Committee secretary; Politburo member Marian Wozniak; Wlodzimierz Mokrzyaszczak, Politburo candidate member and Central Committee secretary; Army General Florian Siwicki, Politburo candidate member and minister of national defense; and Central Committee Secretary Waldemar Swirgon attended the 22 February Warsaw concert to mark the 67th anniversary of the Soviet Army. [Summary] [Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 23-24 Feb 85 p 1 AU]

PZPR'S OPALKO IN TARNOW--The 25 February accountability party meeting in the Tarnow Nitrogen Plant was attended by Stanislaw Opalko, PZPR Politburo member and first secretary of the PZPR Committee of Tarnow Voivodship. The meeting discussed party work and implementation of difficult economic tasks. [Summary] [Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 26 Feb 85 p 2 AU]

PZPR'S MOKRZYSZCZAK IN OLSZTYN--Wlodzimierz Mokrzyaszczak, PZPR Politburo candidate member and Central Committee secretary, attended the 25 February accountability meeting of the party organization in the Olsztyn railroad engine depot. The meeting stressed the need for more organizational militancy, discipline, and dutifulness on the part of PZPR members. [Summary] [Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 26 Feb 85 p 2 AU]

KUBIAK, SWIRGON DISCUSS WRITERS--The 25 February meeting of the Central Committee Cultural Commission, which discussed the material situation of creative workers and artists, was attended by PZPR Politburo member Hieronim Kubiak and Central Committee Secretary Waldemar Swirgon. [Summary] [Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 26 Feb 85 p 2 AU]

WARSAW SD CHAIRMAN ELECTED--The SD report-back and election campaign is entering its final stages. Voivodship congresses of delegates were held in Warsaw, Lodz, and Kielce. The Warsaw congress was attended by representatives of the party leadership with its chairman Edward Kowalczyk, and by Marian Wozniak and Mieczyslaw Debicki. New authorities have been elected. Tadeusz Witold Mlynchak was elected chairman of the Warsaw SD Committee. [Text] [Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0600 GMT 13 Feb 85 LD]

FIRST ISSUE OF 'MARXIST THOUGHT'--Warsaw, 5 Mar--The Academy of Social Sciences brought out the first issue of "Marxist Thought" bi-monthly, with PUWP CC Secretary Prof Henryk Bednarski being chairman of its programmatic council, and Stefan Opara--editor-in-chief. The publication aims to overcome particular perception of Marxism-Leninism, to present the worldwide influence of Marxist thought, and seek solutions to the main ideological, moral, world-outlook and civilizational problems of today's world. The first edition carries Konstantin Chernenko's article on the CPSU theory, strategy and tactics, and an interview with Prof Marian Orzechowski on the state of Marxism in Poland and on the academy's tasks. [Text] [Warsaw PAP in English 1400 GMT 5 Mar 85 LD]

YUGOSLAVIA

TANJUG REPORTS JAPANESE CP DELEGATION'S VISIT

Meeting With Dragoslav Markovic

LD151726 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1255 GMT
15 Feb 85

[Text] Belgrade, 15 Feb (TANJUG) -- Dragoslav Markovic, member of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, had talks today with the Japanese Communist Party delegation headed by Hiroshi Tachiki, member of the Japanese Communist Party Presidium. The meeting was also attended by Borislav Milosevic, head of the LCY Sector for International Cooperation, Yasuo Ogata and Koichi Ohira, members of the Japanese Communist Party Central Committee, and others.

The Japanese Communist Party delegation is visiting Yugoslavia at the invitation of the LCY Central Committee. In a cordial and friendly atmosphere the two sides carried out an extensive exchange of views and information on the international situation, the situation and developments in the workers' movement and other progressive movements in the world and on the LCY's and the Japanese Communist Party's activities in the international field.

During the conversation both sides expressed concern at the situation in international relations, escalation of the arms race and constant exacerbation of the nonaligned countries' position, which represented a serious threat to the peace and security of nations and countries. Stress was placed on the pressing need for all peace-loving, progressive and democratic forces and the entire world community to step up their involvement in the struggle for peace, disarmament and radical effort to change the present economic relations in the world.

Particular attention was drawn to the significance and role of the policy of nonalignment and the movement of nonaligned countries in the present complex, international conditions. Both sides positively assessed the relations and cooperation between the LCY and the Japanese Communist Party and confirmed their readiness to continue to develop them.

Dragoslav Markovic also spoke about topical questions of the socioeconomic development of Yugoslavia and the LCY's activity in the internal sphere. Speaking about the activity of the Japanese Communist Party in the internal and international spheres, Hiroshi Tachiki particularly pointed out the Japanese Communist Party's role in the varied activities of the peace and antinuclear movement which had mobilized broad strata of Japanese society.

Delegation Departs Belgrade

LD 161610 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1438 GMT 16 Feb 85

[Text] Belgrade, February 16 (TANJUG) -- A delegation of the Japan Communist Party, in Yugoslavia as guest of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia Central Committee Presidency, left Belgrade today.

Talks between the two party delegations pertained to the necessity of a more intensive engagement of all peaceful, progressive and democratic forces in the fight for peace, disarmament and radical changes of present world economic relations. Special emphasis was laid on the significance and role of the movement of the nonaligned countries in the current complex international situation.

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YUGOSLAVIA

COMMENTATOR ATTACKS BULGARIAN HISTORY BOOK

AU152146 [Editorial Report] Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian on 12 and 13 February, each time on page 6, carries a 2,600-word "military political commentary" by Dimitrije Seserinac entitled on the first day "New Hypocrisy From Sofia," and on the second day "Twisting of History." It deals with "an attempt" by Bulgarian historian Georgi Vulkov to show, "for who knows how many times," that tsarist Bulgaria during World War II, "with its conduct from the beginning to the end, helped those who struggled against fascism and made a significant contribution to the struggle of the allies in the antifascist coalition."

Seserinac observes that Vulkov's attempt "could remain little noticed had not parts of his pamphlet been published in the Soviet LITERATURNAYA GAZETA, by which fact the theses of the Bulgarian historian, whom LITERATURNAYA GAZETA calls a scientist and a doctor of historical sciences, and the positions of the Soviet magazine assume quite new, different dimensions."

According to Seserinac, Vulkov asserts that "the German army in its strategic plans counted on Bulgaria's joining in the war, but that all the plans remained on paper only. According to Vulkov, Bulgaria in fact did not join in the war, and this as well as the love of the Bulgarian people for the peoples of the USSR is proven by documents from the secret archives of the Third Reich discovered by Doctor Vulkov."

To counter Vulkov's proposition, Seserinac quotes documents which show that in December 1941 Hitler ordered that as many German forces as possible should be withdrawn from southeast Europe and replaced by Italian and Bulgarian troops. Another document of January 1943 shows that Bulgarian War Minister General Mikhov had talks at the German General Staff and was allocated tasks for the Bulgarian Army. Bulgaria became a member of the anti-Comintern pact in November 1941. The commander of a Bulgarian occupation army in Yugoslavia ordered in October 1941 that his troops could "destroy partisan units with ruthless brutality."

Seserinac also quotes Vasil Kolarov, member of the BCP Central Committee, denouncing Bulgaria in December 1944 for "assuming the shameful role of Hitler's gendarmes," and Georgi Dimitrov writing about the "Bulgarian

ruling circles" stabbing Yugoslavia and Greece in the back" and about Bulgarian divisions "replacing German divisions in the Balkans." Seserinac also quotes Tito's telegram to Dimitrov in January 1944 protesting against a Bulgarian Fatherland Front leaflet claiming that the national liberation struggle of the Macedonian people was a part of the Bulgarian struggle.

"Bearing in mind all these and other well-known historical facts on this question, it seems that one would not even need to reply nor to talk about these questions," Seserinac says. "However, the significance of this question becomes exceptional when LITERATURNAYA GAZETA and other Soviet papers join in this subject with similar views on this question.

"In the past two great wars, Bulgaria was on the side of imperialist conquerors. The only struggle against the fascists consisted of those modest actions and contribution of the First Bulgarian Army, lasting 6 months, at the end of the war when the outcome was practically decided."

Seserinac concludes: "Now one finds among Bulgarian historians a subordination of history and truth to the political interests of the moment. We also have in our country cases of beautifying our fascism and our fascists. Such cases also appear in other countries. However, this approach cannot be accepted, for in fact it means a compromise both with the enemies of the World War II period and with the class enemies now, a compromise with the opponents of socialism and progress in the world."

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YUGOSLAVIA

MARKOVIC POLEMIZES IN NIN ARTICLE WITH DRAGOSAVAC THESES

AU151332 BELGRADE TANJUG in Serbo-Croatian 0811 GMT 16 Feb 85

[Editorial Report] Belgrade NIN in Serbo-Croatian No 1780 on 10 Feb on pages 9-10 carries an 1,800-word article by Dragan Markovic entitled "Mirror, Mirror on the Wall," which is covered by referent item. (This issue of NIN has been acquired privately, because subscriptions copies have still not been received). In the portion not covered in the TANJUG version, Dragan Markovic, who is director of the POLITIKA Newspaper Organization and member of the Central Committee of the LC of Serbia, states that he is "quite sure" that in his Skopje speech Dusan Dragosavac was referring to Markovic's speech at the 18th session of the Central Committee of the LC of Serbia (which was held on 23 and 24 November 1984).

He then says: "It is correct to say that I advocated a limitation of the consensus, as regards the decisionmaking in the federation as well as in a number of other structures, but I never uttered the words 'exclusively majority decisionmaking.' It is correct to say that I also spoke about democratic centralism, but until I heard this Dragosavac, I thought that in our movement and the LC it had a meaning other than a hegemonistic one. It only remains for me to think about this new theory of the party, and either to submit to it or to become a dissident."

Markovic continues: "It is correct to say that I spoke about the stabilization program as not being 'a collection of firefighting measures' and that as a strategy, it cannot be applied to the end and consistently without changes in the political system, but I did not add 'which will exclude the nationalities from the republican and federal statehood.'

"And finally: I never, which also means not at the 18th session, said that 'the roots of nationalism in (my) nation arise from the fact that others participate on equal terms in republican and federal statehoods,' but I said: 'Some people (again some people, to underline myself) ask: What does Serbia want? And Serbia does not want anything more, but also not anything less, than others, which means it wants the same.

"Why did I see myself as the 'scapegoat' of Dragosavac's January theses and accusations? Simply because I had not heard anybody -- literally -- at the 18th session of the Central Committee of the LC of Serbia, and

particularly in the positions and conclusions of this forum (Dragosavac also mentions forums) to make even approximately the same or similar assertions with which Dragosavac allegedly polemizes."

Markovic then quotes Kardelj on the veto by the republics and on the functions of the federation, and concludes with the last two paragraphs of the referent item. The last sentence reads in NIN: "After all, human (thought) knows no limits." It alludes to the well-known saying, human folly knows no limits.

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YUGOSLAVIA

BRIEFS

DEFENSE SECRETARY RECEIVES DELEGATION--Belgrade, 18 Feb (TANJUG) -- Admiral of the Fleet Branko Mamula, Federal Secretary for National Defense, received a delegation of the illustrated journal FRONT at the Federal Secretariat for National Defense today on the occasion of the 40th anniversary of FRONT. The delegation was headed by Col Milan Kavacic, director of the Narodna Armija newspaper and publishing institution. During the meeting Lt Col Dr Predrag Pejicic, chief and executive editor of FRONT, reported to Admiral Mamula on the journal's work over the past period, the results it had achieved in the field of information, its educational role, and its editorial board's plans for the journal's further development. Thanking him for the exhaustive report, Admiral of the Fleet Branko Mamula, federal secretary for national defense, stressed the important role which the journal's articles and photographs play in interpreting what goes on in the armed forces and in society. The journal, the federal secretary for national defense stressed, has very successfully found its own place in the coverage of social developments and army and social life. The meeting was also attended by Lt Col Gen Svetozar Oro, chief of the Political Directorate in the Federal Secretariat for National Defense, Lt Col Gen Novak Vcinic, Maj Gen Blgdan, Rencelj, and other Yugoslav People's Army leaders. [Text] [Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1441 GMT 18 Feb 85]

MACEDONIAN HERITAGE CLAIMED--Sofia, February 18 (TANJUG) -- The Bulgarian Communist Party continues to lay claim to the life and work of the 9th-century Slav Educators, brothers Cyril and Methodius. This has now found expression in a special decision of the party politbureau, highlighted by the Sofia press today, to mark the 1100th anniversary of Methodius' death, April 6, with ceremonies in Bulgaria "and abroad." The anniversary will be celebrated under the patronage of Todor Zhivkov, general secretary of the Bulgarian Communist Party Central Committee and president of the Bulgarian State Council. The two brothers of Salonika, Cyril and Methodius, created the Slav alphabet and literacy on the basis of the live speech of Bulgarian Slavs, the Politbureau decision says. Consequently, according to the logic of the top Bulgarian party leadership, the "old Bulgarian" language was the "basis of the old literary language of the other Slav peoples." The Bulgarian Party Politbureau used this opportunity to lay another claim to the Macedonian culture and towns by declaring that Kliment and Naum, two disciples of Cyril and Methodius in Ohrid, and

other architects of the Macedonian and wider Slav cultures, were Bulgarians. [Text] [Belgrade TANJUG in English 1750 GMT 18 Feb 85]

DJURANOVIC PRESENTS AWARD--Belgrade, 14 Feb (TANJUG) -- Veselin Djuranovic, president of the SFRY Presidency, today presented the Order of Yugoslav Flag with sash to Monseigneur Michele Cecchini, pontifical pro-nuncio in the SFRY, who is leaving our country shortly and had a friendly conversation with him. [Text] [[Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1349 GMT 14 Feb 85 Ld]

HONORS TO GREEK AMBASSADOR--Belgrade, 14 Feb (TANJUG) -- Veselin Djuranovic, president of the SFRY Presidency, presented the Order of the Banner of Yugoslavia with sash to Dhimitrios Makris, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Republic of Greece to the SFRY, at the Palace of the Federation today. The ambassador will be leaving Yugoslavia shortly. After the presentation ceremony, President Djuranovic and Ambassador Makris had a friendly conversation. [Text] [Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1403 GMT 14 Feb 85]

CROATIAN DELEGATION IN HUNGARY--Zagreb, Feb 11 (TANJUG) -- A delegation of the Yugoslav Republic of Croatia Executive Council, headed by President of the Council Ante Markovic, left for Budapest today on an official visit to Hungary at the invitation of Hungarian deputy prime minister Jozsef Marjai. During the visit, taking place as part of overall goodneighborly relations between the two countries, Markovic and his host will discuss the possibilities of Croatia's greater participation in Yugoslav-Hungarian cooperation, especially in economic relations, fuel and energy, transportation, agriculture, water regulation, education and culture. [Text] [Belgrade TANJUG in English 1150 GMT 11 Feb 85 AU]

DJURANOVIC RECEIVES ENVOY TO NETHERLANDS--Belgrade, 14 Feb (TANJUG) -- Veselin Djuranovic, president of the SFRY Presidency, received Zvonko Kostic, the newly appointed ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the SFRY to the Netherlands, before the latter's departure to his assignment. [Text] [Belgrade TANJUG in English 1051 GMT 14 Feb 85]

FAMINE AID TO AFRICA--Belgrade, Feb 14 (TANJUG) -- Yugoslavs are increasingly concerned about the catastrophic situation in Africa and are seeking ways of alleviating the plight of Africa's hunger victims as much as possible, Yugoslav Government spokesman Zeljko Jeglic said at a news conference here today. He told journalists that on January 22 the government had decided to approve a new aid grant of two million dollars from the fund of Solidarity with Non-Aligned and Developing Countries. The grant will go to the hardest-hit African countries. Jeglic recalled that on February 6 the Socialist Alliance of the Working People of Yugoslavia (SAWPY) had appealed to all Yugoslavs to join a voluntary aid drive to the benefit of the hungry in Africa. On an international level, Yugoslavia has joined many non-aligned drives to help Africa's hunger victims. In this connection, he recalled that Yugoslavia is a member of the newly-established action aid

committee. The committee aims to resolve the problem of hunger in Africa and assist the development of agricultural complexes in worst-stricken countries there. [Text] [Belgrade TANJUG in English 1320 GMT 14 Feb 85]

TV DIRECTOR DIES--Sarajevo, 17 Feb (TANJUG) -- Sveto Maslesa, director of Sarajevo TV, was killed in an accident in Sarajevo this morning. He was a former TANJUG Correspondent in Moscow. [Summary] [Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0835 GMT 17 Feb 85 LD]

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