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# East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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29 August 1984

## EAST EUROPE REPORT

### POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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ROMANIA'S RADULESCU ADDRESSES POLISH WORKERS

AU271525 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 24 Jul 84 p 5

[Speech by Gheorghe Radulescu, member of the Permanent Bureau of the Political Executive Committee of the RCP and deputy chairman of the Romanian State Council, at meeting with Polish workers in Stalowa Wola on 23 July]

[Text] We are pleased to be able to meet with you, with the workers and working people of this large Polish combine, while taking part at the invitation of the PZPR Central Committee, State Council, and PPR Government, in the 40th anniversary celebrations of People's Poland. Making the most of this occasion, I convey to you fraternal greetings and best wishes for happiness and success from Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general and president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, on this, your national day.

The memorable events of 22 July, 1944, when the Polish Committee for National Liberation, gathering communist, democratic and progressive forces, expressed the will of the workers class and entire nation by proclaiming the formation of people's authority in Lublin, will remain written in golden letters in the thousand-year history of your fatherland as the crowning achievement of the age-long, heroic, and dedicated struggle of the fraternal Polish people for social and national liberation and for a free and independent Poland. The above event has meant a radical turning point in the fortunes of the Polish nation and has opened up the road to building a new life without pressure and exploitation, a road leading to Poland's rebirth as a free, independent, and blossoming state.

Reborn out of the destruction of World War II, today's Poland shows us a picture of a socialist state under constant development. Forty years of an independent development have brought about eminent achievements by the working people of Poland under the leadership of the PZPR, in the rapid reconstruction and redevelopment of the country; the construction of socialism; the reconstruction of the economic potential; the flowering of culture, science, and education; and in raising the nation's standard of living.

The communists and all people of Romania entertain feelings of warm friendship and recognition for the fraternal Polish people, and are honestly pleased with the achievements of socialist Poland in performing the tasks laid down in the Ninth Congress and National Conference of PZPR Delegates.

Esteemed Comrades and Friends! Soon our country will celebrate the 40th anniversary of the victory by the revolution of social and national liberation--an antifascist and anti-imperialist revolution--on 23 August 1944. In this historic short period, the Romanian people, under the leadership of its Communist Party, has achieved eminent success in all areas. Today, Romanian industry produces 53 times as many goods as it did 40 years ago. Our agricultural output has nearly quadrupled. Science, education, and culture--basic elements in the building of a modern socialist society--are developing with vigor. At the same time, we have attached and continue to attach particular importance to permitting workers and other social strata to take part in steering the whole of society, with the conviction that only in this way can the workers class fulfill its historic mission of leading the entire nation onto the road leading to socialism and communism, to the strengthening of independence and sovereignty, and to the achievement of happiness and prosperity for the nation.

The RCP Central Committee and the remaining organizations of our socialist democracy have recently made important decisions concerning the further development of our fatherland. The communists and the entire people of Romania have welcomed with particular satisfaction the RCP Central Committee plenum resolution concerning the re-election last fall, [as published] at the 13th party congress, of Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu to the supreme post--that of secretary general of the RCP. The workers class and all working people regard his activity at the head of the party and at the helm of the nation's fortunes as a guarantee of new and great victories on the road to socialism and communism, of the country's development and the people's success, and of a constant development of the prestige which Romania enjoys among the countries of the world.

All these decisions and aims present clear prospects before our country. We are convinced that the fulfillment of these will lift our socialist nation onto a new level of progress and civilization.

Esteemed comrades! Working intensively for the sake of a full use of our country's entire material and human potential, the party, the state, and Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, the party's secretary general and the country's president, are simultaneously developing broad activity on the international forum in order to increase cooperation and strengthen peace and security. We are convinced that only under such conditions can every people and every country implement its own socioeconomic development plan to ensure prosperity and civilization.

Under these conditions, we attach particular importance to increasing cooperation and joint activity with all socialist countries, above all, with our neighbors, and particularly with our great neighbor, the Soviet Union. We believe that the documents adopted at the recent CEMA economic summit conference will form a broad and honest basis for cooperation between all member-countries.

Socialist Romania and its president, Nicolae Ceausescu, believe that the basic problem of our times is to halt the dangerous chain of events; stop the arms race, especially of nuclear arms; and proceed to disarmament, especially to nuclear disarmament. For this purpose, we are in favor of a withdrawal of nuclear intermediate-range missiles from Europe and of all nuclear weapons from our continent. It is essential that the United States discontinue the deployment of its missiles, that the Soviet Union cancel its announced countermeasures, and that the Soviet-American negotiations in Geneva be restarted, so that an agreement on eliminating intermediate-range missiles and all nuclear weapons in Europe may be reached.

Romania attaches particular importance to the Stockholm Conference on Confidence-Building Measures and Security and Disarmament in Europe, and firmly supports the idea of holding it in order to proceed to constructive dialogue and concrete negotiations on the problems that are a topic of the conference.

We are consistently striving to develop cooperation among the Balkan countries, and we are of the opinion that a summit meeting of the Balkan states would be of great importance for transforming this region into one of peace and cooperation without nuclear arms. This would be a great contribution to the cause of peace in Europe and all over the world.

We are firmly in favor of stopping all armed conflicts and of settling thorny problems between states solely and exclusively through negotiations.

Romania is constantly acting for the sake of abolishing underdevelopment and establishing a new international economic order based on justice and equality, because Romania believes this is a primary condition for detente, peace, and socioeconomic progress.

Although the international situation is very tense, our party is convinced that the forces of progress, among which the socialist countries are playing an important role, plus close cooperation between all democratic and progressive forces, may halt the dangerous chain of events, lead to a renewal of detente and cooperation; ensure disarmament, especially nuclear disarmament; and guarantee peace on our globe.

Esteemed Comrades! We stress with particular satisfaction that during the construction of the new socialist system in our countries and in continuation of the traditions of friendship and solidarity between both countries, relations between Romania and Poland have reached a new and higher qualitative stage and that the contents of these relations, based on political unity and unity of goals, on fully equal rights, and on mutual respect, have been enriched. The relations between our countries, established on the basis of the Treaty on Friendship, Cooperation, and Mutual Assistance that was signed in January 1949 and renewed in November 1970, are constantly becoming broader and richer for the sake of more rapid progress in the construction of socialism in both countries and for the sake of the general cause of socialism and peace.

A decisive role in enhancing and strengthening Romanian-Polish relations and the friendship and solidarity between the PZPR and RCP has been played by summit meetings, which have given a special impulse for the comprehensive enhancement of ties between both countries and peoples.

Our country welcomed with joy the new and fruitful dialogue between Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu and Comrade Wojciech Jaruzelski during the official visit to your country by a party-state delegation from our country in June. The RCP Political Executive Committee has highly praised and fully approved the results of the visit contained in the joint Romanian-Polish declaration and in the long-term program for developing economic and scientific-technical cooperation between Romania and Poland, believing that these constitute a new and strong impulse for further strengthening comprehensive cooperation and solidarity between our countries and peoples.

On behalf of the Romanian delegation, permit me in the end to convey to all those present at this ceremonious meeting, to Polish communists, and to the entire fraternal Polish people, sincerest congratulations on the 40th anniversary of Poland's rebirth, together with wishes for new and increasingly greater achievements along your fatherland's steady road to socialism, during the struggle for a victory of peace and accord between all nations and for a better and more just order on our planet.

Long live cooperation between the Romanian and Polish peoples!

Long live the struggle for peace and socialism, and for a more honorable, better, and free existence.

CSO: 2600/1163



CHURCH LEADER DEPLORES YOUTH RIFLE TRAINING

Schwerin MECKLENBURGISCHE KIRCHENZEITUNG in German No 28, 8 Jul 84 p 1

[Article signed Th.: "Dr H. Rathke in Bucharest: We Need Education for Peace"]

[Text] With an appeal to all churches in the world, to all religions and to all men of good will, the Conference of Romanian Churches for Disarmament and Peace, which took place in Bucharest June 21-23, turned to the public. In an appeal, the conviction is voiced that the production and deployment of new nuclear arms in no way promote security and peace. On the contrary, this increases anxiety among people, and the danger of annihilation of human life is growing. The conference supported the proposals and initiatives of Romanian President Nicolae Ceausescu to stop U.S. deployment of medium-range missiles in some West European countries, as well as the nuclear countermeasures announced by the Soviet Union. This appeal stresses that the only alternative to the danger of a new, destructive war lies in definite and effective disarmament measures. It must start with halting the installation of more new missiles, freezing and reducing military spending, and promoting detente and the building of trust.

There were some 40 foreign visitors among the roughly 250 conference participants. Dr Heinrich Rathke, at that time still Mecklenburg state bishop, attended the conference as the representative of the Federation of Evangelical Churches in the GDR. In an address to the assembly, he emphasized that peace, in addition to disarmament, justice, and love of man, also requires truth. First it is a bitter truth: more arms do not bring peace. For this reason, the word from Isaiah 2, "swords into plowshares," is a symbol of the work for peace by the churches in the GDR.

It is another truth that the accumulation of power, and the threat of power, despoil peace. The temptation of power is great. We know how Christ had to resist that power, and therefore we do not have to go down on our knees before power which ruins outer and inner peace. The first and saving truth for peace is the First Commandment, which Martin Luther explained in this manner: to fear, love and trust in God above all things. "Therefore, we shall pit trust against the deadly danger of arms and the temptation of power," Dr Rathke said.

Our people had brought great misery to many nations by starting World War II. We, the Germans, have sinned against peace, Dr Rathke stressed. Never again must war start from German soil. Dr Rathke said verbatim, "when Germans again

take a gun into their hands, we can feel the shock in every limb. For this reason, our church has always opposed that children are taught to shoot. Our children and young (and all of us) need education for peace."

It is terrible that the first nuclear medium-range missiles are deployed on German soil, of all places.

Dr Rathke continued that it is the bitter heritage of our churches in Germany that, in the past, they were too closely allied with the powers ruling at the time. "We have had to learn, and we put it in writing in the Barmen Confession 30 years ago, that the church must first of all follow the word of the Lord our God," Dr Rathke said. He went on: "Thus the word of our church can also be a critical voice in the dialogue which pertains to peace. For this reason, our church allies itself with those who, through their own attitude, emphasize such words for peace."

After the conference, Dr Rathke was invited to visit the Evangelical Church of the Augsburg Confession in Romania, the church of Transylvanian Saxons. He preached in a rural Transylvanian community and had opportunity to hold talks in Hermannstadt (Sibiu) with professors and students of the Theological Institute of the Lutheran church, and with the bishop of that church, D. Albert Klein.

9917

CSO: 2300/612

PEACE WORKSHOP WITH BROADER APPEAL, GENERATION CONFLICT

Jena GLAUBE UND HEIMAT in German Vol 39 No 29, 15 Jul 84 p 1

[Article by Dr Gottfried Mueller, chief editor: "Fathers and Sons"]

[Text] There is many a peace workshop in the country, but Berlin is the biggest among them. This was again demonstrated last Sunday, July 8. Between 10 a.m. and 6 p.m. there was lively activity on the grounds of the Church of the Redeemer, with an exchange of information, singing and reading, dancing and playing. About 3,000 people moved through the church and past the peace group booth, most of them young, and often parents with their children for whom a special "children's peace workshop" had been set up.

"Peace" was the major theme. It brought together, as neighbors with their outdoor information booths, such differentiated groups as Pastor Eppelmann's Samaritan Peace Circle and the Christian Peace Conference, and later for an exchange of viewpoints at a panel discussion in the church. Work circles and communities with different motivations also used the occasion to present themselves and to call attention to their concerns: ecological and Third World problems played a large part, but gays and lesbians were also there.

The church authorities gave the gathering in the city district of Lichtenberg the attention it deserved. They may have been reminded of the [German] proverb that the world repays with ingratitude, when their support was interpreted as an attempt to put them on a leash. "Risk trust--wear a muzzle," said one poster showing a clergyman in his robe, pointing out the direction to a muzzled peace supporter. On another it was an entire peace group languishing in a church-made cage. During the panel discussion, the "authoritarian structures" of the church were disparaged.

Such complaints were part of the larger grievance voiced earlier during the morning church service about the "fathers," i.e., the strong, who in the same breath were felt to be too powerful and too weak. The topic of the day, "To live, not to survive," was a challenge to inject the various possibilities of understanding, and reacting to, the present situation, into the natural tension existing between generations. It is a key experience of the fathers that they

managed to get through the war and postwar period; they have difficulties in understanding "survival" as a negative. They know how arduous and not at all to be taken for granted it was to attain the present state of the world. At the time, their hopes had been very small, and they are surprised by the possibilities which life offers today.

Yet they also have difficulties admitting to themselves what dangers threaten that which has been attained. The "sons," on the other hand, do not see the road which led to the present, but they notice how far off still is the goal of a perfect human life, and what great dangers are threatening it. Thus the "fathers" praise the stage that has been reached and are inclined to stay there longer than is good. Meanwhile, the sons become restless and angry because their forward stride is to be hindered.

The truth, it seems, lies somewhere in between. It needs open dialogue to find it, to make it audible and understandable. The peace workshop offered ample opportunity for this. The Bible, the Communist Manifesto, and Berta von Suttner's "Down with Arms!" defined the area of discussion.

Probably there were also those visitors and observers who had come only to find their own views affirmed. If this was the case, they would have missed a chance.

9917

CSO: 2300/600

REAR SERVICE MISSIONS EXAMINED

East Berlin AR-ARMEERUNDSCHAU in German No 7, Jul 84 (signed to press 18 May 84) pp 30-34

[Unattributed article: "Rear Services: Life-Line of the Troops"]

[Text] Rear services--this term might lead many a reader to speak of soldiers who are far from the action, work in the rear, who might even be considered an appendage of the army. Wrong. The rear services are integral part of our armed forces. Their members and units can be seen in all detachments and units. And their efforts are quite equal to those of the mechanized rifleman, the sailor, or the pilot. This is clearly felt during large tactical exercises. Not few of the comrades from the rear services take up great efforts and make sacrifices in order to translate the commanders' decisions regarding combat actions into deeds, and to allow troops to experience success in their training. "Nothing moves without us," says many a comrade from this branch of the service with justifiable pride. Indeed--the army members and civilian employees care for the welfare of the soldier in the most comprehensive sense. Be it in garrison or bivouac, at exercises and maneuvers--the "rearwards" have to act under all conditions, day and night. Quality and effectiveness, speed and mobility--these are the indicators used to measure their work. It is no accident that Soviet army leaders have coined the phrase of rear services being the life-line of the troops. Marshal of the USSR, Bagramyan, put it this way: "Rear services are half the victory, and even somewhat more than that."

Within the NVA the following specialties are included: Fuel and lubricant service (T/S), clothing and equipment service (B/A), subsistence service, medical service, military transportation. Further, it includes the military recreation services, military forestry management, and the VEB military retail organization.

## Experiences of the Soviet Army

Lieutenant General Antipenko, working during the Second World War in the Soviet rear services, wrote about the Berlin operation in his memoirs: "In this great battle the heroes are not only those who destroy the enemy in battle, but also those who bring up at the right time and in spite of all difficulties everything required to destroy the enemy and continue the inexorable advance." Later, when he notes that rear services must function with the precision of a clockwork he means above all that transportation must move smoothly, that supply and evacuation must be organized masterfully.

Lieutenant General Antipenko shows this with telling figures. For example, the 1. Byelorussian Front during its offensive from the Vistula to the Oder consumed half a million tons of material. Or: In the First World War the Russian Army fired 44 million shells, the Soviet Army during the Great Patriotic War fired an average of 17 million shells every month.

The immense efforts of the Soviet Army's rear services become apparent when one learns that during the war 13.4 million tons of fuels, 10 million tons of ammunition, 40 million tons of subsistence, and 15 million tons of other goods were required.

### Today a Multiple

Due to the scientific-technical revolution that occurred generally and also included the military, the consequent constant modernization of the armed forces, their tactical and operative mission possibilities have resulted in totally new dimensions. For example, a mechanized rifle division compared to 1939 requires now 16 times more tanks, 37 times more APC, 13 times more automatic weapons, and 5 times more signal equipment.

The extent and diversity of the rear service tasks have thus increased tremendously. The important thing is to secure the goods needed for combat and the life of the soldier, to transport them, distribute and issue them. A graphic indication of the increased total requirements is provided by comparing per capita daily consumption. In the First World War 6 kg were sufficient, in the Second World War this figure was already 20 kg; today this figure is 40 kg in peacetime, and in the modern local wars it was even 80 to 90 kg. The rate of increase is due primarily to the explosive growth of fuels and lubricants of the armies.

Effective and economical management is part of the etiquette of our rear services and is part of their contribution toward the stability and security of the GDR. To be good soldiers and clever managers, this is the reputation that the comrades have acquired especially in recent times. For example, in 1982 some 4500 tons of fuels valued at 4.5 million marks, and last year 7800 tons with a value of 13 million marks were saved in the NVA and GDR border troops, without affecting combat readiness. This is due both to the T/S Service as well as other soldiers who take good care of the people's property. Effective action, no waste--this is the service obligation not only of the appropriate

specialists but of all comrades. And this concerns not only fuels but also subsistence, clothing, equipment, weapons.

Next we describe some of the special services a little closer.

#### T/S Service

In a modern war the amount of fuels and lubricants would amount to more than 60 percent of the material requirements. For this reason the service is provided with equipment for hauling and delivering rocket fuel, pipelines, pumping stations, tanking and filtering equipment, plastic and metal containers, laboratories and shop vans, and tanking station containers. The transportation facilities are also extensive--tanker ships, tankers and trailers, flexible containers attached to helicopters or loaded on trucks.

#### B/A Service

Besides the total clothing and equipment drawn by an army member this service is responsible for garrison bedding, tents and their equipment, office machines and equipment, as well as the flags for the ships and boats of the People's Navy. The tailor and shoe repair shops in the barracks also come under the B/A Service. Long years of analysis and experience have made it possible to have uniforms in 42 sizes fitting 98 percent of the soldiers and sergeants on hand. The others have uniforms made to order.

#### Subsistence Service

Close cooperation with the Institute for Nutrition in Rehbruecke assures meals meeting the military requirements and prepared on the basis on nutrition physiology. In many units partial self-service has been introduced for breakfast and supper, i.e., one can select from various trimmings; for noon usually two entrees are offered. In 1981 an hermetically sealable field kitchen unit, mounted as a container on a Ural truck, was introduced. This provides for clean working conditions, a high degree of field operability, and protection against mass means of destruction.

#### Medical Service

Basically, medical service on the battlefield is organized as follows: First aid given usually at the unit aid station, professional attention by surgeons and internists at the aid stations of divisions, and in field hospitals, specialized attention, final treatment and recovery in mobile field hospitals and fixed hospitals. The medical service has installations in regiments (aid stations), hospitals, health resorts, pharmacies, depots, patient transporters (special field trucks), wheeled and tracked ambulances, special vehicles with modern medical and pharmaceutical equipment.

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CSO: 2300/605

## BACKGROUND ON BUDGET DEBATE IN SEJM

Warsaw ZYCIE GOSPODARCZE in Polish No 30, 22 Jul 84 p 2

[Article by Tomasz Jezioranski: "Budget Discussed at Sejm: Different Points of View, Different Opinions"]

[Text] Before the latest Sejm session (12 July 1984) the deputies were provided with three government papers--a Finance Ministry report on the execution of budget plan for 1983, a National Bank of Poland (NBP) report on the implementation of the plan of credits and population incomes and expenditures, and an information paper from the Planning Commission on the implementation of the Central Annual Plan for the last year. What overshadowed the subsequent discussion was the different assessment of the economic situation, presented in the documents.

The Planning Commission paper transcended for the first time the bounds of a schematic register of successes and exclusively optimistic projections. True, it listed what the authors saw as "achievements," but at the same time it made no secret of weaknesses and dangers (e.g., the slowing down dynamics of production and hard-currency exports, steep deterioration in the capital investment situation, fall in livestock herds, or failures in fight against inflation).

While not discussing whether or not some of the appraisals could be debated, mention should be made of the new character of the paper, and its conformity with the newly passed Sejm law on the Planning Commission [see one of upcoming ER issues] which transforms the latter's character from that of a central economic helmsman to a government "think tank," responsible among its other duties for honest analytical materials. The new law thus made a good start right at the very session during which it was adopted.

A quite different look at the economy is seen in the budget report. Coming to the fore here are the global figures showing that the state's budgetary deficit, planned at Zl 151 billion, was actually reduced to as little as Zl 25 billion. In other words, a full success.

Such an assessment of the state of the economy, inspired exclusively by the juxtaposition of global budgetary figures, was very clearly present in some speeches by Sejm deputies--even though Gen. Tadeusz Hupalowski who presented a report of the Supreme Board of Inspection (NIK) said that the reduction of budgetary deficit, although not a bad thing in itself, did not warrant optimistic conclusions. More than that, he issued a warning against premature



optimism, pointing to some developments which reflect absence of necessary discipline in budget management.

First, the NIK chief questioned the correctness of the principle under which budgetary deficit is credited by the [central] bank without any limits in time and scope, and with no interest. He also said that there were insufficient rigors in budgetary financing of investment projects and, more generally, in subsidizing economic activities. In conclusion, he stressed the need for greater restraint in budgetary spending.

According to the [Finance Ministry] report, the state's budgetary expenditure was higher than planned by 0.7 percent, or less than Zl 20 billion, which at first glance does not warrant the NIK criticism. But what is more important than the final excess over the plan figure is the fact that it did happen at all, and the pattern of overspending in individual segments.

In order not to overwhelm the reader with figures, let me quote just two items. The greatest budgetary savings were made in science expenditure (by 11 percent, or Zl 2.5 billion), while the highest excess over the plan figure was in "investments and general repairs" by 20 percent, or Zl 65 billion. The meaning of this comparison is as multi-faceted as it is obvious.

It seems worthwhile to have a closer look (as far as it is possible, of which more later) at the revenue side of the budget, and especially at the structure of the 6 percent increase over the planned revenue figure. This general index comes as a result of much diversified factors. Suffice it to mention that the payments from [socialized] economic units were higher by 6 percent, payments from the private sector of the economy higher by 70 percent, payments from the population on account of taxes and fees higher by 75 percent, and revenue from social security contributions higher by 122 percent.

At this moment, doubts may emerge about the procedures of budgetary planning and reporting. The combined excess of the last three of the above mentioned items (Zl 170 billion) comes in large measure from increases in tax and tariff rates, which were decided before the adoption of the budget law. But the effects of these increases, even in the form of estimates, were not included in the revenue plan, which provided a rather simple reserve for the subsequent stage of reporting.

This obscures the real state of the budget. The reported reduction of the planned budgetary deficit was from Zl 151 billion to Zl 25 billion, or by 83 percent. This spectacular success was mentioned by many deputies. But if the planned revenues were corrected by no more than the Zl 170 billion in planned effects of tax and tariff increases, than the whole calculation would be reversed and the actual deficit would prove higher than planned.

For these and other reasons, it seems that greater attention should be accorded in future to an analysis of budgetary revenues. While almost every speaker in the Sejm discussion was demanding, with greater or lesser emphasis, that the sphere of investments and subsidies be set in order, that is that the requirements of tight-money policy be applied to the budget as well, these demands

were not supported by deeper analyses. This was to some extent explained by Deputy Witold Jankowski who said that the MPs, too, are just learning how to view and assess the economic situation in a manner different from the one dominant in the past.

This is certainly true, but still one can hardly resist an impression that this year's budget report is quite difficult material for education. Data other than the general juxtaposition of revenues and expenditures are hardly intelligible. The biggest problem is with the investment and subsidy calculations. No matter how one adds these expenditures in a sectoral breakdown, one will not obtain the figures included in the overall balance sheet. Hence, the conclusion that the presentation methods should be improved if the Sejm's control over the economy is to be made easier.

This seems a reasonable proposal, the more so as the similar report by the NBP, especially in its part concerning the credit plan, presents our economic realities in a much more intelligible manner. Its general conclusion is that the tight-money policy, as a means of restoring equilibrium, will not succeed unless the bank's effort is reinforced by other bodies setting and implementing the state's economic policy.

The sphere of investments is probably the best case in point. Altogether, investment projects absorbed last year Zl 1,013 billion, that is 30 percent (Zl 233 billion) more than planned. The cost-estimate value of completed projects was a mere 521 billion, or 71 percent of the plan figure. This means that the national investment effort was further broadened--and at very fast pace at that. The amount of tied-up capital rose last year by 24 percent (to more than Zl 1.4 trillion), while the level of capital needed to complete projects under construction [zaangazowanie] remained unchanged.

A closer look at the problem is provided by an analysis of credit operations. Credit payments for investment purposes amounted to Zl 580 billion. Taking into account the repayment of a portion of past loans, the growth of investment debt reached Zl 213 billion last year, or Zl 12 billion less than planned. This growth consisted of: Zl 72 billion (or Zl 18 billion less than planned) in credits for cooperative housing construction, Zl 24 billion (or Zl 16 billion less than planned) in credits for central investments projects.

Enterprises covered with credits some 30 percent of their last year's investment spending. But it should be remembered that the group of enterprise projects includes more than 50 big projects (Katowice steel complex among them) which were started as central ones and later reclassified. Credits for these projects are granted under so-called budgetary guarantee, because it is clear that the investing enterprises will never manage to repay them (too low profitability, and too high capital-to-output ratio).

So, these are in fact subsidies, deepening the budgetary deficit and fueling inflation.

What is the scope of this hidden subsidizing of investment activities? The picture is blurred and a precise answer will be very hard to obtain. It transpires from the NBP report and the Planning Commission information paper that projects started in the past account for 85 percent of enterprise investments. Their cost-estimate value stands at Zl 2.2 trillion, or 40 percent

of the cost-estimate figure for all investment projects in the socialized sector of the economy. Although not a full answer, this throws some light on the charge, which was made not infrequently during the Sejm discussion, that enterprises are the main culprits responsible for the investment irregularities. This may be true, but only in respect to tens of enterprises.

At this point, it is worthwhile to quote the reporting deputy, Jan Kaminski who said that banks' influence upon the efficiency of investment processes had been limited because they had had to credit central projects and "ensure the continuity of financing the continued projects of enterprises." This is a euphemistic description of the already mentioned trick of crediting under budgetary guarantee the 56 reclassified projects which together with the 61 Sejm-approved central projects constitute the investment burden left over from the 1970s.

It is through the prism of these proportions that one should view the repeated endeavours to prune the investing capacity of enterprises and the complaints (also made at the Sejm) of the degradation of fixed assets of economic units. The logical contradiction between these two approaches was noted only by Deputy Waldemar Michna who pointed to the disharmony between the mechanisms of reform and the economic policy, coming as a result of the negligence of problems that should be tackled by the latter. In consequence, he went on, there are no structural transformations either investment or production (where the three-year plan target of higher growth rate of consumer-market and export production, compared to overall industrial output, has yet to be achieved).

As mentioned before, the other field of economic policy which came under fire at the session was the subsidies system--much too liberal, as put by Deputy Boleslaw Handt. And the reporting deputy said that the conclusion from Sejm committee discussions was that the policy of subsidies should be subject to closer scrutiny. This demand, incidentally, has been presented by Sejm deputies for several years now.

The real level of subsidies to economic activity cannot be guessed from any of the discussed reports. This is because the notion of real subsidies includes not only those formally described as such, but also a portion of credits (which are either non-repayable from the beginning, or later written off out of necessity), tax concessions, compensatory price accounts, etc.

According to the NIK president, the combined negative financial accumulation [or the difference between enterprise sales and costs] of Zl 740 billion represented one-third of the combined positive accumulation. This amount plus the budget-financed profit of deficit-ridden enterprises add up to the sum total of subsidies, put by NIK at around Zl 780 billion.

Two examples will illustrate the problem. The Katowice steel complex received almost Zl 6 billion in subsidy, splitting into Zl 0.4 billion to cover negative financial accumulation, Zl 0.3 billion to pay sales tax, and Zl 5.2 billion to "earn" profit. The Police chemical complex received Zl 5.8 billion in subsidy, but here Zl 4.8 billion went to cover negative financial accumulation and Zl 1 billion to ensure "profit." As a result of this "subsidy game," the average monthly pay in the two enterprises, which cost the public roughly the same, was much differentiated--Zl 19,900 in the former (the second place in processing industry) and Zl 14,600 in the latter (114th position).

In other words, assuming the sum of negative financial accumulation as the minimum subsidy, the budget report's combined item of Zl 1.05 trillion in "financing the enterprises and other economic units" can be treated as close to the real figure, but by no means the maximum possible one. According to Deputy Michna's calculations, the overall subsidy to economic activities stood last year at Zl 1.3 trillion, or a half of the whole budgetary expenditure.

One can only agree with the NIK president that to verify the principles of granting and spending the budgetary subsidies is a matter of urgent necessity. Even where subsidies are indeed motivated by important social considerations, we cannot afford squandering the money and relieving the subsidized unit or the subsidizing body from financial responsibility.

The tight-money discipline should be requested from everybody. This is how one can conclude that current of the Sejm discussion which was devoted to subsidies, but this could also apply to the investment current. Whether or not this demand will materialize will be seen in a year's time, during the debate on the budget report for 1984.

CSO: 2600/1150

## PLANNING COMMISSION OFFICIALS PREVIEW 1985 PLAN

Warsaw ZYCIE GOSPODARCZE in Polish No 31, 29 Jul 84 pp 1, 4

[Interview with Franciszek Kubiczek, first vice-chairman of the Government Planning Commission, and Jozef Zajchowski, vice-chairman of the Government Planning Commission, by Stanislaw Chelstowski and Teresa Gornicka; date, place not given]

[Excerpts] Question: Discussions over the next year's plan began this year at an earlier stage than previously. The proposed draft plan for 1985 has already been released and public consultation of its provisions is now under way. Could you explain, first, what is the purpose of the consultation. Is it the better understanding of the provision of the draft [by the public], or perhaps the central planner expects comments, corrections and amendments?

Kubiczek: We pin on the consultation very concrete hopes, irrespective of the fact that it is our legal duty. First, we want to learn whether the provisions of the draft are right and whether there are some weak points or undisclosed reserves. Second, we believe that the very process of consultation will inspire enterprises to launch work on their own plans at an earlier stage than before. The concrete targets put into the draft may change in future, but the general objectives and determinants of the plan will remain. This will enable enterprises to draw conclusions about assessment of their own future. And the third goal of the consultation has to do with education. The coverage of the proposed draft in the media will bring home to the public consciousness all those determinants which shape our future. Thus the consultation is also a means of shaping the economic awareness of society.

Question: Is the design of the proposed draft plan properly suited to the purpose of consultation? After all, no one will be able to draw up, on one's own, even a portion of any new plan. In reality, it is the extent of variant-like provisions that will determine whether the consultation is apparent or real.

Kubiczek: Here, you have touched a soft spot of the very concept of consultation. Offering structural concepts in variants for selection makes sense only when it comes to long-term planning. The draft plan for 1985 is just a segment of the Sejm-adopted National Socioeconomic Plan for 1983-1985. It is the latter that defines the overriding goals. In annual plans, variant-like provisions are applied only in respect to the means of reaching these goals. There are several such alternative provisions in the now-published draft.

We have discussed this problem very scrupulously. At one time, we had ten areas where variant-like approach could have been made, but on second thought we came to a conclusion that a bare juxtaposition of variants might have led to one-sided choices. For example, we were considering to put in variants that part of the documents which deals with the interconnection between the material resources' content in production and the level of national income. When the former drops by just a small percentage, the latter grows accordingly, and this has its consequences in the sphere of national income distribution. So can this be presented in the form of variants?

It was our opinion that this dependence should be presented in the document--but not as variants *sensu stricto*. It is only natural that everybody would eagerly opt for higher targets in distribution, not caring much for its linkage with the sphere of production. And what guarantee can we have that a variant of lower material resources content, even if generally accepted, will be implemented in full? The subject of consultation should thus be the ways and means--to be based on actually existing opportunities--of achieving better results, which not always can be couched in formalized variants.

Question: The perusal of the document broadens one's knowledge about the existing external and internal constraints, and shows how difficult their overcoming is. But at the same time one will not see in it problems, even segmental ones, which this plan actually solves. Such elements, it seems, might impart to the draft a more active character, and prove that the plan is something more than just adapting oneself to the existing conditions.

Kubiczek: And so it is. To me, the active character of the plan is obvious. If we had taken a passive approach, then production would have been planned at best at a stabilized level, and very likely below this year's figure. If we plan a 4.2 percent production growth, do not expect any increase in employment, and are capable of improving the supply of raw materials to the economy only in the neighborhood of 2 percent, then this must be an active plan, one which influences two major elements of efficiency--increase in labor productivity and rationalization of raw material and energy consumption. I could list much more such examples.

Question: We are in the middle of the three-year plan period. Judging by production performance and the level of national income, it is being implemented favorably. But the expected progress in the field of equilibrium is still a long way off. And in this area, too, an active role of the plan is very important, isn't it?

Kubiczek: I agree that equilibrium is the overriding goal that we set for ourselves in drawing up the proposed draft. We plan a perceptible growth in consumer market deliveries, reaching 6 percent, at constant prices, in the group of industrial articles. Under one variant we propose that the real pay should stay at an unchanged level, and that the increase in deliveries would make a tangible contribution to the goal of rebalancing the consumer market.

Market equilibrium will also be greatly influenced by decisions concerning the sphere of investment. As is known, investment spending has topped the plan targets substantially in 1983 and this year, too. Next year, we are going

to spend Zl 100 billion less than the actual capital expenditure this year. This reduction is to be primarily in construction/assembly services which produce inflation fueling effects.

Question: The plan for this year, too, provided for cuts in investment expenditure, but the January-June performance shows something quite different, especially in spending on construction and assembly. How can we know that the situation will not repeat in 1985?

Zajchowski: This year's higher-than-planned spending is not a result of central decisions. Out of tens of applications submitted to the Planning Commission--and I refer naturally to those projects which need our approval--we gave a go-ahead to just three. The reason why investment spending is running higher than planned this year is that the scope of enterprise projects is steadily increasing. Since neither the flow of funds from the budget [which finances some of these projects] nor the amount of credits earmarked for this purpose by banks are exceeded, the obvious conclusion is that enterprises have too much of investment resources at their disposal.

Question: But this will not be so when seen from the angle of the growing danger of disinvestment.

Zajchowski: There is a great deal of misunderstanding around this problem. It has become a custom to treat enterprise projects as an exclusively good thing. They are said to make possible replacement, modernization, etc. But then, why so great a share of construction/assembly operations in enterprise investment spending? There is enough cement, so various industrial buildings are being put up. But as far as the equipment is concerned, the domestic production stays within plan targets. It is high time the things were seen just as they really are. If we can obtain Zl 150 billion worth of machinery from domestic industry and from imports, then something should be done to adjust the amount of financial resources needed for the purchase of this machinery and its installation. If these funds exceed the level determined by the real opportunities of physical supply, the investment money will be channeled to various projects which have no relation to modernization. Unless the two flows--of physical and financial resources--are balanced, equilibrium will be nonexistent and we will always have the same situation where [targets for] enterprise investing are exceeded without palpable effects in the sphere of production. Only the investment mess will grow, with all the related inflationary consequences.

Kubiczek: The excess of financial resources at the disposal of enterprises has concrete consequences for the question of equilibrium. This is a broader problem, concerning not only the sphere of investment activities. In this situation, enterprises should expect some economic parameters to be set more stringently next year. In preparing their plans for 1985, they should make an effort to raise efficiency, so as to meet these more stringent parameters. Knowing that they have less money, they will be coerced, among other things, to exercise greater caution in investment planning.

Naturally, there still remains a broader problem of increasing the "control-ability" of the economy. Although still not satisfactory, some progress has been achieved here. For example, last year's target of 17-18 percent wage growth was topped substantially--by 8 percentage points to reach 25 percent. This year's plan figure of also 17 percent is expected to be exceeded by 2-3 points. And I think that next year we will be still closer to the target. So we are gradually succeeding in getting enterprises more into line with the central plan.

Question: Do you expect, in contrast to previous years, a greater degree of conformity between the central and the enterprise plans? So far, enterprises used to demand more raw materials, labor, etc., than provided for in central balances and calculations.

Kubiczek: It was not only for reasons of substance. A no small role was played by formal and organizational aspects. [Last year's] plan was adopted in December 1982 and published in January 1983. Enterprises had to draw up their plans earlier--not knowing what the future situation with production supplies, investment, etc., would be, to say nothing of the great deal of uncertainty about systemic arrangements. In such circumstances, one could have hardly expected a conformity of enterprise intentions with the central plan. In the course of plan implementation, these discrepancies were substantially narrowed.

This time, the publication of the draft in July makes it possible [for enterprises] to learn the existing constraints and the concrete opportunities facing the economy. Also, some systemic principles were adopted by the Council of Ministers. They meet the demands to stabilize the rule of economic game, but areas where systemic changes can be expected were also named. Enterprises will know what they can expect. And this will enable them to draw their own plans.

The Council of Ministers also defined the scope of operational programs and government orders this year. So, in respect to a portion of the plan, the situation is settled already now. Enterprises will know which products are to be covered by these schemes--at least for the first half of the year--already at the stage of drawing up plans. They will be able to place orders for necessary raw materials and make organizational preparation at a sufficiently early stage. This will reduce much of uncertainty and will permit smooth transition [from the planning stage] to the implementation of these schemes next year.

Zajchowski: This is particularly important in regard to government orders in the field of investment, which require many prior organizational arrangements. Shipments of some production supplies arrive several months after the placing of the order--e.g., three months in the case of metallurgical products. In this respect, the government-ordered projects failed to distinguish themselves from other ones with more efficient implementation. This was precisely because decisions on the [government order system] were being taken too late. Only now can progress be expected.



Kubiczek: This year, it will also be possible to announce early the details of competitive bidding for government orders. Enterprises will have more time to prepare themselves. Naturally, one should not cherish illusions that the competitive bidding will play any significant role in our monopolized industrial structure, but on the other hand it can hardly be denied that the small interest taken in it last year was in part a result of enterprises' having too little time to consider the government offer.

Question: Is the scope of operational programs and government orders this year greater or smaller than last year's? Will these instruments bring about tangible improvement in important areas of everyday life?

Kubiczek: These government orders give greater guarantee that in socially important fields of production the plan will be implemented in better conditions. The list of government orders for investment projects includes many ventures directly serving the satisfaction of the needs of society, such as bakeries or dairies. The orders also provide for the construction of 29 primary schools. This is in response to a request from the Ministry of Education which listed localities where, because of problems with supplies or building potential, such projects stand poor chance of completion and need government protection. In all, more than 100 primary schools are under construction around the country. The list of government orders also includes many components and semi-finished products necessary for an increase in consumer-market output.

There is no reason to fear--which you seemed to suggest in your question--that the list of products and projects embraced by operational programs and government orders will get longer this year. It is obvious that every system of preferences, if it is to be effective, must cover a narrow field. There are 15 new orders in the 1985 plan, and the same number is crossed out.

Among the latter are several investment projects which under the terms of government orders were to be completed this year. The same is true of many orders in the field of science and technology. A hue and cry may be raised as result, because they will now be deprived of preferential access to production supplies and other bonus-related privileges. But there is no room for compromise here. The essence of government orders consists precisely in bringing discipline to some areas of the economy. The winning of an order does not guarantee the privileges in general, but only a measure of preferential treatment in exchange for well-defined production or investment effects. We will now bring the executors of the orders to account.

Zajchowski: The experience gathered in the implementation of operational programs and government orders warrants some general conclusions. When something is wrong, when some dangers are emerging in the important areas, we should step in with government orders which play an organizational role. They stimulate and render easier the launching of a necessary set of measures. But when, owing to these measures, the situation is brought under control--that is, when relevant agreements are signed, the required machinery is bought, etc.--we may safely step out and focus our attention on another field which needs reinforcement.

Question: Understandably, each theme of this conversation brings us to matters of production, since this is that area which will determine our future. But what is also important is how the authors of the document treat the whole social sphere. Predictably, they were facing difficult dilemmas, since each decision of this kind brings about inflationary consequences. But this is also the most sensitive sphere, one which exerts very strong influence on public mood.

Kubiczek: The social sphere is usually associated with the situation of pensioners. If, as we agreed, the major objective of the plan is equilibrium, then indeed we have here a very limited room for maneuver. From a formal standpoint, we could not bother to take up this issue in the 1985 plan. After all, the third installment of the pension revaluation scheme was paid a year in advance.

We could shelve the issue and wait for the results of the consultation. But we thought that this would provide a source of irritation, and a subject of justified criticism--also from the moral point of view. True, we cannot do much in the present situation but, as the proposed draft plan stipulates, we must guarantee an increase in retirement and disability pensions to a level commensurate with the increase in costs of living. In other words, the purchasing power of the pensioners, as a whole group, is to be kept at an unchanged level. The document does not contain concrete proposals how to do it, but there are many possible ways.

Question: Is it a realistic goal to keep wages down in a situation where new enterprise pay systems, with their tendency towards wage increases, are being launched?

Kubiczek: This is not so big a problem. The new pay systems will not have major influence upon the general level of wages--if only because of their limited extent. Only 500 enterprises, out of the total of 6,500, will switch to new pay arrangements by the end of this year. Assuming that these are properly designed systems--and they are subject to verification by parent bodies and the Ministry of Labor, Wages, and Social Affairs--they will link the higher pay to the better results of work, or primarily to the higher production. If so, we will have no reason to fear the resulting increase in wages, the more so as it will be, by definition, lower than production growth.

Question: But when this is seen from the angle of inflation, in its widest sense, it is not indifferent in which sector the production and the wages are going to grow.

Kubiczek: It was proposed that, at the beginning, the new enterprise pay systems should be limited to consumer-oriented industries. And the same arguments were being put forward--that the increase in wages would directly correspond to an increase in consumer-market deliveries. This sounds logical, but in practice there is no way of launching effective controls in this respect.

Zajchowski: And even if this were possible, I doubt whether it would be sensible. The reason why we cannot expand consumer-market production is not that we are short of capacity in the final stages of production. Next to the well known problems with labor, the major limiting factor here is the barrier of production

supplies. In this situation, if we pushed for growth in exclusively consumer-market, or final, production, then it would soon appear that there is nothing to produce from, which would render purposeless even the best motivational systems.

Question: You wrote in NOWE DROGI that much was expected from structural changes. Do you think that the concept of plan, as outlined in the proposed draft, brings us closer to structural transformations?

Zajchowski: I don't think ZYCIE GOSPODARCZE expects from me an announcement of breath-taking changes. There will indeed be some changes next year--e.g., in step with the commissioning of projects now under construction. The supply of plastics will increase, making possible substitution for some natural raw materials, and several other projects will come on stream. So something will be changing in the structure, but not to a great extent.

It is hard to tell to what degree the structure will be shaped by a natural process of the economy's adjustment to reduced import opportunities, just as it is difficult to predict how successful the systemic arrangements supporting this process will turn out.

As I see the whole problem of structural changes, the pivotal issue is the improvement of relationships between the final production earmarked for consumption, exports, and investments on the one hand, and our own sources of supply with raw materials, intermediate and semi-finished products.

Question: Does that mean that the consumer market production should be viewed as an integrated complex, just as is already the case with the food-producing complex?

Zajchowski: As far as agriculture is concerned, the plan indeed stimulates structural transformations. Through investments and government orders, we place strong emphasis on the expansion of dairy-industry capacity. The goal is that an increase in animal protein consumption be effected through higher consumption of milk and milk products--which is less expensive than an increase in meat consumption. This is a classical example of structural changes with far-reaching consequences in the domain of efficiency.

Question: No matter how we see these structural problems, we will always end up with investments. But as is known, this basic instrument of influencing the structure of the economy cannot be properly used with the present high level of capital required to complete projects now underway. Do you have sufficient knowledge about the consequences of the expenditures on the currently-built projects? And I mean not only production effects, but also the consequences for equilibrium, employment, transport, etc.

Zajchowski: There was once at the Planning Commission a system of information on investment projects, covering both the spending necessary for their completion and the consequences in the sphere of production, energy, raw materials, foreign exchange, etc. Regrettably, this system broke down at the beginning of the boisterous eighties, and there is no concealing that today we know too little about the broad consequences of completion--naturally, not counting the biggest projects. We have already proceeded to restoring the system, and work on this is drawing to an end.

On the basis of the available information and my general knowledge of the problem, I can say that only very few projects may be crossed out from the currently implemented investment program.

But I don't think that this program, when completed, will prove a misfit. Upon closer scrutiny it will turn out that all of the discussed projects fill a gap in the processing of materials. Figuratively, they can be said to provide a link between the Katowice steel complex and the big factories of final products. But it is a real threat that, being so protractedly built, they will offer not-very-modern processes, which will be reflected in production costs.

In solving this problem, we are limited by the low level of current investment spending. We will have to think about it during work on the five-year plan.

Question: We have been talking about internal determinants of our near and more distant future. Shouldn't we turn to the external constraints, such as the huge foreign debt?

Kubiczek: In trade with hard-currency markets, we expect a repetition of this year's surplus in 1985. As for the socialist countries, we have fully agreed plans concerning the balance of trade with the Soviet Union--not only for 1985 but also for the whole five-year period. In 1985 this will be a passive balance, meaning that our imports from the USSR will be higher than exports to that country. We have thus guarantees of supplies of raw and intermediate materials, which is an important element of economic stabilization. With the remaining socialist countries, we plan balanced trade.

Question: You said that enterprises have too much money and that something will have to be done about that. Does that mean we are in for another storm of criticism over unstable rules of economic game?

Kubiczek: I did not say anything about changes in mechanisms. There will not be any major systemic changes. But the government, if it is to ensure the implementation of the central plan, has to be able to shape the instruments and their concrete, numerical values, that is rates of exchange, income tax, the share of depreciation funds contributed to the budget, etc. Enterprises should always be prepared for this type of changes in parameters, and there is no other way.

Zajchowski: After all, the conditions in which the economy operates, are changing all the time. Can this remain without any influence upon the operating conditions of enterprises? Can the prices, interest rates, tax rates, etc., be set once and for all? If we want to direct economic policy towards some particular goals, we cannot but constantly adjust the economic parameters to them. Otherwise, these goals may be missed by a wide margin.

Kubiczek: If we know today that the plan will be implemented in conditions of uncertainty--e.g., about the external determinants--then it is not only the government that should be concerned. This plan will be implemented by enterprises. Everybody says that it is wrong when investment spending [target] is

exceeded, since it indeed fuels inflation, but what if we did not step in with some changes in parameters blocking the inflow of investment money? Every change of parameters provokes harsh criticism, but can we allow the developments of so great importance for equilibrium to go uncontrolled--just for fear of criticism?

Question: More enlightened directors understand this full well. They are afraid of any retroactive changes. This was the case last year with the FAZ formula, although Minister Baka says [the change] was not retroactive. But if enterprises had known beforehand that a year later they would have to pay FAZ tax again on what had already been charged with it, they would have acted differently.

Kubiczek: Minister Baka is right. Decisions on this subject were adopted by the Council of Ministers as far back as last September. A director should not wait till the publication of MONITOR POLSKI or DZIENNIK USTAW [which carry official texts of legal documents]. He should closely watch the situation by contacting the parent body, or for that matter by reading ZYCIE GOSPODARCZE. He must be in the know. A wise director, knowing the economic indicators, will conclude by himself where the government is forced to make changes. Certainly, it would be better if such changes were announced well in advance, but in such conditions as the economy has to operate in today it is not always possible to predict future developments in advance. If, as a result of maladjustment of some parameters to a new situation, there emerge concrete dangers, can we sit idly by? This would be irresponsible. The goal, after all, is the common weal, not an easy life of enterprises.

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## MINISTRY OF JUSTICE OFFICIAL COMMENTS ON PRESS LAW

Warsaw PRAWO I ZYCIE in Polish No 22, 23, 2 Jun, 9 Jun 84

[Interview with Jan Brol, deputy minister of justice, by Anna Szymanska, Piotr Ambroziewicz, Andrzej Dobrzynski and Marek Rymuszko; date and place not specified]

[2 Jun 84 pp 3,4]

[Text] [Question] Very shortly the press law will be in force. In association with this, a new legal situation will be created for the press and citizens. Much already has been written and said about the law's shortcomings. The Sejm has obligated itself to pass the law. The law regulates many matters which to date were regulated by lower order legal instruments or were not considered in the legal regulations. Above all the most important areas for us journalists are the entries concerning information, the right to information, the regulations of the means of implementing this right, the question of criticism and the reaction to press criticism. We appreciate that the law will take into account safeguards for citizens and will formulate in a comprehensive manner such matters as the freedom and rights of citizens, even though these matters have already been addressed in other legal regulations.

In practice, however, questions can arise concerning the role of the press as viewed by the law and as viewed by the constitution, especially since we feel that some proposed solutions do not take into account the specifics of press operations and their practical needs. This, after all, was mentioned even while the draft was being prepared. At that time some people believed that these questions were only trivialities which should be of no concern because in practice they will be arbitrated. These trivialities, however, will create problems.

We propose, Mr Minister, that we begin with the problem of access to information. The law addresses this matter quite specifically. But the feeling is that neither the law nor the projected executive act, that is, the decree of the Council of Ministers on access to information, states precisely the secrets that can be legally withheld because, in addition to state secrets, there is talk about official secrets, a concept that is exceptionally flexible and understood in various ways. Concerning the state administration, there is also talk about professional secrets, which is probably something new since so far we have heard about the professional secrets of physicians, priests, lawyers and journalists.

In sum, then, it appears in practice that a certain threat exists with regard to information access. Another threat looms in the draft decree contemplating the creation of a single information channel--press services or spokesmen for the state administration organs. And this is despite the regulation of the law which clearly states that directors, their deputies or persons authorized by them are primarily responsible for providing information and are obligated to do so. Relative to this question, Mr Minister, do you believe that in practice assuring full access to information will be easy or evident?

[Answer] First, I would like to say a few words in general about the press law before I go on to the problem of information. This is the first postwar legal act that--as you stated--regulates press activity in our country in a comprehensive manner. Work on a press law was attempted several times but without results. Meanwhile, the existing regulations were very fragmented and scattered about various legal acts, and in general many problems were not regulated. The difficulty with issuing such an act lies in the problems that the law must resolve, the need to consider the varied, though not contradictory, interests frequently required the need to seek compromises, but the basic issues associated with press activities and its functioning were also considered. I believe that today's discussion should lend itself to clearing up the doubts associated with this legal act even though, obviously, we will not prejudge decisively and firmly the interpretation of such and such regulations contained in the press law.

[Question] That also was our intention.

[Answer] A question arises that is very important from the viewpoint of the goals designated in the first article that the press must fulfill: to what extent will the law permit relations between the press and the state organs and institutions to be improved and shaped in the proper way? It seems to me that it should be emphasized in the beginning that the implementation of this law will depend mainly on the journalists themselves. Passing the law without consistently realizing and enforcing it will not resolve the problems that it is supposed to resolve in accordance to its assumptions. This applies to all subjects it addresses. But what should be remembered is what lays at the base of this act and what can be read very clearly from its contents. In short: extensive rights for journalists but also more responsibility.

From these general observations, I would like to proceed with the right to information. I believe it should be emphasized that for the first time in our legislation, providing information to a journalist became obligatory for state organs, enterprises and other state organizational units, and in the area of socioeconomic activities, it is obligatory for social organizations and individuals conducting economic activity for their own accounts.

[Question] An obligation can be enforced. But the question is: to what extent is this realistic? For example, if a director of an enterprise or some kind of institution wants to boast about something, then he is prepared to contact the press on his own. But the whole problem is with the reverse situation, that is, when the director feels that a journalist is interested in criticizing one subject or another.

[Answer] I believe this law, which can be enforced by requiring that the reasons for refusing to provide information be given and by lodging a complaint with the NSA [Supreme Administrative Court], is of fundamental significance. It will eliminate the custom of some representatives of the state and economic administrations to close doors to a journalist. No one expects that the NSA will be faced with a large number of complaints concerning refusal to give out information. One, of course, can lodge a complaint. But so what if it is possible to appeal a refusal to the NSA so long as the information is supposed to appear, for example, tomorrow and not a couple of weeks later when it no longer matters? However, I do not know of any proposal that would be a more effective guarantee for realizing this obligation. Two circumstances must be considered above all. First, not all information is needed "for tomorrow," and second, preventive considerations also guided the introduction of the possibility of appealing a refusal. Specific issues won by an editorial staff can be changed in practice. These issues will be publicized and will demonstrate that which the obligation to provide information emphasizes: the need to respect regulations.

I believe this could be one of the tasks of PRAWO I ZYCIE. In particular, an editorial staff that is familiar with the law should expose violations of the law and pave the way concerning the obligation to provide information.

[Question] We are making such preparations; right now we are deciphering the designations "official secret," "state secret" and "professional secret." They are concepts that are so flexible that anything in reality can be shielded behind them.

[Answer] Concerning a journalist's right to obtain information, that is the only limitation specified in the law. This means that the right to information is limited only by the prohibition against rendering material containing secrets: state, official or professional. The concept of a state secret is obvious. Concerning official secrets, we must consider it exclusively within the framework of the law of 14 December 1982 on protecting state and official secrets. Article 3 defines precisely what constitutes an official secret. The concern here is only about information that is not a state secret, that a worker became cognizant of while fulfilling his duties in state, cooperative and social organizational units and the disclosure of which can harm society's legitimate--and I emphasize legitimate--interests or those of an organizational unit or those of a citizen. Thus, avoiding criticism for subjective reasons is the converse of that which we are discussing.

Many journalists are confronted with a barrier in the form of an official secret. What information can be considered to be an official secret? In accordance with article 3, paragraph 2 of this law, directors of state, cooperative and social organizational units establish lists of types of information that are official secrets encompassed in the area of their activities.

[Question] Who will verify these lists? How can a journalist ascertain that in reality they are important issues that cannot be made public?



[Answer] That, of course, is a much more extensive problem. Of course it is not only a matter of an official secret within the framework of the law, but it also is an official secret in general with all its resulting consequences based on the law on protecting state and official secrets. On the basis of this law, the designated organs are responsible for verifying and properly applying its provisions. They are the only ones that can ascertain the legality or nonlegality of the lists or the legality of the proceedings. Primary organs supervise the protection of secrets of units subordinate to them; regional administration organs supervise the protection of secrets for their units. The minister of internal affairs does the overall coordinating in the area of protecting state secrets and designates in detail the rules and procedures concerning information on state or official secrets. Using "official secret" as an excuse to hinder access to information (the given information may not appear on the list, but one says: excuse me, that is an official secret) can be proven through the NAS proceedings, where it must be ultimately explained by those supervisory organs that I spoke of whether or not the given information was included on the list. There is no other way. But, as I said, this is not only a matter of proper procedures vis-a-vis concealing the designated information and material in accordance with the regulations of the new law on protecting state and official secrets. That which objectively is a secret must be protected.

[Question] But what about concealing information on that which is concealed?

[Answer] I cannot say if the lists themselves also are an official secret.

[Question] In that case the editorial staff of PRAWO I ZYCIE should submit a postulate to the highest authorities of the state administration about attaching a list of themes and matters that are official secrets to the decree of the Council of Ministers on access to information.

[Answer] That is impracticable for many reasons. Such a list would be excessively detailed. In addition, the lists are subject to change. That which is an official secret today many not be so tomorrow.

I believe, however, that those who would like to abuse the designation of "official secret" must be mindful of the above-discussed procedure that was included in the press law. I believe this will reduce the number of cases of unjustified uses of the designations "state secret" and "official secret." Obviously, however, these abuses will not be eliminated entirely.

[Question] Mr Minister, you have not resolved our doubts or allayed our fears. We would like to ask you another question, addressed not so much to you as a co-author of the draft law but rather to you as the deputy minister of justice. For some time now, the practice of refusing journalists access to legal proceedings has been occurring with increasing frequency; additional certifications have been demanded from an editorial staff regardless of press identification ascertaining that the journalist is employed by that editorial staff. What do you think of this practice?

[Answer] The obligation to give information, which is addressed in article 4 of the press law, also applies, obviously, to the courts. But there is one modification: as indicated in paragraph 6 of article 4, the administration of justice organs are not obligated to justify a refusal, and this cannot be appealed to the NSA. But this does not alter the fact, which should be strongly emphasized, that it also is a legal obligation for the judicial administration.

Nonetheless, in informing the press about judicial activities, certain specific features occur. Information in this area can be divided into several groups. There is information about judicial activities in general, for example, about the number of cases, about the proficiency of proceedings and so forth, that is the same kind of information as for any other state organ. But there is a second group of information concerning judicial activities, namely information about specific criminal, civil, labor or insurance cases and preliminary hearings or examinations that end with a verdict. Just as in relation to information concerning general court activities, in every other unit there is an obligation to give information, excluding state and official secrets; but information associated with a specific case is regulated not only by the press law but also by court procedure regulations, especially the regulations of the criminal procedure code. And the criminal code results in unfailing rules. It is a cohesive system and continues to be obligatory.

What kind of problems occur in relation to information about a specific case? I would pigeon-hole them as publishing information about a case, a journalist expressing an opinion about a case, obtaining information about the course of deliberations before a verdict is issued, and inquiring into the records of a case that was or will be examined behind closed doors.

Concerning access to records of a specific case, we did not have in mind anything except that which was proclaimed long ago in article 142, paragraph 1 of the criminal procedures code: "With the approval of the president of the court, these records can also be made available to other individuals," and thus also to a journalist--but with important limitations in case of exclusion of publicity.

[Question] Presently there is a reversal of existing practices because till now access to trial records was possible. Because the records are needed by the judge during the legal process, journalists cannot make use of them at that time for understandable reasons. But for some time now--almost one year--entirely different trends are occurring. We believe that the Supreme Court verdict limiting access to court records will no longer be meaningful after the press law is implemented. In light of this, Mr Minister, what you said does not have to be that way at all.

[Answer] Personally, I believe that the reversal of the practice of providing court records to a journalist is not socially justified. I do not perceive such limitations in the Supreme Court decision. The far-reaching and maybe even prejudiced prudence regarding accessing records is the result, however, of specific reasons, especially the few cases in which journalists made use of documents from court records, including psychiatric and medical records, that was contrary to professional ethics, and who published information that was secret.

[Question] But can one case be generalized? From a legal viewpoint, this is probably excessive.

[Answer] I agree. I expressed my point of view. However, I cannot state that the concern here is only about this one, flagrant incident. I believe, however, that now another important problem is emerging: the right of a journalist to express an opinion about a case. This is a fundamental question.

[Question] Mr Minister, should a judge who succumbs to pressure from journalists or public opinion be a judge? In relation to article 13, which includes the provision that before a case is decided by a court of the first instance an opinion must not be stated, causes doubts; a journalist is not to write about a case but, of course, a judge is not an individual who is isolated from society. Relative to a case, he is in contact with people not only via the journalist's pen. With regard to this, the additional isolation of a judge from public opinion (via article 13), which a journalist also expresses, is supposed to be a guarantee of proper verdicts. We feel that in a certain sense this regulation expresses distrust of judges, their independence, their own view of the case that they are judging.

[Answer] I agree that if in fact a judge must be protected by law so that by chance he could not be influenced by the press, or if he must be isolated from opinion, it would be a situation in which the judge does not deserve to be a judge. But such a reading of this regulation is a misunderstanding. The concern here is not about protecting the judge.

[Question] Then who? The plaintiff?

[Answer] No. We must not overlook and underestimate the opinion-forming nature of the press. The press law, in taking into account the rules of the administration of justice and the social need for properly shaping legal culture, opposes shaping public opinion in this or that direction, often without considering all the circumstances of a case.

[Question] Let us consider the Otwocki affair as an example. In light of this legal regulation, we could not write about this affair the moment it began. As is known, public opinion was upset. Should the press have remained silent?

[Answer] At the beginning I stipulated--and perhaps I should have emphasized it more forcefully--that information about a case is one thing, and an opinion about a case is something else. They are two different things. There is no prohibition in the press law concerning information about a case. However, there is a prohibition based on article 225 of the penal code which reads: "He who without permission publicly disseminates information from a preliminary hearing preceding a main trial (...)" What this means for journalists is that permission is required to disseminate information concerning a case (information resulting from a preliminary hearing) up to the time the main trial begins. Thus, only when the main trial begins is it permissible to report unlimited information. At the same time permission is required to publish information from a preliminary hearing, but not a journalist's own information. However, the press law makes a clear distinction regarding an opinion about a case. This is a very important demarcation. The press law proclaims that a journalist can

express an opinion about a case only after the verdict of the court of the first instance is reached. Can we not provide examples from our press wherein people were considered to be offenders but were later found not guilty via a legally valid verdict?

[Question] This speaks well of the administration of justice.

[Answer] But poorly of the press. The sense of this regulation should not be perceived as protecting the judge. A judge in reality does not operate in isolation. He lives in the society, and thus, by the nature of things, he is in contact with different types of opinions. Influencing public opinion is the problem here. As a result of this or that publication, for example, public opinion is convinced that someone is an offender, and after a verdict that differs diametrically from this opinion, people often say: they wrote that he was guilty and now it turns out that he is not. And that is not all. The defendant was dishonored and was made out to be an offender in a situation in which he, as was shown at the trial and the court's decision, in reality was not a law breaker. Many more examples can be given. You are aware of them. For example: it was written that he stole millions and the court gave him a 1-year suspended sentence; where is the justice here? In the meantime the accused was not guilty of misappropriating property; he was guilty only of neglecting his official duties. But who can convince public opinion that it is different from what was first announced in the press?

[Question] The obligation of the mass media that participate in a given case is to provide accurate information about the court's judgment. But many examples can be cited where public opinion already clearly declared that "he was guilty or not guilty" even before the press spoke up as, for example, in the Szczepanski affair.

[Answer] Of course. But the question arises: Should not the role of the press depend on the reverse action? That is, let us wait for the verdict and see what the results of the trial will be. The principle of presumption of innocence of the accused is guaranteed by law. Therefore, should we not work to strengthen this principle in society?

[Question] We agree with you, except press activity should aim toward the center and not the "he is guilty or not guilty" extreme which, after all, our weekly attempts to do as long as there is no court decision. But this principle is being violated by others besides the press. For example, some lawyers are doing it; they prejudge a case before a judgment is reached. In addition, formulations that imply guilt are at times found in the official replies of representatives of the state administration. For example, that in such or such a CPN [Petroleum Products Center] such and such sums of money were misappropriated. In accordance with the law's provisions, the journalist and chief editor who disseminate this information bear the responsibility for it. Is it fair for the journalist to bear the consequences for publishing the reply of a proper representative of the state administration?

[Answer] We are probably talking about another matter, mainly about information which is not yet related to a criminal procedure, because article 13 of the press law states that the press is not permitted to state opinions in the press

concerning decisions in court proceedings. Let us see what the press law says about this. Please turn to article 22, which is very important. It states that an editor is not responsible for the contents of government communications, and the contents of judgments and notices. These are instances for which a journalist bears no responsibility with regard to information from an organ or individual.

[Question] Therefore, the following should be added here: "For the proper, truthful presentations of the formulations of a press spokesman at an official press conference." Thus, if a journalist provides the source, then he is not held accountable, for example, in a civil process?

[Answer] It depends on the source and the reliability of the source.

[Question] For example, a journalist gathering material on his own must verify the source. But if an organ of the state administration, for example, the minister of justice, speaks about some kinds of specific cases at a press conference and we print it, are we obligated to verify whether or not the minister of justice presented the matter truthfully?

[Answer] That is a reliable source because it is certain that the minister of justice was not directly interested in the case which he discussed. But let us take another example. A journalist quotes a letter from a director of one of the enterprises who stated that the labor courts make it impossible for him to rationalize employment in light of the economic reform because laid-off workers are returning to work. The case caused understandable agitation. What is it with our labor law? The ministries of labor and justice investigated the judicial proceedings. It turned out that they were judged properly and there was no basis to appeal for a review.

The following question arises: On the basis of the letter, even if it comes from the enterprise director, can a journalist publish the letter without verifying the substance of the allegations and make far-reaching conclusions in the situation when the author of the letter is directly interested in the case whose decisions he criticizes? A journalist can most certainly refer with full confidence to information coming from state organs. He fulfills the said obligation of singular accuracy and honesty that the press law places on him. The state organ that gives the specified information is not interested in the matter and above all is concerned about the social good and acts accordingly. That is why it is carrying out its legal or statutory activity and that is why it is informing the press, among others. Therefore, a journalist cannot be adjudged guilty even though information for such or such reasons turned out to be not completely true or all the circumstances of the matter were not presented. For example, consider the word "corruption," which is associated in general with misappropriating property. It may turn out that it was mismanagement or waste and not stealing. Such an offense is linked with a glaring non-performance of duties, a lack of activity to secure and protect property, exceeding authority in the area of risk associated with economic activity, and the like. But it was stated to be an offense, and that is indisputable.

[9 Jun 84 pp 3,4]

[Text] [Question] Mr Minister, our figures, which are still incomplete, indicate that at this moment about 40 legal proceedings against journalists are in progress in Poland, of which a dozen or so are in Warsaw. There has never been such a large number of such legal proceedings. Do you think this phenomenon is unsettling? Can you perceive its effects on the function the press must fulfill? Today we are witnessing the departure of many journalists from traditional reporting activities.

[Answer] I would be more concerned about the final results than the number of legal proceedings if it turned out that 40 out of the 40 journalists or editors lost their cases. This is so because someone feels subjectively offended by a publication; but the courts will determine if the journalist acted in accordance with the rules of the law and, if so, he will be adjudged not guilty in a criminal process or the case will be dismissed in a civil process; he will not be discredited. On the contrary, it seems that this can only strengthen the role of the press. It is a shame that nothing is written about these kinds of legally valid court decisions because public opinion would be in a better position to know what the press is and is not allowed to do.

The singular accuracy of a journalist is what it is all about. And I want to emphasize this because so far this elevated degree of work accuracy has been obligatory for only a few professional groups. Presently, on the basis of the press law, a journalist will also be subject to this obligation. It will be the criterion for evaluating his work in the context, for example, of not verifying information properly, altering someone's statement, using personal information about someone's private life, and all that which is encompassed in articles 13 and 14 of the press law.

[Question] We agree with you, Mr Minister, regarding the problem of singular accuracy. It is not always observed in the journalist community, but that is another matter. There is no doubt that a court decision is important. But the burdens associated with a legal proceeding cause specified results: it makes it more difficult for a journalist to carry out his professional duties. We believe, however, that the court decisions will influence the number of legal proceedings.

[Answer] They will put a stop to them when the press law, including the right to criticize, is universally known because that is the most frequent cause of the legal proceedings. Up to now, our laws have not strongly emphasized the principle that the press has the right to present and criticize all negative phenomena within the limits designated by the law and the principles of co-existence. At the same time, its limits are defined. In making use of this law, the press should strive to present properly the discussed tasks, guided by social interests and the socialist state. Therefore, he who hinders or represses press criticism, or who abuses his position or function in order to harm another because of press criticism published in the interest of society, commits an offense. It is a regulation that was introduced as a result of the postulates submitted by journalists representing the Association of Journalists of the PRL who, after all, played a very important role in formulating the press

law. Its entire range of provisions is in reality the result of the postulates and the just demands of the community and at times the compromises between them.

[Question] Mr Minister, how did it then happen that journalists, who were present when subsequent versions of the law were being developed (till the final one), did not consider the question of reporting, which is a specific journalistic line of work. Article 14, paragraph 2 states that a journalist must obtain authorization to quote verbatim a statement made by a person making the statement. In practice, this makes it impossible to pursue reporting. If a journalist goes to a farmer and asks what he is planting and is told that it is wheat, then the journalist cannot publish this without previous authorization. Docent Michalski, in the TU I TERAZ discussion, said that "somehow it will work out" because there remains, of course, the formula of style. Perhaps it "will be," but it will not be reporting.

[Answer] I would like to know, in conjunction with a reporting assignment, how many times PRAWO I ZYCIE journalists have not been given authorization to present a speaker's reply? Can you cite such instances?

[Question] Most certainly. It often happens that after an interview is published some hero of the hour telephones, even someone who was not presented in a critical way (obviously, some kind of formulation did not please a superior authority), and says: "that is not what I said."

[Answer] But that is another problem. Such people will continue to telephone, especially if a complaint is lodged against them. With or without the regulation, we cannot avoid similar situations. Let us assume that this regulation did not exist in the press law or that it did not apply to reporting. It could happen that a speaker--even if he said that which the journalist published--could deny it afterwards, and the journalist or editorial staff have no proof, for example, in the form of a recording. There is no doubt that a correction must be published, unless the journalist (editorial staff) disputes the issue, refuses to make a correction and proves in court that it was otherwise. In my opinion, for the reporting case, the problem of authorization is exaggerated. Not all the circumstances concerning the authorization obligation have been taken into account.

[Question] A demand by a speaker that his statements be shown to him before publication, however, is legally justified. Such a regulation has not existed to date.

[Answer] In article 14, paragraph 2, which is the regulation on authorization, one should focus on the basic prerequisite, namely, that every statement received by a journalist is not subject to authorization, only "a statement that is quoted verbatim." Facts are not predominant in the reply to "what the farmer is sowing in the field," but evaluations and opinions do predominate. The institution of authorization, though not written outright as now understood in the press law, functioned in journalism vis-a-vis interviews, discussions and some pronouncements. In short, subjects that a speaker wanted to present verbatim and to know if the journalist rendered properly. Finally, authorization should concern only the statement itself and not comments on the statement.

[Question] Let us return to reporting. It always is an expression of a certain relation to reality, to an affair, often to a specific person. It can contain different formulations or different evaluations and even be unnecessarily frank, but it is done, for example, by giving an account of a discussion that is not strictly an interview. Then what? Must it be authorized? It is known, of course, that a speaker will not want to authorize a publication that does not benefit him. What then could not be told? The need to obtain authorization for a verbatim quote of a statement will make a journalist's work very difficult. And what about court reporting? We are afraid that the regulation can lead to the elimination of court reporting in favor of court reports. We have often quoted statements of defense counsels, plaintiffs, defendants and witnesses. Now we will have to get authorization for them. How can this be done in practice?

[Answer] That is not at all in the regulation.

[Question] It is: "A journalist may not quote..."

[Answer] "...a person providing the information." The defense counsel, witnesses or defendant did not give the journalist the information. A journalist obtains information that was told to the judge at an open trial. This in general does not require authorization. It seems to me that a report based on statements of specific individuals quoted verbatim will not be a problem for journalists. Today it is difficult to guess what direction the interpretation of the regulation will take, especially the court's interpretation, which will be of decisive significance regarding the question of understanding this regulation. In any case, uniform legal rules must be obligatory.

But attention must be paid to three elements: first, the speaker himself must give authorization for his statement. It is not the journalist who is obligated to pursue authorization, but the speaker has the right to demand that the journalist fulfill that--likely--obligation. Second, authorization applies only to the statement itself, and not comments on the statement.

This in itself, it seems to me, eases the situation. But there is a third element: What, namely, requires authorization? I have already said that it is "statements quoted verbatim." Let us dwell a while on this definition. In a report we are dealing with a synthetic statement. If after a lengthy discussion a journalist summarizes the statement in a report and presents the discussion as if it were a verbatim quote, then I would doubt that it was a verbatim citation and not the author's concept of the statements for the sake of the report.

I emphasize that I am not presenting an interpretation of this regulation. Like everything else it has its own life and will require a court interpretation. In conjunction with this, I would favor a more precise linguistic interpretation. A "statement quoted verbatim" means verbatim. It seems to me that it would be a summarized statement if, for example, four sentences appear in print after a half-hour discussion, which would be difficult to believe to be a verbatim statement.



[Question] Despite that, the speaker can demand to inspect that fragment.

[Answer] There is no regulation giving him such a right. If every statement were subject to authorization then the press truly would not be able to publish any critical article in practice. For example, every director who understands that he must provide information because it is his legal obligation would withhold authorization and would seek ways to inhibit publication of this information. I repeat, there is no such obligation regarding fragments, and the press is not burdened with such an obligation.

[Question] Then you agree that a good rigorous report is in society's interests?

[Answer] Very much so. What is more, it was not the intention of the law's creators to interfere extensively with reporting activities. The concern was to sanction just practices so that talks, interviews and various pronouncements would be subject to authorization. I do not exclude authorization for statements needed for a report except, for example, when the entire report leads to a discussion with one person that is faithfully published.

[Question] Of course. It also happens when a journalist talks with one person who behaves scandalously and which the journalist describes. Thus, if he had to obtain authorization for the discussion, then, as we know, the report would not appear.

[Answer] Describing the behavior of a speaker during a discussion with a journalist and quoting his statements verbatim are two different matters. Authorization for such a report in its entirety is not required, and the speaker's approval is not needed to publish the gist of a statement or the journalist's reflections or observations.

[Question] Mr Minister, how do you view the activities of TV reporters in light of article 14, paragraph 1? Let us consider, for example, the televising of a soccer game where the soccer players are shown (this case is obvious; they appear publicly and can be photographed) as well as the spectators. According to this regulation, can the spectators be filmed?

[Answer] You are bringing up difficult material concerning a person's right not to be portrayed or have his picture taken. This is addressed in the civil code and the author law, but the press law treats this only partially. Many problems are involved here. According to article 14, paragraph 1: "The publication or dissemination in any way of information preserved on audio or video recordings requires the approval of the person providing the information," or the essence of the matter is based on protecting the informant.

[Question] If a speaker does not object to being photographed or televised, then his approval is implied.

[Answer] Of course, it is a presumed approval.

[Question] What about a hidden camera? Is a journalist permitted to use a hidden camera?

[Answer] The problem of a hidden camera and showing the faces of people filmed in secret is not expressly regulated by the press law. That is simply another, more extensive matter concerning the right not to be photographed. It is regulated by the author law. The opinion is based on this: What is the subject of the filming by the hidden camera? Is it a picture, for example, of pedestrians, a landscape, street traffic, city life and the like? If it is a picture the consent of the person being photographed is required, but if the picture is only a detail of a street, a sidewalk, the mentioned spectators at a soccer game and the like, consent is not required. Thus it is a problem of violating or not violating a person's well-being in light of the civil code and the author law. And in this framework, every matter must be weighed. We must, however, take into account a certain principle that is accepted worldwide and in accordance with which any person who participates in any kind of gathering or spectacle that is televised is aware, naturally, that he may be filmed and thus appear on TV or on a movie screen.

[Question] And if he speaks can his statements be used without his consent?

[Answer] In our own law, to date a voice is not legally protected. An exception is made for the voice of an informant by virtue of article 14, paragraph 1 of the press law, which we already discussed. But if Polish Radio is broadcasting some kind of spectacle, it can be received by an antenna. In any case, I know of no ruling in which a court would judge that this is a violation of a person's well-being.

[Question] And how does the second paragraph of this article apply to TV?

[Answer] The problem of authorization of a statement for TV, just as for radio, cannot be excluded. After all, needed summaries are often made that can distort the sense of a speaker's reply. For TV, showing an assembled program is, above all, a problem of cost. But this is another matter.

[Question] Let us now proceed to the courtroom. Article 317 of the criminal procedure code proclaims that a court can allow representatives of radio, TV or the press to take photographs during a trial when society's interests are served and it will not hamper the trial's proceedings.

[Answer] The court must approve the installation of a TV camera in a courtroom. Presently, an important supplement to this regulation is the principle expressed in article 13 of the press law, which states that the press is not allowed to publish personal data on or the photograph of a person who is the subject of judicial or preliminary proceedings, or personal data on witnesses, the plaintiff and the like. This provision does not violate the regulations of other laws (including an arrest warrant that contains personal data and a photograph). But the second sentence of this paragraph states: "The proper public prosecutor or the court can permit, in the case of significant social interest, the disclosure of personal data or the photographing of persons against whom judicial or preliminary proceedings are in progress." Thus, with court permission, it is possible to enter a courtroom as well as record the voices of persons involved in a trial and photograph the defendants.

But this regulation implements far-reaching protection for witnesses and plaintiffs because a court (as well as a public prosecutor in a preliminary proceeding) cannot give permission to film their faces. Not too long ago I viewed a portion of such a film on TV; the faces of the witnesses were not shown, only the faces of the defense counsels, defendants and judge. I believe that a really good practice is one that responds to the press law. For social reasons, this limitation is absolutely necessary. The very fact that someone is discharging his civic duty by bearing witness to the truth often is a great experience for him, and perhaps this person may not wish this to be "made public."

[Question] Perhaps we can now proceed to the problem of corrections. Based on practice, we question what is a correction and what is a reply. Normally a so-called correction that is received by an editorial staff does not concern the facts exclusively (or at times only incompletely). Also, facts are often mixed with polemics concerning evaluations. How should one proceed in these matters? After all, everything can be skeletonized concerning polemic evaluations because it does not fit the definition of correction or the definition of a reply, but it cannot be completely ignored. In this case, does an obligation exist concerning a time-limit?

[Answer] First, I would like to say something about that which, unfortunately, is not the best of practices on the part of the press. Many examples can be cited when people for one reason or another were offended by a publication and, in fact, did not have an opportunity to show the opposite or true side of the coin. Thus, in my opinion, introducing the obligation to publish a correction or a reply is a great achievement of the new press law. The problem probably became regulated unequivocally, simply in detail.

This in fact results from the general principle included in the press law: extended rights but greater responsibility; extensive access to information, but publishing this information in a truthful way. Thus, it is worthwhile to focus on three problems.

Article 31 explains in an unequivocal way what is subject to correction. Not the views and opinions of a journalist, only the facts. Of course, opinions and views are given on the basis of facts. That is their result. That is why article 31 states: "Factual corrections of false and inaccurate information with reference to facts..." Thus, correction is subject to the facts. Obviously if someone has a basis for questioning a fact on the basis of which a journalist constructed his conclusion and deduction, then the deduction itself is false. Erroneous opinions and deductions that are a bit off-base can also be deduced from true facts. If they imperil the well-being of a specified individual or institution, then the editorial staff is obligated to publish a factual reply.

Here is another matter: if a correction is to be effective, it must be published as soon as possible. This is assured by the press law.

Thirdly, the press law parts company with a tradition of our press that is not one of its best, wherein an author's correction is frequently published at the

end, even though the editor or editorial staff acknowledge that a correction must be published. In this way the author dots the "i." The press law does not exclude an author from making a statement concerning a correction, but not in the same issue or broadcast.

[Question] The regulations also address the length of corrections. A correction should not exceed twice the length of the fragment of the material being corrected. It seems that this length is a bit large.

[Answer] Twice the length is in fact large, but only when the correction concerned a lengthy article, and all its contents, from start to finish, required correction. But these are very rare situations. The length-of-correction problem was the subject of extensive discussions. The rules adopted in this case must be evaluated in the context of other regulations, especially article 33, paragraph 1, point 3, which states: "The chief editor can refuse to publish a correction or reply if its form or content is not in accordance with the principle of social coexistence." In addition, a correction or reply must be "factual." If in unusual situations, for example, when the subject of an article does not have much to say concerning complaints lodged against him but is very anxious about the length of the correction, it cannot be precluded that a refusal to publish a correction along with a demand for a factual correction will be justified. He who demands a correction should reply objectively regarding the matters he questions instead of trying to adjust his correction or reply to the length of the article.

[Question] Will the interpretation of these regulations be published?

[Answer] When the issues go to court--because a claim can be made concerning the publication of a correction or reply in accordance with article 39 of the press law--while a binding interpretation is being shaped.

[Question] What do you think the success of this law will depend on? Will the same thing happen to the press law that happened, for example, to the environmental protection law?

[Answer] The success of the press law will depend above all on the consistent observance of its provisions by journalists and their action to implement the new legal solutions with the intention of producing certain customs of behavior.

[Question] But the law is not only addressed to journalists.

[Answer] I agree. It regulates very important problems of our sociopolitical life. The constitution of the Polish People's Republic guarantees freedom of speech and press. In our country, the ancillary nature of the press' function vis-a-vis society requires the cooperation of the press in many areas. This results in obligations that are suitable to them. On the other hand, the press law must protect personal well-being within essential limitations, and the singular honesty of journalists should be the guarantee that in making use of his rights he does not violate this well-being. That is why I am accenting the role of journalists in implementing the law.

[Question] We concentrated on the doubts that were bothering us. They exist in the entire journalism community. It seems that our discussion will dispel many of these doubts. Thus, if interpretive practice and judgments take the direction you indicated, Mr Minister, then the press will operate much better.

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CSO: 2600/1068

## RESISTANCE TO GOVERNMENT BID FOR POWER INDUSTRY CONCENTRATION

Warsaw ZYCIE GOSPODARCZE in Polish No 31, 29 Jul 84 p 3]

[Article by Slawomir Lipinski: "No Go Without Council Consent; Ministerial Proposal To Merge 20 Autonomous Enterprises Into a Combine Thwarted by Worker Council, Party, Branch and Trade Union"]

[Excerpts] On 6 June 1984, 170 freshly-elected representatives of Energomontaz-Polnoc workforce, which is scattered around the whole country, arrived in Warsaw for a meeting of [self-management] delegates, the first in 3 years. After formalities involved in the constitution of enterprise self-management were completed, Director Kazimierz Zukowski proceeded to delivering a lengthy report on the state of the company. It was only after an hour or so that the delegates heard what they had been nervously waiting for and discussing informally since the morning.

"In conclusion, I would like to provide you with a piece of information with which--to tell the truth--I should have began," the director said. "Well, at a briefing with enterprise directors from our sector, the leadership of the Ministry of Mining and Power Industries announced plans to thoroughly change the organizational set-up of the power-project construction industry--although no detailed concept has been presented. What is known is that the concentration and centralization of management is planned. The whole sector is to be turned into one multi-division enterprise in the form of a combine, embracing 20 enterprises and 55,000 employees. The enterprises of the present association--including outelves--are to lose the enterprise status, and to become divisions of the parent organization. It can be expected that the management of such a combine will exercise much greater powers in respect to the subordinated divisions than those wielded by the former industry boards [dissolved as part of reform].

#### Anxiety

So it did happen. So far, only few (union and party activists) had known about the ministerial briefing officially, but the news had been spreading quickly to every nook and cranny. And as always in such cases, some had proffered to view it as an exaggerated rumor, while others--an overwhelming majority, in fact--had seen it not just as a proposal but as an already sealed decision.

"An atmosphere of anxiety about the fate of the enterprise and people's own future set in," recalls worker council chairman Jan Stepien.

"Especially among specialists," adds union chief Henryk Baranski. "Will they be needed when the combine management takes over their job?"

The Enterprise for the Assembly of Power Projects and Industrial Installations Energomontaz-Polnoc (as its full name goes) is biggest among the present association members--both as regards sales and employment. Just as its two sister companies--Katowice-based Elektromontaz-Poludnie and Wroclaw's Elektromontaz-Zachod--it deals with the assembly of power stations' technological equipment. The remaining enterprises deal with construction (there are seven of them), assembly of electric gear and automation devices, heat-insulation services, designing, etc. In other words, the proposed combine would gobble up all those involved in the construction of power stations--from ground-breaking to start-up. Quite a monopoly, probably the industry's biggest in the world.

The delegates were in common that the so-formulated proposal was incompatible with the spirit of economic reform. After a short discussion, it was proposed that the worker council should gather during the recess and issue a resolution reflecting the prevailing mood. Following is an excerpt from the council's Resolution 1:

"The worker council of Elektromontaz-Polnoc expresses its concern at the information about planned reorganization of enterprises dealing with power project construction, aimed at merging all enterprises of the Elektrobudowa association. Such a reorganization would lead to a comeback of old practices of centralization and reduction of enterprise autonomy, and it would also be in glaring contrast with the principles and spirit of economic reform."

The resolution was adopted unanimously. And the council was directed to produce a more detailed position paper to be sent to the ministry.

On 13 June the paper was ready. "The reorganization," it reads, "would result in further relaxation of rigors of the reform and in destabilization of rules of the game, based on economic and financial instruments. In consequence, it would be a step towards the resuscitation of economic bureaucracy. From our industry, too, it is required by the public and the economy that the job be done on schedule, with high quality, and with the lowest possible costs. Only a simultaneous combination of all these elements may bring about a major improvement in economic efficiency, and, consequently, quicker recovery from crisis. Past experience proves beyond doubt that this can be achieved only by means of improving the economic and financial instruments. This should be a consistent process, one that must not be hampered by administrative practices. Creation of economic structures that would monopolize still further the builder's position in the power-project construction industry, and the intention to run the industry in an administrative fashion will not receive support from the worker council."

The council went on to present its enterprise. Over the 31 years of its existence, Energomontaz-Polnoc assembled power-generating units of the combined capacity of 15,000 MW, or 53 percent of the country's total. Following the introduction of the new economic mechanism, the firm began to take care of its costs and profit. The latter reached Zl 2.6 billion last year, of which Zl 880 million was profit for distribution. The planned profit target for 1984 is Zl 3.2 billion.

"Given the constitutional guarantees (Article 13) of the right of the workforce to participate in the running of the enterprise, we are of the opinion that such a decision as merger of enterprises must not be made without a consent of interested worker councils."

"Why Weakening This Process?"

Earlier, it may be recalled, the concept of a combine was presented to union and party activists. The first to react were unionists--and not only at Energomontaz-Polnoc.

The Federation of Trade Unions of the Power-Project Building Industry has its branches in all enterprises of the association. Between 21 and 23 May, or just several days after the ministerial briefing, it had a conference in Chorzow. The question of the combine, previously unexpected, could not have stayed out of the agenda.

"The participants pronounced themselves unequivocally against centralization of management and against creating a monstrous monopoly," says Henryk Baranski who is also the president of the federation.

A resolution of the Chorzow conference obligated the federation's executive committee to put in writing the reservations expressed during the discussion. On 27 June, at Chyllice, the committee agreed on the text of a resolution sent to the minister of mining and power industries.

"Creation of a monopoly, to which the proposal of setting up a new organizational unit boils down, will lead to a host of adverse consequences," says the paper and lists some of them--centralization of management on a scale unheard of even in the former industry boards, which will provide a breeding ground for economic bureaucracy; destruction of confidence, so assiduously restored, in a purposefulness of the workforce taking any kind of economic, self-managing or unionist initiative for the good of the company; collapse of the 3 S's [standing in Polish for autonomy, self-management, and self-financing] as a result of which economic and financial considerations will take a back seat.

Among other negative aspects of the proposal, the executive committee mentioned the probable destabilization of the workforce. Experienced specialists who now have influence on enterprise performance would become peripheral cogs in the machine and would look for employment "where they have a chance of meeting their ambitions and occupational aspirations." In conclusion, the executive committee states that it "will not lend its support to an attempt at undermining the purposefulness of economic reform."



Slightly different arguments were offered by first secretaries of party branches (POPs) at all organizational units of Elektromontaz-Polnoc. After the meeting in which the director acquainted them with the ministerial proposal, they returned to their respective organizations for consultation, and on 11 June they gathered together again to work out a joint position of the enterprise's basic-level party branches.

"The participants in the 11 June session of POP first secretaries express the party's opposition against the concept of establishing a combine," reads their resolution.

It was recalled that a consistent reforming of the economy, which also means the decentralization of management, is the party's grand goal, inscribed explicitly into the resolution of the 9th Congress. Reform, it was stated, has more dimensions than the economic one. It is also a form of democratizing the national economic management, and of "seeking such forms of organization of production which would best suit societal requirements. Therefore, we oppose the concept which means a return to red tape and old centralistic methods of management that at the present stage of the country's development do not stand the test of time." In the opinion of the secretaries, under a centralistic system, it was the vested ministerial, sectoral, and industry-board interest that were being pursued in the economy, and not the public interests.

"We do not hesitate to state that the realization of this concept (i.e., the establishment of the combine) would offer to the political enemy an argument that the reform has failed."

After stressing the political aspect of the ministerial intention, as befitted such a gathering, the secretaries turned to its economic consequences.

"The principle of enterprise self-financing would also be undermined. The economically weak enterprises would benefit from incomes generated by the efficient ones. In other words, an increase in efficiency in one enterprise would be leveled off through combine-level settlements by inefficiency of other firms."

The secretaries expressed the conviction that under the present legal and economic system there exist sufficient safeguards against enterprises' failure to comply with the state's basic policy guidelines. "If there are problems with mismanagement at some enterprises, they should be resolved in accordance with the Enterprise Bankruptcy Law. The role of banks has grown, and under a consistent policy in the field of crediting and financing the enterprises can quickly learn how to self-finance. Why should this process be weakened?"

So the concept of establishing a combine was firmly rejected--not only by the self-management body but also by the trade union and the party branches. Arguments were different, but in major themes they coincided. What in this writer's opinion is particularly important is the anti-monopolistic conscientiousness of a broad body of workforce representation. This is a precious success of the 2 years of reform.

## ACTIVITIES OF NATIONAL AIR DEFENSE TROOPS DESCRIBED

Warsaw SKRZYDLATA POLSKA in Polish No 24, 10 Jun 84 pp 3, 4

[Interview with Col Dypl Pilot Edmund Kozbialy, of the National Air Defense Armies (WOPK), by Tadeusz Malinowski: "Target"]

[Text] Back as a young boy our interviewee looked at aircraft taking off at what was then Mokotow Field in Warsaw. After graduation from high school he took a job, but his thoughts kept coming back to aviation. He applied to the Aviation Officers School in Deblin. After passing the flight surgeon's physical and the entrance examinations, he was accepted. He was lucky. He surpassed in aviation his colleagues who were already flying gliders. He was third in his squadron when it came time to solo. He flew well, and the instructor frequently recommended him and put him in the captain's chair; he flew with weaker colleagues. He tried to fly frequently and well. After 2 years at the school he was advanced (1950) and was made instructor pilot. Those advanced with him had to wait another year after he began training his group of students. Initially he rebelled within, because he wanted to fly combat aircraft with a group, but within a year he became convinced that instructing was a very good flight-training school. For 3 years he was an instructor in Deblin. By that time his colleagues had advanced and were already flying jets. In the end his request was granted and he was sent to studies at the General Staff Academy. Upon graduation (1956) he was assigned to a fighter group, advancing quickly. He was soon commander of his squadron, and after a certain time he became commander of the fighter group, which flew jets. His group was one of the first to train on supersonic aircraft. He commanded the group for 7 years. Very pleasant memories remain with him from this period. Then he was sent to a more responsible position in the WOPK. He has about 4,000 hours in fighters, including about 3,000 hours in jets. He has received high state and military recognition.

[Question]: The WOPK air force is a special section of pursuit fighter aviation with specific tasks. What was the purpose behind its formation, and what sort of tasks does it have to perform?

[Answer]: Putting it briefly, the WOPK, including the WOPK air force, was created for the purpose of protecting the borders of our nation's airspace. The air force of WOPK in particular is a means which makes it possible to defend the borders of our airspace in all directions. This sort of aviation is able to maneuver, if needed, from one end of Poland to the other.

[Question]: Not too long ago there was a discussion in the world press about high-altitude air combat. Can you talk about the virtues of air combat?

[Answer]: There are various theories on the subject. Insofar as air combat is concerned from our point of view, the adversary must usually descend to lower altitudes, owing to our antiaircraft. The enemy would incur great losses at high altitudes and cannot afford to descend to these altitudes.

[Question]: Years ago the WOPK was called the "five-minute army." Is this time any shorter today?

[Answer]: Quite rightly, at one time our former commander called the WOPK forces the "five-minute armies." Because of the progress made by modern air attack forces, those so-called 5 minutes have been shortened. Readers are being informed through the press about the expansion of remote-controlled air attack forces and pilotless means of attack. Thus, it follows that we are being forced to reduced to what used to be called 5 minutes. How much? To the minimum, I think. We have calculated times and selected variants of action.

[Question] The international situation requires constant monitoring...

[Answer]: Not just that. First of all, there is the question of high combat readiness and the modernization of the means of maintaining that readiness. I need not hide the fact that for this reason military life is becoming increasingly more difficult. Our pilots now are watching more, have less time for themselves, and must carry out tasks of increasing difficulty and achieve higher ratings in them. We must know all the time what is happening in our airspace day and night. And, what is more, in the event of danger, we must immediately take action to ward it off. This requires effort, commitment, and dedication on the part of all members of the WOPK.

[Question]: It is generally said that the pilot performs certain tasks in military aviation, including in the WOPK's air force.

[Answer]: Yes, the ordinary citizen talks about the pilot, but he can be forgiven, because he is convinced that it is actually the pilot who pushes the button at that last, most important moment to fire the rocket, but for the pilot to be able to do this, first there has to be the work of many people with different specialities and levels of responsibility, people with different kinds of knowledge: from the soldiers to the officers experienced in working both at airports and in positions of command. And here I want to emphasize that every ordinary soldier must be a high class specialist, and in our armies he is, because it is hard to imagine a soldier using complicated

equipment in this era of modern technology without being familiar with that equipment's operation and use.

[Question]: In order to perform the most difficult tasks in the air, we must have very good pilots and use the best possible fighter aircraft. It is said the WOPK air force not only has wonderful pilots but also uses the most modern equipment.

[Answer]: And that is true. We have MiG-type jets, used not only in Poland but also in many other countries of the world. In the opinion of military specialists they are foolproof and are among the very best. But the aircraft are also equipped with the most modern equipment in a modern profile in the eyes of the ordinary citizen, and according to this very profile he sees that the aircraft is older or newer. This would appear logical, but the ordinary citizen is not familiar with the aircraft's equipment, its interior, because the whole construction of the aircraft hides this. To say nothing of weapons. This varies a good deal.

[Question]: Therefore, just looking at the profile of a jet, say, the MiG 21, for example, you cannot tell about its operating capabilities.

[Answer]: Take a well-known profile of an aircraft which now has modern equipment. You have a different piece of equipment. For example, an aircraft may be outfitted with rockets, which shoot themselves, as somebody popularly put it, only in the rear, and it may be equipped with a rocket which is fired from any point against the enemy aircraft, but this is a great difference. Again. The pilot may have radar on the flight deck, so that he can see an air target 20 kilometers away, or he may have a newer piece of equipment which will let him pick up the target 100 kilometers away.

[Question]: So modernity consists not of what you can see, such as the type of aircraft, but above all of what equipment it has...

[Answer]: ...and who is sitting behind the flight controls. Of course I have in mind the pilot, his training, what goes together to make him up, what sort of personal values he brings to it, what sort of physical attributes he has, how well he knows his aircraft, the extent to which he knows how to use the weapons he has at his command. The equipment of the WOPK air force is modern. I was talking about the aircraft, but the same applies also to other means of guidance and detection, as well as our antiaircraft rocket artillery, with which we work every day.

[Question]: Let us get back to air combat and the chance of successfully destroying air targets at low altitudes.

[Answer]: Modern air combat has reduced the scope of operations at high altitudes, as we said, to the ground floor, to the mezzanine. This is because modern strike equipment has a good chance of destroying air targets at high and intermediate altitudes. The enemy must seek other ways, including pilotless means. For the enemy the lower altitude to a certain extent is a help. Even the Cruise missiles brought into Europe are said, for example, to be able to fly at very

low altitudes. They are certainly more difficult to deal with in combat, but it is also possible to destroy them. Modern air combat, for which we are prepared -- I have in mind here both flight personnel and those providing support for their carrying out the most difficult tasks -- insures that we can be successful even at low altitudes.

[Question]: Nonetheless, continuous training and improvement of the methods and means of striking air targets, particularly at low altitude, are essential.

[Answer]: Such professional training and upgrading go on incessantly. We are preparing pilots to carry out the most difficult tasks, and in this case I can say in all modesty that we are doing a very good job. We have begun to use exercises in which we are providing training in everything that the enemy might try to throw at us, but alongside performing tasks, it is equally important to return to the airport and land safely, and for this reason we are devoting a great deal of attention to the security of flight.

[Question]: We have been talking about a constant watch being maintained by flight personnel and about flight security, but we have not mentioned teams of two on watch duty, those who are the first to take off.

[Answer]: The teams of two on watch are the first important link guarding the security of People's Poland to see that nobody penetrates our airspace or invades our country from the air without paying a price. This is why pilots on daily watch to guard the security of our airspace are pilots of great experience who are very skilled and are able to fly under all sorts of atmospheric conditions, in all sorts of weather. They are pilots who love flying and at one and the same time love Poland.

[Question]: How do you reconcile your claim of continuously monitoring our airspace with the fact that a Polish aircraft can be hijacked with impunity?

[Answer]: Up to this time we have controlled all Polish aircraft. In this instance we could say that they have been tracked on our radar. It was just that for humanitarian reasons, that is, to protect the lives of the people aboard the aircraft, that we allowed these aircraft to fly through our airspace, but if it had been a question of a matter of national or military significance, we would have given the command to destroy the hijacked aircraft.

[Question]: We have talked a great deal about the level of training of the WOPK air force personnel. The combat-operations competitions held every 2 years are a way of monitoring their skills.

[Answer]: In the case of the WOPK air force, there are "master-of-air-combat" competitions. In order to take part in the trials, the participating pilots must get top scores in the preliminary trials. Then as the result of coming out on top of the elimination trials, the best pilots are admitted to the "master-of-air-combat" competition. The range of points

that the pilots receive in these competitions is minimal, and the scores are very close. This means that all the participants in the competitions are truly the finest.

[Question]: In these years people say that modernity, great speed, electronics, and so on, have taken the romance out of aviation, have destroyed its former magic.

[Answer]: I have been a pilot for the past 30 years without a break. I started out on aircraft with speeds up to 180 kilometers per hour, but now I fly jets at over 2,000 kilometers per hour. Serving in the air force has not been easy, to be sure. It is a very responsible job and has certain demands, but aviation at high speeds has lost none of its romance. Of course, it is difficult to make a precise comparison between flying in the 1920's and 1930's with flying in the 1980's, but military pilots nonetheless come into contact with the romance of flying on a daily basis. Romance is everywhere, just about at arm's reach. I can assure all those who have not flown but would like to do so, that in military aviation they will find alongside their everyday service those experiences which will always remain in their memory, because aviation is beautiful. And flying?

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PARTY UNITS IN MINISTRIES BLAMED FOR DEFICIENCIES

Bucharest MUNCA DE PARTID in Romanian Jul 84 pp 41-45

[Unsigned article: "In Ministries and Central Institutions - Dynamic Party Affairs Filled With the Revolutionary Spirit"]

[Text] In our economic-social organization, the ministries and the other central state institutions occupy a distinct place, having an especially important role to play in carrying out the policies of our party and state at the level of the branches and their areas of activities, and, in accordance with the law, they bear the responsibility for the management, guidance and review of the activities of the centrals, enterprises and other subordinate units.

Their tasks have increased considerably under current conditions where, in order to accelerate improvements to the qualitative facets of economic activities that are designed to ensure Romania's advance into the ranks of the medium-developed nations - a major strategic objective established by the 12th Party Congress -, they must make a substantial contribution to carrying out the special programs that have been drawn up at the initiative of the secretary general of the party, comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, and approved by the Grand National Assembly. These programs have to do with the more rapid development of the raw materials and energy base, the more accentuated growth of labor productivity, the improvement of the technical and quality levels of products, the reduction of specific consumption rates, and the growth of the degree of complex and economical use of raw materials, materials, fuels and electricity.

Active Involvement Through Their Own Actions to Effectively Resolve All Problems

In this context, it is in itself understood that the party organs and organizations in the ministries and central state institutions have tasks of major importance. Stressing the need to increase the responsibilities of the leadership councils in the ministries and other central organs in the process of attaining plans and programs that have been approved, comrade Nicolae Ceausescu emphasized at the November 1983 Plenary Session of the RCP Central Committee that "there must be an increase as well in the role of the party organizations and communists in the ministries and the state apparatus for the proper operation of these organisms and for the resolution of the complex problems in their sectors of activity."

According to statutory provisions, these organizations have the job of involving political-organizational work by all means in the resolution of all problems and of training the communists and the other workers so that they will express themselves under any circumstances, as the party leadership asks of them, not only as good specialists, but also as political militants who are powerfully animated by a revolutionary soul and who are capable of combining these two facets of knowledge with the spirit of the struggle for the revolutionary transformation of the world.

A recent review that was carried out at the direction of the party leadership in 16 ministries and central institutions of an economic nature regarding the manner in which the party organs and organizations and their leadership councils are working to fulfill the state plan during this decisive year of the five year plan - with a view towards having special results for the 40th anniversary of the victory of the social and national, anti-fascist and anti-imperialist liberation revolution and the 13th RCP Congress - showed that their activities are directly subordinate to carrying out the decisions of the 12th Congress and the National Party Conference, the RCP Central Committee plenary sessions and the guidelines and directives of great theoretical and practical significance issued by comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, the secretary general of the party, for the purpose of increasing the efficiency of all economic activities.

The result was that the party organs and organizations, the leadership councils and their executive bureaus ensure - by way of political-ideological training, as well as through meetings between the cadres in the leadership of the ministries and the personnel in their organizations involved in presenting the tasks newly put forth at the plenary sessions of the RCP Central Committee - the understanding, mastery and implementation of the party decisions, the laws of the nation and the directives issued by the secretary general of our party during working visits in units subordinate to these ministries.

In the vast majority of ministries and central institutions groups were established which pursue the on-time fulfillment of the tasks outlined by the secretary general of the party and those stemming from decisions and laws, and various forms and methods of review are used to carry them out within the established timeframes. The party committees and the leadership councils have mobilized the bureaus of the base organizations, the management of directorates and offices and the trade union groups to discuss periodically the manner in which the communists, the technical personnel having responsible positions and the other workers work to implement their duties as outlined in party documents and in special programs regarding the development of the sectors in which they work. In some places, for example, in the Ministry of Light Industry, the Ministry of the Chemical Industry and others, the party committees and leadership councils sent out complex groups composed of some of the most valuable specialists and designers to provide over several months technical assistance on the scene of those new units which were encountering difficulties in attaining projected parameters, in meeting requirements to



reduce specific consumption rates or those dealing with the improvement of quality or raising productivity or where investment projects were behind schedule. The results of these measures were expressed in the achievement of a significant number of new production facilities, in the fulfillment of the plan at the prescribed levels of volume and efficiency and in the honoring of export orders. In the Ministry of Finance there is and there is an expansion of a good experience on the part of the party committee in guiding the work of the bureaus of the base organizations by way of objectives and in carrying out the practical, methodical training of these bureaus.

Despite all the good results obtained, in the activities carried out by the party organs and organizations in the ministries and central institutions we also notice a series of serious shortfalls. Although they have cadres who are well-trained as specialists and who can be attracted as party members into the elaboration of studies and analyses that can provide ideas and solutions for the improvement of work, in the carrying out of certain sections in the national programs that are currently being executed by the ministries many of the bureaus of the party committees and base organizations are not sufficiently involved either in their own actions regarding the solution of the major problems of the ministries in these programs or in the contributions made to the general improvement of the efforts in the ministry. On the other hand, there is a casual review of cases of low exigency on the part of certain office chiefs concerning those persons who do not resolve problems on-time and who neglect giving assistance due to subordinate units, either in completing specific programs for recouping shortfalls in physical and goods production and for honoring economic contracts on-schedule or in establishing facilities that will produce for export, providing technical conditions for their better use. People do not everywhere take a firm attitude towards those groups of specialists in the ministries who, although out in-the-field and in enterprises choosing the most favorable value structure to the detriment of achieving those products listed in the central plan and of adhering to economic contracts that have been concluded, pretend that they do not see this or who accept repeated delays in capital repairs and overhauls of fixed assets, actions having the corresponding modernization work. In the Ministry of Mines, for example, while there are serious shortfalls in the production of coal for power that is to be supplied to the electric power centrals by the two great combines at Motru and Rovinari, as well as in the coking coal from the Jiu Valley, there are also serious deficiencies in the operation of the mining equipment at the mines in Moldova Noua. The party organizations throughout these directorates and offices were not firmly placed in the center of the concerns for these problems. Likewise, in the Ministry of Electrical Energy, despite the fact that the number of accidental shutdowns is rising, that they are exceeding fuel consumption levels and that they are behind schedule at some investment project worksites, these problems are also dealt with in a general manner without distinct actions being taken by the party organizations to resolve them, while the decisions that are made are not rigorously followed up so they can be achieved on-time.

In the ministries of the machine-building industry, the industrialization of wood and construction materials, the metallurgical industry, light industry, the chemical industry, and transportation and telecommunications, participation in the resolution of the basic problems of these branches is not of substance, and the analyses in plenary sessions, meetings of the aktiv and general assemblies of the base organizations, although centered around great actions, do not succeed in examining things in a thorough way, but rather in a general manner which results many times in sterile discussions and proposed measures that do not specifically involve the communists and the party organizations.

Given the special importance of the activities of the leadership councils and their executive bureaus in the entire process of organizing the carrying out of the great tasks of each ministry during the current stage, the party organizations cannot be indifferent regarding how these collective leadership organisms operate and how and under what type of quality conditions do they resolve the basic problems of their branch. By asking the members of the leadership councils, in their positions as communists who have been entrusted with the responsibilities for certain offices, to give reports during meetings and party general assemblies regarding how they are pursuing the great problems of the future of economic development within the department, the contributions that they make in the correct selection of subjects that will be put on the agenda, their participation in carrying out decisions involving the sectors that they lead, and so forth, the party committee in the Ministry of Light Industry favored the introduction of a spirit of exigency and the growth of each person's responsibility regarding the overall activities of the organization to which he belongs.

Unfortunately, in other ministries, incorrectly feeling that the proper functioning of the leadership council is the responsibility solely of its president, the party organizations stay on the periphery of such concerns and are not interested in the manner in which they function. In the Ministry for the Industrialization of Wood and Construction Materials, this view has generated imperfections in the work style of the leadership council, expressed in the fact that there is not always a rigorous attitude in the selection of subjects submitted for analysis by the council or its executive bureau, with the number of items reaching 30-35 in some meetings and with certain aspects being examined repeatedly using exaggerated statistical data, numbers and percentages without clearly showing the trends of certain negative phenomena and, especially, without outlining the measures that are necessary to eliminate them. In many cases, the directorates forward to the executive bureau those problems which fall directly in their area of authority, while the general directors, directors and other cadres from the offices, when they speak at these meetings, refer more to what is happening in their sector, do not further study the causes of the low fulfillment levels for certain plan and special program indicators and do not criticize the shortcomings in these areas, losing sight of the fact that they have responsibility both for the sector they coordinate and for the activities of the entire organ to which they belong for the quality of work and their decisions.

The multitude of problems placed before the ministries by the party leadership, the degree of difficulty of some of them and their special urgency, the ever more frequent and varied requests of subordinate enterprises and centrals, and the aspects stemming from their own in-the-field findings require maximum concentration of efforts of all cadres and specialists and special concern for moving forward in perfect organization towards a more rapid and quality solution, without delays and unjustified obstacles, in the spirit of the most authentic effectiveness and concern possible.

Despite the fact that these requirements are sufficiently clear to them, being imposed by the pace of our political and economic-social affairs today, some party organizations in the ministries are not working with the necessary efforts so that such means of effective, party-minded, responsible work will become characteristic of the activities of each directorate and office. Due to the fact that some organizations feel that the opening of a new effort against such aspects would be less important, we still find phenomena of formalism and bureaucracy and of resolving problems in a slow and half-measure manner. In many ministries, in resolving certain frequently simple problems and problems which would require only a simple verbal contact between directorates and offices, they use memoranda and letters. Another expression characteristic of this state of affairs is the poor follow-up on the carrying out of established measures and the justification for their own shortcomings by pointing the finger at others - an abuse which is committed by convening the basic cadres in the units at the central for detailed questioning, to the detriment of reviews, assistance and guidance on-the-scene.

The express requirement formulated by the party leadership that the activities of the party and state cadres will be carried out two-thirds of the time in the field also directly refers to the work of those in the ministries. Despite this, the average length of time in the field for ministers and their deputies was only 10-13 days for the entire period of 1983. This is why it is the job of the party organs and organizations to militate in each ministry to persuade all cadres that their office is in the field, where they can most carefully observe the phenomena and trends that occur, taking measures to stop those that are negative and encouraging the development of positive ones, and helping to quickly eliminate shortcomings and to have a general improvement in the activities in the branch.

#### Fundamental Ways for the Affirmation of Communists as True Militant Revolutionaries

An important facet of the activities of the party organs and organizations in the ministries having positive, decisive influence upon all the work within these organizations, is the carrying out of a dynamic party life, with stress upon the training of communists as true revolutionaries. Our party leadership and its secretary general, comrade Nicolae Ceausescu,

ask these organizations not to forget for a moment that those who have accepted the trust to work in the ministries cannot operate as simple specialists, but rather they must have an additional quality, that of thinking and working in the revolutionary spirit and of expressing themselves as political activists. But, unfortunately, for a series of leadership cadres in the ministries we still encounter a diminution of the revolutionary spirit, the spirit of fighting to overcome difficulties. This can only be explained by the fact that in some places there has been a weakening of political and educational activities carried out to create from each specialist an authentic communist militant to fulfill the Party Program.

The means available to the party organs and organizations in the ministries to achieve this are sufficiently numerous. It is, however, inexplicable, why some of them use them sporadically or, if they use them, why they proceed in a formal manner. That is why, for example, the general assemblies, being thoroughly prepared and organized, can demonstrate their powerful educational-formative values in ministries such as the machine-building industry, the petroleum industry, mines and electrical energy, and in others they are used in a formal sense by the party committees and the base organization bureaus. In addition to the fact that their subject matter is unilateral, with different facets of the activities being rediscussed after short intervals, the problems regarding the revolutionary education of cadres and the growth of communists' responsibilities in fulfilling the decisions of the party and the laws of the country, as well as the carrying out of dynamic, vigorous internal party affairs, are missing for long periods of time from the sphere of concerns. The materials submitted for analysis, especially in the general assemblies of the Ministry of Mines, many times are of a technical, strictly informative nature or composed of photographs and the objective presentation of objects, without an exacting examination of the work of each communist or taking critical and self-critical positions regarding shortcomings. In the majority of cases, these are completed by the operational offices (!), they do not thoroughly study the state of affairs through the prism of requirements laid down by the party and they do not address comments to the communists, avoiding the naming of those who did not carry out their tasks or who committed certain violations of party discipline and morals. The low quality of materials, measures and draft decisions has brought about a poor level of participation in the discussions and the solutions to problems, as well as a passive, uninvolved atmosphere.

Because of this, in some ministries a significant number of analyses carried out within this framework are concluded with measures of a general nature, without timeframes and specific responsibilities, at the same time being characterized by a lowered educational effect since the half-hearted spirit within which this takes place does not bring about the participants' reflection upon their own work or the decision to be more active, to work more efficiently and to thus be more useful to the organization.

Such an inappropriate situation has its origins in the poor review and guidance activities exercised by the party committees in the ministries of the metallurgical industry, industrial construction, and foreign trade and international economic cooperation, where these organisms do not but rarely use the party aktiv and the special commissions in drawing up materials and do not involve the leadership cadres in the proper preparation and carrying out of general assemblies. In these ministries, as well as in others, there are cadres with responsible positions - ministers, deputy ministers, general directors, directors and so forth - with a sufficiently sporadic participation in the general assemblies of the party organizations as well as in the discussions within these assemblies.

According to statutory provisions, each party member, regardless of the job he has, must periodically report before the party organization about the activities he is carrying out, an express requirement stressed by the secretary general of the party once again at the Mangalia Conference last year precisely because it is one of the most efficient methods of educating the party's cadres in the revolutionary spirit. This obligation is carried out with sufficient difficulty in some ministries where the responsible cadres did not report in 1983 and have not done so this year, while, when others actually do, the reports have a noticeable formal nature, speaking more about the work of the office where they work, about personal problems and not about how they themselves work as party members entrusted with also working as specialists in a central institution. But, party discipline is for one and all and in the statutes all communists are equal. Therefore, they must be subject to this requirement. This is also the source of the duty of the party committees and the base organization bureaus to no longer permit any party member from being outside of the requirement he has to report before his comrades regarding the manner in which he does his duty at the battle station where he was placed. Proceeding in this manner, we would eliminate the damaging mentality of those who still feel that no one should touch the field with which they were entrusted.

"Reporting before the party," stressed the secretary general of the party at the Working Conference on the Problems of Organizational and Political-Educational Work at Mangalia, "reporting in general before the people and the popular masses regarding the manner in which one fulfills his duties is a requirement for good leadership and an elementary requirement of workers, revolutionary democracy."

The shortcomings existing in the activities of certain party organs and organizations in the ministries and collective leadership organs are due to, in part, the insufficient assistance and review exercised by the Bucharest Municipal Party Committee and by the party committees of the sectors in the capital, with the participation of their activists in the preparations and carrying out of the actions that are undertaken by such institutions and in the lasting implementation of certain work forms and methods that have proven efficient being sufficiently sporadic and superficial.

By fighting with communist tenacity for the elimination of shortcomings in the design and execution of their own activities and for the permanent orientation towards being effectively involved in the solution of the problems of the branch or field of activity of each ministry, the party organs and organizations in the ministries and central institutions will be able to make a substantial contribution to fulfilling the major objectives established by the party leadership for our rising forward progress, thus marking the great event of this year, the 40th anniversary of the victory of the social and national, anti-fascist and anti-imperialist liberation revolution of 23 August 1944 and the 13th Party Congress, with new and remarkable successes in building socialism and communism on the precious land of our country.

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RCP'S DOBRESCU ATTENDS CONGOLESE PARTY CONGRESS

Dobrescu Address

AU301857 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1830 GMT 30 Jul 84

[Text] Brazzaville AGERPRES 30/7/1984--Miu Dobrescu, alternate member of the Executive Political Committee of the CC of the RCP, chairman of the party Central Collegium, the RCP representative at the third congress of the Congolese Labour Party, addressed the participants, all the members of the party and the whole Congolese people, a cordial salute of friendship and the best wishes of militant solidarity on behalf of the RCP and its general secretary.

He pointed out that the relations between the two parties and peoples, that witness continuous development and strengthening, were based on the interviews and understandings reached between the leaderships of the two parties and countries.

Referring to the current international situation the speaker pointed out that according to Romania the fundamental issue of our time was to safeguard peace, halt the arms race and save the world from a nuclear catastrophe.

The Romanian people, he said, is particularly worried by the grave situation created in Europe consequent to the passage of the U.S. to siting intermediate-range nuclear missiles in certain Western European countries, and to the Soviet Union's passing to implementing the announced countermeasures. That is why we believe that everything has to be done to halt the fielding of American missiles in Europe and the countermeasures of the Soviet Union, and to resume the Geneva negotiations between the Soviet Union and the USA.

The RCP representative showed that Romania was concerned over the worsening of conflicts in various zones of the world and declared exclusively for negotiated solutions to all the litigious interstate problems. He reasserted that Romania supported firmly the efforts made by the African peoples to completely eradicate the imperialist, colonialist and neocolonialist policy, to consolidate their national independence and provide their economic and social progress. In his salute the fact is also shown that Romania opines that the developing countries need to strengthen their solidarity and collaboration and work more united in order to establish a joint strategy in the negotiations with the developed countries, in view of solving the grave problems of underdevelopment and to set in a new international economic order.

In solving the major complex problems of our time all the states must participate on an equal footing, irrespective of size and system, and particularly the small and medium-sized countries, the developing and nonaligned countries that are directly interested in a policy of independence, collaboration and peace, the RCP representative said in conclusion.

#### Meeting With Leaders

AU021240 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1213 GMT 2 Aug 84

[Text] Brazzaville, AGERPRES 2/8/1984--The president of the Central Committee of the Congolese Labour Party and president of the People's Republic of the Congo, Denis Sassou-nguesso, received Miu Dobrescu, alternate member of the Executive Political Committee of the CC of the RCP, chairman of the Central Party Collegium, who represented the Romanian Communist Party to the third congress of the Congolese Labour Party. On that occasion, as an expression of feelings of friendship and solidarity, warm congratulations were conveyed to the Congolese leader from RCP General Secretary and Romania's President Nicolae Ceausescu, on his having been reelected president of the CC of the Congolese Labour Party, as well as wishes of prosperity and happiness for the Congolese friendly people. Messages of salute were also exchanged between Elena Ceausescu and Mme Antoinette Sassou-nguesso.

Thanking for the congratulations addressed to him, the Congolese president requested that most cordial and choicest wishes of good health and success in his activity be conveyed to the Romanian RCP and state leader, also expressing his willingness to develop relations of manysided collaboration between the parties and governments in the two countries, between the Romanian people and the Congolese people.

Miu Dobrescu had interviews with Marius Mouambenga, minister of agriculture, and Henri Djombo, minister of water management and forestry, during which questions were approached related to possibilities of intensifying the Romanian-Congolese economic cooperation.

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ROMANIA

BURKINA'S SANKARA VISITS COUNTRY

Ceausescu Welcome at Airport

AU251125 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 0900 GMT 25 Jul 84

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES 25/7/1984--At the invitation of President Nicolae Ceausescu, Captain Thomas Sankara, president of the National Council of the Revolution, head of state of Upper Volta, arrived in Bucharest, on July 25, to pay an official visit of friendship to Romania.

The official arrival ceremony took place at the Otopeni Airport.

When he got off the plane, the distinguished guest was welcomed wholeheartedly by President Nicolae Ceausescu.

The head of state of Upper Volta was also welcomed by Gheorghe Oprea, Nicolae Constantin, Constantin Olteanu, Gheorghe Pana, Ion Patan, Stefan Andrei, by ministries, executives of central institutions and generals.

The president of the National Council of the Revolution of Upper Volta is accompanied in his Romanian visit by Daouda Traore [name as published] member of the National Council of the Revolution, Diabougou Idiagnoagou, member of the National Council of the Revolution, Hama Arba Diallo, minister of foreign affairs, Philippe Ouedraogo, minister of equipment and communications, Hama Boubacar, minister of trade; industrial development and mines, Ayabtigungu Congo Kabore, secretary general of the government and of the Council of Ministers.

Numerous Bucharesters were present at the airport and extended a warm reception to the messengers of the people of Upper Volta. The attendance cheered for the friendship between the two countries and peoples.

President Nicolae Ceausescu and Captain Thomas Sankara friendly responded to these manifestations.

In this atmosphere the two heads of state left the airport and headed for the residence assigned to the distinguished guest.

The visit of the distinguished messenger of the people of Upper Volta to Romania, the summit talks to be conducted are a proof of the two states' wish to promote close relations on political, economic-techno-scientific and cultural planes. To actively cooperate internationally in the struggle for the settlement of the major issues confronting Romania believes that the understandings to be covenanted during the visit will stimulate the cooperation between Romania and Upper Volta in all fields of activity, to the advantage and benefit of the two countries and peoples, of the cause of international peace, detente and cooperation. [As received]

#### Official Talks Begin

AU251929 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1850 GMT 25 Jul 84

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES 25/7/1984--On July 25 in the afternoon official talks started in Bucharest between Nicolae Ceausescu, president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, and Captain Thomas Sankara, chairman of the National Revolutionary Council of Upper Volta, head of state.

The talks are attended for Romania by Gheorghe Oprea, first deputy prime minister; Stefan Andrei, minister of foreign affairs; Vasile Bulucea, minister of transport and telecommunications; Ion Lazarescu, minister of mines; Ioan Folea, minister of geology; Alexandru Rosu, minister secretary of state in the Ministry of Foreign Trade and International Economic Cooperation; Petre Tanasie, director in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and for Upper Volta by Daouda Traore, member of the National Revolutionary Council; Hama Arba Diallo, minister of foreign affairs; Diagbouougou Idiagnoagou, member of the National Revolutionary Council; Philippe Ouedraogo, minister of equipment and communications; Hama Boubakar, minister of trade, industrial development and mines; Ayabtigungu Congo Kabore, secretary-general of the Council of Ministers.

On this occasion too, President Nicolae Ceausescu conveyed the Upper Volta head of state a warm welcome showing that his visit to Romania was an important moment in the mansided development of the relations between the two countries and peoples.

Captain Thomas Sankara warmly thanked President Nicolae Ceausescu for the invitation to visit Romania, for the possibility to meet again and have talks with the Romanian head of state and to get acquainted with the Romanian people's achievements, as well as for the hospitality extended to him and showed he regarded all that as an expression of the feelings of friendship between the two peoples.

During the first round of talks, the two leaders referred to the activity and concerns of the two countries and people devoted to economic and social development and the rise in material and spiritual standards.

Assessing the fine relations between the two countries, President Nicolae Ceausescu and Chairman Thomas Sankara highlighted the possibilities of

developing collaboration and cooperation between Romania and Upper Volta in mining, geology, agriculture, transport, education and health protection, and entrusted the members of the two delegations to examine during the visit tangible advantageous bases.

The conviction was expressed that during the talks understandings would be reached providing a broad foundation and imparting an ever richer content to the Romanian-Upper Volta relations in the interest and for the benefit of the two countries and peoples, of the general cause of peace, understanding and cooperation among nations.

The talks proceed in a cordial atmosphere of mutual esteem and understanding.

#### Talks Concluded

AU261934 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1905 GMT 26 Jul 84

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 26/7/1984--Official talks concluded at Neptun resort on July 26 between Nicolae Ceausescu, president of Romania, and Captain Thomas Sankara, chairman of the National Revolutionary Council, Upper Volta head of state. The talks were attended by Romanian and Upper Volta officials.

The exchange of views on international issues brought to the fore the two countries' concern over the unparalleled world tension following the escalating arms race, nuclear in particular, the steadily widening gap between rich and poor countries, the ever sharpening conflicts in various parts of the world. The two heads of state stressed that, under the current particularly serious circumstances, everything possible should be done to halt the dangerous course of events towards catastrophe and war, resume and consolidate the policy of detente, observe all states' independence and sovereignty.

It was emphasized that given the intensifying nuclear arms race and the growing danger of a nuclear war, it was more necessary than ever before for all peoples, all democratic, progressive and anti-imperialist forces everywhere to act in unity so as to stop the arms race and pass to disarmament, nuclear disarmament first and foremost, guarantee and consolidate peace all over the world.

It was shown that the situation in Europe continued to be particularly serious and emphasis was placed in this respect on the need for a halt in the deployment of U.S. intermediate-range nuclear missiles and in the application of the nuclear countermeasures announced by the Soviet Union, for the resumption of the Soviet-U.S. talks so that an accord should be reached conducive to the scrapping of missiles and eventually of all nuclear arms from the continent.

During the talks special attention was paid to the situation in Africa and the importance was brought to the fore of strengthening the unity and solidarity of the peoples on that continent with a view to ensuring their economic and social progress, consolidating their national independence. The important role was highlighted of the Organization of African Unity in achieving

political, negotiated solutions to all differences in that part of the world, in expanding collaboration and understanding for the benefit of the free, independent development of the countries on that continent.

Romania's and Upper Volta's militant solidarity was asserted with Namibia's just fight to ensure its right to independence according to the UN Security Council's Resolution 435 with a view to building a united country under the leadership of SWAPO, the sole legitimate representative of the Namibian people, abolishing the policy of apartheid and racial discrimination from South Africa.

The two leaders pointed to the serious difficulties developing countries encounter as an outcome of the world economic crisis, of the policy of inordinately high interest rates, of the debt burden, of the widening gap between poor and rich countries, and emphasized the need for action to do away with the old-type relations of domination, exploitation and inequity and establish new-type principles of economic links in the world arena underlaid by equality and equity.

At the same time, it was considered as highly important that concerted action should be taken to establish a common strategy in the negotiations with developed countries which should lead to diminishing foreign debts, cutting down interest rates, granting advantageous credits to developing countries to the end of bridging the gaps and establishing a new international economic order, for the progress and prosperity of all nations.

The exchange of views between the two heads of state cast light on the significance of strengthening cooperation among developing and non-aligned countries, among all the states of the world, whatever their size or social system.

The two heads of state pointed to the importance of doing everything possible for the political, negotiated settlement of the states of conflict and war in various parts of the world, for international progress and collaboration.

Support was shown for the people's just fight against imperialism and neo-colonialism, for the safeguarding of their independence and sovereignty, of their right to decide their destinies without any outside interference.

During the talks, the joint wish was highlighted of Romania and Upper Volta to consolidate their cooperation in the world arena, within the UN and other international bodies, the Group of 77 and the Non-aligned Movement, so as to actively contribute to a just, democratic solution to the major problems facing mankind nowadays.

Both sides showed full satisfaction at the results of the Romanian-Upper Volta summit dialogue, for the understandings they reached, and expressed their belief that that was a special contribution to deepening the ties of friendship and cooperation between the two countries.

The resolution was expressed to work for the implementation of the understandings reached, for the development of mansided collaboration.

Full satisfaction was expressed at the results of the Romanian-Upper Volta summit dialogue, at the understandings covenanted.

The talks passed in a cordial atmosphere of friendship and mutual understanding.

#### Documents Signed

AU261932 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1804 GMT 26 Jul 84

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES 26/7/1984--On Thursday, July 26 during a ceremony held in the resort of Neptun, President Nicolae Ceausescu of Romania and Captain Thomas Sankara, chairman of the National Revolutionary Council, Upper Volta head of state, signed a joint declaration on the strengthening of friendship and development of collaboration between the Socialist Republic of Romania and the Republic of Upper Volta and a programme-agreement for the long-term development of economic cooperation and trade between Romania and Upper Volta.

The ceremony was attended by Gheorghe Oprea, Stefan Andrei, and other Romanian officials.

Also present were Daouda Traore, Diagbouyou Idiagnoagou, Hama Arba Diallo, and other Upper Volta officials.

#### Sankara Departs

AU271054 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 0945 GMT 27 Jul 84

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES 27/7/1984--The official visit of friendship paid to Romania by Captain Thomas Sankara, chairman of the National Revolutionary Council, head of state of Upper Volta, as guest of President Nicolae Ceausescu, came to an end on July 27.

The official departure ceremony of the distinguished Voltaic guest took place at the Mihail Kogalniceanu airport in Constanta which was festively adorned.

The two presidents arrived together at the airport on board a helicopter coming from Neptun resort.

A military guard presented arms and the state anthems of the two countries were played.

By the plane ramp, President Nicolae Ceausescu warmly took leave of Chairman Thomas Sankara.

Numerous residents of Constanta municipality who went to the airport warmly greeted the two heads of state.

## BRIEFS

FRG YOUTH COUNCIL CHAIRMAN VISITS--Bucharest AGERPRES 20/7/1984--Constantin Dascalescu, Romanian prime minister, received on Friday, July 20, Rudolf Helfrich, chairman of the Youth Federal Council of the Federal Republic of Germany, who is paying a visit to Romania. On the occasion, stress was laid on the contribution the youth should make, alongside the broad progressive and democratic forces, to the struggle for peace, disarmament, nuclear first of all, to the establishment of a new international economic order and the building of a better and more just world on our planet. Emphasis was placed on the steady evolution of the relations of collaboration between the Romanian and West German youth, which goes down as a specific contribution to the development of the mansided cooperation between the two countries. [Text] [AU201903 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1815 GMT 20 Jul 84]

RCP'S CIRCEI IN BURUNDI--Bujumbura AGERPRES 27/7/1984--The president of the Republic of Burundi, Jean-Baptiste Bagaza, received the representative of the Romanian Communist Party to the proceedings of the second congress of the Unite Pour le Progres National-UPRONA, Ion Circei, member of the CC of the RCP, vice-chairman of the Central Party Collegium, who conveyed him cordial greetings and best wishes of good health and happiness, of peace and prosperity for the Burundi people, of success in the activity of the Unite Pour le Progres National-UPRONA. Warmly thanking for the salute, President Jean-Baptiste Bagaza requested that Nicolae Ceausescu be conveyed best wishes of good health, of ever greater successes in the activity he carried on at the head of the RCP and of the Romanian state, his high appreciation for the efforts Romania's president makes for peace, disarmament, respect for all peoples' right to free and independent development. He recalled with great pleasure the visit Nicolae Ceausescu and Elena Ceausescu paid to the Republic of Burundi, and was appreciative of the results scored by the Romanian people led by the Romanian Communist Party at head with its general secretary. [Text] [AU271952 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1841 GMT 27 Jul 84]

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