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POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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11 February 1985

EAST EUROPE REPORT
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INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

DISPUTE BETWEEN HUNGARY, ROMANIA BECOMING MORE OPEN

Stockholm SVENSKA DAGBLADET in Swedish 24 Dec 84 p 5

[Commentary by Richard Swartz]

[Text] The polemic between Budapest and Bucharest concerning the Hungarian minority's position in Romania has flamed up again. The Romanian daily newspaper ROMANIA LITERARA blames the Hungarian monthly periodical KRITIKA for promoting "revanchist ideas" and for appealing that Transylvania be reunited with Hungary.

Transylvania, where about 2 million Hungarians live, went to Romania after Austria-Hungary's defeat in the First World War and the Peace of Trianon in 1920. In Hungary today the general view is that people of their nationality there are subjected to a Romanianization policy: Hungarian schools are systematically closed; books, newspapers and periodicals from Hungary are confiscated at the border; Hungarians are encouraged to Romanianize their names; and visiting relatives from Hungary are not allowed to stay overnight with them and are directed to stay in hotels.

Officially, one is still careful about saying this since such a conflict between two socialist states cannot be allowed. However, in recent years cautious criticism has been allowed in newspapers and periodicals; the article in KRITIKA belongs to this pattern.

What is new is that despite everything the polemic has become more and more close to becoming a political plan. In Hungarian party and governmental circles one is gladly assured in private that all attempts to get Bucharest to show more generosity toward its Hungarian minority through negotiations or quiet diplomacy have been without results. At the same time, official Budapest is under increasing pressure from its own people who are angry about what Gyula Illyes has called "a delightful genocide."

Open Dissension

The guidelines for the MSZMP's [Hungarian Socialist Workers Party] congress this March contain a surprisingly open indication of Budapest's displeasure. Here it is stated that the Hungarian minority's demands in neighboring

countries (and not just in Romania) to develop their mother tongue and national culture is "justified." Moreover, Hungary is now demonstratively celebrating the 100 year anniversary of the Romanian statesman Petru Groza, who set his stamp upon Romanian policy for a long time after the Second World War. Groza had a very friendly attitude toward neighboring Hungary: he proposed a customs union between the two countries and the repeal of the demand for passports. Nothing ever came of this.

This type of political needling from both sides has become all too common lately. During the Romanian Communist Party's congress in November Budapest consciously represented itself at a low level and the greeting to the congress was censured in the Romanian media. This was a question of the passage stating that it is part of "the socialist society creed" to protect every national culture and maintain contacts between persons belonging to the same culture across national boundaries.

The Romanians have always maintained that the nationality problems in Romania have already been solved: Bucharest recognizes the existence of many nationalities in Romania and states that all are treated equally and have the same possibilities of maintaining their own identity.

In at least a symbolic manner Janos Kadar has registered Budapest's indignation and doubt concerning this Romanian policy by refusing to serve as host for Nicolae Ceausescu. Ceausescu has insisted many times upon an official visit to Hungary, but Budapest fears this would arouse bad blood and would also be presented in Romania as an acceptance of Bucharest's minority policy. The energetic "traveling diplomat" Ceausescu has not been in Budapest since 1967 and the last meeting between Kadar and Ceausescu took place at the border between the two countries in 1970.

12562
CSO: 3650/118

ALBANIA

NEED FOR MARXIST-LENINIST INTERPRETATION OF EVENTS

Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 21 Dec 84 pp 3, 4

[Article by Shaban Murati: "Marxist-Leninist Principles Are the Key to the Understanding and Correct Evaluation of Events and Conjunctures"]

[Text] One of the most acute theoretical-political questions today in the area of international relations involves the connection between principle and circumstances, the place occupied by each in the understanding and evaluation of events and processes of international life, and their role in working out attitudes and the foreign policy line. The basic tendency of bourgeois and revisionist theoreticians and politicians is to give the central, fixed place to the circumstances and to classify this as the foundation of foreign policy, as a unique way of "establishing a policy." Comrade Enver Hoxha has said that "The bourgeois and revisionist politicians employ a great deal of cunning, false conduct and behavior, flattery and hypocritical attitudes in accordance with the circumstances that are created in the world situation." This fluctuation of political attitudes according to circumstances is presented by the bourgeois and revisionist political schools as a major element of foreign policy in modern times. Making a fetish of circumstances goes along with underevaluation of and attacks on principles, which are considered inimical to realistic politics. Arthur Schlesinger, an American professor at New York University, wrote in the journal, FOREIGN AFFAIRS, that in foreign policy, "the course of ideology impoverishes the feeling of reality and imagination." He preaches reliance solely on circumstances, which he calls the major axis of history. Soviet scholars maintain the same view, albeit with a different political phraseology. In the journal, MEZHODUNARODNAYA ZHIZN', Professor Sh. Sanakoev wrote that "The process of ideologization has nothing in common with the peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems." By attacking the establishment of ideology and principles as a basis of foreign policy, the bourgeois and revisionist scholars seek to create the impression that circumstances are the only code of foreign policy. The national existence and participation of a country in international life is conditioned only by circumstances or "the international factor," as the English scholar, Christopher Bertram, calls it. In a recent article, he wrote that "Our existence depends upon international factors" and rises against "provincialism," a term with which he attacks the pursuit of an independent policy.

The debate about the connection between principle and circumstance in foreign policy is not an accidental one and it is nourished by deep imperialist and revisionist political, ideological, class and strategic motives. It is not in the interests of the international bourgeoisie and international imperialism that the working class and sovereign peoples should have a foreign policy which is based on principles; they want a policy based on circumstances. This has its own reasons and expresses that irreconcilable, eternal and fiercest class struggle on an international scale between Marxism-Leninism and bourgeois-revisionist ideology, between socialism and the capitalist-revisionist system. The determination of a correct attitude toward this question not only concerns the theory of international relations, but is a much broader problem with great consequences in all areas and is directly connected with freedom, independence and the fate of the revolution and socialism.

In the current conditions of aggravation of the international situation as a result of the aggressive and hegemonist policy of the imperialist superpowers against the interests of peoples, the defense of principled attitudes in the area of foreign policy appears with still greater force. The foreign policy of the party and of our country is a brilliant example of a principled, revolutionary and proletarian Marxist-Leninist policy. In his greetings on the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the liberation, Comrade Enver Hoxha stressed that "We have not allowed the principles of our foreign policy to be trampled upon by circumstances and events. We have seen the international political and economic circumstances and we bear them in mind, but in our relations with other states and in our attitudes, we have always been guided by Marxist-Leninist principles, because they are the key to the understanding and correct evaluation of world events, of circumstances that are created, of imperialism's intrigues against and intentions toward the aspirations of the revolutionary forces of peoples and the proletariat of every country and the whole world."

This principled policy has constituted an immutable and constant component of the revolutionary existence and activity of socialist Albania in the international arena during these 40 years of its free life. Regardless of the complex regional or world situation, regardless of the tactics and strategies of imperialist and revisionist enemies against our country or the peoples of other countries, and in all times of escalation in the aggravation of contradictions and the class struggle on an international scale, the foreign policy of the party and of our country has always maintained its principle, has stood upon principles and has embodied their application in practice. Because it has always applied a principled Marxist-Leninist policy, the AWP has analyzed and correctly evaluated events, circumstances and every foreign policy situation, and time has proven the truthfulness of the view that it has formulated. The support of principles and not of circumstances and events has characterized the foreign policy of our country in all directions and regions and for all problems and relations. This principled policy has been expressed in the defense of the interests of freedom and independence for peoples of the whole world, in the unmasking of and historical struggle against American imperialism and Soviet social

imperialism, against all enemies of peoples, the revolution and socialism. This principled policy has been expressed in the consistent good neighbor policy, friendship and cooperation among peoples of the Balkans and in the strength of friendly relations with all sovereign peoples and countries.

One of the fundamental characteristics of the principled policy of the party and of our country has been non-interference in the internal affairs of other countries. Differences of political and ideological views have not hindered our country in any way from seeking and developing normal relations and reciprocal advantages with peoples and countries that have wanted the same thing. It is not possible to find even one single case in the history of international relations of the Albanian socialist state when it has encroached in the slightest on the rights of other countries or has interfered in their internal affairs, despite the great political, economic, historical, etc., debts which the imperialist and revisionist states have to our country. Our foreign policy has never slipped into the waters of nationalism or chauvinism, even when others have fought our socialist state and its principled policy from the positions of rabid nationalism and chauvinism.

The principled attitude of the AWP is manifested in accordance with revolutionary thought and action in the area of foreign policy and international relations. Correct viewpoints, expressed openly and in a timely manner, regarding all important problems of world development which concern the fate of peoples have constituted an important aspect of the Marxist-Leninist foreign policy of the party and of our country. These correct views of the AWP have always been submitted to the judgment of our working masses within the country and to world opinion outside, far from the haggling or intrigues at the cost of third parties. Our party has never hidden its thoughts and opinions for the sake of diplomacy or for the sake of taking advantage of an opportunity; it has not yielded to the pressure or flattery of the superpowers or other imperialist powers. This has come about because it has been based not on circumstances, but on principles and on its revolutionary Marxist-Leninist strategy and ideology. This has come about because our foreign policy expresses only the voice of Albania, which is not conditioned by participation in military blocs or political and economic alliances with the superpowers and other imperialist powers, and which is not conditioned by bases, troops, investments, credits and foreign aid. No means of imperialist pressure, whether military, economic, trade, political, technological, etc, has ever been or will ever be successful in influencing the correct principled policy of our country. "Whoever thinks that Albania will change its own Marxist-Leninist policy, because one state buys a thousand tons more of chrome or another buys a hundred tons less of tobacco, is making a mistaken calculation and damaging himself," Comrade Enver Hoxha has said.

The principled foreign policy of the party and of our state has never subordinated its principles to political circumstances of the moment. All its relations with other countries and all its views in the international arena have developed under the prism of Marxism-Leninism. Naturally, our party has carefully followed and studied the circumstances and has tried to utilize them in the best interests of the freedom and independence of our

people and of other peoples of the world. But our party has always constructed its revolutionary tactics on the function of its own Marxist-Leninist strategy and this has served the progress of socialism in Albania and the question of the social and national liberation of other peoples in the world. It is precisely this open, principled policy which corresponds with the interests of peoples and of progress, which has made friends and well-wishers for itself in all the countries of the world and which is so highly valued by progressive peoples and forces. It is this established policy, correct and intelligent, which inspires the sympathy of people possessing sound judgment everywhere in the world. Under no circumstances has socialist Albania made or does it make concessions in its strategic revolutionary goals and interests. The insinuations of socialist Albania's enemies cannot conceal this truth; they try to interpret and distort our foreign policy from the angle of tactics that the imperialists and social imperialists undertake against our country. These are the desperate attempts of socialist Albania's enemies, the enemies of freedom and independence of peoples, the enemies of friendship and understanding among peoples. They are desperate attempts to lower, however slightly, the radiant effect of our principled foreign policy in the international arena and to conceal the miscarriages of bourgeois-revisionist policy toward our country.

It is a Marxist-Leninist characteristic of our foreign policy that the interests of the Albanian people, as well as those of other peoples, are always kept in mind, with a continual equilibrium between them. Our foreign policy, based on Marxist-Leninist ideology and on the teachings of Comrade Enver Hoxha, has accomplished its national and international tasks with honor. The principled foreign policy of our country also consists of the experience and distinguished contribution of the AWP and of Comrade Enver Hoxha to the development of the Marxist-Leninist science of international relations and to the development of the revolutionary foreign policy of the international proletariat. Comrade Enver Hoxha has said: "Our policy corresponds with the interests of peoples, and not with the cliques and ideologies that oppress these peoples. It is not a policy of circumstances, but a policy of proletarian principles; it does not derive from a secret behind the scenes diplomacy, of mysterious negotiations, of the auctioning of the interests of our own country and of other countries."

12249
CSO: 2100/17

ALBANIA

STABILITY OF FAMILY LIFE STRESSED

Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 14 Nov 84 p 3

[Article by Docent Ylli Vejsiu: "Our Stable Family"]

[Text] The interests of our socialist society and of strengthening the moral and political unity of our people around the party are closely tied with the understanding of the necessity for strong and stable relationships, unity and harmony in our families. The families living in a sound political, ideological and economic atmosphere have become the focus of the regeneration of life, important anvils for the education of the new generation and inexhaustible sources of joy and happiness. Created by people with pure moral and political image--people who have in their mind the high ideals of the construction of socialism and in their hearts the love for the fatherland, the people and the party--our families constitute the first cells from which enthusiasm in work, life and development began every day.

It is our legitimate right to enjoy this new image of our family, an image that was created and consolidated in the process of a rapid and comprehensive socio-economic development of the country during these [past] 40 years. Our party, parallel with its successful work leadership for improvement and economic development of the country and the dissemination and qualitative improvement of education and culture among the large working masses, has struggled and is struggling with success to eradicate all remnants of the past in marital relationships based on the feelings toward property, personal interests, riches and inheritance; the party has fought and is mercilessly fighting the submission of women to men. Because, a true socialist society--our new life--cannot be understood and constructed without the creation of a new socialist family based on equality, good understanding and solidarity, the feeling of love and loyalty and, above all, a fully determined social mission.

It is quite interesting to view the rates of our development in figures. But, this is not always so easy because statistics are not always effective in portraying the changes and life within the intimate family circles which, we feel, become more typical and more general every day. Therefore, it would be rather difficult to describe how warm relationships have become in our families, how high the spirit of respect and concern has become, how much the circle of interests, tasks, aims and problems debated has developed,

and how firm the thought of preserving and further consolidating the family and its social mission has become. Nevertheless, the fact that the number of marriage annulments in our country is relatively low and that their percentage per 1,000 inhabitants is continually decreasing shows in a succinct manner the sound "climate" existing in our socialist family. From 113 marriage annulments per 1,000 in 1970, the level of annulments dropped to 87 in 1982. This simple demographic report, with a deep social content, shows a great victory for the party in its broad struggle to instill in the people the correct and revolutionary understanding of the family and its durability.

Our socialist legislation, among many other things, would recognize the Albanian woman's right to divorce, as one of the most important victories that she could correctly use in the general interest of the defense of the conjugal happiness and harmony in the family. "When women correctly understand this victory," Comrade Enver Hoxha stressed, "they will also know how to use it correctly, because, if it is understood in this way, divorce can divide and unite; therefore, it serves to strengthen unity between husband and wife, strengthen family unity and improve the raising of children." Starting from this correct understanding, our social opinion fights--and considers unacceptable--any precipitated, improperly examined and undocumented marriage annulment, as well as the annulments caused by selfish motives because of conservative mentality about women and because of narrow-minded interests connected with the psychology of private property and those which can become the reason for nonessential conflicts which are completely avoidable.

In our socialist country, the struggle to maintain a stable family, to further consolidate it and to prevent what is happening in destructive proportions in all capitalist, bourgeois and revisionist countries has become a part of our social and domestic life. Because, it is really alarming that in countries like the Soviet Union, England, Hungary, Sweden, the German Democratic Republic, Finland and other countries, today one out of three marriages ends in divorce. This reality does not affirm at all the high level of emancipation of women, the alleged "involvement of marital relationships at the present stage, nor the increased requirements of youths for family life and for spouse's qualities," with which sociologists of these countries try to "explain" and "justify" the galloping increase of divorces and the serious consequences of their occurrence. They always refer to the general economic, social and moral crises, to the hopeless road of the family and society in the bourgeois and revisionist countries and to the sad prospect of the divorced woman.

Twenty years ago, in 1960, statistics showed that 40 percent of the couples who had divorced had lived together 5 or more years. Today this figure is less than 30 percent. This fact is another positive tendency that proves the strengthening of the stability of marital relationships; this is a reality which is completely opposite of what exists in the bourgeois and revisionist countries. Thus, for example, in the Federal Republic of Germany, the number of divorces for marriages that have lasted more than 10 years is 44 percent; in Czechoslovakia, 42 percent; while, in our country this kind of divorce is only 13 percent.

According to a survey of 1,300 spouses belonging to various social groups, educational ages and levels, it appeared that, in the marriages contracted before 1967, only 40 percent of youths had had a period of acquaintance of more than 6 months before their engagement; now, this kind of marriage counts for about 63 percent. The period of acquaintance of the future spouses in the work conditions of our life and enterprise, in the places where youths have all opportunities to choose their partner of life, evaluating their mutual honesty, moral and political purity, love, willpower in work, their educational and cultural level, intelligence and other great virtues, are the solid foundations upon which our new and stable family is built.

9150

CSO: 2100/18

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

BRIEFS

JOURNALISTS' ORGANIZATIONS AGREEMENT WITH USSR--Jan Risko, Czechoslovakia Union of Journalists central committee chairman, and Ivan Zubkov, USSR Union of Journalists deputy chairman, signed an agreement in Prague today on cooperation between the two journalists' organizations for the period 1985 to 1989. They also signed a protocol that specifies forms of cooperation for the current year. The signing was witnessed by Zdenek Horeni, CPCZ Central Committee secretariat member editor-in-chief of RUDE PRAVO, and Otto Cmolik, department head of the party's Central Committee. [Text] [Prague Domestic Service in Czech 2030 GMT 15 Jan 85]

CSO: 2400/211

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

HERMANN AXEN ADDRESSES COMMUNIST, WORKERS PARTIES' CONFERENCE

AU111000 East Berlin HORIZONT in German No 1, 1985 pp 3,4

[Speech given by Hermann Axen, member of the Politburo and secretary of the SED Central Committee, at the conference of the representatives of communist and workers parties on the work of the journal PROBLEMS OF PEACE AND SOCIALISM in Prague (4-6 December 1984)]

[Text] Dear women and men comrades:

Our delegation extends to all the fraternal parties represented here the cordial greetings of the SED Central Committee and of its general secretary, Comrade Erich Honecker.

The SED highly values the significance and activity of the common journal of the communist and workers parties and has since its emergence actively worked on fashioning and disseminating this journal.

As a forum for a constant exchange of views, our common journal is making an indispensable contribution to the dissemination of the ideas of Marx, Engels and Lenin and to the generalization of new experiences and findings, resulting for our parties and movement as a whole from the class struggles and revolutionary processes of our time. This is to the credit of the journal, and gratitude and recognition are due to the editorial board for this.

Comrades, the struggle between socialism and imperialism, the worldwide conflict between the forces of peace and those of war is undergoing its strongest exacerbation since the end of World War II. The aggressive imperialist forces, headed by the most reactionary, militaristic wing of U.S. monopoly capital, with their aspirations for military strategic superiority, are undertaking the most massive attempt to take social revenge for their historic defeats and to achieve world hegemony.

The course of confrontation and arms drive pursued by the U.S. Administration enhances the danger of a nuclear war. On the other hand, the gap between the objectives of imperialism and its opportunities of realizing these aims has never been as big as it is today. In view of the growing strength and power of socialism and of its consistent peace policy, the growth of the anti-imperialist and peace forces, as well as of the increase in the contradictions

and rivalries between the imperialist countries, there exist the necessity and realistic possibility to put a spoke in the wheels of the warmongers in good time and to thwart their intentions. "Struggle for peace--now more than ever," is the assessment and final conclusion made by the Seventh Session of the SED Central Committee in November 1983. The events of the past year have fully confirmed it.

Comrades, if the communist and workers parties with absolutely good reason are describing the confrontational course of the U.S. Administration with respect to its class content as a policy of social revenge, they are thereby emphasizing at the same time that the main trend of world politics involves the further development of the international balance of power in favor of the cause of socialism, national independence, democracy, and social progress despite intensified counterattacks by imperialism. Socialism is entering a higher, new stage of its social development. The forthcoming 27th CPSU Congress, the just now convened 11th SED Congress and the party congresses of the other fraternal countries will stake out this new historical stretch of the road in the advancement of the socialist community.

The unity and cohesion of the socialist community, the course toward a more intensive and effective cooperation between the socialist fraternal countries, as was stated at the Ninth Session of the SED Central Committee 2 weeks ago, are a primary concern of our party. This is all the more valid today at a time in which socialism has achieved a higher degree of maturity of social development and in which the most reactionary capitalist quarters are conducting a general offensive against the objective advance of society. The implementation of the decisions adopted at the summit economic conference of the CEMA countries this June in Moscow is of an importance that reaches far into the future. The implementation of these decisions is being undertaken purposefully. Evidence of this is among other things the recent 39th CEMA session in Havana, the Long-term Program for Cooperation Between the GDR and the USSR in Science, Technology and Production Until 2000, signed last October, and the preparation of similar agreements between our republic and other fraternal countries.

Hence the fraternal parties of socialist countries are facing tasks of a truly revolutionary dimension. Step-by-step they must achieve leading positions in labor productivity in the decisive areas through a comprehensive intensification of the national economies. As Lenin anticipated, this will be ultimately decisive for the victory of the new social system in the world.

The comrades in the fraternal parties which are confronted with the problems of the scientific-technological revolution in the nonsocialist world, are in a position to judge what a historical scope it will have if socialism succeeds in more rapidly linking the gains of scientific-technological progress with the advantages of socialism for the benefit of the peoples.

Advancement on this road increases our ability to develop further the potentials inherent in socialism, to enhance its refulgence, and always to guarantee the required level of our countries' defense capability. All this at the same time helps to secure world peace and also determines the degree of support that

we can render to the peoples struggling for the consolidation of their independence.

[AU111001] The SED expresses the hope that our journal will meet this new phase in the development of socialism with a higher level of expositive and persuasive power.

By universally strengthening our socialist worker-peasant power, of which the 35th anniversary of the GDR was an eloquent example, we are making our contribution to increasing the enormous material and intellectual potential of the socialist community. For the power and international influence of socialism are decisive for deciding the worldwide struggle for the future of mankind in favor of peace and progress. The convincing discussion of this historic truth is given special significance by our party, in particular with regard to the 40th anniversary of the victory over Hitlerite fascism and the liberation of the German people by the glorious Soviet Union.

The SED, the government, and the people of the GDR will worthily celebrate this great jubilee. The fraternal alliance with the CPSU and the Soviet Union is and will remain for us the decisive foundation for strengthening socialism and peace. In this spirit our delegation supports the proposal made in the report of the journal to make comprehensive use of the 40th anniversary of the victory over Hitler fascism and Japanese militarism in order to use correctly the lessons of the past for solving the tasks of the present, to use them correctly above all for the most urgent task of our time and our movement, for securing peace.

Comrades, making a sober analysis one can state: At present in Europe, and not only here, there are more missiles, more dangers, more impediments to armament limitation and disarmament but less security. Less security not only for the socialist countries but also for Western Europe and last but not least also for the American continent. This negative balance was achieved by those who adopted the Brussels missiles decision. But they were not able to change the military balance of power.

The necessity and the correctness of the military countermeasures taken by the USSR, the GDR, and the CSSR in agreement with the security policy of the Warsaw Pact to guarantee military parity, are becoming increasingly obvious. The military countermeasures aim at neutralizing the dangers caused by the deployment of the Pershing II and cruise missiles and at checking the war-mongers in their main path of war preparation meant to achieve military-strategic superiority. The military countermeasures demonstrate the determination and capacity of the Warsaw Pact states not to permit a destruction of the military balance by imperialism. Thus, the security interests of the socialist countries as well as the interests of peace are generally preserved.

Comrades, we do not believe in illusions. To achieve a change for the better in the world political situation, a long, hard and untiring struggle will be necessary. In the United States, the course is still set for confrontation and a gigantic armament program hitherto unparalleled in history and the

striving for military superiority has not been given up. Against the will of the peoples, the deployment of new U.S. first-strike weapons in Western Europe is continuing, the preparations for a "stars war" are being increased. The intensive armament is accompanied by economic boycott and embargo measures as well as by a new wave of antisocialist diversion and slander. The confrontation politicians more and more openly and directly interfere both politically and militarily in the internal affairs of the peoples and states that want to determine their fate freely. At present this is illustrated in the massive preparation of aggression by the United States against free Nicaragua.

Our party and the entire people of the GDR are in firm solidarity at the side of the Sandinist National Liberation Front, at the side of the Nicaraguan people defending their freedom. We congratulate the people of Sandino on the victory of their first free and democratic elections!

For the socialist states, the elimination of any threats to mankind by nuclear or other mass destruction weapons remains a fundamental aim of their policy.

For this the states of the Warsaw Pact have presented a comprehensive and realistic program. We support the new significant initiatives of the Soviet Union made by Comrade Konstantin Chernenko, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, in the interviews for NBC television and the WASHINGTON POST.

Our party welcomes the meeting of the foreign ministers of the Soviet Union and the United States that has been announced and that is to determine the subject and aim of new negotiations on the entire complex of nuclear and space weapons. Now the United States has to prove the possibility that it is able to follow words on peace with deeds.

[AU111002] In any case, the peoples are duty bound to intensify their actions for peace. At the Ninth Session of the SED Central Committee late this November we reaffirmed our party's view that it is now more than ever necessary in the present very exasperated situation to mobilize the public for the defense of peace. It is important to cooperate with all those who, like ourselves, regard a nuclear inferno as the main danger to mankind.

This also applies to the relations between the socialist GDR and the imperialist FRG. In the wake of the stationing of the new U.S. missiles, a few die-hards, including high-ranking politicians, vociferously proclaim revanchist slogans from the cold war days. But nobody can revise the results of World War II and of the postwar development.

Comrade Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee, clearly stated at the ninth session: "As a result of World War II and of the postwar development, there exist two sovereign German states that are independent of each other. They are an inalienable element of the power equilibrium in Europe and hence just as indispensable for a European peace settlement. All European peoples can live with the existence of two German states. No attempts must be tolerated, however, to unhinge the emerged balance of power."

We regard it as a primary task of our common journal to explain the deep inter-connection that exists between the struggle for social progress and the struggle for peace.

The imperialist policy of strength and arms drive exacerbates the capitalist crisis and obstructs the solution of the global problems facing mankind today. Renunciation of detente proceeds concurrently with a large-scale attack on the rights and social conditions of the workers class and peasants, of the broadest strata in the nonsocialist countries. Applying political and economic pressure, the imperialist states are shifting the burdens of the arms drive and crisis to the vast majority of the developing countries, whose progress is being hindered, something which results in the growth of famine and misery of hundreds of millions of people.

The realization is growing among the workers class and in the trade unions of the nonsocialist countries that the struggle against crisis and the dismantling of social benefits can ultimately be waged successfully only if it is combined with the struggle against armament.

This perception is being expressed in the international framework in the increasing realization of the governments of nonaligned states that peace and disarmament are also the prerequisites for progress in the struggle for a democratic transformation of international economic relations. Eloquent evidence of this are the joint initiatives of the heads of the state and government of India, Argentina, Mexico, Tanzania, Greece and Sweden.

Under present conditions the preservation of world peace is a precondition for any progress. This is not an invention of the communists but a reality deeply rooted in our time.

Let us realize the fact that today the struggle between the three revolutionary mainstreams of our time and imperialism is not the only factor that determines international events. A new, additional irreconcilable contradiction emerges: the antagonism between most aggressive imperialist circles obsessed with nuclear war, headed by the circles in the United States, on the one hand, and the overwhelming majority of mankind, including considerable parts of the monopoly bourgeoisie, on the other, whose vital interests are inseparably linked with the prevention of a nuclear inferno.

It must be added to this that with the course of confrontation, U.S. monopoly capital wishes not only to bring socialism down on its knees but at the same time also pursues the political, economic and military subordination, disciplining and pilferage of its own allies which, as is well known, are its competitors and rivals in the capitalist world system. All these contradictions constitute a realistic basis for the worldwide coalition of commonsense of all opponents of a nuclear war. All this constitutes a tremendous potential for an internationally far weightier significance of the peace movement which, together with the main force of peace, the socialist community, will be able to restrain those who are interested in wars.

Comrades, the experiences of the most recent past show: Wherever the communists are participating in the peace movement in an enterprising and exemplary

manner and wherever they know how to orient the actions of the various forces of the peace movement--beyond all the things that separate them--toward those things that unite and link them, their prestige as consistent struggles for the vital interests of their peoples rises, and broader links with the masses, new chances for an alliance policy are opening up to them.

In our time, successes in the struggle for national independence, democracy and socialism are more than ever linked with the solidarity of the working people of all countries, with progressive movements and peoples, with their cooperation in the struggle against imperialism and for the preservation of peace.

For us communists, the supreme requirement is to defend the right to a life in peace, the first and most important human right. We are duty bound not only to show the causes of today's danger of war and the road toward securing peace but also to mobilize the masses for this end.

This is the aim of our party's policy.

[AU111003] This is why, in keeping with the decisions of our 10th party congress, we endorse comprehensive collaboration among all revolutionary and anti-imperialist forces, which is urgently required for the solving of common international tasks. The SED supports all proposals and practical initiatives that are suitable to so develop the collaboration between the communist and workers parties that the communist movement can better measure up to the requirements of the time. It advocates the holding of bilateral, multilateral, regional and international conferences on topical problems related to the common struggle. The international conferences in honor of Georgi Dimitrov and Karl Marx have convincingly proved the urgency and usefulness of such international meetings.

We regard the proposal of Latin American countries, recently submitted to the fraternal parties, for holding an international conference of the communist and workers parties on problems related to securing peace as another indication of the fact that the communist movement realizes ever more increasingly the need for opposing more effectively the further escalation of the course of the most aggressive imperialist forces aimed at armament, confrontation and predominance, for stopping it, and for bringing about a change toward detente and disarmament.

We regard the proposal of the Latin American fraternal parties as being abreast of the times. Our party is ready to open consultations with the fraternal parties to come to a collective understanding about this question.

Our delegation approves the assessment of the development of the journal and the work of the editorial board made in the report of the collegium of editors and of the editorial council. The journal's line with respect to its contents agrees with the assignment given to the editorial board at the last conference in 1981 and should also be retained in the future.

At the same time we subscribe to the critical remarks and suggestions contained in the report. In our view they agree with our joint concern of making the journal even more effective in keeping with the present requirements, of further enhancing its substantial-theoretical standard and information content, and of more effectively carrying on the contest with imperialist policy and ideology. In addition to the contributions published in the journal, we also attach great significance to well-prepared roundtable talks and to other discussions.

Faithful to its international responsibility, the SED will also in the future actively support the work of the editorial board and the shaping and dissemination of the journal.

Our cordial gratitude is due to the CPCZ Central Committee for the excellent working conditions which we have also found here this time.

I thank you for your attention.

CSO: 2300/245

POLAND

LACK OF CONSULTATION, SHORTCOMINGS OF SEJM BILLS DISCUSSED

Warsaw PRZEGLAD KATOLICKI in Polish No 23, 25 Nov 84 p 4

[Article by Antoni Bielewicz, Jacek Moskalewicz and Janusz Mieroslowski:
"Gestures"]

[Text] In a talk with ZYCIE WARSZAWY (17 October 1984), the chairman of the Prime Minister's Legislative Council, Professor Sylwester Zawadzki, said the 8th Sejm had passed 133 laws up to the time of the interview. As everybody can check in [the official gazette] DZIENNIK USTAW, most of these laws were passed in 1982-83, when as many as 92 bills were passed, which gives an imposing average of nearly one law per week. While underscoring the legislators' commendable diligence, let us nevertheless point out certain flaws of these bills.

The bills, which were given the status of laws during the above stated period, were sometimes inadequately designed. The vicissitudes of the law "On promoting sobriety and counteracting alcoholism" are a good example. Passed as part of a package of laws on social pathologies on 26 October 1982, this law took effect on 13 May 1983, but only a few weeks later first calls for amendment were heard. Fourteen months thereafter, the Sejm amended this law significantly relaxing a number of regulations concerning alcohol sales. Other provisions of this law continue to be hotly debated--e.g. the [state monopoly] Ponal enterprise or the phrasing that the drug addicts have a right to treatment. Only a few months ago the Supreme Court finally came forward with an interpretation of the legislative provision for "obligation for treatment" but even this has failed to put an end to the debates on this subject.

We believe these controversies ought to have been resolved in the course of public consultations before the law was passed. Amendments of laws instituted a short time after the laws were passed depreciate the law in the eyes of the public.

On 19 July 1983, the Council of Ministers submitted a draft bill "On the prevention of drug addiction" to the Sejm. The bill's shape, as well as the process of its design, generates fears that a repeat performance will be made of the anti-alcoholism bill.

Work on the draft bill was conducted exclusively by government experts. It is known that laws impose definite duties, both on the administration and on citizens. Even if the government's intentions are accepted favorably, it should be realized that as the sponsor of this bill, the government, takes account primarily of its own interests, which translates into pushing for solutions that are most convenient for itself. This becomes particularly important when the so-called social problems are to be submitted to legislative regulation. [Law of 31 July 1981, on the control of publications and entertainments, Article 2.1 (DZIENNIK USTAW No 20.99, as amended in 1983, see DZIENNIK USTAW No 44.204)]. The group of authors appointed to draft the bill was anonymous. This made it difficult for the public to watch the group's work and therefore did not allow the authors to develop a sense of responsibility for public opinion, in what they had proposed.

The draft-making group made no comprehensive report on the situation of drug addiction in Poland. But such a report is simply indispensable, especially when serious differences exist both when it concerns this plague's actual extent and mechanisms of its spread, and when concepts for preventing it are vague. Such a report should include a diagnosis, along with previous experiences of drug control regulations, successes and failures of propaganda actions, previous treatment and rehabilitation methods, and appraisals of present penal provisions. In addition, such a report should include a forecast of drug addiction, especially since the law should anticipate developments in this area over a longer period. The group did not produce--because working the way it did it simply could not produce--any specific concept for counter-acting drug addiction, which could be expected from a draft bill so entitled.

Similar charges were launched against an earlier bill during a discussion organized by the Bialobrzegi Psychoneurological Institute in September 1983, "It must be said that the preparation of this draft had no comprehensive substantive concept of prevention, treatment and rehabilitation. The bill looks more like a gesture than an honest, well-designed legislative regulation. A complete realistic bill can only be prepared if specific proposals for specific matters and norms are at hand. A following version of this draft should be worked out amidst broad public discussions in the media and inside public and professional associations and organizations which take an interest in this matter. Unless such a discussion takes place, public endorsement of the proposed law's provisions may be limited and the law's own substantive shape may also suffer. It seems that a better and fuller bill taking account of these demands cannot be produced before another 6 months have passed."

More than a year has passed since the Bialobrzegi conference. But this time has not been properly used. No attempt has been made to work out a comprehensive assessment of the situation nor a complete prevention concept. There have been no specific proposals for such important matters as the control of poppy crops which furnish the bulk of the raw material needed to produce "Polish heroine." No appraisals have been presented of the previous methods of limiting access to addiction-generating medicinal drugs. Nor have any proposals been made for specific educational or propaganda actions. Attempts to provoke the public into a broad discussion have also failed, so that only small circles of specialists in drug prevention have dealt with this matter.

The draft bill submitted to the Sejm hardly differs from the one designed last year. The changes introduced in it were, in our view, concessions made in effect of bargains made between different ministries rather than of any comprehensive concept. Since there are no expert opinions to go by, it was usually the sectors with more influence than others that won in this kind of bargaining. Substantive arguments, concepts that gave a good chance for containing the spread of drug addiction, did not always prevail.

There are three matters which are particularly alarming in the new draft bill--control of poppy crops, compulsory treatment, and penal regulations.

Control of Poppy Crops

This is a crucial matter. Poppy stalks and poppy juice are the fundamental raw material for producing morphine-resembling drugs. Ever since the 1980's, they have been dominating Poland's black market. The technology is simple. No special facilities or expertise is necessary. Addiction is quick, and its biological affect is particularly dangerous. At present, some 80 percent of all drug addicts in Poland use makiwara, or "Polish heroin."

Control of poppy crops is an extremely controversial subject. So far, three concepts have been proposed for regulating this matter.

First, poppy growing must be banned throughout Poland. To meet demand from the pharmaceutical and food industries, Poland would import poppy. A second concept provides for a state monopoly on poppy growing and its concentration in several properly sealed-off state farms. The final proposal is to ban poppy growing without special permission and to make contracting [for poppy sales to the government] compulsory if more than 20 square meters of cropland are involved. Poppy stalks are to be conveyed to competent state institutions or destroyed in cases of crop area smaller than 20 square meters.

Each of these concepts has many advantages and drawbacks. Should either of the first two be adopted, illegal production of narcotic drugs would drastically fall. Certain, yet undefined, economic costs would ensue. Side-effects might also appear. Plummeting poppy stalk supplies might channel demand toward other possible raw materials. This is why the enactment of either of the first two concepts would require coordinated intensive preventive and medical undertakings.

Concept three introduces relatively small changes into the existing situation. It can be expected not to affect very significantly the supply of raw materials for the production of narcotics. It can only cause the prices to go up. Practical experience shows tight control of contractual agreements is impossible, also in cases of crops other than poppy. Even if a grower meets his contractual obligations he may still have enough poppy left for free-market sales.

This is very likely in the case of poppy stalks because their black-market price is far higher than the official one.

Experience gained in the implementation of an Agriculture and Food Ministry regulation concerning registration of poppy crops and sales of poppy stalks, a regulation which is basically in line with the proposed provisions of the draft bill, is anything but encouraging. Since the regulation came into force, poppy stalk sales not only have not fallen but have even increased. Numerous new supply sources have been created. Organized criminal organizations have been established. Large-scale poppy stalk thefts have been reported, and not only from private barns but also from Gmina Cooperative stores and railway wagons.

A preliminary assessment of the advantages and drawbacks of each version is not enough to say anything definite about any one of them being better than the two others. An in-depth analysis has to be made before appropriate decisions can be made. They must give a full account of each version's effects upon the nation's health and on its social and economic life.

Compulsory Treatment

This is mentioned in the draft bill twice--when juveniles are involved, and with reference to perpetrators of crimes in connection with drugs. Compulsory treatment generates fears primarily for ethical reasons. Helping the sick and treatment are two basic social functions of the national health service. Compulsory treatment charges the public health service with two extra functions which are basically alien to it and which gradually tend to supersede its fundamental function, i.e. taking care of the sick, namely the functions of isolating the patients and keeping them under watch. Previous experience suggests that compulsory treatment is ineffective. If the courts start sending patients to the health service for compulsory treatment, the health service will of necessity become less accessible to those wishing to be treated out of their own will. This danger is particularly great in Poland, where treatment of drug addicts is now only in the making and the shortage of expert personnel will not allow for a rapid development.

We are not opposed to all forms of pressuring addicts to submit themselves to treatment. Various forms of probation may yield promising effects. Addicts who commit crimes directly connected with drug abuse should be given a choice between treatment and imprisonment. Faced with such an alternative, they may find treatment a strong attraction.

But before probation is used on a wide scale, it is necessary to prepare appropriate facilities and personnel so that treatment of this category of patients should not be favorized at the expense of voluntary patients, and that the waiting time for admission to a treatment center should be as short as possible. Also necessary are legislative guarantees that the health service will not be transformed into a punitive or penitentiary institution. Yet the draft bill has no such safeguards. During the period of probation, a patient should be treated by the health service personnel like any other patient. This means he should be able to take advantage of the privileges granted to all patients but also be obliged to comply with regulations.

The heads of treatment centers should be granted powers both to reward patients (say by granting leaves from the center) and to release patients of this category immediately. Public health service centers (apart from those inside penitentiaries) must not be closed centers. The health service must not curb the patient's right to freely interrupt his treatment (e.g., by using physical force, installing doors without handles, etc.).

Penal Regulations

This also calls for scrupulous analysis. In particular, the proposed juridical punishments must be reconsidered. In its present shape, the draft is a repressive rather than preventive contrivance. Moral considerations perhaps justify the severity of punishments, yet punishments are disproportionately high compared to penalties provided for common crimes. For the illegal sale of poppy stalks, for example, one may be punished with imprisonment up to 8 years plus a fine. Studies have disclosed that severity of punishment is only remotely connected with its preventive function. So, it is difficult to find any rational reasons for very severe penalties.

The draft bill sets no upper limit for fines which may be imposed by the courts for every crime specific in the bill. More general regulations set this limit even as high as 1 million zlotys. If these kinds of regulations are maintained, the higher risks will make drug pushers raise prices and increase profits. Drug addiction is then likely to go underground while drug trafficking will be dominated by organized "professional" groups.

We deliberately take no stand on these three versions, but only present their advantages and disadvantages. We think it would be highly irresponsible to speak in favor of any of these versions before in-depth and serious analyses have been made.

In view of the critique outlined above we believe there is another way of resolving this matter, one which largely eliminates existing drawbacks. The Sejm should become the initiator of a new competitive draft bill. Work on it should proceed in several stages. First, a report should be presented containing a diagnosis and a forecast of drug addiction in Poland along with previous experiences and the effect of legal regulations. More general concepts can be developed only on the ground of this report. The resulting competitive concepts should be submitted to a wide range of social consultations. It is particularly important to attract academic circles, scientific, professional, religious and social societies. This type of work on drafting a pertinent bill is probably the most important one of all. Free discussion may allow for the chance of arriving at the best solutions, and will make it more obvious for society that such a problem does exist. As a result, the extent of public backing for legal regulation may increase when such a draft is proposed.

Needless to say, this stage should last as long as possible, not like cases of public consultations which lasted 1 or 2 weeks that we know of. It is only in subsequent stages that basic provisions for the proposed Sejm law should be devised and translated into legislative language. All such work should be

conducted in background of public discussion and control. In our view, all this work is necessary for an honest preparation of such a project, which can be completed within a year.

If it is passed in its present shape, the law "On the prevention of drug addiction" will fall short of public expectations. Poland cannot afford to rely on intuition alone in its social policy. We cannot afford to continuously amend legislative regulations dealing with these significant social problems.

CSO: 2600/460

POLAND

DEMOGRAPHIC TRENDS DICTATE CHANGES IN SOCIAL POLICY

Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 12 Dec 84 p 3

[Interview with Professor Jerzy Z. Holzer, director of the Institute of Statistics and Demography at the Academy of Economics (SGPiS), by Krystyna Lubelska: "The Baby Boom Is Already Behind Us"]

[Text] Question: Professor, 3 months ago, the second world demographic conference in Mexico gave considerable attention to the demographic boom in Europe. In this respect, Poland is quite an exceptional country, there is much talk about the outright excessive increase of the population here. Are we too many or too few in Poland?

Answer: Let us begin by looking at other European countries. For example, in France, one sees 1.7 children per woman in the reproductive age, in West Germany--1.2. These two countries are justified in their concern about their demographic future, because their population is growing old. In order to insure population replacement, i.e., the so-called simple reproduction of generations, 2.15 children must fall on one woman. In Poland, this rate is slightly higher, 2.4 children per woman. Therefore, we face in Poland reproduction on an enlarged scale.

Question: Meanwhile, many press publications sound the alarm, due to the present demographic boom, using such words as "demographic bomb," "explosion," etc.

Answer: I think they are exaggerating. It is true that in recent years the number of births exceeded the demographic prognosis. I do not think, however, there is any reason for panic. We had expected 667,000 newborn babies in 1983. Meanwhile, 721,000 were born, i.e., 54,000 more than forecast. This is the extent of the demographer's error.

Question: After all, this is the size of a small town.

Answer: But it is only one-fourth of Warsaw's Ursynow district. The forecasting error amounted to 7.5 percent. It would be good if in other fields of prediction we achieved similar precision.

Question: What do demographers forecast for the coming years?

Answer: The GUS [Central Statistical Office] data for the first 9 months of the current year indicate that in 1984, 13,000 less babies will be born than in the last year. This means that from this year onward, until the 1990's, we will be recording a drop in the number of births, and that the baby boom is already behind us.

Question: But where did this boom stem from?

Answer: There is one simple rule in demography: a demographic boom gives birth to another demographic boom. In 1955, 794,000 babies were born; 28 years later, we see 721,000 births.

In the 5-year period preceding the years 1955 and 1983, the number of women of reproductive age kept growing. It is worth observing that the number of women aged from 20 to 29 was almost identical in 1955 and 1983--33 percent and 34 percent, respectively.

Question: If so, then one could theoretically assume that, compared to 1955, there were too few births in Poland.

Answer: If we take the 1955 fertility rate and compare it to the actual number of women of reproductive age in 1983, then the number of births should amount to 1,054,000. However, only 721,000 babies were actually born. Thus we faced an unquestionable decline in the birth rate. Having a smaller number of children has become more popular than in previous years.

Question: If you study the dates, it seems that the present demographic boom is as if belated, it should have rather fallen in the mid-1970's.

Answer: The economic theory of H. Leibenstein states that children compete with durable goods. In the first half of the 1970's, the economic growth in Poland was relatively intensive, the standard of living improved and people began naturally to aspire to possess a car or a color TV set or to travel abroad. The economic crisis, which became apparent in the latter half of the 1970's and the total economic collapse at the beginning of the 1980's could have brought about a compensatory wave of births.

Question: Is the fact that we are poor the reason why we have so many children?

Answer: This is a certain oversimplification, but the crisis in our economic, political and social life. It could produce an escape toward one's own family life. It certainly did strengthen family ties.

Question: But surely not to the extent that it would transform the model of the Polish family from one with few children into one with many children.

Answer: Compared to the 1970's, there are more families now deciding to have the third or the fourth child. The number of families with many children has been growing. However, considering the fact that Poland is nearing the final state of its demographic boom, I do not believe the current situation will last long. "2 + 2" is still the standing model of the Polish family.

Question: Who are the people deciding to have more than two children?

Answer: As I said earlier, economic circumstances do not significantly affect the decision to have a child. One rather finds that too comfortable circumstances can cause a postponement of such a decision. However, research results indicate that the fact of having more than two children is considerably related to women's education.

In 1983, female university graduates gave birth to 45,000 babies. Thirteen percent of them delivered a third or a further child. Women with a secondary education gave birth to 16 percent of such children (278,000), while those with a technical vocational education to 23 percent. Women with primary school education delivered 48 percent of the children above the statistical two. This data indicates that families with many children are, above all, working class and peasant ones. In large towns, the average family has even less than two children.

Question: How can you justify the large number of births in the countryside with the argument about the aging of the rural population?

Answer: The aging of the rural population is caused by the migration to the towns of people in the productive age. The situation is particularly alarming in the northeastern voivodships.

Question: Professor, from what you said earlier it seems that you are against restricting the natural growth of the population in Poland. Yet, on the other hand, there are not enough schools, kindergartens, nurseries, money to pay benefits, etc. The list of shortages is very long. The welfare system faces very serious problems.

Answer: I understand the economic problems and the dilemmas of the welfare system perfectly well. However, the demographic boom babies are already born and they require facilities to learn, to obtain medical treatment, to find jobs, etc. It is too late now to think what would have happened if.... Immediate measures are necessary. Today, for example, there are 4.5 million children of school age; in 1990, their number will be 5.3 million. The future pupils are already born and Minister Faron [of education] must think about classrooms for them. Why is there no school in Ursynow? Why aren't schools built in new residential districts? Even in prosperous years, the treasury was mean about communal investments. They were always the first investments to be erased from plans. If that was not the case, then the 54,000 baby surplus would not make such a dramatic problem now.

Question: Because of the crisis, one often hears opinions demanding cancellation of child care leaves and benefits, which would, as a result, curb the number of births.

Answer: I think it would be a misunderstanding to make such a decision at present. You said yourself that there aren't enough nursery schools or kindergartens. Therefore, the only solution is for the mother to stay at home and perhaps see a more flexible employment policy, allowing mothers to

work part-time. I do not think that the effect of the benefits has any influence on the decision to have another child. Money is constantly losing its value, while the benefit remains unchanged. Its economic role is really minor.

Question: Professor, are Poles as a whole aging?

Answer: Yes, they are. The share of the old people in the entire number of the population is growing. The Polish age structure is very irregular, the birth and death rates are extremely unstable. Because of the previous and the present demographic explosions, this process will continue. Let's hope that the present baby boom will earn the money for the pensions that will have to be paid to the boom of 1955.

The present percentage of young people in the productive age in the total number of working people is the greatest ever. This is favorable, from the point of view of the labor market, this situation will not occur again until the end of the century. For years the age-groups entering the labor market have been declining.

Question: Professor, during the last 3 years Poland's population increased by a million....

Answer: That was not the record number. In the years 1954-56, when the natural yearly increase exceeded 500,000, Poland's population grew by 1.5 million. At the beginning of the 1980's, the yearly increase was between 350,000 and 370,000, but it will soon decline.

CSO: 2600/467

POLAND

DISSIDENT'S STRATEGY ON RESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS CRITICIZED

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polich 14 Dec 84 p 5

[Article by WUZ: "Bratkowski's Little Acre"]

[Text] Radio Free Europe recently read, with due reverence, the full text of an appeal, or rather a manifesto, recently issued by Stefan Bratkowski, former chairman of the Polish Journalists Association [SDP]; the text was reportedly printed in the underground paper TYGODNIK MAZOWSZE.

The manifesto, in which Bratkowski explains his political ideas in the context of elections to residents' self-government bodies, shows that the ambitions of the oppositionists which flew as high as the former chairman's, have clearly diminished. Although Bratkowski has not renounced the goal of taking over power, he now wants to do it over the long run, bit by bit. "Residents' self-government is a bit of power, a tiny bit of power to be won," Bratkowski says in his manifesto, which also calls for mass turnout at the elections and active participation in joint civic undertakings.

Naturally, I do not plan to contend either the statement of the importance of residents' self-government or the appeal for mass turnout at the elections and civic activity. But one cannot ignore the fact that in this approach, mass election turnout and civic activity are intended as a means to setting self-government bodies at odds with state institutions and authorities. The author of the manifesto makes this clear when he says that, although in comparison with the state authorities, the potential of self-government, bodies would be limited, it would not be nil. Here is the relevant quote:

"...No form of local democratic body, residents' self-government bodies included, has ever played any dirty trick on the central authorities, and there is little it could do that would be felt by any top-level authority. But local democracy depends on the people concerned, on the citizens, and not on the authorities; it may be useful to them if they decide to do something for themselves."

Playing big dirty tricks on the authorities is unfortunately out of the question, but small ones may be played--that is how Bratkowski understands the idea of self-government bodies. It is also interesting to examine how the author of the manifesto, who presents himself as the most important advocate of democracy in Poland, approaches the problem of the diversification of

candidates in elections (to self-government bodies). The author of the manifesto sees no place among the organizers of these elections for any party, not even any civic organization. The supporters of the idea of taking over self-government bodies may only meet in parish churches. Bratkowski presents examples of those parishes which are the best known for anti-socialist political activities. He lists them and writes:

"The parish is a very good starting point. Remember that the entire English democracy developed as a result of the fact that for hundreds of years all the faithful of the Church of England met in the parish church as equals, the squire included, while in his house they could only speak to the latter as his subjects."

So, using a very democratic procedure, the former chairman has excluded from participation in the preparation of elections all those who are not squires and either do not frequent parish churches or go there purely out of a religious need. When you compare this with a chapter on self-government in Bratkowski's book "This Mountain Is Not So Steep," which was published in 1980, you will see that the former chairman's views have become more rigid.

Back in 1980 he still allowed various parties, organizations and associations to take part in elections and remarked that nonbelievers were Poles, too. The acre of Bratkowski's democracy has clearly shrunk since that time.

CSO: 2600/487

POLAND

WALESA'S POLITICAL VIEWS RIDICULED

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 19 Dec 84 p 5

[Article by jas: "A Free Ring?"]

[Text] "The next blow will be dealt by us," Lech Walesa announced a few days ago while presenting his views on Poland's future, development of the trade union movement and the role of underground organizations, in an interview with a correspondent of the French news agency AFP. The former leader of the former Solidarity stressed that "the economic crisis is getting worse and worse."

Although the facts are obviously to the contrary, let us assume that Walesa the economist is right and that the crisis is indeed getting worse and worse. What then does Walesa the citizen intend to do? Get down to work and encourage others to do the same? Not at all. Walesa the politician, for that is what he considers himself, makes declarations of a political character and is ready to box his own, cornered country.

The former leader warns that the march to "victory" will be long. So victory despite everything, despite the worsening crisis? He adds that Solidarity (a little group of old-time leaders who think as he does) must always be prepared "to transform its program into an instrument of struggle at an opportune moment." This is another announcement that actions which have brought society and the state unrest, tension, disputes, shocks and personal misfortunes and placed fundamental national interests in jeopardy will be taken again.

Walesa praises "the underground leadership," saying that "we all need it." The next praise of the "underground leadership" explains what "we all" means: "It is the helmet which protects me against police truncheons."

Walesa says that even if "Christian trade unions" were to be founded in Poland, he would not join them and would remain faithful to "the ideals of Solidarity." One feels sorry reading these disclosures, as they prove again that the Solidarity trade union transformed itself into a political movement opposed to the existing situation in Poland. Some of its former leaders have not understood anything. They have nothing to say except cliches, negative slogans, and a readiness to deal low blows.

CSO: 2600/466

POLAND

MOKRZYSCZAK COMMENTS ON PZPR ACCOUNTABILITY CAMPAIGN

AU211255 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 19/20 Jan 85 pp 1, 2

[Interview given by Politburo candidate member and Central Committee Secretary Wlodzimierz Mokrzyszczak to Anna Pawlowska: "With a Critical Eye on Oneself"--date and place not given]

[Text] Pawlowska: So once again we have an accountability campaign....

Mokrzyszczak: Yes, just as the statute says. We are halfway through the term of office of party organizations up to and including voivodship level. The statutory regulation which lays down a 2 and 1/2 year term of office with an accountability campaign halfway through was dictated by a very keen desire during the period of the congress for an institutional control over the elected authorities.

Pawlowska: Nevertheless, this regulation creates a situation where the party is merely proceeding from one campaign to the next.

Mokrzyszczak: That is indeed the way it is. This makes it all the more important that these campaigns be treated informally and used effectively in order to improve work, and that the implementation of resolutions be checked, tasks defined, and social moods analyzed. That is how we have prepared ourselves for the current accountability campaign. The Politburo's guidelines give it a rather narrow space of time--15 January to 30 March. This year's abundant political calendar forbids a longer campaign.

All the conferences will last 1 day. Naturally, a delegate's valid mandate, as defined in the election rules for PZPR delegates, authorities, and control bodies, entitles him to participate in them. In every meeting and conference, participation by a representative from the next party cell higher up will be compulsory. The voivodship conferences will be grouped into the last 2 weeks of March, though we do not rule out that some of them may take place earlier.

Pawlowska: This second half of the term of office which the campaign will commence leads to the threshold of the 10th Congress. Therefore there is less and less time to perform the decisions of the Ninth Congress.

Mokrzyszczak: This realization is very necessary in the party today, as well as an understanding of the basic truth that the party can only perform its congress duties toward society if every primary party organization performs its duties toward its milieu. It is not only the Central Committee, even less the Politburo, that is performing the Ninth Congress resolution. This is being done most of all by the primary party organizations. How they are doing this should be answered by them honestly during their own accountability meetings.

Pawlowska: I construe this as an appeal for self-criticism by every primary organization....

Mokrzyszczak: Correct. Criticism here is indispensable, because we have serious shortcomings in party organizations, despite all our efforts and numerous achievements. We also need criticism for another reason. Please remember in what kind of general political and internal party situation we held the campaign during the last term of office--many organizations could only number their ranks with difficulty, and we were on the defensive and organizationally and ideologically disintegrating. At that time, an excessively critical view could have even led to collapse. Today the situation is incomparably different. That is good. We won this situation through toil and struggle. But it would be fatal if we succumbed to self-satisfaction, overconfidence, praise and hiding failures.

Pawlowska: All the more so because strength and importance are still very much different from one organization to the next, and that there is still no shortage of weak and very weak organizations. The same applies to the energy of individual party members, even in very active organizations.

Mokrzyszczak: Exactly. That is why one of the basic tasks of the accountability campaign is to check how every party member discharges his statutory obligations. Before the report-back meetings take place, the executive boards of the primary party organizations should hold individual talks with those comrades who are not in order, as the need dictates. The meetings themselves, however, should not only assess the way entire organizations have implemented the Ninth Congress resolution, the decisions of the National Conference of PZPR delegates, the results of individual plenary sessions by top party cells, and, what is immensely important, their own resolutions, but also the way in which all primary organization members have discharged their own individual tasks and performed their work inside bodies of authority, social organizations, at leadership posts, and so on. Only then will the balance sheet be honest.

Pawlowska: And no doubt the balance sheet will show where the faults lie....

Mokrzyszczak: That is the point. We must discover what our strength is inside every primary organization, what our influence on the milieu is, how our interests are accepted and regarded, and whether they count and gain approval in the trade unions, self-management bodies, factory managements, and among young people. We must know exactly where we are still absent or where we are present but passive. Every party cell should carefully sum up the real presence of party members--not only in terms of numbers, but most of all in terms of quality--inside all structures of socialist democracy in its respective

area--in the people's councils, all types of self-management bodies, and bodies of the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth. It is also essential to take a look at the party itself, at its social composition, at the presence of women and young people in it, and at the distribution of party strength in individual local and professional milieus. Only this kind of view of the situation without rose-colored spectacles provides a basis for formulating tasks for the future.

Pawlowska: But the second half of the term of office we are talking about also demands a great amount of work.

Mokrzyszczak: It does. Let me mention only a few items: The last and decisive year of the current 3-year plan with all its enormously difficult economic tasks; the Sejm elections, which will, after all, be a sharp political struggle; and the discussions on the principles of the future party program, in other words the program for Poland's future. The preparations for performing these tasks should take place during this very accountability campaign. That is why the most important feature of it is honest, open discussion. Let it even be extremely sharp, as long as it provides answers to the question what should be done and how it should be done at home, in the factory, and in one's village so that everything can be better, more rational, more efficient, and more just. I also attach great importance to the dissemination--during the campaign, among other things--of good experience in party work, both internal work and the work aimed at the milieu. We are wasting a lot of strength because everyone is "discovering America" on his own, whereas his neighbor--often in the same voivodship or even the same city--already discovered it a long time ago and is successfully reaping the advantages.

Pawlowska: Fortunately, we have no shortage of sharp discussion in the party. The situation is worse, however, with replies to the question what our own specific primary organization and we ourselves may do, what to do, and are capable of doing....

Mokrzyszczak: It is small comfort that this does not only apply to the party in Poland. We are only a part of our society, with all its good qualities and faults. But maybe it is our duty to start to break bad habits beginning with ourselves, with the method of thinking in the party. We would have to start altering proportions inside resolutions and shorten the lists of demands addressed to the outside and to the people higher up, although--every party organization has of course the complete right to do so and to increase the range of its own concrete intentions.

Pawlowska: As long as they are feasible!

Mokrzyszczak: Feasibility is most easily lost in generalizations. When it comes to recording a specific action for the sake of performance, the wings of improvisation collapse of their own accord. Honesty is the best teacher of feasibility and of how to calculate strength and possibility.

Pawlowska: As usual, the accountability campaign will be open and will take place in full view of nonparty people, including those with ill feelings.

Mokrzyszczak: Of course. This is already a permanent feature of party workstyle. We have nothing to hide today, just as we had nothing to hide last year or 3 years ago. We want the press and the radio to provide the broadest possible coverage of what is being said at meetings and conferences and how it is being said, so that every milienow exactly how its work is being assessed by the party organization inside it, and that it may compare this assessment with its own. After all, this is no less necessary for the party than a review of its own inner ranks.

The accountability campaign demands a great amount of organizational effort, therefore this effort must take shape for the good of society. After all, everything we do is for the people.

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POLAND

PARTY ACTIVITIES, TASKS IN POZNAN ACADEMY DISCUSSED

AU241519 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 21 Jan 85 p 3

[Article by Wieslaw S. Debski: "The Party in Universities--Gaining Authority"]

[Excerpts] The party organization in the Medical Academy in Poznan is one of the largest in the city and totals 550 members, including 80 professors and lecturers, who try to correctly implement party policy in the academic community under the new conditions created by the law on education schools.

"Although party members are a minority among the academy's authorities, we try to retain our influence on the decisions they make," Comrade Andrzej Kubacki, first secretary of the academy's party committee, said.

"Party teams composed of the members of the collegial authorities are active in our academy, and we draw up specific proposals for solving the academy's various problems. We also cooperate with the rectors and the heads of departments. For example, we have met in our committee with all the heads of departments and we have discussed the plans for developing departmental cadres. We know who will acquire new scientific degrees and titles this year. Most of the proposals we submitted at the meeting were accepted."

These are the basic methods with the help of which the party organization makes its impact on the life of a self-governing higher education school.

"The functioning of the law on higher education schools is to a great extent determined by people--by whether they follow their own ambitions or have the interests of the academy at heart," another comrade, Comrade Zenon Stypinski, said.

"However, not all the people concerned have the interests of the academy at heart. Most of the academy's scientific workers, especially the free-lancers, regard their privileges in a mature manner, but some of the younger scientific workers and students are not so minded. For example, during the most recent elections the students consistently rejected a number of candidacies for the position of rector responsible for matters of instruction, as stipulated by the law. On other occasions you could find in the election rooms various leaflets appealing for crossing out party candidates.

"Or another example," Comrade Stypinski added. "The secretary of the primary party organization had to defend his professorial thesis and answer very difficult questions. During the general discussion on the thesis, all the members of the examination commission voiced their enchantment with the performance of the candidate, but during a secret ballot five of them voted against him. Such people voted against on principle although, objectively, they should have voted for. Fortunately, such people are a minority in our academy."

To be able to lead the academic community, it is necessary to possess considerable professional and vocational authority. Such authority possessed by party members is responsible for the fact that their share in elected bodies is large, although it is not a majority share everywhere. "The necessary condition for gaining authority," Comrade Marian Wlodarczyk said, "is for party members to be active in their communities and to be courageous in presenting the party's stand. However, it is only too often that they seek refuge in their status as 'private persons' and avoid being militant on behalf of the party."

"The times we live in," the comrades from the Medical Academy said, "call for efforts to fully preserve the influence exerted by the party organization. Doing our work under changed conditions, we must make greater efforts toward retaining such an influence and promoting a wise and meaningful cooperation with our allies."

CSO: 2600/500

POLAND

PARTY SOURCE SAYS: MUST LEARN TO LIVE WITH OPPOSITION

Stockholm DAGENS NYHETER in Swedish 21 Dec 84 p 15

[Article by Disa Hastad: "They Have It Better Than They Think"]

[Text] "The Poles must realize that they have actually been better off economically in the last two years. When they understand that--then they must prepare themselves to accept the necessary restrictions!"

Even an experienced politician might well be frightened by this information. However, the PZPR [Polish United Workers Party] has committed itself to pursuing this line in order to rectify the prevailing state of emergency. This information was obtained by DAGENS NYHETER from a well-informed source within the party.

Today, Friday, the Central Committee of the PZPR holds its winter assembly. They meet to discuss the economy: 80 percent of Poland's problems have economic roots. But at the heart of the economic situation lies what this party worker terms "psychology". This psychology refers to the obstinacy of the Poles, their refusal to make the effort which could supposedly pull the country out of its difficult situation.

There will be talk of stimulating procedures. But the most important matter lies deeper: to get the people to understand and believe in the policies which are carried out.

"Normalization"

One does not need to be a psychologist to understand why the Poles see no reasons for cooperating with the government, one only needs a good memory. They perceive the "normalization" which followed the reign of martial law to have done them little good, spiritually or materially.

Christmas garlands drape the parade streets in Warsaw, and the businesses in the city center have received new goods and department stores. Banners are hung wishing all of the customers a merry Christmas. This is the first time since martial law that anyone has dared to be so commercially seductive. But the Poles on the street assume that they do not have enough money, and even if they did, there would be nothing to buy. It does not pay to put yourself out for this government.

Is it their memories that are short, or have their expectations risen? To the outside observer, there appears to be a difference in Warsaw between this winter and last - above and beyond the fact that the government has in fact kept its promise to release its prisoners, even though they live an existence where they can be put back in prison again, as was demonstrated just this week with the arrest of Andrzej Gwiazda.

The party spokesman DAGENS NYHETER spoke with would like to play down the events in Gdansk.

"We must learn to live with opposition," he says.

"That's not the problem right now - the problem is the party's credibility among the workers, who should form the backbone of the party."

Drop

The workers now constitute only 38.8 percent of the party's membership. There was a drop in 1981, following the declaration of martial law. This is the problem--since, as DAGENS NYHETER'S source points out, the upper levels of the party can always be reshuffled.

There are rumors of just such reshuffling in Warsaw at present. It is rumored that Jaruzelski is to step down from his post as prime minister (but not as party chief), turning the position over to the more accessible Kazimierz Barcikowski, who is delivering the main address to the party assembly. There are rumors which cannot be verified--such as the rumor that Minister of the Interior Jerzy Milewski is to step down, because the country has lost its faith in the police.

However, Milewski has recently turned responsibility for supervision of party security over to Jaruzelski, and this move is generally perceived as a loss of prestige sufficient to allow him to think of himself as purified and humble. The fact that the security forces and the police are a problem is acknowledged openly, and a special point will be made of this issue at the assembly. The murder of the priest Popieluszko was the most alarming indication so far that

something was wrong, while another was the crackdown on Sunday's demonstration in Gdansk, where the police obviously did not dare to take responsibility for ensuring that a peaceful assembly could take place.

Lost Opportunity

General Jaruzelski has clearly stated that he wants the facts on the murder of the priest made public - but sources in Warsaw indicate that Jaruzelski has lost an important opportunity.

"There was a time when he could have taken a definite stand and gone on TV and said: 'OK, we have different views here in this country, but we are in agreement about one thing--we are all Poles, and Poles do not murder priests.' He failed to capture that moment," a foreign observer told DAGENS NYHETER.

So, whatever Jaruzelski has saved the Polish people from, whether bloodbath or slavery, he has been little appreciated, at least as yet.

The extent of Jaruzelski's freedom of action is unknown--one is tempted to feel that his power is great simply because he does not utilize it. However, both loyal communists and less loyal ex-communists say that he has been too feeble, too weak up until now.

"The Poles believe that Poland is the center of Europe. They do not yet seem to understand that Poland's membership in the International Monetary Fund is accompanied by demands for economic performance," the party spokesman quoted above told DAGENS NYHETER.

Rewards

And what will the party offer as rewards for this performance? Indeed, they offer influence via the new workers' council (self-governing committees) and the new professional unions. They also claim that the economic reforms will remain, with greater decentralization and increased profitability for business. (Of course, unpopular consequences such as employee dismissals will result.)

"Many workers do not avail themselves of the legal channels through which influence can be wielded that exist today," says DAGENS NYHETER's source. "We believe that the workers can make their proposed solutions to our crisis known."

The foreign observer reflects: "It was not all that long ago that the workers did make their proposals known--but the state would not listen. Is it surprising that they now refuse to play along?"

"Anyone who had illusions of the government engaging in a dialogue with us lost them in Gdansk today," said Lech Walesa to DAGENS NYHETER after Sunday's demonstration was put down.

These are unusually harsh words from the otherwise moderate Walesa.

The Church's Battle

In the midst of all this, the church is promoting its views in all quietness. The latest public battle between church and state concerns the strikes which have occurred in many schools pertaining to the right to have a crucifix in the classroom, a right which the church supports. At the same time, a campaign is being carried out on TV which Poles perceive as obvious persecution of the church.

This may be a show of force for the galleries. The real battle is being waged within the church. The church may have the support of its backbone membership, as opposed to the party, but there is no agreement within the ranks. (Also as opposed to the party, where the top leadership is in complete agreement with regard to policy.) The church has many rebellious priests - and it would appear that the head of the church, Cardinal Glemp, is too permissive.

However, one observer points out that the church has built many new churches over the last few years. The church is now about to become modernized. In the last few years, the church has acquired a whole new base: the formerly faithful farmers have moved into the cities. The same spokesman indicates that the church is meeting the new demands made of it by becoming "more like the Protestants."

8954

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POLAND

FRENCH OPPOSITION LEADER FAVORS INCREASED CONTACTS

PM221939 Paris LE FIGARO in French 16 Jan 85 p 4

[Bernard Margueritte dispatch: "Poles Opt for French Opposition"]

[Text] Warsaw--Faced with the terrible state of relations between Warsaw and Paris, the poles (apart from some extremists) seem to have made up their minds: They are in favor of a return to cordial relations between the two countries and, convinced that the French socialists are incapable of achieving this end, pin their hopes on the national opposition, especially on its Gaullist wing.

This is what emerges from the quite remarkable success of the 5-day visit to Warsaw just completed by Ambassador Kosciuszko-Morizet, Rally for the Republic [RPR] national secretary for foreign relations.

Mr Kosciuszko was the guest of Poland's foreign affairs institute, to which he delivered a talk. He was received by, among others, Politburo member Czyrek, Foreign Minister Olszowski, Mayor of Warsaw Debicki (who expressly renewed the invitation already extended to Jacques Chirac), and deputy Sejm Speaker Skibniewska.

Cardinal Glemp, primate of Poland, also gave him an audience, as did Cardinal Macharski in Krakow. Jacques Chirac's "Foreign Minister" also had the opportunity to talk at the embassy with former solidarity advisers including Geremek and Wielowieyski, and he naturally went to pay homage at father Popieluszko's tomb.

The ambassador, who was thus able to take a broad overview of Polish society, was impressed by the "frank and cordial welcome" which he encountered and by "the hope of further meetings with France expressed in all circles," apart from by one extremist who favored maintaining the policy of sanctions ("for my part I consider this policy of sanctions both had and ineffective, and this policy of investing in misfortune actually seems crazy to me," Mr Kosciuszko-Morizet said).

All these interlocutors, including the representatives of Solidarity and of course the Church, spoke out strongly in favor of "the multiplication of contracts." "It is necessary," the ambassador said, "to maintain interstate relations if we want to develop relations between the two peoples."

The RPR national secretary was greatly helped in his mission by his illustrious Polish name and by the fact that he was received as representative of the Gaullist movement.

In his talk he stressed his loyalty to the Gaullist concept of creating harmony between the peoples of Eastern and Western Europe. "The key," he said, "is undoubtedly the strict implementation by all signatories of all the provisions of the Helsinki final document."

For instance, one must not demand security and economic cooperation while disregarding human rights. It is therefore necessary to recognize the borders that resulted from World War II--first and foremost those of Poland--and take account of the situation in order to surmount it and eliminate "morally intolerable phenomena" such as the Iron Curtain or the obstacles to free travel.

It is necessary to recognize the present situation but to aim at the elimination of the division of Europe into two blocs. This is another reason for helping Poland, "because Poland is in the center of Europe. It is in everyone's interests that it be strong or at least not weak. Poland has an essential role to play in building Europe and defending of its values."

This resolute but flexible language was greatly appreciated by the Poles. One prominent figure confided to me at the end of the talk--basically unsurprisingly, but somewhat irreverently--"you see, we can always get along with the Gaullists because for them the essential factor is the nation, whereas one can forget the socialists, who are entangled in their ideological hodgepodge."

CSO: 3519/172

POLAND

GDANSK COURT REJECTS GWIAZDA APPEAL

NC181959 Paris AFP in English 1901 GMT 18 Jan 85

[Text] Warsaw, 18 Jan (AFP)--A court in Gdansk today rejected an appeal against a 3-month prison sentence imposed on a former vice president of Poland's banned Solidarity trade union, Andrzej Gwiazda, his associates said.

Mr Gwiazda was arrested 16 December when several thousand Solidarity militants led by Lech Walesa were turned back by security forces when they tried to lay a wreath at a monument to workers killed in clashes with the militia during strikes in 1970.

Witnesses said Mr Gwiazda, 49, was arrested as he tried to help a demonstrator who was being beaten by a riot policeman. The following day, he was sentenced and immediately jailed for "participating in activities likely to cause public disorder."

Mr Walesa, the leader of Solidarity, today denounced the trial as a "parody of justice."

He said defense witnesses, including himself, were not allowed into court, the trial was closed to the public and Mr Gwiazda was convicted "exclusively on the basis of the lying testimony of militiamen."

Mr Gwiazda had been arrested at the proclamation of martial law in December 1981 and was detained without trial until July 1984, when he was freed under a political amnesty.

CSO: 2020/54

POLAND

ADVISER TO PRIMATE GLEMP INTERVIEWED

AU240800 [Editorial Report] Vienna Domestic Service in German at 1730 GMT on 22 January carries a 30-minute recorded interview in German given by Andrzej Miczewski, "political adviser" to Poland's Cardinal Glemp, to Vienna Radio correspondent Joanna Razyner; the date and place of the interview are not given.

Radzyner begins asking Miczewski whether it is still possible to speak of a triangle in Poland--formed by the Church, Solidarity, and the government. Miczewski replies that "this was a simplification even in 1981, because something which is called in Italy the historic compromise has never come into question in Poland. The church never said that it would become politically active in the true sense of this word. It wanted, rather, to be mediator between Solidarity and the party, the governing camp, not a third political force. Our task has always been to act as a mediator, and it was never our desire to form Catholic societies or Christian democratic parties. We do not want to create an independent political power because we know well that the Catholics, the practicing believers, can be found in almost all political forces in Poland; they were in the trade unions and some are also in the ruling party. This is why we should first and foremost ensure internal peace in our country, and we want to avoid bloodshed at any cost."

Radzyner goes on to ask about the significance of a new Church law for whose adoption the late Cardinal Wyszynski had pleaded as early as 1978. Miczewski states that "for the time being it seems impossible to arrive at a national unification in Poland and this is why the case of the Church law has more or less been forgotten. This does not mean, however, that we are not discussing it with the government now and then but, as it were, it is not a question of prime importance. We do enjoy certain liberties--regardless of all this--as a church, regardless of whether the Church law was passed by the Sejm or not. But we are not in a hurry. We feel rather strong and calm and this only is one topic among many others."

After Radzyner refers to possible differences of views between the high clergy and some priests, such as Nowak and Makowski, Miczewski points out: "Makowski is--I do not want to denounce any one personally, this is not my business--he is a somewhat sick person, but this is, so to speak, an individual case, his case is not representative, it is not a typical case."

Miczewski continues: "When the gospel and faith are discussed in church political emphasis must also be placed on certain things of a moral nature. Thus, if some political matter has moral aspects it also is permissible to judge this political problem from the viewpoint of morality, of Christian morality. But there are a very few priests, and Malkowski was one of them, who gave political speeches--not sermons--but purely political speeches in the churches. And this was, so to speak, unacceptable for the bishops and it was not the intervention of the government, but an objective assessment of Makowski's texts by the bishops that resulted in the fact that he now only works within a limited scope of activities. Priests no longer may invite him to churches because he really does make political statements--something that does not benefit the Church nor does it serve an understanding between the Church and the state."

Razyner then turns to another topic, insisting that there are two different trends visible within the Polish clergy--one which is supported by Primate Glemp, and another which is called the fighting Church, Miczewski says: "The primate does not pursue any personal line but the line of the Episcopate, and, first and foremost, the line of the main Council of the Episcopate. The Church has a collegiate leadership, and everything that is being said is false, for example, that the primate is doing all and everything on his own. This does not accord with the truth. I must admit, however, that the young clergy are more radical than the bishops, something which is natural because young people have the right to be more radical than people like myself who have already accumulated political experience. In addition, the young clergy have been and still are perhaps under the influence of Solidarity. But we do not regard this as a threat to the Church or to the leading role of the Episcopate in the Church."

Miczewski then reviews the relationship between the Church and state at the time of Primate Wyszynski, when the lower clergy joined all sorts of state-controlled organizations. He notes that there are more than 20,000 priests in Poland now and that only very few are like Makowski. He says: "These priests are unproportionally few and these things are being exaggerated in the West. I am outspoken here: The West very often pursues its own policy of the various governments and various political forces at our expense."

After qualifying the murder of Father Popieluszko as a provocation equally aimed against the Church and the Jaruzelski government, Miczewski adds: "We do not charge the government with this murder, but rather, the murderers and their eventual inspirers. And I cannot say that everything is in order between the Church and the state. The murder case must be completely clarified. This is what the Polish bishops conference demands, this is what the bishops demand in letters to the government, to Premier Jaruzelski, and this is what we demand in our statements, for example, in the recent statement of the Main Council of the Episcopate." After expressing the hope that this provocation will not strain the relationship between the Church and government, he goes on to say: "We even expect more provocations because this provocation has caused great unrest."

Miczewski reaffirms his earlier statement that "We want to have social calm in Poland and not blood shed," and to Razyner's question as to whether there

exists the danger of bloodshed, he replies: "I do not see such a danger at the moment. But you know, if we do not receive any financial assistance from the West, if our economic situation continues to deteriorate--then I fear that conflicts may break out. But this would be in a few years' time, this is, as it were, not a danger that exists today or in the coming year."

To Radzyner's question about the agricultural investment fund, Miczewski replies that there now exists a paradoxical situation: "The government is waiting for the money from the West and the West is waiting for the decisions of the government. We are waiting for the reply of the government to our request for exempting the agricultural foundation from taxes and customs and we also are waiting for the final approval of the status of the foundation; this is what we are requesting from the government. Addressing myself to the West, however, I must make much more pointed reproaches. Because at first the amount of M5 billion was mentioned to be provided within 5 years. Five billion marks, and I personally heard this sum being mentioned at the Secretariat of the German bishops conference in Bonn when I conducted talks there as a representative of the Polish bishops conference with an influential representative of the German bishops' conference. And now people have stopped altogether talking about billions, and it seems too much to collect those \$28 million which we need for the so-called pilot projects. President Reagan has virtually [praktisch] promised \$10 million, while the EEC states and governments are unable to decide on how much they should give and whether they should give anything at all. The German church has pledged to give a little bit of money, the other West European churches said that they will, perhaps, collect a few hundred thousand dollars. There is a bottleneck. I am pessimistic and must say that we are very disappointed because the Western side has promised too much and we are now looking rather unserious in the eyes of our own government, because the government can now ask us with good reason: Where is the money, after all?"

Miczewski subsequently stresses that the money would not be used for state institutions, but for private agricultural projects and that it now turns out that there is no money available even for private farmers. "I am very much ashamed here," he notes, "on behalf of all our churches."

To Razyner's question whether there exists a lowest common denominator between the positions of the government and the opposition, of Solidarity, in Poland, something that would make a dialogue possible, Miczewski replies that "Dialogue and understanding require time, and points out how much time it took after the end of World War II to come to an understanding with the government, and that it was only in 1956 that the Polish people enthusiastically supported then First Secretary Gomulka when he departed for Moscow to plead the Polish cause there. This is an analogy which is very instructive, Miczewski emphasizes, because it cannot be expected after such tensions as those caused by martial law, that from 1 day to the next a new understanding will be achieved. This requires time. "First, the Church will continue to negotiate, second, it cannot be said in Polish society that the government stands on one side and Solidarity on the other. As I said before and I am now repeating it, Polish society is pluralistic. Hence, there exist various currents and, as time elapses, these currents will deepen and perhaps this process will slowly bring

us to a common field of positive actions. If we actually receive financial assistance from the West and the workers become convinced that their work really gives them something, that we possess appropriate machinery and a modern industry--all this will produce an entirely new atmosphere. But the task of a national understanding is a task for several years."

CSO: 3620/236

POLAND

DEATH OF EX-SOLIDARITY MEMBER SEEN AS ACCIDENTAL

Warsaw EXPRESS WEICZORNY in Polish 13 Dec 84 p 4

[Article by Maz: "RFE Speculations and Reality"]

[Text] Western radio stations have been paying a lot of attention recently to the death of former employee of the FSC truck factory in Lublin, Aleksander Stanislaw Hac, implying that this was a political murder of a man who was described as former Solidarity leader at the FSC. The matter has gained notoriety in Poland and has been the subject of countless rumors.

To check on them, I went to the FSC factory and visited the department in which A.S. Hac had worked. I talked to his colleagues and superiors.

Said Mikolaj Topolewski, shift manager: "Olek [Hac's nickname, a diminutive of Aleksander] worked with us from 1968 to the end of February 1983 as a toolmaker. He was an earnest and stable worker."

Foreman Jan Weclawski, direct superior: "When he worked at FSC he was interested in everything but politics. This he avoided."

Hac's workmate Wladyslaw Kostka: "I couldn't find any fault with him. Hac had no enemies. His death came as a surprise to us."

Another workmate and first secretary of the party branch at the factory department, Zygmunt Tyburski: "I agree with what my colleagues have said. I can only say good things about him, not just because he is dead. You are asking about political matters? Olek joined Solidarity, and, being popular with others, was elected chairman of the department commission of Solidarity. He was a genuine trade unionist, not a politician. He was not at war with anyone."

Why did he quit the FSC? The Ogniwo cooperative offered him several thousand zlotys a month more. So he handed in his notice and went to work at Ogniwo.

So I visited Ogniwo as well. Its chairman, Eugeniusz Ulewicz, told me: "He was a very valuable acquisition and an excellent specialist. The plant meant everything to him. On his own initiative he stayed on to work the third shift. He had a great deal of experience as a toolmaker. We wanted to

promote him to foreman. Recently he applied for a patent for a mechanical workshop design he'd been working on for a long time. Did he drink? Never on the job. Recently he had some trouble at home, he had to go to court (his wife sued him for divorce). But if he did have problems and was hitting the bottle, he did it very discreetly. Did he engage in politics? No. All he was interested in was his work."

Finally, after hearing these opinions, I called on Andrzej Kopieniak, head of the Lublin Regional Prosecutor's Office, which is investigating the accident.

"Some days ago you issued an appeal to the residents of Lublin, asking them to come forward with any information that might be relevant to the case. Have you had any response yet?"

"I'm afraid not."

"Which means the evidence is still incomplete?"

"That's right."

"And what has been established so far?"

"On 16 October, around 6 pm Hac's friend Miron F., who lives almost next door (in Rutkowskiego Street), phoned him and invited him over to his place. Hac took a half-liter bottle of vodka and went to Miron's flat. They drank the vodka and talked about their work. Around 8:30 pm, Hac left, saying he was going home. But here the trail peters out. Hac did not spend that night at home.

"Next morning at around 8 am a resident of 11 Krolewski Street (in the center of Lublin, several kilometers away from Hac's home) went down to the cellar to fetch coal. She found a man lying at the bottom of the very steep stairs. His head was on the floor of the cellar corridor while his legs were still on the stairs, pointing in the direction of the entrance. He was unconscious. Together with the caretaker, she notified the militia and the ambulance service. The man was taken to the hospital at Biernackiego Street. The surgeons diagnosed a fracture of the skull in the occipital area and at the base of the skull. The doctors carried out a trephination, removed part of the bone and a haematoma. Despite their efforts, Hac died on 22 October without regaining consciousness.

"The hospital notified the Prosecutor's Office, which ordered an autopsy. The autopsy carried out at the Forensic Medicine Institute of the Lublin Medical Academy did not reveal any other injuries than those in the skull area.

"The Prosecutor's Office instituted an investigation to determine the cause of death. It has been established that coal dust was found in the area of the occipital injury. It has also been established that no blood was taken to be tested for alcohol content at the moment of the patient's admission to the hospital, although the doctor wrote in his card that he was suffering from alcoholic poisoning."

Did Hac drink? The Prosecutor's Office checked and found out that he was taken to a sobering-up station three times, the last time being last April. He was also beaten up once when he was returning home drunk and started a row with a group of drunken youths. He concealed this fact carefully. After the beating, he nursed his injuries at home for 2 weeks but did not go to a doctor.

However, nobody knows what Hac did from the moment he left his friend's house to the time when he was found in the cellar staircase.

The investigation is continuing. Meanwhile, hostile radio stations and organizations are trying--not for the first time--to exploit a tragic event which appears to have criminal undertones.

CSO: 2600/465

POLAND

JABLONSKI ADDRESSES SCOUT MEETING

AU241459 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 22 Jan 85 pp 1, 2

[Excerpts] PAP--The joint session of the main administration of the Friends of Scouts, of the chairmen of the voivodship councils of the Friends of Scouts, and of the commanders of scout companies discussed on 21 January the preparations of the Polish Scout Union for its coming Eighth Congress and the role of the Friends of Scouts in ideological and educational activities.

Summing up the discussion at the session, State Council Chairman Henryk Jablonski stressed that the role of the Friends of Scouts amounts to helping the scouts and, especially, to giving moral support to all scout units. Our tasks, he said, are determined by the nature of the scout movement. The Seventh Scout Congress gave a clear definition of scouting, but there are areas in which the scout union itself must determine its image.

One such area is ideology, which for scouts is based on patriotism and the love of the fatherland. The fatherland can be seen as it really exists or as it may exist in fantastic ideas, which are hot air, cannot be implemented, and have nothing in common with the national interest. What matters is that the new generations should develop their love for Poland as it really is.

H. Jablonski spoke in this connection of national pride and dignity, of a critical approach to history, of tolerance, of the difference between patriotism and nationalism, and of the need to go for traditions emanating from the areas of social progress.

He devoted much attention to the prospects of the young generation and said that it is no accident that the political adversary is doing whatever he can to deprive the young people of their prospects and to paint them in black colors. However, it is a fact that all the main conditions for the prospects wished for by every boy and girl already exist.

Closely relating our rights to our duties makes us citizens, H. Jablonski continued. Scout service can and should be the road leading to citizenship. He also spoke of the need to choose such lines of this service that are truly socially desirable, discussed the service as the road to patriotism, and said that reconciling social and personal interests is possible openly if man is active.

The scout movement, H. Jablonski continued, has been correct in improving its work, stabilizing its programs, and promoting the performance of its basic echelons--the squads. This performance determines the results of upbringing and the future of the organization. Good squads produce good examples and good future instructors. It is the duty of the Friends of Scouts to support this line of activity and to help the squads. It is most necessary to develop the movement of the Friends of Scouts to support this line of activity and to help the squads. It is most necessary to develop the movement of the Friends of Scouts at the squared level from among parents and those who like young people.

Referring to the speeches from the floor, H. Jablonski discussed at length the tasks of the Friends of Scouts in providing material conditions for the union in the situation created by the economic reform and the new laws. New forms of the movement of the Friends of Scouts and new system-type solutions should be adapted to the new situation. The main administration of the Friends of Scouts will devote its attention to this issue.

H. Jablonski stressed the great achievements of the joint session and said that the Friends of Scouts share their successes and worries and, far from being mentors and supervisors, are just genuine friends, who have made a use of their good right to contribute to the debate preceding the Eighth Scout Congress.

CSO: 2600/499

POLAND

VATICAN COMMENTS ON PUNISHMENT OF STUDENTS IN WLOSZCZOWA

LD202016 Vatican City International Service in Polish 1515 GMT 20 Jan 85

[Text] Kielce--In Wloszczowa, in Kielce Diocese, the repressions by the authorities are continuing in connection with the protest by school children against the removal of crosses from the school premises. On 18 December, just 2 days after the protest quietly ended, eight people were fined between 16,000 and 20,000 zlotys each, while two people were sentenced to 2 months in prison. On 28 December all priests-curates of the Wloszczowa Parish received the sentence of the local misdemeanor court passed in absentia on 14 December which ordered priests Marek (Labuda) and Andrzej (Wilczynski) to pay fines of 20,000 zlotys each and priests Adam (Wierzchowski) and Czeslaw (Stepak) to pay fines of 16,000 zlotys each. The reason given was that they were in charge of a gathering of the school youth that they had organized without the permission required from the regional body of the state administration and that they had caused the public order to be breached, because as a result of their organizing and leading the gathering in this school, many people had gathered near the school building and yard and in Wisniowa Street in Wloszczowa, that is, in a public place.

In an interview with the editorial staff of ARGUMENTY, the director of the school in Wloszczowa gave assurances that no sanctions would be taken against those who did not resume their studies on the established date, as a matter of principle, because the young people had not caused the conflict. In spite of this, on 2 January a decision was announced that pupils Alicja (Groszek), Anna (Sosnowska), Renata (Galkiewicz) and Marila (Lewicka) had been expelled from the school; at the same time the former two received a proposal to continue their education in the same type of school in other towns, while the latter two did not receive such a proposal. It was also decided to transfer Justyna (Pietrakiewicz), a ward of the children's home, to another school; and Jolanta (Koziol) received a reprimand. The youth expelled from school, their parents, and some members of the Parents' Committee tried to have these decisions rescinded.

Alicja (Groszek), who was the chairwoman of the school's self-management committee, was questioned by the district prosecutor's office in Jedrzejow for 5 hours before she was expelled from school. [as heard] Recently others have also been summoned to the prosecutor's office.

CSO: 2600/505

POLAND

'OPPOSITION ACTIVITY' IN CULTURAL CIRCLES NOTED

LD262024 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 26 Jan 85

[Text] Professor Witold Nawrocki, head of the PZPR Central Committee's cultural department, discussed the principles and directions of the party's cultural policy and their practical implementation, at a meeting with party cultural activists in Poznan.

He emphasized that openness of the cultural policy and creating a platform for communication, does not mean giving-up the duty to formulate a socialist system of values, or creating a common sense of responsibility for the country and its future.

Speaking about the influence of the new legislative solutions on state sponsorship of cultural activities, Witold Nawrocki said the way has been paved for the normalization of the activity of creative circles and organizations. This also ensures the material existence of people from the world of culture and art.

The situation in creative circles was also discussed at the meeting. The speaker outlined signs of opposition activity and deviation phenomena in these circles. He reported that questions connected with the Polish intelligentsia will be the subject of debate at a PZPR Central Committee plenum.

CSO: 2600/502

POLAND

MILITARY DAILY ATTACKS MALKOWSKI'S SERMONS

AU171250 Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 15 Jan 85 p 2

[Jerzy Malczynski commentary: "Father Malkowski's Strange Sermons"]

[Text] The Western press reaches me with some delay, and this is why I can only today tell my readers about the contents of last week's press. I think it is worth relating what I have read. For example, the so-called liberal Swedish afternoon daily EXPRESSEN carried a rather extensive article based on the statements made by Father Stanislaw Malkowski, who is already familiar to us. In this daily this clergyman complained about some representatives of the Polish Episcopate and about the primate, because "he has forbidden Malkowski himself to deliver sermons in the Warsaw churches." This ban, let us note, is being observed because apparently at the end of last December Father Malkowski had a series of meetings and delivered sermons in various places outside of Warsaw, including the Tworki mental hospital near Warsaw and the Sulejow mental hospital in Piotrkow Voivodship. Like his previous sermons, the sermons in question were provocative and full of venom. Like a certain president who speaks to larger audiences, this clergyman told the patients of these hospitals that "socialism is responsible for all the evils in this world." He argued this with the help of the fact that since God's laws are not enough for a socialist society, the authorities issue other laws as well. During the mid-night mass on Christmas Day in Sulejow, S. Malowski said that "nonbelievers help to crossbreed a dragon with a crow and a hog with a wolf." Perhaps you will be able to understand this, but I have not been able to. Two days earlier, this priest put forward a "bold thesis" on the true effects of alcoholism. He said: "When we drink alcohol, we provide money for armaments and the maintenance of the militia, the security service, and the entire administration. If all people stopped buying alcohol, communism would not be able to exist because it would lack the money with which to finance its activities."

My impression is that the Swedish daily in question, when it referred to Father S. Malkowski's authoritative statements about the Polish Episcopate, did not know those of his views that I have cited and that have clearly embarrassed the Sulejow parishioners. If the daily knew about those views, it is probable that it would not have published his complaints about the primate....

CSO: 2600/501

POLAND

BRIEFS

VATICAN COMMUNIQUE ON PRIEST'S LOCATION--We have received the following communique from the Polish Episcopate's Press Office. In view of questions regarding the truth of whether Father Sylwester Zych has been transferred from prison to a monastery [as alleged by Grzegorz Piotrowski] the Metropolitan Curia of Warsaw reports that Father Zych remains in Braniewo prison. Because of his poor health, he is being visited by priests deputed to do so by the Curia. As is known, Father Sylwester Zych has been accused of allegedly aiding the murderers of a malitiaman in Warsaw. [Text] [Vatican City International Service in Polish 1515 GMT 11 Jan 85 LD]

SIWAK VISITS ELBLAG--Albin Siwak, member of the Central Committee Politburo, visited Elblag (?Voivodship) today. He met with the town authorities as well as with those of Ornetta Parish. [Text] [Gdansk Domestic Service in Polish 1630 GMT 23 Jan 85 LD]

CSO: 2600/503

ROMANIA

GERMAN-NATIONALITY WRITER LAUDS MINORITY POLICY

Bucharest ROMANIA LITERARA in Romanian 3 Jan 85 p 8

["Open Letter to a Chance Travelling Companion" by Franz Johannes Bulhardt]

[Text] Please allow me to respond to the warm greetings which I recently received from you, for which I thank you very much. I remember with pleasure our trip of 16-18 August of this year from Bucharest to Berlin, from which each one of us left to continue our journeys. Nevertheless, our conversations and discussions over a period of 2 days and 2 long nights in the sleeping car gave me food for thought and your questions, which were so interesting but which reflected a complete lack of knowledge of the situation, saddened me. Why is so little known about the existence of such a large population (30,000) of the German nationality in Romania and why is our life so completely misunderstood by people outside the country? You were amazed at the very beginning, when you learned that I was a Romanian citizen, that I speak German "so correctly and, especially, without any accent" and you asked me how long I have been living in this country. This is the way that our discussion began and when I told you that I have been living in Romania for almost 800 years, I was obliged to give you some historical facts. There is no need to repeat them here since these facts have long been known by every child in our country. As we passed over Hungarian territory, I talked with the border guards and customs officials of that country in their language. This was another cause of astonishment for you. I told you that Hungarians, Germans, Serbs and other nationalities live alongside the Romanian people and that primers are printed in more than 10 languages in Romania and each nationality has the right to learn in its mother tongue. My children attended a highly regarded school in Bucharest, where German was the language of instruction.

Since it was close to the day of the national holiday, 23 August, I showed you, as you may remember, a copy of the daily newspaper, NEUER WEG, which has published one of my poems dedicated to this anniversary. You were surprised by the fact that we had "a newspaper in German." I informed you that we do not have merely one newspaper. We have close to 10 publications, both newspapers and scientific or literary reviews, including NEUTER LITERATUR, the German-language publication of the Writers Union of the Socialist Republic of Romania. The next question was: "What did 23 August mean for the German population in Romania?" Dear friend, let me repeat the sincere response which I have you

then: For some of us it meant awakening from a nightmare and for others-- fear of the future and insecurity, since all sorts of rumors were circulating and the greatest fear was that we would have to leave our country. History gave us the response. Never were the Germans, or citizens of other nationalities, "driven away" from Romania, as happened in other countries. In 1948, when the decree on the resolution of the nationalities' problem in Romania was issued and the first newspapers, state publishing houses, radio broadcasts (and television broadcasts today), were established, when, in 1949, the first German-language writers, including the writers of this letter, were admitted to the Writers Union, and when, a little later, the first collective farms, were established, including as member peasants of the German nationality--then a truly new life began for us.

We are regarded by our Romanian conferees and those of other nationalities as hard working and honest people who can be relied upon, and our representatives belong to all the leading bodies of our society--including the Grand National Assembly, our parliament. I ask once again why these things are not known outside our country, why is there silence about them? Each day there are 3 hours of broadcasts in the German language on Radio Bucharest and each month the editors receive about 1,000 letters from foreign countries giving suggestions for the broadcasts or expressing the desires of the listeners. But what does this figure of 1,000 mean? Perhaps there are 2,000 informed people compared to the tens of millions in these countries who do not know the truth? Each year at the Frankfurt/Main Book Fair we exhibit books published both by Romanian writers and by German writers. But at this fair the Romanian stand is like a small island in an ocean. But sometimes things happen. For example, recently an order came from the German Democratic Republic for 50,000 copies of a book written by Erika Hubner-Barth "Geschichten aus den Tausent-maechenwald" [Stores from a Forest of a Thousand Tales], published by the "Kirterion" Publishing House, which publishes books in the languages of the national minorities. (There is such a thing in our country!)

Dear friend, I told you, when we were talking about everything, about my intention to have a discussion in Vienna with the Austrian author Peter Turini (whose play, "Romania tirzie" [Late Romania], translated by me in collaboration with Alexandru Stark, was presented, with great success at the Very Small Theater in Bucharest), about the possibility of staging his play "Der tollste Tag" [The Most Insane Day], in the German section of the State Theater in Sibiu. But this was news to you. I informed you that in addition to this theater we have the German State Theater in Timisoara which celebrated its anniversary last year. These two theater companies also tour the country so that the German population will have the opportunity to see plays in its mother tongue, many times a year, in its own localities.

And let us not forget the amateur groups which stage one-act plays, often in the Saxon or Swabian dialects, the choral groups which sing in the German language and which participated successfully in the large artistic movement called the "Hymn to Romania" and the dance groups wearing beautiful traditional German costumes. In our country, folklore is not a museum folklore or one created just for tourists. Throughout the year, even today, traditional customs and celebrations inherited from our ancestors were observed and the entire population in the villages participates in weddings, wearing national costumes

specific to each region. Young people and old people, why not say it, sometimes wear these costumes to church and many of these churches, which are hundreds of years old, have been restored through considerable investments from the state. In our country, the churches of all our fellow citizens are open and the priests receive their wages from the state--another proof of the freedom of religion.

I thought of all these things once again since recently there was a joint session of the councils of workers of the Hungarian and German nationalities, with the secretary general of the party, the President of the Republic, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, presiding. Is not this another proof of the importance which the party and the state assigns to the life of the nationalities in the country? From the tribune of this high forum, workers, technicians, engineers, men of the arts and culture, scientists, from the ranks of the German population, spoke openly about all problems. Let me mention that I am not a member of this council or a party member since it is my opinion that you do not have to have a party card in your pocket to be an honorable man. But I try, through all my literary activity, to contribute to making the literature of my country better known abroad and propagating the truth about life in our country and about the actual situation in Romania.

I hope that you will come back to Romania soon and that you will see with your own eyes what I have told you.

With cordial greetings,

Franz Johannes Bulhardt

29 December 1984

CSO: 2700/93

YUGOSLAVIA

GROWING ALBANIAN INFLUENCE IN MACEDONIA

Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 6 Nov 84 p 3

[Article by D. N.: "Discussions in the SSRNM [Socialist Alliance of Working People by Macedonia] about International Relations: Education in the Shadow of the Mosque"]

[Text] Skoplje, 5 November--The Republic Conference Section of the SSRNM on development of the sociopolitical system has dealt with the question of implementing the conclusions of this conference on international relations in communities with a mixed ethnic population and on the platform of the SKJ [League of Communists of Yugoslavia] regarding Kosovo. A working group of the SSRNJ [Alliance of Working People of Yugoslavia] headed by Zivan Vasiljevic, member of the Federal Conference Presidium, also took part in the proceedings of the section.

In his introductory address, Dusko Djordjijev stated that previous activities against everything aimed at violating the fraternity and unity, equality of rights, and community of the Macedonian people with the Albanian and Turkish nationalities and ethnic groups have yielded positive results. The struggle has been successful because everyone has taken part in it: Macedonians, Albanians, Turks, and members of other peoples and ethnic groups. What has been achieved confirms that we have the strength and ability to fight effectively against all weaknesses and negative tendencies, as well as against the small number of enemies, counterrevolutionaries, irredentists, separatists, and chauvinists.

Dusko Djordjijev also stated that there have been very few such phenomena in the recent past in associated labor organizations in Macedonia, and there are virtually none present. Speaking about the activities of certain Moslem priests, especially Albanian ones, during and after the events in Kosovo, Djordjijev said that in many populated areas religious ceremonies are used as occasions for collecting money for the building of new mosques. More mosques have been built in Macedonia in recent years than ever before. They have been built without construction and urban development permits and with heavy monetary contributions by believers. Mosques have even been built in populated areas which already had such structures. The largest number of Moslem priests are Albanian, and the services are conducted in Albanian, which cannot be understood by the Turkish population, Macedonian Moslems, and Romany Moslems.

In Macedonia religious instruction is administered to about 5000 children of Moslem families. In some places religious officials openly threaten believers that they will not be allowed into mosques if they have fewer than 5 children.

Djordjijev said that major results have been achieved in Macedonia in the area of education aimed at the nationalities, and stated that in this republic there are 288 schools with more than 76,000 pupils, in which instruction is given in Albanian, and 55 elementary schools in which instruction is given in Turkish. Eight years of education is administered to 94 to 98 percent of pupils of Albanian and Turkish nationality. Djordjijev stated that even today provocations occasionally take place in Albanian schools (writing of hostile slogans, etc.).

Djordjijev stated that in events organized by cultural and artistic societies established in some places as community societies, it sometimes happens, as a result of poor arrangement of items on a program, that the first part of the program is Albanian in content and the second part Macedonian. It has also happened that Albanians have left performances as soon as their part of the program has ended. Djordjijev stated that these societies for the most part provide their own financing, and this cannot be justified (participants play on their own instruments, wear their own costumes, etc.).

Djordjijev stated that many books which are taken out of libraries are still readily available for purchase in bookstores in Belgrade and other places in Yugoslavia.

Blagoja Siljanovski said that development more rapid than the average for Macedonia is being accomplished in 5 underdeveloped communities in which the majority of the residents are of Albanian nationality. Despite this fact, it is difficult to find a job in these communities.

In a discussion in which Nijazi Limanovski, Gojko Eftovski, Sukri Ramo, Emin Salih, and Done Ilijevski took part, it was stated that school pupils of Albanian nationality find it difficult to participate in daily life because not enough Macedonian is taught in schools in which instruction is given in Albanian. Many Macedonian language teachers are Albanians who do not have sufficient command of the language themselves. It was also stated that the mosques now being built are very costly structures usually costing 3 to 5 billion old dinars. In addition, Macedonians are continuing to migrate from communities with a mixed population, and their houses and property are often bought without the knowledge of the proper authorities and with foreign exchange.

Sukri Ramo stated that the majority of the Albanian population in Macedonia are Yugoslav-oriented and are loyal to the self-management system and to the community.

6115
CSO: 2800/110

YUGOSLAVIA

NEW TECHNICAL INTELLIGENTSIA SEEN AS PARTY VANGUARD

[Editorial Report] Zagreb Law Faculty Professor Adolf Dragicevic, in an interview in the 12-13 January 1985 issue of BORBA (Belgrade, p 9), argues the need for the party to ally itself closely with the new technical intelligentsia and promote this group to a vanguard position since it represents the wave of the future.

He says: "Here we are opening a big discussion about the political system of Yugoslavia and it has not occurred to anyone to examine this problem from the aspect of the level of development of modern production forces. It is strange that the scientific-technological revolution is hardly mentioned in our literature.

..."We have... taught the basic social sciences for 30 years at our faculties without... dealing with the currents of the scientific-technological revolution which is developing in the world. When you educate such a generation you lead them to the self-confident belief that everything can be solved by reason without referring to the base. We are not interested in the micro-electronic revolution which is changing the world.... If we continue like this, we will become an illiterate society with an illiterate intelligentsia.

"The party should do more in this regard.... Here we are announcing changes in the political and economic system but... no one considers these changes from the aspect of changing the fundamental social relations as a result of the revolutionizing of material and production forces. Let us not forget that a technological revolution is coming which will impose its rule in the 1990's in our area unless we want to become a colony [of a technically advanced country]. No one is approaching the changes in the system from this standpoint, not the party either, and this is where the party should make a radical turn....

"The technical intelligentsia possesses an organized pool of knowledge, this is the strata of specialized experts without which a modern society is not imaginable, and especially not modern production. ...Parties have a certain fear of the technical intelligentsia. The expression 'technocracy' arose during the interwar period as a result of the fear that it is the only force which can take power away from the administration.... No one, ...including the party, can take from this intelligentsia its knowledge of developing modern production forces.

"If you examine the structure of party forums in the last 50 years in the Eastern countries and in ours, you will see that this group of technical specialists has been constantly increasing. The Central Committees are more and more made up of political professionals and the technical intelligentsia. But a fear continues to exist that the technical structure will impose its rule on the centers of power....

"This is also that part of the intelligentsia that is linked to practice and which, however heretical it seems, must take over the relay torch in our development, whether we like it or not. The party must find its vanguard in this part of society, must draw from this intelligentsia its elite... which will be the most qualified part of the party and prepared to lead society toward more rapid re-structuring."

In his latest "polemical" book, "Criticism of Political Economy," Dragicevic reportedly faults political economists, sociologists, and philosophers for their antitechnical orientation and their neglect of Marx's vision of man's liberation from the alienating aspects of labor. In conclusion, he urges the party to be more open, to be more flexible toward the so-called "opposition," to permit more democratic dialogue, and in regard to its upcoming Congress "to openly and precisely say what our class interests are for the 1990's;... because these are not the same as they were when we wrote our LCY Program and Statute. Big changes have taken place in the world since then in regard to the technical revolution and changing production and material forces, but we still act as if production is a 'refrigerated' ideological question."

CSO: 2800/181

YUGOSLAVIA

TRENDS IN WORK STOPPAGES DISCUSSED

Zagreb DANAS in Serbo-Croatian 13 Nov 84 pp 8-9

[Article by Duro Zagorac: "Work Stoppages, Steps Forced by Dire Need"]

[Text] In Yugoslavia 176 work stoppages, strikes, were recorded during the first 6 months of 1984. The figures themselves do not tell very much; it is difficult to determine the trend of this phenomenon in society on their basis. There were 15 fewer stoppages over the first 6 months of this year in comparison to the same period of 1983, but there were twice as many in comparison with 1982. When we learn that 1983 was economically the most restrictive one, we can understand that the greatest number of work stoppages took place in that year. It is difficult to predict whether the number of work stoppages will decrease or increase. One assessment is that the measures taken under the economic stabilization program will raise the current figures. However, the opposite view is also expressed, that there will be fewer strikes because employees are coming to be convinced that their own economic situation cannot be changed by work stoppage, that striking "upsets their own households and their positions in society." The Yugoslav Constitution and laws do not recognize the strike as an instrument of class struggle of the working class. Nor is there a legal basis for legalizing it, inasmuch as the entire social order has been established on the foundation of working class power. And there are no strikes in the country in the classic sense. They occur in another form and under a free designation, work stoppage. The constitution and the Associated Labor Law are adapted to practical living conditions and strikes, or work stoppages, are treated as disputes which cannot be resolved by normal means. A procedure is provided for resolving the disputes which may arise between workers of individual parts of an associated labor organization, labor organization, or sociopolitical collective. Hence the obligation exists to resolve disputes, but no right to work stoppage or a strike is granted. Those who have participated in disputes in the past are aware of this, and interruptions of work are brief, lasting on the average 1 to 2 working days, and in the majority of cases the lost time is immediately made up.

Who Strikes?

Last week the presidium of the VSSJ analyzed the disputes and work stoppages occurring during the first 6 months of 1984, the introduction of emergency measures, and the complaints addressed to the Council. The fundamental reason for outbreak of disputes, and hence of work stoppages, is nonpayment of individual wages. "What is a worker to do, for example, when he has not been paid

his individual wage for a period of 3 months? What would we do if we were in his place?" asks Bogoljub Nedeljkovic. The spontaneous answer given by those present was that they would strike. Thus in effect full support is given to all persons who take this action for this reason. Zvonimir Hrabar, new president of the Trade Unions of Croatia, stated on this occasion that we have not had a single work stoppage resulting from dissatisfaction with the general political and economic situation in society. This is proof of the consciousness of the working class, its willingness to make sacrifices, and its resolve to settle a crisis through greater efforts at work. There has been no sign of fear of the economic stabilization measures, sounder conditions for economic operation, and more equitable distribution.

The analysis confirmed what everybody has long known. There have been no work stoppages in the noneconomic sector; to be exact, only three have been recorded, in health care and social welfare, and all others in the material production sector of the economy. If in addition it is known that in 80 percent of the cases the reason for work stoppage is delay in payment of individual incomes, it is clear that the mechanism for distributing the stabilization burden is inequitable, to the detriment of material production.

The majority of the work stoppages are said to have been justified, and the disputes have been settled in favor of the "rebels." Since the role of the trade unions is (or at least should be) the most important one in such situations, the complaint was also heard that the trade union activists themselves were not in the front ranks. And this time amazement was expressed: How, in a crisis, are all efforts concentrated and means immediately found to settle a dispute? Why is it that this mechanism fails to function at the right time so that no crisis will even occur? The presidium blamed the organization itself, the basic and municipal trade union organizations. The trade union has no defense against the charge of failing to act and committing mistakes in situations when the self-management rights of workers are violated, since the union's rights and obligations are clear.

Committees Unacceptable

Another characteristic given expression in previous work stoppages has been a cause of concern to the most responsible union officials. It is a question of a practice instituted on the occasion of "crushing" "rebels" or resolving disputes. The Associated Labor Law is quite clear on this point: when disturbances occur at work, in self-management relationships, or when damage may be done, the most accountable persons are the workers themselves. The workers have the obligation of notifying the union organization, other sociopolitical organizations, and the assembly of the sociopolitical collective of their demands. A joint committee made up of delegates of workers, the union, and all other entities concerned is then to be set up. If this procedure is not followed, the workers violate their employment obligation and the other entities their self-management functions. This committee establishes the principles and criteria for settling the dispute. If the workers or the union organization remain unsatisfied, the assembly of the sociopolitical collective, whose procedure is also regulated by law, intervenes in the matter. In

practice, however, it often acts contrary to these provisions, and the committees on national defense and public self-protection intervene to settle a dispute. What is there unacceptable in this?

When a work stoppage occurs, in the majority of cases it causes surprise, which is also accompanied by fear. In such circumstances the simplest thing to do is to report to and leave everything to the committee. Detailed analysis of individual cases in which the committee has been the agency to calm things down shows that the problem is not fully cleared up. The consequences, but not the causes, of the work stoppage are eliminated. Along with disregard of the law, this is an argument for the trade union openly to oppose involvement of the committee in such circumstances. Some work stoppages have an additional aftermath which the union does not support. When the situation calms down and the normal self-management processes are restored, the "ringleaders," the most active individuals, suffer many unpleasant consequences, in the form of transfer to other, less attractive jobs, and sometimes their dismissal is insisted on. The union is clear here; it recognizes no reprisals, and on this point it is consistently supported by the courts. Nor, it says, should mistreatment of workers be permitted. However, it must be pointed out that no one (in 176 stoppages) has been arrested or charged. This confirms that all the strikes in the first half of 1984 have been conducted in a dignified manner and that workers have been forced by dire necessity to take this step. Temporary measures are being introduced into basic associate labor organizations with increasing frequency. Losses and the increasingly severe business conditions are having their effect. And according to the assessment made by the presidium of the VSSJ, unlawful behavior, up to the point of abuse, is displayed. One of the most frequent faults is the introduction of temporary measures into organizations which are operating successfully or which rely on local structures in certain integration and personnel combinations. If the workers oppose a particular integration step or the hiring of a new director, they may be subjected to the introduction of temporary measures and to receivership proceedings. Within the union the opinion is expressed that these measures should not be introduced into a single organization operating at a profit.

Ode to Agreement

Veritable chaos is known to prevail in the area of earning and distribution of income. All the misfortunes stem from unequal employment conditions, inequality in earning of income, and consequently inequitable distribution. The union has a great responsibility in this area, and it has undertaken to straighten out such situations. Nearly 2 years ago it began the painstaking work of preparing an agreement on the collective principles and criteria governing self-management regulation of relationships in earning and distribution of income in Yugoslavia. The draft of such an agreement was adopted unanimously at the session of the SSJ Council held last week. What is in this draft? What could it mean to workers, to all employees?

Table 1. Work stoppages

Republics and Provinces	Jan-Jun 1982	Jan-Jun 1983	Jan-Jun 1984
Bosnia-Herzegovina	7	5	10
Montenegro	2	0	6
Croatia	36	35	37
Macedonia	5	34	39
Slovenia	11	63	50
Serbia (less SAP)	10	44	28
Kosovo	3	6	4
Vojvodina	9	4	2
TOTAL, SFRJ:	83	191	176

Some 10,641 workers took part in 158 work stoppages (there are no data on the others), and the stoppages lasted on the average 6 hours and 50 minutes. The greatest number of workers in stoppages was 400 and the smallest 4, for an average of 73 workers.

In his introductory address Alija Avdic sang a veritable ode to this agreement. The agreement should ensure higher motivation to work, more successful administration and operation with public funds, greater labor productivity and on this basis earning of higher income, lowering of operating costs, and assignment of a higher value to productive, creative work and work under difficult conditions, stated Avdic, among other things. The criteria governing earning and distribution of income should be (approximately) the same, "centralized," and would be built into republic-level agreements, and more importantly into self-management agreements. Creation of conditions of equality of rights in management and earning of income according to this agreement imply that systematic solutions and economic policy measures will make conditions possible such that in every activity (at the national level) approximately the same quantity, quality, and results of work can yield approximately the same capital accumulation relative to the average amount of capital invested. The possibility of absolute equality in individual incomes and capital accumulation is excluded under conditions of operation of the market and economic mechanisms. Differences may arise on the basis of productivity, success in administration and management of public funds, and extent of adjustment to the market. The current situation, marked by differences resulting from price disparities and disrupted production and commercial relationships and unsuitable economic measures, should be rapidly overcome.

The long-term economic stabilization program sets out the principles on which distribution of gross and net income is to be based. Signing of an agreement covering this area is scheduled for the first stage, that is, before the end of 1984. According to the agreement, the basic distribution criteria would be the income per worker, income relative to capital employed, gross individual income per worker, and capital accumulation relative to capital employed. If these criteria were to be applied immediately, if we proceed according to the proposed solutions, the individual incomes of more than 48 percent of employees in the country will decline in 1985. The drop will range from 31 to

67 percent for individual republics and provinces, because of the various differences that have already arisen. Provisional solutions are expected to be taken to prevent this from happening.

In addition to the trade unions, the agreement must be approved by the federal and republic or province assemblies and chambers of commerce. It is to be revised again, but must be signed by the end of the year. It can hardly be expected to resolve all the conflicts in this sector, but the goal it aims at is crystal clear.

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YUGOSLAVIA

LONG-DELAYED CHURCH CONSTRUCTION GIVEN GO-AHEAD

[Editorial Report] Belgrade ILUSTROVANA POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian on 20 November 1984, pages 24-25, carries an article by Ljiljana Binicanin reporting the decision of Serbia's governmental authorities to give the Serbian Orthodox Church permission to complete the construction of the monumental memorial church to Saint Sava in Belgrade. President Dusan Ckrebic of Serbia's presidency is said to have so informed Patriarch German and other hierarchs 19 June 1984, following what are described as "wide-ranging consultations at the level of the Republic of Serbia and the City of Belgrade." Some work had been done on this church edifice between 1935 and 1941, but it had stood unfinished since then.

The article alludes to the church as a bone of contention, saying that "governmental agencies in Belgrade and at republic level were constantly exposed to reproaches and criticism within Yugoslavia and abroad to the effect that they were 'the most restrictive in their attitude toward church construction'."

At one time, the authorities gained the impression that they had won over the Holy Synod of the Serbian Orthodox Church ("agreement was almost reached") to the idea of completing the church of Saint Sava as a complex consisting of a church museum, patriarchal library, fresco gallery, and concert hall. Negotiations for such a project lasted a decade, according to the article, but ended in 1983 when the church hierarchs backed out "under pressure from the faithful and clergymen."

The article describes the antireligious atmosphere of the immediate postwar years in Yugoslavia: "Misunderstandings existed for years after the war concerning the position and role of Sava Nemanjic, one of the first Serbian educators and founder of intellectual centers at monasteries. If the Ottoman conquests had not occurred, the monasteries would have uninterruptedly continued their educational mission, and in time some might have grown into universities, like Oxford and Cambridge. Among other things, the halo of a saint was a big hindrance to this historical personality. One way or another, because of lack of funds or misunderstandings, construction never resumed on the church of Saint Sava."

Patriarch German, interviewed on the subject, remarks that the original architectural drawings have been saved and will be the basis for renewed construction. As to when construction will resume, the patriarch answers, "as soon as all legal formalities have been satisfied and the requisite financing obtained." The patriarch states that the completion date is unknown and that the church will be relying on voluntary contributions.

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