

RADIO FREE EUROPE

MUNICH

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TO: DURKEE INFO YARROW HOVEY DUNNING REYMAN KAUFMANN
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BROWN GROZIER KOHAK HART LYON

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CONSOLIDATED BI-MONTHLY REPORT NO. 32 (JUNE 4-JUNE 16)

B U L G A R I A

1. SEMINAR ON BULGARIAN LANGUAGE PROBLEMS (ADDENDUM TO CBR NOS. 26, ITEM 4/A, AND 31, ITEM 1)

EFFECTIVENESS: ON 3 JUNE 1971 THE EDITORIAL OFFICE OF OTECHESTVEN FRONT ORGANIZED A SEMINAR ON QUESTIONS RELATING TO THE BULGARIAN LANGUAGE. ATTENDING THE DISCUSSION WERE MANY LEADING WRITERS, SCHOLARS AND OFFICIALS, INCLUDING (BUT NOT LIMITED TO) ACADEMICIANS EMIL DZHAKOV AND PETER DINEKOV; PROFESSORS CONSTANTIN POPOV AND EPHRAIM KARANFILOV; WRITERS YORDAN RADICHKOV AND CHRISTO RADEVSKY; THE DIRECTOR GENERAL OF THE BCP PUBLISHING HOUSE, NEDELCHO GANCHOVSKY; THE CHIEF SECRETARY OF THE UNION OF BULGARIAN JOURNALISTS, PETKO KARADELKOV; AND MINISTRY OF EDUCATION OFFICIAL IVAN GEORGIEV. THE PARTICIPANTS UNANIMOUSLY AGREED THAT THE PROBLEMS CONNECTED WITH BULGARIAN AS IT IS WRITTEN AND SPOKEN TODAY ARE EXTREMELY SERIOUS. SUGGESTIONS WERE MADE REGARDING THE CREATION OF A SOLID SYSTEM OF LANGUAGE INSTRUCTION IN THE SCHOOLS, AS WELL AS CONCERNING THE MOLDING OF PROPER PUBLIC ATTITUDES TOWARD LANGUAGE USAGE. IT WAS ALSO PROPOSED THAT A NATIONAL CONFERENCE ON THE LANGUAGE PROBLEM BE HELD THIS AUTUMN UNDER THE COMBINED AUSPICES OF THE BULGARIAN ACADEMY OF SCIENCES, THE WRITERS' UNION, THE JOURNALISTS' UNION, THE COMMITTEE FOR ART AND CULTURE, AND THE MINISTRY OF EDUCATION. (FOR MORE DETAILS, SEE OTECHESTVEN FRONT, 13 JUNE 1971.)

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IT SHOULD BE NOTED THAT THE QUESTIONS RAISED DURING THE SEMINAR WERE VIRTUALLY IDENTICAL TO THOSE DISCUSSED BY THE BULGARIAN BD IN COMMENTARIES BROADCAST ON JANUARY 26, FEBRUARY 18, MARCH 18 AND MAY 12 OF THIS YEAR (SEE DBA NOS. 21/A1, 41/A1, 65/A1, AND 110/A1). MOREOVER, THE OPINIONS EXPRESSED BY THE SEMINAR PARTICIPANTS WERE SIMILAR IN MANY RESPECTS TO THE EVALUATION AND ANALYSIS PROVIDED BY BD'S EDITORS.

2. NEW TU CHIEF, BUT NO CHANGE IN TU ROLE (CONTINUATION OF CBR NO. 31, ITEM 3; CF. ALSO CBR NO. 26, ITEM 3)

OBJECTIVES: TO ASSESS THE FIRST THREE MONTHS OF KOSTADIN GYAUROV'S TENURE AS BULGARIAN TRADE UNION CHAIRMAN, WITH PARTICULAR EMPHASIS ON HIS VIEWS CONCERNING THE FUNCTION OF A TRADE UNION IN A SOCIALIST STATE.

TECHNIQUES: IN A TEN-MINUTE COMMENTARY BROADCAST ON JUNE 8 (SEE DBA NO. 132/A1), THE BULGARIAN BD ONCE AGAIN RECALLED SAM RUSSELL'S RECENT ARTICLE ON BULGARIA'S TRADE UNIONS IN THE BRITISH CP DAILY MORNING STAR (FOR BD'S FIRST REFERENCE TO THIS PIECE, SEE DBA NO. 115/A1 OF MAY 18). ACCORDING TO RUSSELL, THE MARCH CHANGES IN THE TU LEADERSHIP WERE LINKED WITH THE CRITICISM WHICH WAS SUBSEQUENTLY LEVELLED AGAINST THE FORMER TRADE UNION CHIEFS PRIOR TO AND DURING THE 10TH BCP CONGRESS IN LATE APRIL. THE MOST PROMINENT CRITIC AT THE CONGRESS WAS PARTY LEADER TODOR ZHIVKOV HIMSELF, WHO CHARGED THAT TU OFFICIALS AND LOCAL ORGANIZATIONS HAD FAILED TO DEFEND THE WORKERS' INTERESTS IN ACCORDANCE WITH EXISTING LEGISLATION.

UNFORTUNATELY, THE BD SAID, GYAUROV'S SPEECH AT THE 17TH PLENUM OF THE TRADE UNION CENTRAL COUNCIL IN EARLY JUNE DID NOT CREATE THE IMPRESSION THAT SUCH CRITICISM HAD BEEN TAKEN TO HEART OR THAT ANY CHANGE IN TRADE UNION PRACTICE WAS IN THE OFFING. DURING HIS REPORT, GYAUROV MERELY REPEATED THE TIME-WORN LITANY THAT THE TUS' PRINCIPAL TASKS LAY IN "THE FULFILLMENT AND OVER-FULFILLMENT OF ECONOMIC PLANS, SOCIALIST COMPETITION, THE SOLUTION OF PROBLEMS RELATED TO TECHNICAL PROGRESS," ETC. HOWEVER, THE BD STATED, THESE MATTERS ARE ACTUALLY CONNECTED WITH LABOR ORGANIZATIONS OR UTILIZATION AND ARE THE RESPONSIBILITY NOT OF THE TRADE UNIONS BUT OF THOSE WHO RUN THE ECONOMY AND THE ENTERPRISES. IN CONTRAST, COMMENTS

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CONCERNING THE ROLE OF THE TUS AS INTEREST PROTECTORS AND DEFENDERS OF WORKERS' RIGHTS--WHICH ARE THE PRIMARY FUNCTIONS OF EVERY GENUINE LABOR ORGANIZATION-- WERE VIRTUALLY LACKING IN GYAUROV'S REMARKS. THIS FACT, PLUS HIS EXPRESSION OF EXCESSIVE AND MISPLACED GRATITUDE TO THE PARTY, BD CONCLUDED, WAS A SIGN THAT A "WORTHY SUCCESSOR" TO THE OLD GUARD HAD BEEN FOUND AND THAT THE LEADERSHIP CHANGES HAD NOT BROUGHT ABOUT ANY ESSENTIAL ALTERATION IN THE NATURE OF THE BULGARIAN TRADE UNION MOVEMENT.

EFFECTIVENESS: NONE AVAILABLE.

3. TANO TSOLOV AND THE QUESTION OF INTEGRATION

OBJECTIVES: DURING AN ELECTION SPEECH GIVEN ON JUNE 6, POLITBURO MEMBER TANO TSOLOV WAS QUOTED BY RADIO SOFIA (SAME DARE) AS SAYING THAT "COMRADE TODOR ZHIVKOV IS TEACHING OUR PARTY AND OUR PEOPLE LOYALTY AND DEVOTION TO THE CPSU UNDER NEW CONDITIONS AND IS LIFTING HIGH THE BANNER OF ... INTEGRATION WITH THE SOVIET UNION--ECONOMIC INTEGRATION, POLITICAL INTEGRATION, AND MILITARY INTEGRATION." (EMPHASIS SUPPLIED.) ALTHOUGH OTECHESTVEN FRONT OF JUNE 13 UTILIZED THE SAME FORMULATION IN ITS PUBLICATION OF TSOLOV'S SPEECH, RABOTNICHESKO DELO OF THE SAME DAY APPARENTLY CENSORED OUT THE LAST PASSAGE AND SUBSTITUTED THE FOLLOWING: "COMRADE...ZHIVKOV...IS LIFTING HIGH THE BANNER... OF ECONOMIC INTEGRATION AND THE CLOSEST COOPERATION WITH THE SOVIET UNION IN ALL SPHERES OF LIFE." (EMPHASIS SUPPLIED.) (SEE DR NO. 134.)

IN LIGHT OF THE GENERAL AMBIGUITY SURROUNDING THE CONCEPT OF INTEGRATION, AS WELL AS THE OMINOUS CONNOTATIONS RELATED TO THIS IDEA, THE BULGARIAN BD SOUGHT A CLARIFICATION OF TSOLOV'S REMARKS AND WARNED AGAINST THE MISUSE OF SUCH TERMINOLOGY, ESPECIALLY WHEN IT INVOLVED THE CARELESS ACCEPTANCE OF SLOGANS INTIMATELY LINKED WITH THE COUNTRY'S SOVEREIGNTY.

TECHNIQUES: IN A FIVE-MINUTE EDITORIAL BROADCAST ON JUNE 15 (SEE DBA NO. 138/A1), THE BD QUOTED THE DEFINITION OF "ECONOMIC INTEGRATION" GIVEN BY THE ABRIDGED BULGARIAN ECYCLOPEDIA--VIZ., "A FORM OF INTERSTATE FUSION OF MONOPOLIES AIMED AT THE INCREASE OF PROFIT AND THE EXPLOITATION OF NATIONS." IT FOLLOWED THIS RECITATION BY RECALLING THAT SOME COMECON MEMBER-STATES WERE LESS THAN ENTHUSIASTIC ABOUT CERTAIN ASPECTS OF ECONOMIC INTEGRATION,

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WHILE RUMANIA HAD REJECTED IT OUTRIGHT. DESPITE THIS HESITATION BY OTHER NATIONS, BD SAID, A SECTION OF THE BULGARIAN LEADERSHIP HAD UNCRITICALLY ADOPTED THE TERM AS SOME SORT OF CREED, WITHOUT AN EXAMINATION OF ITS CONSEQUENCES. NOW, TANO TSOLOV HAD EVEN GONE BEYOND THE ECONOMIC REALM, CALLING NOT ONLY FOR POLITICAL AND MILITARY INTEGRATION AS WELL, BUT DOING SO WITH RESPECT TO THE SOVIET UNION ALONE.

BD OBJECTED TO TSOLOV'S APPEAL, SAYING THAT TODOR ZHIVKOV HIMSELF HAD NEVER GONE SO FAR. EVEN DURING HIS PANEGYRIC ON THE USSR AT THE 10TH BCP CONGRESS, ZHIVKOV HAD SPOKEN NOT ABOUT INTEGRATION, BUT ABOUT A "DRAWING TOGETHER" OF THE TWO COUNTRIES. MOREOVER, BD ADDED, THE BULGARIAN PEOPLE COULD HARDLY AGREE TO AN INTERPRETATION OF INTEGRATION WHICH WAS SO BROAD THAT IT COULD MEAN NOTHING LESS THAN BULGARIA'S EVENTUAL ABSORPTION IN THE UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS. THS, IT CONCLUDED, WOULD BE INTEGRATION AT THE COST OF NATIONAL SOVEREIGNTY, FREEDOM AND INDEPENDENCE.

EFFECTIVENESS: NONE AVAILABLE.

4. THE ELCTORIAL SYSTEM AND THE ROLE OF THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY

OBJECTIVES: THE BD UTILIZED THE FORTHCOMING NATIONAL ASSEMBLY ELECTION ON JUNE 27 (FOR DETAILS SEE BSR NO. 17 OF JUNE 16, ITEM 1) AS AN OPPORTUNITY TO URGE BULGARIA'S FUTURE PARLIAMENTARY DEPUTIES TO MAKE A GENUINE SUTDY OF THE NEEDS OF THE PEOPLE AND THEN TO SATISFY THOSE NEEDS BY USING THE POWERS AND PREROGATIVES GIVEN THEM BY THE NEW CONSTITUTION.

TECHNIQUES: IN A FIVE-MINUTE EDITORIAL BORADCAXT ON JUNE 11 (SEE DBA NO. 135, A1), THE BD EXPLAINED THAT UNDER CURRENT BULGARIAN LAW THE PROCESS OF NOMINATION WAS TANTA-MOUNT TO ELECTION SINCE NO COMPETING CANDIDATES WERE ALLOWED. UNFORTUNATLEY, THE BD SAID, THE POWER TO NOMINATE WAS IN THE HANDS OF THE PARTY AND ITS DESIGNATED REPRESENTATIVES RATHER THAN UNDER THE CONTROL OF THE ELECTORATE, A FACT WHICH EFFECTIVELY DEPRIVED THE PEOPLE OF ANY CHOICE WHATSOEVER. DESPITE THESE OSTACLES TO PUBLIC INFLUENCE, ARTICLE 86 OF THE NEW CONSTITUTION DECLARED THAT NATIONAL ASSEMBLY DEPUTIES WERE TO BE GUIDED IN THEIR WORK BOTH BY THE INTERESTS OF THE NATION AS A WHOLE AND BY THOSE OF THE

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ELECTORS WITHIN THEIR GIVEN CONSTITUENCIES. IN ADDITION, ARTICLE 87 ENTITLED EVERY MP TO SUBMIT QUESTIONS TO THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS OR TO ITS INDIVIDUAL MEMBERS, WHO WERE, IN TURN, OBLIGED TO ANSWER THEM. THESE QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS, THE BD POINTED OUT, COULD THEN BECOME A SUBJECT FOR DEBATE AND DECISION BY THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY. FUTURE PARLIAMENTARY DEPUTIES, BD URGED, SHOULD MAKE SUBSTANTIAL USE OF THESE CONSTITUTIONAL RIGHTS AND CONTRIBUTE IN THIS MANNER TO THE SOLUTION OF THE COUNTRY'S PROBLEMS AND THE ENHANCEMENT OF THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY'S ROLE IN PUBLIC LIFE.

EFFECTIVENESS: ON JUNE 13, THE PARTY DAILY RABOTNICHESKO DELO PUBLISHED AN EDITORIAL ENTITLED "WHAT THEY ARE ANGRY ABOUT." ACCORDING TO THE AUTHOR, THE BULGARIAN PEOPLE HAD BEEN WITNESSES TO THE "ANTI-COMMUNIST FURY" OF THE "ENEMIES OF SOCIALISM" DURING THE 10TH BCP CONGRESS AND THE REFERENDUM ON THE NEW CONSTITUTION. MOREOVER, THE ARTICLE ASSERTED, "WE ARE STILL WITNESSING (THESE THINGS), EVEN NOW, WHEN OUR PEOPLE -- UNITED IN THE FATHERLAND FRONT-- ARE ROLLING UP THEIR SLEEVES TO FULFILL THE DECISIONS MADE AT THE CONGRESS AND ARE GETTING READY TO ELECT THEIR NEW NATIONAL ASSEMBLY, PEOPLE'S COUNCILS, JUDGES, AND ASSESSORS. THE ZOURLAS (NOISY BULGARIAN WIND INSTRUMENT) OF FREE EUROPE AND THE DRUMS OF THE VOICE OF AMERICA SOUND LOUDEST IN THE CHORUS OF SLANDRERS."

5. OTHER EFFECTIVENESS ITEMS (ON PROGRAMS NOT TREATED IN PREVIOUS CBRs).

ON JUNE 13, ZEMEDEL'SKO ZNAME BEGAN A SERIES OF ARTICLES ON RADIO FREE EUROPE UNDER THE TITLE "DISSECTION OF IMPOTENCE." THE FIRST ARTICLE IN THE SERIES--ENTITLED "WITH SUCH LUGGAGE, WHERE AND TO WHOM?"--DEALT WITH BD'S REGULAR HUMEROUS "MERRY SUNDAY" PROGRAM WHICH IT HAS BROADCAST EVERY SUNDAY SINCE 16 MARCH 1969. FOR SOME REASON, ZEMEDEL'SKO ZNAME LINKED THIS PROGRAM IN A RATHER MUDDLED WAY TO J.F. BROWN'S BOOK ON BULGARIA AND CONCLUDED: "IT IS OBVIOUS THAT THE INSTRUCTIONS THEY RECEIVE FROM THE OTHER SIDE OF THE OCEAN ARE NOT SUFFICIENT, MR. BROWN! SUCH ANTI-COMMUNIST POSITIONS ARE NEITHER ABLE TO CONCEAL THE SPITE, HATRED AND PAINFULLY UNSATISFIED AMBITIONS FELT AMONG THE STAFF OF RADIO 'FREE EUROPE,' NOR THE FIASCO CREATED BY PEOPLE WHO HAVE

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NO CLEAR IDEA ABOUT (THE NATURE OF) THE AUDIENCE THEY ADDRESS. EVEN WITHOUT THE HELP OF SPECIAL RESEARCH AND ANALYSIS, IT IS NOT DIFFICULT TO SEE THAT WITH SUCH LUGGAGE RADIO 'FREE EUROPE' IS HEADING NOWHERE AND TO NO ONE."

C Z E C H O S L O V A K I A

1. SLOVAK CP CONGRESS (ADDENDUM TO CBR NO. 31, ITEM 2)

EFFECTIVENESS: AN ARTICLE BY M. NEMECEK PUBLISHED IN THE BRATISLAVA DAILY PRACA ON MAY 27 EXPLICITLY ATTACKED RFE EDITORS JOZEF DUB (STEFANEK), JOZEF LEHOTA (BELAK), AND EMIL STEFAN FOR THEIR CRITICISM OF THE SLOVAK PARTY CONGRESS (SEE DBA NO. 112/B-1, B-2 OF MAY 14) AND THE DIRECTIVES FOR THE NEW FIVE-YEAR PLAN (SEE DBA NO. 95/B-5 OF APRIL 24-25).

2. COMMENTS ON OFFICIAL PARTY DOCUMENTS (ADDENDUM TO CBR NO. 31, ITEM 2; CF. ALSO CBR NOS. 22, ITEM 3; 23, ITEM 2; AND 24, ITEM 1).

EFFECTIVENESS: ON JUNE 5, IN A PROGRAM DEVOTED TO THE IMPORTANCE OF IDEOLOGICAL PROPAGANDA, RADIO PRAGUE QUOTED STATEMENTS MADE BY FORMER PRESIDENT JOHNSON, FORMER FE PRESIDENT RICHARDSON, AND UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS PROFESSOR HERBERT SCHILLER. ACCORDING TO THE RADIO'S COMMENTATOR, THESE PEOPLE ARE "GENUINE AMERICAN AUTHORITIES IN THE FIELD OF PROPAGANDA," AND THEIR REMARKS ABOUT THE IMPORTANCE OF PSYCHOLOGICAL WARFARE MAKES THE "VOICES OF PEOPLE LIKE JEZDINSKY, VOLNY, PROKOP AND ZEMEK...SOUND RIDICULOUS." THE LATTER, SAID THE RADIO, ARE INDIVIDUALS "WHO ASSERT ON THE WAVELENGTHS OF RFE THAT THE DOCUMENTS OF OUR CP ARE WRONG--DOCUMENTS WHICH RIGHTLY STRESSED AND REVEALED THE DESTRUCTIVE ROLE OF BOURGEOIS PROPAGANDA IN THE YEARS 1968 AND 1969."

3. ECHOES OF THE CSCP CONGRESS ABROAD (CONTINUATION OF CBR NO. 31, ITEM 3)

OBJECTIVES: TO INFORM CZECHOSLOVAK LISTENERS ABOUT THE CONTINUING CRITICISM BY FOREIGN COMMUNIST PARTIES, AS WELL AS BY WESTERN LEFT-WING AND DEMOCRATIC FORCES, OF THE FICTITIOUS "NORMALIZATION" PROCESS IN THE CSSR AND THE ATTEMPT TO JUSTIFY THE 1968 WARSAW PACT INVASION, BOTH OF WHICH WERE PROMINENT ASPECTS OF THE OFFICIALLY DESIGNATED 14TH CSCP CONGRESS (SEE DR NO. 127 AND DS NOS. 4 OF 7 JUNE AND 5 OF 4 JUNE)

TECHNIQUES: THE BD REPORTED THE UNFAVORABLE REACTION TO THE CONGRESS IN ITS PRESS REVIEW PROGRAMS AND DOMESTIC AND INTERNATIONAL BLOCKS. THE COVERAGE TOOK PLACE ON VIRTUALLY A DAILY BASIS AND THE BD LIBERALLY QUOTED FROM WESTERN COMMUNIST AND SOCIALIST PAPERS, AS WELL AS FROM OTHER MEDIA. (SEE DBA NOS. 128/A-1, B-1 OF 3 JUNE, 129 B/3 OF 4 JUNE, 130/B-2 OF 5-6 JUNE, 131/B-2 OF 7 JUNE, 132/B-3 OF 8 JUNE, 133/B-4 OF 9 JUNE, 134/B-1 OF 10 JUNE, 135/B-3 OF 11 JUNE, 136/B-2, B-11, B-12 OF 12-13 JUNE, 137/B-3 OF 14 JUNE, AND 138/B-1 OF 15 JUNE.)

EFFECTIVENESS: A. ON JUNE 5, CETEKA DIRECTOR OTAKAR SVERCINA DEALT WITH THE WESTERN REACTION TO THE CP CONGRESS IN A RADIO PRAGUE COMMENTARY. ACCORDING TO THE CETEKA DIRECTOR, CZECHOSLOVAKIA'S "INTERNAL AND EXTERNAL ENEMIES... REALIZE THAT THEY CAN NO LONGER AFFORD THE OPEN, FRONTAL CONFRONTATION WHICH THEY HAD PREPARED IN 1968. THEIR QUASI ARGUMENTS AND THE CALUMNIES AND SLANDERS WHICH THEY POUR ON OUR HEADS VIA FOREIGN BROADCASTING STATIONS ONLY PROVE THEIR HELPLESSNESS AND THEIR HATE."

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B. IT IS POSSIBLE THAT CONTINUING RFE COVERAGE HAS FORCED SEVERAL REGIME SPOKESMEN TO ADMIT THAT A NUMBER OF WESTERN CPS HAVE DISSENTED FROM THE OFFICIAL, CONGRESSIONAL VERSION OF THE CAUSES AND EFFECTS OF THE CZECHOSLOVAK CRISIS IN 1968. ON JUNE 12, FOR EXAMPLE, THE HEAD OF THE CC POLITICAL DEPARTMENT, PAVEL AUERSPERG, SAID IN A TV INTERVIEW: "WE DO NOT IMPOSE OUR IDEAS ON ANYONE, BUT NO ONE SHOULD BE ANGRY WITH US IF WE CANNOT AND DO NOT WANT TO ACCEPT VIEWS EVALUATING CZECHOSLOVAK DEVELOPMENTS IN A WAY WHICH IS CONTRARY TO THE CLASS TRUTH OF SOCIALISM."

4. PARTY STATUTES AMENDED

OBJECTIVES: THE CS BD SOUGHT TO REFUTE REGIME ASSERTIONS CONCERNING THE DEMOCRATIC NATURE OF THE RECENTLY AMENDED PARTY STATUTES AND TO SHOW THAT THEY ARE ACTUALLY AUTHORITARIAN AND CENTRALISTIC IN CHARACTER. (SEE CS BR NO. 23 OF JUNE 21.)

TECHNIQUES: IN TWO COMMENTARIES, BROADCAST ON JUNE 7 AND 9 (SEE DBA NOS. 131/A1 AND 133/B1), THE BD POINTED OUT THE CONSIDERABLY INCREASED POWERS WHICH THE NEW STATUTES GIVE THE LEADERSHIP OF THE CENTRAL PARTY APPARAT VIS-A-VIS THE LOWER ORGANS AND THE PARTY RANK AND FILE. (FOR EXAMPLE, HIGHER PARTY BODIES NOW HAVE THE AUTHORITY TO DISBAND LOWER PARTY ORGANS WHEN THEY DEEM IT NECESSARY, AND THE CPCS CENTRAL COMMITTEE HAS CLAIMED THE RIGHT TO APPROVE THE NOMINATION OF SLOVAK CP SECRETARIES.)

EFFECTIVENESS: NONE AVAILABLE.

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5. REGIME CAMPAIGN AGAINST THE WEST

OBJECTIVES: DURING THE CURRENT REPORTING PERIOD, THE REGIME EXPANDED ITS SEVERAL-WEEK LONG CAMPAIGN AGAINST RFE INTO A STEADY AND VIRULENT PROPAGANDA ONSLAUGHT AGAINST THE WEST IN GENERAL AND THE FRG AND AUSTRIA IN PARTICULAR. MOREOVER, THE WESTERN NEWS MEDIA ALSO BECAME A TARGET FOR VEHEMENT ATTACK. BD SOUGHT TO COUNTER THIS OFFENSIVE BY BROADCASTING SEVERAL COMMENTARIES WHICH EXAMINED THE NATURE AND CAUSES OF THE REGIME'S BEHAVIOR IN THIS REGARD. (SEE DR NOS. 127 AND 128, AND DS NOS. 23 OF 16 JUNE, 23 AND 24 OF 15 JUNE, 3 OF 8 JUNE, 3 OF 7 JUNE, 5 OF 5 JUNE, AND 9 OF 4 JUNE.)

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TECHNIQUES: IN A SERIES OF COMMENTARIES (SEE DBA NOS. 132/B-4 OF 8 JUNE, 133/A-1 OF 9 JUNE, 135/A-2, B-2 OF 11 JUNE, 136/A-1 OF 12-13 JUNE, 137/A-1 OF 14 JUNE), THE CSBD EXPRESSED ITS CHAGRIN AT THE VULGARITY AND VITUPERATIVENESS OF THE LANGUAGE UTILIZED BY THE CZECHOSLOVAK INFORMATION MEDIA. THE CRUDE CHARGES AND VITRIOLIC ACCUSATIONS, SAID THE BD, WERE REMINISCENT OF THE STALINIST PROPAGANDA ONSLAUGHTS OF THE 1950S. SEARCHING FOR THE REASONS BEHIND THIS REGRESSION TO PAST MODES OF BEHAVIOR, THE BD SINGLED OUT FOUR FACTORS AS PROBABLE CAUSATIVE AGENTS: (A) THE DESIRE TO OVERCOME INTERNAL DISUNITY AND WEAKNESS THROUGH THE FALSE APPEAL TO A FOREIGN DANGER; (B) THE NEED TO PROVE AN EXPLANATION FOR SERIOUS DOMESTIC PROBLEMS; (C) THE NEUROTIC RESPONSE OF A LEADERSHIP GROUP UNABLE TO COPE WITH EITHER ITS ENVIRONMENT OR ITS FRUSTRATIONS, AND THUS PROJECTING ITS OWN FLAWS AND AGGRESSIVENESS ON OTHERS; AND (D) THE REALIZATION THAT PEOPLE AT HOME AND ABROAD ARE UNFAVORABLY COMPARING LIFE IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA WITH LIFE IN THE WEST.

EFFECTIVENESS: NONE AVAILABLE.

6. OTHER EFFECTIVENESS ITEMS (ON PROGRAMS NOT TREATED IN PREVIOUS CBRs).

ON JUNE 4 BOTH RADIO HVEZDA (IN SLOVAK) AND BRATISLAVA PRAVDA ATTACKED THE BD'S "NEIGHBOR KONOPA" PROGRAM OF MAY 29 (IN CZECH; SEE DBA NO. 124/B-2) FOR HAVING CRITICIZED THE SHORTAGE OF MEAT IN THE CSSR AND FOR HAVING STATED THAT CURRENT AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION HAD HARDLY ATTAINED THE PRE-WAR LEVEL. RADIO HVEZDA COUNTERED WITH THE STANDARD ARGUMENT THAT BEFORE THE WAR, THOUSANDS OF CZECHOSLOVAK CITIZENS HAD BEEN UNEMPLOYED AND HAD BEEN UNABLE TO AFFORD DECENT FOOD FOR THEIR FAMILIES. (CF. ALSO CBR NO. 31, ITEM 4A.)

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H U N G A R Y

1. THE LOCAL COUNCILS: GREATER AUTHORITY MEANS GREATER RESPONSIBILITY

OBJECTIVES: THE NEW LAW ON LOCAL COUNCILS ENACTED BY THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY IN FEBRUARY 1971 NOT ONLY CONSIDERABLY EXPANDS THE AUTHORITY AND RESPONSIBILITY OF THESE BODIES FOR LOCAL DEVELOPMENT, BUT ALSO INCREASES THE FINANCIAL RESOURCES AVAILABLE TO THEM FOR THIS PURPOSE. THE BD UTILIZED THE JULY 1ST DEADLINE IMPOSED ON THE COUNCILS FOR THE PREPARATIONS OF THEIR NEW BUDGETS AND DEVELOPMENT PLANS TO URGE THEM TO USE THEIR INCREASED COMPETENCE FOR THE MAXIMUM BENEFIT OF THE VILLAGE POPULATION.

TECHNIQUES: IN A SERIES OF SEVEN COMMENTARIES (SEE DBA NOS. 132/B-3 OF 8 JUNE, 133/B-1 OF 9 JUNE, 134/B-1 OF 10 JUNE, 135/B-1, B-2 OF 11 JUNE, AND 136/B-4, B-5 OF 12-13 JUNE), THE BD DESCRIBED A NUMBER OF THE MORE IMPORTANT LOCAL PROBLEMS AWAITING SOLUTION. THESE INCLUDED, AMONG OTHERS, THE NEED FOR IMPROVED BUSINESS RELATIONS BETWEEN THE PRODUCERS' CO-OPERATIVES AND THE LOCAL CONSUMER AND MARKETING CO-OPERATIVES, BETTER SERVICING FACILITIES IN THE VILLAGES, GREATER COUNCIL CONCERN FOR THE DEVELOPMENT AND OPERATION OF PRODUCER CO-OPERATIVE ANCILLARY ACTIVITIES, AND THE CREATION OF ATTRACTIVE CAREER OPPORTUNITIES FOR RURAL YOUTH. SINCE THE GREATEST SHARE OF TAXES IS PAID BY THE PRODUCER CO-OPERATIVES AND THEIR MEMBERS, THE BD SAID, THEY HAVE THE RIGHT TO DEMAND SATISFACTION IN THESE AREAS.

EFFECTIVENESS: NONE AVAILABLE.

2. BOOK WEEK AND THE HUNGARIAN PRINTING INDUSTRY

OBJECTIVES: BOOK WEEK 1971 WAS CHARACTERIZED BY HEAVY CRITICISM OF THE HUNGARIAN PRINTING INDUSTRY FOR ITS INABILITY

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TO FULFILL ORDERS WITHOUT LENGTHY DELAYS. PERIODS OF TWO YEARS AND MORE ARE OFTEN REQUIRED BEFORE A BOOK CAN BE RUN OFF THE PRESS, PARTICULARLY ONE OF HIGH LITERARY, ARTISTIC OR ACADEMIC STANDARDS. PART OF THIS IS DUE TO LACK OF CAPACITY AND OUTMODED EQUIPMENT, BUT PART IS ALSO DUE TO THE PRIORITY WHICH THE INDUSTRY GIVES TO THE PRINTING OF MORE COMMERCIAL WORKS. THE LATTER ARE ALSO IN THE FREE PRICE CATEGORY AND THUS BY THEIR VERY NATURE MORE PROFITABLE THAN HIGH QUALITY BOOKS FOR WHICH THE STATE HAS FIXED THE RETAIL SALES CHARGE. IN LIGHT OF THE ATTENTION NOW BEING GIVEN THIS PROBLEM IN THE HUNGARIAN PRESS, THE BD SOUGHT TO EXAMINE THE ISSUE AND TO OFFER SOME CONSTRUCTIVE SUGGESTIONS FOR AT LEAST A TEMPORARY SOLUTION. (FOR MORE DETAILS SEE HSR NO. 21 OF JUNE 15, ITEM 5.)

TECHNIQUES: IN A FIVE-MINUTE COMMENTARY ON JUNE 8 (SEE DBA NO. 132/A-1), THE BD CRITICIZED THE FACT THAT NO HIGH-LEVEL OFFICIAL HAD TAKEN UP THE MATTER DURING THE MANY OCCASIONS OFFERED BY HUNGARY'S BOOK WEEK FESTIVITIES. THE PROBLEM, SAID THE BD, PRIMARILY CONSISTS OF A CONFLICT BETWEEN THE LEGITIMATE BUSINESS INTERESTS OF THE PRINTING INDUSTRY AND THE NEEDS OF THE NATION'S CULTURE. THE STATE HAS CORRECTLY FIXED PRICES FOR WORKS PROMOTING HUNGARIAN LITERATURE AND THE PUBLIC INTEREST, WHILE THE PRINTING INDUSTRY HAS CORRECTLY UTILIZED THE OPPORTUNITIES PROVIDED BY THE NEM. THE UNDESIRABLE SIDE EFFECTS OF THESE ACTIONS SHOULD NOW BE ELIMINATED THROUGH A CONSIDERABLE EXPANSION OF PRINTING INDUSTRY CAPACITY. HOWEVER, SINCE THIS APPEARS TO BE AN UNREALISTIC GOAL DURING THE NEXT FIVE YEARS, TWO TEMPORARY MEASURES SHOULD BE ADOPTED. FIRST, THE GOVERNMENT SHOULD OFFER THE PRINTING HOUSES INCENTIVES TO PRODUCE LITERARY AND SCIENTIFIC WORKS WITH MINIMUM DELAY (E.G., BONUSES, TAX REDUCTIONS, ETC.), AND SECOND, ENCOURAGEMENT SHOULD BE GIVEN TO THE DEVELOPMENT OF SMALL, PRIVATE PRINTING OPERATIONS IN ORDER TO SUPPLEMENT EXISTING CAPACITY.

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EFFECTIVENESS: NONE AVAILABLE.

3. EXCESSIVE SECRECY SURROUNDING HUNGARIAN-SOVIET
ECONOMIC RELATIONS

OBJECTIVES: TO URGE A MORE OPEN INFORMATION POLICY
WITH RESPECT TO EXISTING HUNGARIAN-SOVIET ECONOMIC AGREE-
MENTS.

TECHNIQUES: IN A FIVE-MINUTE COMMENTARY ON JUNE 15
(SEE DBA NO. 138/B-1), THE BD CITED THREE HIGHLY IMPORTANT
ECONOMIC AGREEMENTS BETWEEN HUNGARY AND THE USSR ABOUT WHICH
INSUFFICIENT INFORMATION HAS BEEN MADE AVAILABLE. THESE
INCLUDE THE CURRENT BILATERAL ARRANGEMENTS CONCERNING
URANIUM PRODUCTION, ALUMINUM MANUFACTURE, AND PETROLEUM
IMPORTATION. THE REGIME HAS DELIBERATELY MAINTAINED SILENCE
ABOUT THESE MATTERS, THE BD SAID, DESPITE THE FACT THAT THEY
AFFECT THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE NATIONAL ECONOMY AND ARE THUS
ISSUES OF PUBLIC CONCERN. AS A RESULT, FACTUAL DISCUSSION
HAS INEVITABLY GIVEN WAY TO THE EXCHANGE OF RUMORS.
FOR EXAMPLE, THERE IS A WIDESPREAD BELIEF IN HUNGARY THAT
THE COUNTRY PAYS MORE FOR SOVIET PETROLEUM THAN DO WESTERN
STATES. IT IS THEREFORE TIME FOR THE REGIME TO EMBARK ON
A PATH OF GREATER HONESTY REGARDING ITS ECONOMIC TIES WITH
THE USSR, THE BD CONCLUDED. CERTAINLY, MUCH LESS HARM
RESULTS FROM PRINTING THE TRUTH THEN FROM FORCING THE
PEOPLE TO GUESS AT WHAT HAS TAKEN PLACE.

EFFECTIVENESS: NONE AVAILABLE.

4. OTHER EFFECTIVENESS ITEMS (ON PROGRAMS NOT TREATED
IN PREVIOUS CBRs).

A. ON PAGE 29 OF ITS JUNE 1971 ISSUE, IFJU KOMMUNISTA,
THE MONTHLY OF THE COMMUNIST YOUTH LEAGUE (KISZ), DESCRIBED
THE POSSIBLE DANGERS AND BAD INFLUENCES TO BE FOUND IN WESTERN
SUMMER CAMPS FOR YOUTH. IT SHOULD BE NOTED THAT THE HUNGARIAN
BD HAS PROMOTED AND ADVERTISED THESE CAMPS NOW FOR THREE

(MORE)

YEARS, PROVIDING ITS LISTENERS WITH THE INFORMATION NECESSARY TO CHOOSE THOSE BEST SUITED TO THEIR NEEDS AND CIRCUMSTANCES. BD'S YOUTH EDITOR, MR. KASZA, WAS RECENTLY INFORMED BY THE BONN OFFICE OF ONE OF THE CAMP NETWORKS THAT OVER 100 APPLICATIONS HAD BEEN RECEIVED FROM HUNGARY FOR 1971. (THE MOST RECENT PROGRAMMING ON THIS SUBJECT TOOK PLACE ON APRIL 28 AND MAY 12; SEE DBA NO. 98/D-6.)

B. A NEW HUNGARIAN REFUGEE, MISS ZITA ZANKAI, RECENTLY WROTE THE BD TO EXPRESS HER APPRECIATION FOR THE FACT THAT HER ARTICLE IN THE JANUARY 24 ISSUE OF FEJER MEGYEI HIRLAP HAD BEEN INCLUDED IN BD'S PRESS REVIEW PROGRAM. (SEE DBA NO. 31/B-5 OF FEBRUARY : "THE 'AVERAGE CONSUMER' IN A HUNGARIAN GROCERY SHOP.") ACCORDING TO MISS ZANKAI, THE COUNTY PARTY COMMITTEE HAD SUBSEQUENTLY WARNED HER NOT TO WRITE SUCH ARTICLES IN THE FUTURE.

D. DURING ITS FARMER PROGRAMS ON APRIL 30, MAY 1, AND MAY 7 (SEE DBA NOS. 100/B-2, 101/B-1, AND 106/B-3), THE BD CRITICIZED THE FAILURE OF THE LOCAL CONSUMERS' AND MARKETING CO-OPERATIVES (AFESZ) TO PURCHASE THE FRUIT AND VEGETABLES GROWN ON THE HOUSEHOLD PLOTS IN SUFFICIENT QUANTITY AND AT THE APPROPRIATE TIME. ON JUNE 6, RADIO BUDAPEST INTERVIEWED SEVERAL LEADERS OF THESE CO-OPERATIVES, WHO--WITHOUT NAMING RFE--ATTEMPTED TO REFUTE BD'S ARGUMENTS.

D. IN A 20-MINUTE PROGRAM ON JUNE 6 (SEE DBA NO. 130/B-2), THE BD DISCUSSED THE PROBLEM OF GRADUATION EXAMINATIONS IN HUNGARY. IN ADDITION TO ITS OWN PERSONAL CRITICISM, THE BD DEVELOPED THE TOPIC BY MEANS OF THREE INTERVIEWS. THE FIRST INTERVIEWEE DEFENDED PRESENT EXAMINATION REQUIREMENTS; THE SECOND ATTACKED THEM, AND THE THIRD DISCUSSED HIS ROLE IN THE CREATION OF THE CURRENT SYSTEM BACK IN 1963. ON JUNE 12, RADIO BUDAPEST DIRECTLY COMMENTED ON THE BD'S PRESENTATION IN ITS WEEKLY REVIEW PROGRAM "168 HOURS." ALTHOUGH EMPHASIZING THAT IT DID NOT WANT TO DEFEND THE PRESENT GRADUATION SYSTEM, IT REPROACHED RFE FOR IGNORING THE FACT THAT THE SAME KIND OF REQUIREMENTS EXISTED IN WEST EUROPE, TOO. IT SHOULD BE NOTED, HOWEVER, THAT THIS COMPLAINT WAS NOT COMPLETELY VALID, SINCE ONE OF THE INTERVIEWEES HAD DELIBERATELY AND SPECIFICALLY TALKED ABOUT THE WEST GERMAN

(MORE)

SYSTEM IN ADDITION TO THE HUNGARIAN.

P O L A N D

1. THE LAW ON "SOCIAL PARASITES" (ADDENDUM TO CBR NO. 30, ITEM 3B)

EFFECTIVENESS: A FEW MONTHS AGO, THE POLISH REGIME PROPOSED A NEW DRAFT BILL TO CURB THE ACTIVITIES OF SO-CALLED "PARASITIC ELEMENTS" WITHIN THE COUNTRY'S SOCIAL STRUCTURE. EVER SINCE THAT TIME, THE POLISH BD HAS DEVOTED A PORTION OF ITS PROGRAMMING EFFORT TO REFUTING THE LEGAL CONCEPT OF "PARASITISM" ITSELF, AS WELL AS TO CRITICIZING MANY SPECIFIC PROVISIONS CONTAINED IN THE LEGAL DRAFT WHICH WILL EVENTUALLY GOVERN THE MATTER. (SEE DBA NOS. 66/B-2 OF 19 MARCH, 79/A-2 OF 3-4 APRIL, 89/B-4 OF 17 APRIL, 91/A-2 OF 20 APRIL, 97/A-2 OF 27 APRIL AND 114/B-1 OF 17 MAY.) ON 1 JUNE 1971, ZYCIE WARSZAWY PUBLISHED AN ARTICLE BY D. KACZYNSKA IN WHICH THE AUTHORESS REVEALED THAT 19 AMENDMENTS HAD BEEN PROPOSED TO THE DRAFT BILL. MOST OF THE PROPOSALS WERE SIMILAR TO THOSE ADVOCATED IN PREVIOUS BD COMMENTARIES. IN ADDITION, KACZYNSKA ADMITTED THAT THE NEW MEASURE HAD BEEN SEVERELY CRITICIZED AT PUBLIC MEETINGS THROUGHOUT POLAND.

2. PUBLICATION OF THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE 8TH CC PLENUM (ADDENDUM TO CBR NOS. 28, ITEM 2A; 30, ITEM 2; AND 31, ITEM 1.)

EFFECTIVENESS: DUE TO THE REGIME'S LONG DELAY IN FULFILLING ITS PROMISE TO PUBLISH THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE 8TH CC PLENUM IN FEBRUARY, THE POLISH BD DECIDED TO BROADCAST THE FULL TEXT OF THE REPORT DELIVERED AT THAT MEETING BY FORMER PREMIER JOZEF CYRANKIEWICZ (NOW HEAD OF STATE).

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THE PROGRAM WAS AIRED ON MAY 11 (SEE DBA NO. 109/A-1 AND CBR NO. 30, ITEM 2), AND 11 DAYS LATER TRYBUNA LUDU ANNOUNCED THAT A SPECIAL ISSUE OF NOWE DROGI CONTAINING THE MINUTES OF THE PLENUM HAD BEEN PUBLISHED. (THE ISSUE WILL NOT BE MADE AVAILABLE TO THE GENERAL PUBLIC, HOWEVER, UNTIL AFTER THE PARTY ORGANIZATIONS HAVE HAD A CHANCE TO SCRUTINIZE IT. SEE CBR NO. 31, ITEM 1; DS NO. 3 OF 5 JUNE; AND PSR NO. 32 OF 4 JUNE, ITEM 4.) THE BD HAS NOW RECEIVED INFORMATION TO THE EFFECT THAT THIS PARTICULAR EDITION OF NOWE DROGI HAD BEEN COMPLETED AND READY TO PRINT FOR SEVERAL WEEKS. IT WAS MERELY WAITING FOR THE GO-AHEAD SIGNAL, WHICH WAS FINALLY GIVEN BY THE POLITBURO THE DAY AFTER RFE BROADCAST THE CYRANKIEWICZ TEXT (I.E., ON MAY 12). APPARENTLY, THE REGIME FEARED THAT THE BD COULD AIR OTHER SPEECHES FROM THE PLENUM AS WELL.

3. GENERAL MOCZAR'S ILLNESS AND ITS POLITICAL REPERCUSSIONS (CONTINUATION OF CBR NOS. 29, ITEM 2; AND 30, ITEM 1)

OBJECTIVES: IN LIGHT OF THE UNBROKEN REGIME SILENCE ABOUT GENERAL MOCZAR'S PRESENT STATUS WITHIN THE RULING ELITE, THE POLISH BD CONTINUED TO PURSUE THE OBJECTIVES OUTLINED IN PREVIOUS CBRs, PROVIDING ITS LISTENERS WITH AN UP-TO-DATE ANALYSIS OF THE SITUATION BASED UPON THE MOST CURRENT AND RELEVANT FACTS TO BECOME AVAILABLE. (FOR THE MOST THOROUGH TREATMENT OF THE SUBJECT THUS FAR, SEE PBR NO. 15 OF JUNE 2.)

TECHNIQUES: IN A SERIES OF FOUR COMMENTARIES, PLUS ADDITIONAL NEWS ITEMS (SEE DBA NOS. 129/B-3 OF 4 JUNE, 134/A-1 OF 10 JUNE, 137/A-1 OF 14 JUNE, AND 138/A-1 OF 15 JUNE), THE BD UTILIZED BOTH POLISH AND WESTERN MEDIA (RADIO WARSAW, LA STAMPA, THE CHICAGO DAILY NEWS, ETC.) TO TRACE MOCZAR'S FURTHER STEADY DECLINE IN POLITICAL POWER. OF PARTICULAR RELEVANCE IN THIS RESPECT WERE THE PURGE OF A LARGE NUMBER OF MOCZAR'S FOLLOWERS FROM THE SECURITY FORCES--INCLUDING BRIGADIER GENERAL RYSZARD MATEJEWSKI--AS WELL AS THE ARREST OF FOUR HIGH MOCZARITE FUNCTIONARIES IN THE MINISTRY OF INTERIOR. (SEE DR NOS. 125, 132 AND 133;

(MORE)

DS NOS. 4 OF 16 JUNE; 46 AND 22 OF 15 JUNE; AND 19 OF 14 JUNE; PSR NOS. 32 OF 4 JUNE, ITEM 1, AND 31 OF 28 MAY, ITEM 1.)

EFFECTIVENESS: NONE AVAILABLE.

4. NEW PROGRAM FOR ECONOMIC REFORM OUTLINED

OBJECTIVES: AFTER MUCH DISCUSSION OF THE TOPIC BY THE POLISH LEADERSHIP AND THE DOMESTIC INFORMATION MEDIA, AN OUTLINE OF POLAND'S NEW ECONOMIC REFORM WAS PUBLISHED BY TRYBUNA LUDU ON MAY 29 (SEE PSR NO. 32 OF 4 JUNE, ITEM 2; AND PPS NO. 2308 OF 7 JUNE). THE BD UTILIZED THIS OPPORTUNITY TO: (A) GIVE ITS LISTENERS A BALANCED AND OBJECTIVE ASSESSMENT OF THE PROPOSED MEASURES; (B) PROMOTE MORE PUBLIC INTEREST IN THE NEW REFORM; (C) GENERATE PRESSURE FOR FULL IMPLEMENTATION OF ITS MORE PRAGMATIC FEATURES; AND (D) WARN THE PEOPLE THAT THE REGIME COULD EVENTUALLY RESORT TO COMPROMISES AND HALF MEASURES IN ORDER TO APPEASE THE APPARAT.

TECHNIQUES: IN A SERIES OF THREE COMMENTARIES (SEE DBA NOS. 129/A-1 OF 4 JUNE, 131/B-1 OF 7 JUNE, AND 137/B-1 OF 14 JUNE), THE BD WELCOMED THE DIRECTIVES PUBLISHED IN TRYBUNA LUDU AS A SIGN THAT THE PARTY LEADERSHIP SERIOUSLY INTENDED TO PREPARE AND INTRODUCE A LONG-RANGE SERIES OF ECONOMIC REFORMS. THE BD NOTED CERTAIN POSITIVE ASPECTS OF THE PROPOSALS, SUCH AS GREATER RELIANCE ON ECONOMIC EXPERTS, MORE SCOPE FOR INITIATIVE ON THE PART OF LOWER-LEVEL DECISION-MAKERS, AND A GENERAL REDUCTION OF ADMINISTRATIVE CONTROLS, BUT EXPRESSED THE HOPE THAT SOME OF THE DOGMATIC FORMULATIONS IN THE TEXT WOULD NOT BE TRANSFORMED INTO INSTITUTIONAL OBSTACLES. FOLLOWING THIS, THE BD PRESENTED A RELATIVELY DETAILED ANALYSIS OF THE REFORM'S MAIN ECONOMIC STRATEGY AND CONCEPTS AND CONCLUDED WITH A LENGTHY CRITICISM OF ITS TREATMENT OF THE FUNCTION OF WAGES AND WAGE POLICY.

EFFECTIVENESS: NONE AVAILABLE.

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5. CHURCH-STATE RELATIONS

OBJECTIVES: DURING A CORPUS CHRISTI DAY SERMON WHICH WENT UNREPORTED BY THE POLISH INFORMATION MEDIA, CARDINAL WYSZYNSKI PUT FORWARD THE EPISCOPATE'S VIEWPOINT ON THE ISSUE OF NORMALIZING CHURCH-STATE RELATIONS IN POLAND. (SEE PSR NO. 33 OF 14 JUNE, ITEM 4, AND DR NO. 130.) THE NEXT DAY IT WAS ANNOUNCED THAT THE LONG-PROMISED DRAFT BILL CONCERNING THE TRANSFER OF CHURCH PROPERTY IN WESTERN AND NORTHERN POLAND HAD BEEN SUBMITTED TO THE SEJM. (SEE DR NO. 131 AND DS NOS. 7 AND 11 OF 12 JUNE.) DUE TO THE BLACKOUT OF CARDINAL WYSZYNSKI'S SERMON BY THE DOMESTIC MEDIA, THE BD DECIDED TO ACQUAINT ITS LISTENERS WITH THE TEXT OF HIS REMARKS AS THEY BECAME AVAILABLE IN THE WEST. IN ADDITION, CERTAIN DISCOURAGING STATEMENTS MADE A FEW DAYS PREVIOUSLY BY POLITBURO MEMBER JAN SYDLAK, PLUS THE SUBMISSION OF THE CHURCH PROPERTY BILL TO THE SEJM, PROVIDED A TIMELY OPPORTUNITY TO REVIEW THE EPISCOPATE'S BASIC STANDPOINTS ON THE PRESENT STATUS AND FUTURE IMPROVEMENT OF CHURCH-STATE RELATIONS, AS WELL AS TO EXAMINE THE CURRENT ATTITUDES AND TACTICS OF THE REGIME ITSELF.

TECHNIQUES: IN A SERIES OF FOUR COMMENTARIES (SEE DBA NOS. 129/B-2 OF 4 JUNE, 132/A-1 OF 8 JUNE, 135/A-1 OF 11 JUNE, AND 136/A-1 OF 12-13 JUNE), THE BD RECONSTRUCTED WYSZYNSKI'S SERMON ON THE BASIS OF DISPATCHES SENT BY THE FOREIGN CORRESPONDENTS ACCREDITED IN WARSAW. IT IS A SHAME, THE BD SAID, THAT THE REGIME DENIES THE PEOPLE THEIR RIGHT TO INFORMATION ON SUCH A VITAL ISSUE AS CHURCH-STATE RELATIONS, ESPECIALLY WHEN THE HEAD OF THE EPISCOPATE HIMSELF IS DISCUSSING THE MATTER. THIS IS A COMPLEX ISSUE, THE BD CONTINUED, AND THE TRANSFER OF CHURCH PROPERTY IS ONLY ONE ASPECT OF IT. THE LENGTHY DELAYS IN SETTLING THE CONTROVERSIES BETWEEN THE TWO SIDES--WHICH ARE PARTLY EXPLAINED BY CONFLICT WITHIN THE REGIME ITSELF--ARE EVIDENCE OF A LACK OF PRINCIPLE ON THE PART OF THE COMMUNIST STATE AND THE STILL LINGERING DESIRE TO SOMEHOW MAKE THE CATHOLIC CHURCH AN OBEDIENT INSTRUMENT OF THE PARTY'S WILL.

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EFFECTIVENESS: NONE AVAILABLE.

6. OTHER EFFECTIVENESS ITEMS (ON PROGRAMS NOT TREATED
IN PREVIOUS CBRs)

EVER SINCE THE NEW POLISH LEADERSHIP REVERSED GOMULKA'S CONTROLLED UNEMPLOYMENT POLICY IN FAVOR OF ONE OF FULL EMPLOYMENT, THE POLISH BD HAS REPEATEDLY ARGUED THAT WHAT THE COUNTRY'S ECONOMY NEEDS IS NOT ONLY FULL EMPLOYMENT, BUT RATIONAL EMPLOYMENT (SEE DBA NOS. 32/B-1 OF 8 FEBRUARY, 50/B-2 OF 1 MARCH, AND 120/B-2 OF 24 MAY). DURING A RECENT SPEECH IN KATOWICE (TRYBUNA LUDU, 6 JUNE 1971), EDWARD GIEREK SPOKE ON THIS SAME SUBJECT AND VIRTUALLY ADOPTED THE BD'S ARGUMENTATION (SEE PSR NO. 33 OF 14 JUNE, ITEM 2). THIS WAS THEN SUBSEQUENTLY CONFIRMED AS THE OFFICIAL POLICY LINE BY AN EDITORIAL IN TRYBUNA LUDU ON JUNE 9.

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R U M A N I A

1. TRADE UNION REFORM

OBJECTIVES: TO REMIND THE REGIME OF ITS FEBRUARY 1971 PROMISE TO REORGANIZE AND REFORM THE RUMANIAN TRADE UNIONS (SEE RBR NOS. 3 OF 17 FEBRUARY, 4 OF 18 FEBRUARY, AND 9 OF 19 MARCH).

TECHNIQUES: IN AN EIGHT-MINUTE COMMENTARY ON JUNE 7 (SEE DBA NO. 131/A-1), THE BD NOTED THAT THREE MONTHS HAD PASSED SINCE THE TRADE UNION CONGRESS, AND THE PROMISES OF REFORM WHICH HAD BEEN MADE BY CEAUSESCU AT THE FEBRUARY CC PLENUM STILL REMAINED UNFULFILLED. ON FEBRUARY 16, A SPECIAL COMMISSION WAS CREATED TO DRAFT A NEW LAW ON THE ROLE OF RUMANIA'S TUS. THIS WAS TO HAVE BEEN SUBMITTED TO THE TU CONGRESS FOR APPROVAL AT THE END OF MARCH, BUT THE CONGRESS HAS COME AND GONE, JUNE HAS ARRIVED, AND NO DRAFT LEGISLATION IS YET IN SIGHT. A SIMILAR FATE HAS BEFALLEN THE NEW TRADE UNION STATUTES. ALTHOUGH FOUR NEW STATUTORY PROJECTS HAD BEEN DISCUSSED AT THE CONGRESS, ONLY TWO OF THEM HAVE YET BEEN PUBLISHED BY THE TU MONTHLY MUNCA. TIME IS RUNNING OUT, THE BD SAID, AND THE NEW TRADE UNION CHIEF, VIRGIL TROFIN, MUST SOON DEMONSTRATE WHETHER TU DEMOCRACY IS TO BECOME A FACT OR REMAIN A CONCEPT ALIEN TO THE RCP VERSION OF SOCIALISM.

EFFECTIVENESS: NONE AVAILABLE.

2. CONFLICT BETWEEN ECONOMIC AIMS AND METHODS IN RUMANIA

OBJECTIVES: TO DEMONSTRATE THAT THERE IS A DISCREPANCY BETWEEN THE REGIME'S DESIRE FOR A MODERNIZATION OF THE ECONOMY AND ITS RIGIDLY DOGMATIC METHODS OF OPERATING THE ECONOMIC SYSTEM.

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TECHNIQUES: IN A SEVEN-MINUTE COMMENTARY ON JUNE 15 (SEE DBA NO. 138/A-1), THE BD MENTIONED THAT IN THE CURRENT RUMANIAN ECONOMIC AND ADMINISTRATIVE STRUCTURE PARTY DOGMA CALLS FOR THE CONCENTRATION OF POWER IN THE HANDS OF A FEW INDIVIDUALS. THIS DOGMA RESULTS IN GENERALLY UNFORTUNATE CONSEQUENCES, BUT IS ESPECIALLY DAMAGING IN THE ECONOMIC SECTOR, WHERE DECISIONS SHOULD BE MADE AT LOWER LEVELS BY THOSE MOST COMPETENT TO ASSUME THE RESPONSIBILITY. A RECENT ISSUE OF THE RUMANIAN MONTHLY PROBLEME ECONOMICE PROVIDES AN EXCELLENT CASE IN POINT, THE BD SAID. THE JOURNAL PUBLISHED A REPORT ON ITS INQUIRY INTO THE OPERATION AND RESULTS OF THE NEW CENTER FOR TRAINING LEADING INDUSTRIAL CADRES. DURING ITS INVESTIGATION, THE JOURNAL DISCOVERED THAT MANY ENTERPRISES AND INDUSTRIAL CENTRALS COMPLETELY LACK INTEREST IN ECONOMIC MODERNIZATION AND SCIENTIFIC MANAGEMENT METHODS AND PRACTICES. THE MAJORITY OF DIRECTORS AT ALL LEVELS TOOK THE POSITION THAT THEIR FOREMOST DUTY WAS TO FULFILL PLAN DIRECTIVES AND THAT MANAGEMENT SCIENCE PLAYED A NEGLIGIBLE ROLE IN THIS. MOREOVER, THEIR ATTITUDE WAS SHARED BY TOP ECONOMIC PLANNING OFFICIALS. THUS, EVEN LEADERS WHO HAD BEEN TRAINED AT THE CENTER SOON FELL BACK INTO THE OLD ROUTINE, ESPECIALLY AFTER THEIR INITIAL ATTEMPTS AT INTRODUCING CHANGE WERE UNSUCCESSFUL. ONE IS ENTITLED TO ASK, THE BD SAID, WHY THE CENTER WAS CREATED AND WHY THERE IS SUCH OFFICIAL INTEREST IN MODERNIZATION IF THE CADRES CANNOT AND DO NOT PUT INTO PRACTICE WHAT THEY HAVE LEARNED DURING THEIR TRAINING PERIOD. THIS IS CERTAINLY A PRIME EXAMPLE OF THE NEED FOR BASIC CHANGES IN REGIME POLICY AND DOGMA, THE BD CONCLUDED, AND WITHOUT IT ALL EFFORTS TO IMPROVE THE RUMANIAN ECONOMIC SITUATION WILL PROVE FRUITLESS.

EFFECTIVENESS: NONE AVAILABLE.

3. OTHER EFFECTIVENESS ITEMS (ON PROGRAMS NOT TREATED IN PREVIOUS CBRs)

A. ON APRIL 25 (SEE DBA NO. 95/B-2), THE RUMANIAN BD BROADCAST A PERSONAL APPEAL TO CEAUSESCU WRITTEN BY MR. TUDOR

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TRAIAN, A RUMANIAN REFUGEE LIVING IN VIENNA. MR. TRAIAN HAD REQUESTED THE BD'S HELP IN SECURING PERMISSION FROM THE REGIME FOR HIS WIFE TO LEAVE RUMANIA AND JOIN HIM IN AUSTRIA. ON JUNE 2, THE BD RECEIVED A LETTER FROM MR. TRAIAN ANNOUNCING THAT HIS WIFE HAD FINALLY RECEIVED A PASSPORT AND HAD ARRIVED IN VIENNA ON MAY 22.

B. ON MARCH 14 (SEE DBA NO. 61/B-1), THE BD BROADCAST A LETTER FROM A LISTENER WHO OBJECTED TO A REGIME DECISION PREVENTING THE PURCHASE AND SALE OF PRIVATELY-OWNED HOUSING IN THE CITIES. THE BD ADDED ITS OWN CRITICISM OF THE MEASURE, DENOUNCING THE HARDSHIP WHICH IT NEEDLESSLY CREATED AND CALLING IT AN ACT OF POLITICAL FOLLY. ON JUNE 11, THE BD RECEIVED A LETTER FROM RUMANIA SAYING THAT THE DECREE HAD BEEN ABOLISHED ON MARCH 25, AND THAT PRIVATELY-OWNED HOUSING COULD ONCE AGAIN BE PURCHASED IN RUMANIAN MUNICIPALITIES.

C. ON JANUARY 5 (SEE DBA NO. 3/A-1), THE BD CARRIED A COMMENTARY URGING THE REGIME TO PROVIDE A SUBSTANTIAL INCREASE IN THE AMOUNT OF ASSISTANCE GIVEN TO INDIVIDUAL RESEARCHERS. PRESENT RUMANIAN POLICY IN THIS FIELD IS TO GRANT AID ONLY TO CERTAIN PRIVILEGED BODIES, SUCH AS THE MINISTRY OF EDUCATION, THE ACADEMY OF SCIENCES, AND SELECTED INDUSTRIAL ENTERPRISES. NOT ONLY IS INDIVIDUAL RESEARCH NEGLECTED, BUT THE INDEPENDENT INVENTOR IS SOMETIMES EVEN PERSECUTED FOR HIS ACTIVITIES. ON 31 MARCH 1971, THE PARTY DAILY SCINTEIA PUBLISHED THE CASE OF RUMANIAN ENGINEER VLAD GRADIN, WHO HAD DEVELOPED A NEW METHOD FOR BUILDING RAILROADS. INSTEAD OF BEING REWARDED OR PROMOTED FOR HIS INVENTION, HOWEVER, HE WAS PERSECUTED AND DOWNGRADED. THE AUTHOR OF THE SCINTEIA ARTICLE OBJECTED TO THIS ATTITUDE AND DEMANDED THAT GREATER ATTENTION BE PAID TO THE INDIVIDUAL RESEARCHER.

END MSG