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29 January 1982

# East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

(FOUO 1/82)



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BULGARIA

BULGARIA'S TANCHEV VIEWS MACEDONIA, MIDEAST

PM091403 Paris AFRIQUE-ASIE in French 12-25 Oct 81 pp 49-51

[Interview with Petur Tanchev, first deputy chairman of the Bulgarian State Council and secretary of the Bulgarian National Agrarian Union, by Bouzid Kouza, in Varna: "The Desire for Peace"--date not given]

[Text] "We have been living in peace for 37 years. This is the first time that this has happened in our country's entire history. And we will do all we can to ensure that it lasts, to ensure that war is abolished and that the Balkans are no longer synonymous with a powder keg." This remark by Petur Tanchev was the central idea of the interview which he granted to us in the agrarian union's rest house in Varna where, in the company of hundreds more cadres and members of that party, the State Council deputy chairman spent a vacation which was in fact rather disturbed by Bulgarian and foreign visitors.

"In the past," he explained, "there was a war every 10 or 15 years. That can be explained by the fact that Bulgaria is a strategic region: It is at the junction of three continents--Asia, Europe and Africa."

Indeed the great roads of expansion and trade, religion and ideology have intersected in this little mountainous country for centuries and centuries. Everybody knows that it was in the Balkans in 1914 that the events which provided the pretext for World War I took place.

"It was a question of establishing who would have control over the Balkans," Petur Tanchev added. "Today, following World War II, this region is a distinctive mosaic. Bulgaria and Romania are Warsaw Pact members; Turkey and Greece are NATO members; Yugoslavia is nonaligned whereas Albania is...China. Everybody can be said to be represented in the Balkans."

It is obvious that this situation represents a constant source of near confrontations, especially since the effects of the imperialist forces' divisive policy have not yet been removed. These are seen in, among other things, ethnic and territorial problems affecting Macedonia in particular. The originality of Bulgaria's policy lies in the wisdom of its leaders who have always upheld the principle of mutual respect and constructive dialogue.

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"This policy led us to establish ties with Turkey and Greece after World War II. As you know we had had virtually no contact with them for a very long time. These ties are now well-established, as is shown by the very intensive trade between them and us. For instance, trade with Greece amounts to \$500 million per year while Turkey buys all the electricity it consumes from us. [sentence as published] This shows that the atmosphere is good. Of course, there is still the Macedonian question which complicates our relations with Yugoslavia. But we do not despair of reaching a solution. This is what our Comrade Zhivkov constantly says, and I think that this wise attitude is now being imitated by the Yugoslavian leaders."

Nonetheless, Macedonia, that bone of contention, is poisoning relations between the two countries and is particularly used by the Western imperialist powers to undermine the natural solidarity between two socialist countries. Petur Tanchev replied to this: "That's true. Everybody knows that Macedonia is inhabited by Bulgarians. But we certainly do not want to claim that territory. You know, we have waged three wars in the past and have lost all three. There can be no question of a fourth war when we can settle the question by constructive dialogue. What is unacceptable is to say that the inhabitants of Bulgaria are Macedonians. This is ridiculous. Nonetheless, I repeat that it is necessary to go beyond the territorial aspect to see what is beneficial for our two countries."

But Bulgaria is not just European, it is also Near Eastern, only being separated from the Near East by Turkey. The same policy of peace governs Bulgaria's relations with the Arab countries. But the peace policy in no way means the abandonment of the principle of solidarity and support for peoples struggling for their political and economic liberation. This principle found its sphere of application during the liberation wars in Algeria, Angola and Mozambique. It is still being implemented today in those same countries and in others like Syria, Libya and Iraq which are struggling to build an independent economy and are facing imperialism's maneuvers.

A Single Missile

And then there is the Palestine and the Near East crisis on which Petur Tanchev gave a lucid judgment: "Our support for the Palestinian people in securing recognition of their legitimate rights is known because our line has always been one of helping the Arab people who form a total of 100 million souls. But in our view the essential problem lies in oil. The Near East Arab countries have a great deal of oil. That is why the Americans will do all they can to divide them and gain control over this strategic region's oil. However, a solution to the Palestinian problem must be found. And we think this is only possible if the proposals put forward by the Soviet Union are taken into account. These proposals are constructive and guarantee the Arab people their freedom and independence."

They do not seem to have been welcomed, I pointed out, although some Arab countries have shown some interest.

[Tanchev speaks] Of course, it is the Americans who are opposing them because they want to remain masters of this region. [Tanchev ends]

With regard to the many initiatives which have been emerging in Europe for some time, Petur Tanchev said: "It seems to us that the Europeans do not want to openly oppose

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the United States. If they reach agreement with the Arab countries, with the Soviet Union and with the other socialist countries then it is possible that a solution may be found. The fact is that the European countries are trying to establish a presence in this region. That is understandable because they have strategic interests there. This is true of relations between France and Iraq, for example. We consider that the European countries' attitude is not belligerent like the U.S. attitude, and that is very important. But the Arab countries need guarantees. They must realize that without the Arab countries, without the PLO, the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, no solution is possible. However, we think that the Europeans can play a positive role provided they take account of the factors which I have just listed. But the fact is that U.S. influence exists. The United States is 13,000 km away from the Gulf and yet they have installed a nuclear fleet there. Against whom is it directed? What does it want? What is preventing it from realizing its plans for domination? The Soviet Union. Without the Soviet Union it would just take a few missiles to destroy the whole region. But if they launch a single missile, the Soviet fleet will respond."

This is a vicious circle for the people who live in a situation which they do not control: "Yes," Petur Tanchev replied, "that is why a reasonable solution must be found quickly."

How can this be done? Is the idea of an international conference to which Bulgaria subscribes still valid and possible? "It was possible under the Carter administration, which had officially accepted the principle of it," our interlocutor said, "but Egypt's about-face scuttled the plan. The United States is now urging the Arab countries to follow the same path as Egypt. It wants to establish military bases in those countries and have closer control over the oil resources. For our part we reject this way of viewing things and acting. The socialist countries do not have oil interests in this region. Moreover we think it is up to the Arab countries to fix the oil price."

Can these questions of security in the Gulf region be treated separately or must they be tackled by including them in an all-embracing approach? To this question the Bulgarian leaders reply that the peace problem is an integral whole and that it is necessary to do everything possible to move toward settling it. Consequently, it cannot simply be a question of the Gulf or Europe but must also take in the Indian Ocean--another strategic region where a formidable armada is concentrated with nuclear weapons capable of destroying the planet. Petur Tanchev thinks that "events are very complex. There are the Arab countries, Iran, Afghanistan, Pakistan.... We think that an international conference is necessary to make an overall examination of security problems which concern all peoples. It is in this direction that the socialist countries' diplomacy is deployed. This is also why we regard the proposals made by Indira Gandhi as very interesting."

In short, all Bulgaria's activity in the international arena is stamped with the desire to contribute to the consolidation of peace and understanding among people, to the suppression of war, the strengthening of detente and peaceful coexistence in international relations, and to the triumph of the national liberation revolution.

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CZECHOSLOVAKIA

GOVERNMENT MOVING TO CRUSH 'UNDERGROUND' CHURCH

PM181411 London THE TIMES in English 18 Dec 81 p 6

[Dispatch by David Blow: "Czechs Try to Crush 'Underground' Church"]

[Text] Vienna, 17 Dec--Security police are now thought to have been responsible for the mysterious deaths in Czechoslovakia this year of two Catholic activists, members of the "underground" or "catacomb" church.

On 10 October the body of Pavel Svejda, aged 20, was found at the foot of a crevasse near his home city of Brno. The authorities said it was suicide but refused to allow his relatives to see the body before it was buried. Mr Svejda, who was due to get married 2 weeks later, was known as a devout Christian and had just returned from Rome where he had visited his uncle, a Jesuit theologian at the Gregorian University.

Earlier, in February, Premysl Coufal, aged 49, was found dead in his apartment in Bratislava. On this occasion friends managed to trick the authorities into letting them see the body. They found the face and forehead heavily bruised, the left ear torn and a deep wound by the temples. Mr Coufal had also been to Rome shortly before his death and is thought to have been ordained there.

The "underground" church in Czechoslovakia has become the target of brutal repression by the authorities. A special unit of the security police is even said to have been set up to deal with it.

The declining numbers of officially authorized priests are expected to confine the activities to the performance of church ritual, and are firmly discouraged from any more active role in the community.

It is this deliberate attempt to squeeze the life out of the Catholic that has given rise to the "underground" church.

There are as many as 500 secretly ordained priests striving to keep the Catholic faith alive by organizing prayer meetings and bible readings. Anyone found to be involved in these activities is liable to be severely punished.

Such trials are becoming increasingly frequent and there are now over 100 priests in prison.

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POLAND

POLL CONDUCTED NOVEMBER-DECEMBER 1981 IN POLAND PUBLISHED

Paris PARIS MATCH in French 25 Dec 81 pp 37-39

[Text] Just prior to the takeover, we questioned the Poles. This was the second time. A year ago, PARIS MATCH and Public, S. A. polled off a world "first": a survey behind the Iron Curtain, in Poland. Four months after the Gdansk agreements and despite the presence of Lech Walesa at the head of Solidarity, the Poles no longer had faith in them. If they had not yet given up all hope, their enthusiasm had plummeted sharply. And at that time, PARIS MATCH reported that 3 percent of the Poles would vote Communist if free elections were held. Behind this survey loomed the picture of a great people, harassed but still indomitable. PARIS MATCH and Public, S. A. returned to Poland. This survey took a month. In all, 18 survey takers traveled thousands of kilometers, and 600 persons were interviewed. A few hours after this operation was completed, General Jaruzelski decreed martial law. From this exhausted nation, this people bent on survival, some brutal conclusions were derived. Solidarity and the [Catholic] Church represent the real country (88 percent). If the Red Army were to intervene, there would be massive resistance (71 percent). The Pope remains the most effective shield against the Soviets (59 percent). 63 percent of the Poles contemplate leaving their country to live abroad, the majority in France (33 percent). And, like last year, only 3 percent would vote for the Communist Party if free elections were held today. Henceforth, legitimacy is maintained at gunpoint....

No to the Dictatorship--63 Percent

[Question] Would you accept a return to a "hard-line" (neo-Stalinist) government today which would eliminate poverty and reestablish authority, even if this would mean a "turn of the screw" with regard to freedoms?

Yes, perhaps	22
Yes, certainly	15
No, never	63

This question, like the others, was asked before the Polish Army seized power. The responses justify the question as to whether the Polish people, despite "anarchy" and poverty, will accept a dictatorial regime, even if it promises order and "recovery."

[Question] Might a national unity government including the PZPR and Solidarity be the best means of rescuing Poland from the crisis?

Yes	67
No	33



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This answer perhaps offers the hope of a solution to the crisis. But is such a national unity government possible when it would mean an end to the Party monopoly? For the Soviets, the tolerance threshold would then have been crossed.

## Would Vote Communist in Free Elections--3 Percent

[Question] If free elections were held in Poland today and the following parties nominated candidates, for which would you vote?

	1981	1980
PZPR (Communist Party)	3	3
Socialist Party	20	27
Christian Democratic Party	43	34
Agrarian Party	5	4
Liberal Party	20	19
No opinion	9	13

The "bourgeois" parties as a whole (Christian Democratic, Agrarian and Liberal) would represent 68 percent of the potential voters! In any case, the Poles massively reject communism, the Party and the Soviet Union, but what Western statesman has dared to date to urge that free elections be held in Poland?

## Identify with Solidarity and the Church--88 Percent

[Question] What body best represents Poland and its people today?

Solidarity	45
The Church	43
The Government	7
The Army	4
The PZPR	1

The vast majority of the people identify with the Church and Solidarity (88 percent), as compared to 7 percent for the government and 1 percent for the Party. Until 1980, the Church could with full impunity enjoy rather considerable freedom, since it was situated outside the "orthodox" scheme in the transmission chain of the Marxist-Leninist organization and ideology. Solidarity is a much greater threat to the vital organs of the system than the Church could be. The Soviets and the PZPR have drawn their conclusions from that fact.

[Question] Is there a privileged class or group in Poland, and if so, what is it?

The PZPR Members	56
The Government	21
The Members of the Security Service and the Militia	11
The Army	8
Other	4

Like everywhere else, the "Nomenklatura," or members of the Communist Party, are regarded by the Poles, in their vast majority, as the "privileged" class in the system. (It would have served no purpose to list at length the possible theoretical classes included here in the term "other," for "other" represents the Poles as a whole.)

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[Question] A. What "irksome" privileges would have to be abolished, in your view, to make relations in the country healthier and to create an atmosphere of solidarity favorable to recovery?

The material advantages of the "new class" (special stores, priority in obtaining cars, housing, supplies)	39
Inequality before the law	33
The Communist Party monopoly on the country's economy	11
The Communist Party monopoly on the media (press-television)	9
Other	8

[Question] B. If you could make just one wish for yourself and your country, what would it be?

Improvement of daily life (procurement of supplies, food, housing, consumer goods)	33
The hope of greater justice	24
The independence of Poland	19
A free and democratic government	23
Political pluralism	4
Various, other	20

This question was an "open" one (in other words, the Poles could voice their own wishes), and no specific list was suggested. The main wish of the Poles pertained to everything involved in daily life, in particular "food." Everything having to do with justice, equality, dignity, independence, etc, representing 24 percent of the views, is linked with the views expressed in question A. on the new class.

[Question] In your view, who is responsible for the very serious economic crisis Poland is experiencing today?

The Government	38
The PZPR	35
The USSR	16
Solidarity	2
The West	1
Do not know	8

It is communism which is judged responsible for the crisis, confirming the views already expressed in 1980 on the responsibility for the outbreak of strife. The fact that Solidarity is regarded as responsible by only 2 percent of the Poles shows that the government would have a difficult time discrediting the free Polish trade union movement.

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[Question] Is Poland an independent country?

Not at all	54
In part	41
Totally	5

The Polish people, whose national pride dates back centuries, harbor no illusions about the reality of the Soviet "big brother," or their own potential for action.

[Question] Do you think that Russian-Polish trade is:

Balanced, to their mutual benefit	9
To the benefit of Poland	2
To the benefit of the USSR	85
No opinion	4

Even more than in its political and diplomatic life, it is in economic relations that Poles believe their country to be subjugated. Even beyond higher principles, they have the feeling of being the victims of a swindle.

[Question] Do you feel the influence of the Soviets in daily life in Poland?

Greatly	52
A little	41
Not at all	7

The parallels seen with the two preceding questions on the independence of the country and the presence of the Soviets are remarkably consistent. In their hearts and in their daily lives, the Poles are seeing their country develop, the leaders act, and Solidarity make itself felt...But they are well aware that how their history is written is subject to Soviet censorship.

Believe That the Army Is More Polish Than Communist--66 Percent

[Question] In your view, is the Polish Army primarily:

Polish	66
Communist	11
Do not know	23

[Question] If the Soviets were to intervene in Poland, what would the army do, in your opinion?

It would take the side of the people	60
It would support the Soviet intervention	17
It would remain neutral	3
Do not know	20

Before it took action, the Poles had confidence in their army, which they viewed as national and ready to join the people in the event of Soviet repression. The 17 percent who foresaw support by the Polish Army of Soviet intervention were not perhaps expressing a doubt about its nationalist spirit, but about the feasibility of military resistance in practice.

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[Question] Do you expect Soviet intervention in Poland?

Yes	32
No	63
Do not know	5

[Question] For what reasons, in your view, might it occur?

Because of the risk Polish "liberalism" poses of contaminating the Soviet bloc	44
Because in the end the Polish crisis threatens the regime	42
Because Poland is beginning to become too independent of Moscow	14

To judge from their answers, the Poles are well aware of the example their experience sets for the other peoples of Eastern Europe, and as good "Kremlinologists," they place contagion at the head of the list of reasons which might lead the Political Bureau of the CPSU to decide on military intervention.

Would Resist if the Russians Intervened--74 Percent

[Question] If the USSR did intervene, what would you do?

	1981	1980
Submit	16	24
Resist	74	66
Do not know	10	10

It was precisely 8 percent of the Poles who, in the course of 1 year, joined in "resistance." Representing 74 percent of the entire people, they constitute more than a broad majority today. This is doubtless the main reason for the Soviet "restraint."

[Question] Would you resist the Soviets?

Responses by Sex and Age of Those Questioned

	18-25	26-35	36-55	over 55
Would Submit	10	18	13	26
Would Resist	85	75	78	51
Did not respond	5	7	9	23

[Question] If the Soviets were to intervene in Poland, do you think that the West would come to your aid?

Yes	36
No	59
No opinion	5

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Twenty-five years after Budapest and the sadly remembered echoes of Radio Free Europe, how can 36 percent of the Poles imagine that the West would come to their aid in the event of Soviet intervention? The Poles' lack of knowledge about the West and the illusions they have about it are vast.

[Question] In your view, is the Pope an effective shield for the Polish people against Soviet intervention?

Yes	59
No	37
Do not know	4

Without a doubt, the former Cardinal of Krakow represents for the Poles the equivalent of countless "divisions" (a comparison of which Stalin was fond) against the Political Bureau of the CPSU. The fact remains that the Pope has shown singular caution since the Polish military seized power.

[Question] Following the death of Primate Wyszynski, do you think that his successor, Primate Glemp, will defend you?

Better	15
Not as well	29
Equally well	56

It is always difficult to follow a great national figure, particularly in the case of Cardinal Wyszynski, a hero of the national resistance against communism. Glemp, who is not a historic personage like his predecessor, seems well accepted by the population, to judge from the above figures.

[Question] A. Have you ever thought of leaving Poland, on a temporary or permanent basis, to work abroad?

Yes, permanently	23
Yes, temporarily	40
No	37

Thus 63 percent of the Poles have thought of emigrating. This percentage is surely higher than that of the Cubans or the Vietnamese would be. During our earlier poll in 1980, 19 percent of the Poles said "that they would not want in any case to live elsewhere than in Poland."

[Question] B. What would be the deciding factor if you left?

Lack of hope for the children	31
The difficulty of life in general	27
Poverty	13
The advent of the Soviets	8

It is very clear that the conditions of life (harshness and poverty) would be a key factor in emigration. The possibility of Soviet intervention accounts for only 8 percent of the reasons for emigration, which serves to confirm the intention of the Poles to resist in the event of Soviet intervention.

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Would Prefer To Emigrate to France--31 Percent

[Question] C. If you emigrated, to what country would it be?

France	31
U.S.A.	15
FRG	14
Australia	12
Canada	8
Austria	7
Great Britain	3
Other	10

France is the favorite. Last year, in response to a similar question, the United States ranked above France as the country of choice for emigration.

This poll was taken between 3 November and 5 December 1981 from a sampling of 600 persons representative of the Polish population. As is done for the vast majority of surveys taken in France, the sampling plan was drafted on the basis of the quota method. The lack of any complete and consistent statistical publications, such as the general census of the population in France, made it necessary to process different statistical sources and to take into account the concepts used in the realm of social categories, among others. The sources used included the POLISH STATISTICAL ANNUAL for 1976 (French documentation), the UNITED NATIONS DEMOGRAPHIC ANNUAL for 1978, and the 1977, 1978 and 1979 LABOR STATISTICS ANNUALS (ILO [International Labor Organization]). The quotas used included active and nonactive population, by sex and age; occupations of the active population, by sex; personnel in the scientific, technical, liberal and related professions; higher administrative management and cadres; administrative personnel and related workers; commercial and selling personnel; crop raisers, livestock breeders, forestry personnel, fishermen and hunters; nonagricultural workers and laborers and transport vehicle drivers; urban and rural populations; and population by region.

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POLAND

COMMENTARY ON PZPR-SOLIDARITY CONFRONTATION

Paris L'EXPRESS in French 11 Dec 81 pp 108-109

[Article by Jacques Renard: "Warsaw's Great Fear"]

[Text] The party's hardliners are ready for anything in order to defeat Walesa. But the Polish crisis has brought out other

. . .

"Until now, I was afraid that this crisis would never end. Today, I tremble at the thought that it might end very quickly and very badly." No less courageous than the others, this man was freezing while waiting for a crowded streetcar in front of the headquarters of the Party Central Committee on Jerozolimskie Avenue. But it is this confused fear which, for several days now, has come on top of the daily suffering of everyone, on top of the fatigue and the ration stamps.

Is this fear justified? Who can tell, when one no longer knows what to believe, when the declarations of war of the "hardliners" drown out the voices of the "moderates"? When, for example, on Monday, 7 December, on Polish radio, one can hear a magnetic tape recording "pirated" during a closed-door meeting held by the Presidium of the Solidarity Trade Union in Radom on the preceding Thursday, at which time Lech Walesa, the leader who usually is so cautious in his public statements, said that "confrontation is inevitable and it will take place"? And he said further: "I was wrong in my calculations. I would like in a natural fashion--when everybody is with us--to achieve the overthrow of the Sejm, all of these councils! Today we find that we can no longer pursue this tactic. We realize that we must act fast."

The official newspapers devoted entire columns to this document in which other union leaders mentioned "the creation of a provisional government" or "the establishment of worker militias equipped with helmets and clubs" whose first action, according to Zbigniew Bujak, chairman of Solidarity-Mazowsze (in the Warsaw region), was to be "the liberation of radio and television." His deputy, Seweryn Jaworski, likewise chairman of the union shop at the big steel mill of Huta Warszawa, nicknamed "Pr Tournesol" [Prince Sunflower] by the foreign correspondents because of his astonishing resemblance to that famous scientist, challenged Walesa: "If you take one more step backward, I myself am going to cut your head off. And if I am not the one to do that, the others will do it in my place."

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In the concert of official media, apart from all the noise, the army journal ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI commented: "So the masks have been dropped and the objectives pursued--until now so carefully camouflaged by deceptive slogans--appear clearly. What they are after is to seize power and to overthrow the socialist system in Poland."

Wieslaw Bek, the spokesman of the Polish Communist Party (the PZPR) and editor-in-chief of TRYBUNA LUDU, the official organ of the Central Committee, whom we asked whether the dissemination of this paper really serves the cause of "national understanding" in which the PZPR still claims to believe, replied: "It was a good thing for the millions of Solidarity followers--the overwhelming majority of whom do not want confrontation but on the contrary want normalization--to know what their leader really thinks." Wieslaw Bek is happy over having received many telephone calls from people telling him that this document had terrified them.

"In what way does that serve national understanding?"

"To the extent that the Solidarity spokesman had to retreat yesterday. He had to disavow these extremists. That is a good thing."

Does Wieslaw Bek know how this magnetic tape fell into the hands of Polish radio?

"You, the West, have a formula: 'well-informed circles.' Let us say that it was the well-informed circles who did what was necessary."

But who in the media is disavowing the extremists in the party? Nobody. A man such as Tadeusz Grabski, for example, in an interview in RZECZYWISTOSC, the weekly magazine of the PZPR, declared: "I was in favor of Solidarity so long as it was a labor union. But I am against those forces that want to transform it into a weapon of war to destroy the socialist state. Of course, I am a hardliner but only to those who plant anarchy in Poland."

A Letter From the Primate to Parliament

National understanding? He does not believe in it: "Just 15 months after the events of August 1980, we all know that the real conflict was not avoided, that the crisis is getting deeper all the time, that the threats to the nation, including the threat of a bloodbath, far from declining, have grown."

The remedy? "Immediately put an end to illegal propaganda directed against the political system, against the State and its alliances. I believe that the overwhelming silent majority of our country would accept the use of emergency measures."

The poison did its job: The Poles are afraid of this law on emergency measures which the government got the Sejm to vote on a few days ago. Horrible things were said in connection with it: It would eliminate the right to strike, it would limit the right to assembly and to free travel even within Poland, it would give the military tribunals authority in areas until now reserved for civilian justice.

On 8 December, nevertheless, the party's spokesman himself told us that the bill had not yet been fully drafted and that it was therefore useless to make any advance judgments as to its content: "I can assure you that this law will not permit the



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Sejm to suspend strikes except for a period of 3 months, once a year only. For example, 3 months in winter. And the emergency measures cover only that period of time. They must be lifted on 31 March 1982." Walesa himself seems in favor of a strike of this kind.

But, then, why allow these rumors to come up in the first place? "All we can say is that the bill is still in the drafting stage."

This is a rather strange method which greatly contributed to raising tensions in recent days. To the point of persuading the Presidium of Solidarity to declare that a 24-hour general strike would be launched if the Sejm were to pass that law and that an unlimited strike would immediately follow any implementation of emergency measures.

The primate of Poland himself, Archbishop Glemp, after talking with Walesa on two occasions, addressed a letter to parliament, imploring it not to pass that bill.

Who is fooling whom? Who is provoking whom? How far away it now appears, that "summit" of "national understanding" on 4 November when, as part of an unprecedented event, the primate, Lech Walesa, and the party boss, Premier and Defense Minister General Jaruzelski, sat down around the same table. The coordination that should have come out of that turned out to be short-lived. Negotiations bogged down. The party's "hardliners" barely concealed their joy: In their eyes, reconciliation could turn out to be more dangerous than confrontation, to the extent that it would entail the risk of hastening the decline of the PZPR. On 17 November, the communist cell at the Huta Warszawa steel mill adopted a program designed "to save the State from total disintegration." It called for a ban on strikes for 2 years, categorizing them among "actions threatening the existence of the nation and its defense capability."

## The Sack Cloth of Understanding

The day before, universities and higher schools throughout Poland went on strike out of solidarity with the students of Radom who were unable freely to elect their president. The militant communists at Huta Warszawa demanded that "an end be put to the antisocialist and anarchic activities of the Independent Association of Students [NZS]." The time was ripe for the leaders of the "dogmatists" who, at the Sixth Plenum, pushed through the idea of using special powers.

Came the final blow to the sack cloth [shagreen leather] of understanding: Those pictures of the riot police surrounding the Warsaw fire department officers school whose students were on strike to avoid the total militarization of their status. From the big factories in the capital, "worker militias" had come to mount guard around the threatened school. They were only able to shout their defiance to the forces of law and order. Solidarity-Mazowsze had decided to turn 17 December--the day Pierre Mauroy was expected in Warsaw on an official visit--into a day of protest against the use of force in social conflicts. Something broke on Wednesday, 2 December. Perhaps a last hope. "Our Christmas Eve will be more like an armed watch if we keep on this way," said the man who was still waiting for his streetcar before the headquarters of the Central Committee.

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PHOTO CAPTIONS

[p 108] Warsaw, 2 December: The forces of law and order force the evacuation of the firemen's school occupied by the students. Carneski-Gamma.

[p 109] Lech Walesa: Who's fooling whom? Who is provoking whom? Philippot-Syigma.

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