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TRENDS IN WARSAW PACT STRATEGY OUTLINED

Frankfurt/Main SOLDAT UND TECHNIK in German Oct 76 pp 503-505

[Text] At the last conference of ministers of the NATO Defense Planning Committee in Brussels, the defense ministers approved the NATO Armed Forces Objectives for the period of 1977-1982. The Armed Forces Objectives primarily include the improvements regarding quality, readiness, training, and equipment of forces assigned to NATO commanders for that period of time or forces earmarked for such assignment; these are the requirements which the NATO commanders consider necessary for that period of time likewise. In view of the recognizable stepped-up and improved military potential of the Warsaw Pact, the deterrent and defense capability of the alliance is to be increased. The defense ministers in Brussels heard a lecture on the facts and trends in the military potential of the Warsaw Pact; the main points of that lecture are given below.

In earlier reports, the following main trends in the Warsaw Pact were pointed up:

the obvious desire to achieve superiority in the field of strategic weapons;
development toward a many-sided, differentiated attack potential;
continued improvement of the capabilities and endurance of combat troops;
growing ability of Warsaw Pact Armed Forces to support political objectives in remote regions.

Developments have confirmed this analysis. In long-range terms we can recognize a pattern: the military potential of all armed forces components is being deliberately stepped up to cope with conflicts of all kinds. Of course, this process is moving ahead at different speeds, in consonance with Soviet priorities, but one weak point after another is being tackled.

The Warsaw Pact forces are being converted into an ever stronger, more flexible tool with an ever greater reaction capability, a tool suitable for supporting the objectives of Soviet policy which are spreading all over the world and successfully conducting wars on every level.

Military strength is based on the political and economic foundation that sustains it.

In political respects, this military expansion is intended to support a regime which is designed to become the ruling power of the world and which seeks to expand its influence in every possible manner. In Angola, the Warsaw Pact demonstrated the will and the ability to pursue its interests in remote areas through military support for third countries. A similar employment of underlings cannot be ruled out in the future either.

In economic respects, the character of their system, which is based on central management, enables them to undertake heavy investments in the military sector, with less difficulties than we have in the West, and to accord top priority to military research and development. Since 1970, the defense effort has annually gobbled up about 11-13 percent of the Soviet GNP whereas earlier estimates ran to 6-8 percent.

Strategy

In the field of strategic arms, the impressive improvement of the Soviet potential continues. A year ago, the fact that the Soviets had no MIRV multiple warheads for strategic missiles was considered a relatively weak point. In 1975, new intercontinental missiles with MIRV multiple warheads were deployed and additional ones are approaching deployment.

By the middle of 1976, a considerable part of the Soviet potential could consist of these new missiles. Better accuracy, increased reliability, shorter reaction time, and increasing hardening of missile sites increase the effectiveness of the strategic missile force.

Progress is being made in testing a new, possibly mobile medium-range missile with a MIRV multiple warhead.

Among the atomic missile submarines of the Delta Class, one boat is launched every 2 months, with two versions ready for employment: Delta I has 12 missiles while Delta II has 16. A third variant with more missiles might possibly be under construction. It is expected that a ballistic missile, with MIRV multiple warheads, to be launched from submarines, will turn up.

The BACKFIRE long-range bombers are being delivered to units faster than had been expected so far. This versatile aircraft is suited for atomic or conventional sorties against land or sea targets in Europe, the adjoining regions, and, in case of airborne refueling, in North America. A reconnaissance version is also expected.

Strategic defense is not being neglected either. After a pause of 4 years, the Soviets once again have tested an antisatellite system. Radar equipment was improved and the armed forces are being increasingly supplied with more modern aircraft. Defense capability against low-level aircraft is still poor but one can in the future expect a tie-in here with the MOSS early warning aircraft, as well as a new fighter-interceptor, improved radar, missiles, as well as a ground-to-air missile system for low altitudes to be used against strategic attacks.

Ground Forces

In the field of tactical nuclear ground operations, there is a trend toward greater accuracy, versatility, and flexibility. The models replacing the presently earth-protected missile systems for nuclear warheads are presumably ready for action. Together with the introduction of new tactical and strategic aircraft, these missiles will improve the available weapons systems. It is also possible that atomic artillery might soon be developed.

Further developments among the ground forces enhance the conventional fire power. Artillery divisions committed forward were enlarged; heavy artillery brigades have also turned up with some combat formations. Mobility and conventional flexibility are on the increase. Airmobile assault brigades have been identified and the number of armored troop carriers and APCs in the division has been increased. The new SP artillery continues to be deployed in large numbers. The T-72 tank, with improved armament and improved fire control equipment, has been deployed with some units in the Soviet Union and possibly also in the GSTD (Group of Soviet Forces in Germany). Tactical air defense continues to be improved in qualitative and quantitative terms. Some divisions have been issued SA-6 and SA-8, both of which are low-flying, all-weather missile systems. One version of the SA-9 might possibly have improved target-tracking capability; a shorter SA-4 is suspected to have improved performance. The impressive family of tactical AA weapons will make it possible to switch a major portion of the tactical air forces from the air defense mission for ground forces to offensive air support missions. Finally, a system for defense against tactical ballistic missiles might be developed in the future.

The ability of the Warsaw Pact forces to conduct sustained operations is being increased further; so far it has been assumed that the Soviet logistic system is designed only for a short war; now the idea is that it is suitable for any kind of warfare. After the initial phase of combat operations, there would however arise a need for resupply from the USSR. The quantity and quality of reinforcements are likewise going up. Numerous Soviet divisions in the USSR--of which it had so far been assumed that they were lacking a part of their equipment--have received such equipment in rising quantities. Moreover, three new third-echelon Soviet divisions have been identified. There are furthermore indications as to plans to increase the number of divisions in case of war through mobilization.

Air Force

In the tactical air force, the quantitative strengthening of the long-range multipurpose aircraft--combined with an increase in the penetration capability and improvements in the fields of avionics, ECM, and missiles--improved the ability to conduct far reaching air operations. From bases in the USSR, the later versions of these aircraft can cover targets in almost the entire NATO sector while fighter-bombers of the Fencer and Foxbat types can also reach Great Britain.

The other significant improvements in the air force include the following:
an air-to-ground missile protected against radar detection;

development of a system for the employment of weapons by means of some reconnaissance aircraft;

an all-weather attack capability against ground targets;

two air-to-air guided missiles already operational;

and improved reconnaissance sensors.

From the strategic viewpoint, developments in the ground and air forces point to a worrisome trend toward the growing ability to launch large-scale offensive operations with less and less preparations.

This ability quickly to deploy troops is further enhanced by the continual improvement in air transport equipment. The Soviet transport command (VTA) can support attacks by airmobile units in the entire NATO area. This capability could be further increased through the additional introduction of long-range aircraft, such as, for example, the "CANDID." To supplement this air transport capability, more than 1,000 medium or heavy transport aircraft and many helicopters of Aeroflot, the government airline company, are available.

Naval Forces

The fighting strength of the naval forces is likewise being expanded continually. A high level of development in the command became clear during the "Okean 75" exercise. The main element continues to be the submarine arm, the biggest in the world, which is currently estimated at more than 300 active units. The surface forces are likewise being constantly improved. The first aircraft carrier of the KIEV class, equipped with ASW helicopters and possibly V/STOL aircraft, will probably be placed in service at the end of the year (1); at least two others are currently under construction.

Further developments include improvements in the sea reconnaissance satellite system and the introduction of new tactical antiship missiles.

The Soviets have so far not managed to solve the problems of discovering and locating submarines on the high seas; in addition there is the long-known weakness of the Soviet Navy in the field of logistic combat support at sea. Its possibilities of course are limited but one can observe a gradual improvement both in quality and in capacity.

Air support for the Navy likewise is an essential weak point and it is not yet quite clear to what extent aircraft, based on the KIEV-Class aircraft carriers, will be capable to perform such missions as air defense or air strikes; the development of this aircraft carrier however does represent an important step toward the correction of this weak point. The operational assignment of the "BACKFIRE" bomber constitutes a particularly important contribution to the naval air forces; it is to be expected that they will number considerably more than 100. Another important development in close-in air support for the navy is the possible supplementation of the Soviet naval air forces by modern fighter-bombers.

Soviet amphibious possibilities continue to be confined extensively to relatively minor operations in the off-shore range; nevertheless, amphibious vessels, presumably carrying Soviet Marines, are being increasingly identified outside territorial waters. This is probably another development which is taking shape. The sea transport potential is growing slowly and includes surface-effect vessels and roll-on/roll-off container vessels.

As the last clear trend one can observe that the Soviets are continuing to develop a potential which will make it possible for them to unfold their military power in remote regions and on a global plain. This potential is still somewhat limited--at least where military resistance emerges, but the intention is quite clear. The Soviet Navy is operating almost throughout the world: the Soviet squadron in the Indian Ocean has become a permanent thing, the presence of the navy off the coast of West Africa seems to be a lasting thing, and military aircraft are being flown from and to Cuba, Guinea, and Somalia.

In the Mediterranean, the Soviet Navy, in spite of the loss of Alexandria, has retained access to Syrian ports; it can continue to use Yugoslav facilities and it will probably soon have access to facilities in Libya.

Moreover, the Soviet Navy has other facilities available in Guinea, Somalia, Iraq, and South Yemen as well as, of course, Cuba. Besides, in view of growing Soviet influence and increasing Soviet aid, it would above all in Africa and in the coastal regions along the Indian Ocean not be too much of a surprise if similar developments were to emerge also elsewhere.

The Soviets always started with the premise that military might is a prerequisite for political strength and it seems as if they were deliberately looking for a suitable possibility for attaining their objectives either through militarily backed-up political and social pressure or if necessary through armed conflict.

Many weak points continue to exist but their number is declining threateningly. Some analysts have been predicting for years that the Soviets would never try to develop SP artillery, airmobile assault units, aircraft carriers, or atomic artillery. Three of these developments have now become reality and in the case of the fourth one there is a definite possibility.

The NATO intelligence services have kept reporting that the Warsaw Pact is expanding its military might. That process continues.

FOOTNOTE

1. This vessel entered the Mediterranean through the Bosphorus as we reported in No 9, 1976, pp 460-461.)

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GREATER STRESS PLACED ON MILITARY ECONOMY

East Berlin MILITAERTECHNIK in German No 10, Oct 76 pp 433-436

[Article by Lt. Col. W. Haensel, B.S. in Economics: "Mastery of Military Skills Requires Military-Economic Thinking and Action"]

[Text] The Ninth Congress of the SED has obligated all Communists in the National People's Army, the border guard forces, and the other GDR protection and security agencies to ensure a high level of fighting strength and combat readiness or action readiness, under all conditions, for the protection of socialism and peace as well as to guarantee the territorial integrity, the inviolability of the international boundaries, and the national security of the GDR (1).

Marshal of the Soviet Union A.A. Grechko listed the following as main criteria for the fighting strength of the units:

qualitative equipment with weapons and combat gear as well as increase in quality,

political-moral condition, as well as

the level of their military training (2).

Two of these criteria relate directly to the soldier, to his training level, to his political-moral, psychological, and physical qualities, which shows that the relationship between man and technology is increasingly becoming an ideological problem.

Our party fully takes into account this growing significance of the man-technology relationship, emphasizing the primacy of man. At the Tenth Conference of Delegates of SED Party Organizations in the NVA and the GDR border guard forces, Admiral Verner described this in the following terms: "the soldier plays the lead in the man-technology relationship in the truest sense of the word. And the important thing is that he play well, that he be in a position to employ the equipment with masterful skill and that he fully exploit the fighting qualities of that equipment" (3). In other words, the issue, in brief, here is a high level of military skill mastery.

Content of Military Skill Mastery

Military skill mastery includes iron discipline, proletarian internationalism and socialist patriotism, friendship toward the Soviet Union, love of the working people and loyalty to the communist ideals as well as to the most valuable properties of the defenders of peace, socialism, and communism (4). These qualities reveal the close interrelationship between the consolidated political consciousness of the soldier and his military know-how, whose unity is characterized by the socialist soldier personality. By military skill mastery we mean--reduced to a common denominator--the totality of that knowledge and ability which is necessary for the successful accomplishment of assignments in the particular duty position within the time limit ordered. That includes the following:

excellent knowledge as to the nature and qualities of combat equipment and weapons;

skills in operating and maintaining such equipment;

good tactical knowledge,

developed thinking ability and seasoned sensory organs;

physical and psychological endurance.

"The significance of military mastery with regard to all-around combat readiness is obvious. The better the individual is familiar with equipment and weapons, the more efficiently will he be able to use them and correct any developing trouble himself, the more confidently will he act, the less can negative factors arising from certain combat situations influence his behavior" (5).

More Attention to Economic Aspects

Achieving military skill mastery is one of the most important tasks--if not the most important one--in military activity to begin with; greater efficiency in this military activity is at the focus of the efforts of all members of the NVA and the GDR border guard forces. Every military activity involves the utilization and consumption of economic resources, however. "That means--and this is a question which comes up anew every day--that each assignment must not be carried out with just 'any old' expenditure but rather with the least expenditure in terms of manpower, equipment, money, and time" (6). Basically, the issue is this: to apply the essence of the intensification process in the national economy creatively within the NVA and the GDR border guard forces. Considering economic aspects in the attainment of a high level of military skill mastery therefore above all means that military-economic thinking and action must be fostered among all personnel of the NVA and the GDR border guard forces.

The goal of military-economic thinking and action consists in attaining a maximum military result combined with minimum, planned utilization of social resources, coupled with the maintenance of a militarily-economically optimum time span, at the proper moment (7). In summary: a high level

of military skill mastery presupposes military-economic thinking and action.

The realization of this interrelationship has already produced outstanding achievements on the part of many members of the NVA and the GDR border forces. An expression of this is the increase in the fighting strength and combat readiness of the NVA and the GDR border guard forces which--combined with the significant material-technical changes which have taken place in the units in recent years--represents the decisive result from the accomplishment of the military class mission assigned since the Eighth SED Congress. The recent initiatives, proposals, and pledges within socialist competition after the Ninth SED Party Congress proved that likewise. Nevertheless, this interrelationship is not yet being given adequate consideration everywhere and is not yet understood as a criterion in the struggle for the achievement of a high level of military skill mastery.

This brings out multifaceted political-ideological problems, some of which we will discuss below.

Create and Develop Conscious Political Attitudes

The higher requirements regarding the accomplishment of the military class mission, set up by the Ninth SED Party Congress for the NVA and the GDR border guard forces, require that greater clarity be created everywhere about the fact that combat readiness is not a temporary and static condition but rather a dynamic process. In it we find at work political-moral, intellectual, military, material-technical, organizational, and scientific factors in a complex pattern and the important thing is to make them effective also in a complex manner by thinking them through better.

In connection with combat readiness, the Tenth Conference of Delegates repeatedly demanded that combat equipment and arms be mastered to the point of perfection. The accomplishment of this demanding task by no means involves purely technical or organizational questions; its essence also involves political problems which represent the essential subject of party activities and political-ideological work with our people (8). This demand is particularly timely with regard to the work in the major and minor units. "In the major and minor units, combat readiness is after all determined by the political-moral condition, by the training results achieved, and by the degree of readiness to employ weapons and combat equipment. The abilities and skills of army personnel, in terms of the immediate utilization of equipment, the timely establishment of march readiness and the occupation of targets, positions, and areas are crucial questions of combat readiness on this echelon. This makes it even clearer that direct work with individuals must determine their political-moral, physical, and psychological preparation for combat, their combat training, as well as the thinking and action of the communists" (9).

It is the task of all communists in the NVA and the GDR border guard forces accordingly to develop and promote above all class-oriented basic political

attitudes toward combat gear and armament among all army personnel and border guard personnel. Class-oriented basic political attitudes can best be developed where there is clarity about the basic political-ideological issues of our party's struggle in the further fashioning of the developed socialist society and the creation of prerequisites for the gradual transition to communism as well as the responsibility of the socialist armed forces in this process.

In this way we fashion the motives which make it impossible for a serviceman or a border guardsman to be indifferent toward the matter of military skill mastery, to coast along, and to be a lackadaisical rather than a creative individual. But we must always keep in mind that basic consolidated class-oriented attitudes are not automatically identical with practical behavior, so to speak, each form of behavior--psychology teaches us--is influenced not only by consolidated attitudes but also by current motivation. If the conditions and prerequisites for the struggle for the attainment of a high level of military skill mastery are not constantly being created, then class-oriented basic political attitudes toward combat gear and armament will not act in a drive-regulating manner to the extent to which this is necessary in order to accomplish the military class mission.

This realization should persuade us more energetically to fight against an idea which can still be found in some units, an idea to the effect that the soldier's man-hour does not cost anything. Every unused minute means, on the one hand, loss of effectiveness in the struggle for a high level of military skill mastery and on the other hand a moral loss in the attitude of army personnel and border guardsmen. Correct organization of duty performance, combined with iron discipline and order-- whose core is the creative execution of orders and strict compliance with service regulations-- as well as high political consciousness--that is the foundation for the struggle to achieve a high level of military skill mastery. Every superior, regardless of what echelon he may be on, should always keep in mind that obligations and struggle programs are only a prerequisite but do not constitute success itself. Success must be organized daily and hourly; only then will the "unity between the political pledge to defend socialism and a high level of military performance in combat training" become fully effective (10). The higher requirements for political and military leadership activity, which emerge here, represent a highly timely task for all superiors, political agencies, and party organizations.

Recognition of Necessity Is Not the Whole Story

The forms and methods of the struggle for a high level of military skill mastery are increasingly moving to the focus. This was pointed out by national defense minister, Army General Hoffmann, at the Tenth Conference of Delegates: "For example, there is hardly any doubt as to the necessity of beginning the struggle for higher combat readiness with the mind, that is, in ideological terms. There is hardly any doubt about the need for blending combat training with class-oriented education and consistently aiming political-ideological work at the accomplishment of military assignments. Everybody knows that this is necessary but not everybody knows how to do it" (11).

The question as to "how" today concerns army personnel and border guardsmen more than ever before. Every discussion about the accomplishment of tasks assigned basically revolves around "how." Here, ideas more and more revolve around the concept of accomplishing assignments on a high quality level and with the least expenditure in terms of time, material, and cost; this expresses the higher level of military-economic thinking and acting. It is only logical that the party organizations should consider it a significant political task to generalize and pass on the experiences of the best as well as to organize socialist assistance and constant performance comparisons, as well as to act accordingly.

Here we find many different forms and methods of practical expression of correct realizations and discoveries. In the "Arthur Ladwig" Unit--which, on the occasion of the Ninth SED Party Congress was awarded the honorary banner of the SED Central Committee--for example, the FDJ organization took over the youth project entitled "The Effective Training Hour Is When We Prove Ourselves as the Fighting Reserve of the Party." As part of this youth project, marksmanship training was launched with emphasis on error frequency. For this purpose, the riflemen are grouped and given special training in keeping with their characteristic firing mistakes. This intensifies the training effort and stabilizes the even now rather good range firing results of this unit. This example shows that there are many different possibilities for finding ideas--through conferences and by using one's head--as to how one could further enhance combat readiness. The best results actually achieved in the various units however must not just remain outstanding military results by the best personnel. They must be generalized because this basically involves newly developed military standards. These standards must be taken into account in the entire leadership effort in order everywhere to create the conditions and prerequisites so that all soldiers and units can meet such standards.

It must be the task of every superior therefore to try to struggle for the daily and hourly increase in the military skill mastery level with his unit. He must have an eye for the place where there are reserves present in the training process, where there have been effectiveness losses, and who is responsible for that. He must be in a position to derive leadership requirements from that in order to achieve higher efficiency. He must try to find out what stimulates a high level of military skill mastery and what does not and he must derive the corresponding conclusions. In short: every superior must have a more precise knowledge of the economic requirements connected with military matters and must implement them as the unity of political and military leadership and creative initiative of army personnel and borderguardsmen for the sake of high combat strength and combat readiness.

The party organizations will resolutely support every superior in this effort by, in particular, strengthening the party's influence in those sectors on which the accomplishment of the assigned tasks depends primarily. These are the sectors on which mental capacities are to be concentrated and work connected with this effort should be done more efficiently. This kind of specifically target-oriented and continuing effort is today typical of many party organizations. This also is shown by the fact that

military-technical propaganda is being stepped up and is being tied in much more with military-economic propaganda in many places. One example here is the line of argument "driving correctly means driving economically!" which can be encountered in major and minor units and which contributes to the further skill improvement of motor vehicle drivers; this has also produced some good economic results within the army as a whole.

Study and Apply Soviet Experiences in a Complex Manner

The assignments adopted by the Ninth Party Congress call for new criteria in the utilization of the comprehensive treasure of experiences of the Soviet Army. On the basis of the new step in the awareness of the community and cooperation of the socialist armies, demanded by the Ninth Party Congress, the important thing now is to consolidate the conviction as to the victorious nature of the Soviet military equipment made available to us in order to strengthen confidence in our own power further. "It is and remains an iron law for the responsible internationalist action of our army personnel to learn from the Soviet Army as to how one can make political-ideological education and the mastery of modern weapons and equipment even more efficient and more effective within a unit framework" (12).

The assistance of our Soviet comrades in arms is of inestimable value in accomplishing every assignment. Here we are concerned not only with the fact that we copy one or the other trick in operating and maintaining combat equipment and weapons from the enlisted men, sergeants, and officers of the "regiment next door." That is undoubtedly correct. But, even more so, we are concerned with being more consistent--in all fields and especially in the struggle for a high level of military skill mastery--when it comes to adopting the criterion of the Soviet Armed Forces as the basis for expanded and in-depth arms comradeship relations. We must definitely focus here on the battlefield.

Some units still tackle this assignment in a frequently only organizational-technical approach. But if we want to adopt the criteria of our experienced comrades in arms as our own criteria--and the need for that is unchallenged--then we must study and apply Soviet experiences in a more complex manner. That includes--to mention just one example--also the forms and methods of party-political work to attain high results in the mastery of combat gear and weapons (13). This is precisely where we find an inexhaustible source for greater effectiveness in the struggle for a high level of military skill mastery.

Efficiency Reduced by Deficient Qualification

In order to be able to develop a mastery of combat gear and armament to the point of perfection, it is necessary to focus the attention of all communists and superiors much more on skill qualification. Only if the enlisted men and the units have developed a mastery of combat gear and armament can we speak of an increase in fighting strength and combat readiness. But this increase is what this is all about. The mere fact that NVA weapons and equipment are increasingly characterized by modern Soviet weapons and systems, operated by teams, places the skill qualification of the individual enlisted man, NCO, and commissioned officer in a new light. Here, the "man-technology" relationship becomes the

"team-technology relationship." In terms of skill qualification, this means that the individual soldier needs not only a thorough knowledge in his own limited specialized field but must also have a good knowledge as to the general structure and the function of the equipment operated by his team as well as the actions of the entire collective.

The superior's responsibility for the skill training of each individual member of the collective thus is increased significantly. Every superior must constantly keep in mind that quality and effectiveness in the final analysis are also problems of skill training. Deficiency in terms of skill qualification restricts the effectiveness of military activity. Deficiency in terms of the skill qualification of the individual has at least two effects: on the one hand, it causes effectiveness losses for the individual himself; on the other hand, it upsets the progress of the other members of the team. One must therefore not simply accept the fact that a particular individual falls behind in terms of the depth and tempo of skill development. This is also a question involving consolidated collective socialist relationships. But tolerating a situation where one individual falls behind also means tolerating weak points in the entire unit. This considerably cuts down our fighting strength and combat readiness.

From that we can derive the conclusion that a team's efficiency will go up, the more the team members are in a position to take each other's places properly. The struggle of many collectives within socialist competition for full mutual replaceability shows that this interrelationship is being recognized and implemented better and better all the time.

Mastery to the point of perfection however also means that one must not be satisfied with average performances. From the requirement for perfection springs--for each individual and for every team--also the logical conclusion that they must fight to meet the standards and carry out official duties with very good results. That creates particularly high requirements for every superior and every communist in terms of the example they can set, in terms of their own military skill mastery, in terms of the entire political-ideological work with individuals. Every communist and every superior must more than ever before acquire the ability above all critically to evaluate his military-technical know-how and constantly to draw conclusions from that regarding his own further skill improvement. That also calls for considering advanced training not as something to be gotten over with quickly but rather as a measure necessary for the constant perfection of one's own military know-how. In this connection, one should once again devote more attention to self-study as the fundamental way to expand one's knowledge.

Care and Maintenance Call for Iron Military Discipline

The care and maintenance of combat equipment and armament assume increasing significance in terms of the attainment of a high level of military skill mastery. Here we are concerned, on the one hand, with ensuring the constant action readiness of the equipment; on the other hand, the process of care and maintenance also contains capabilities for the further in-depth development and perfection of military-technical and military-economic know-how.

More attention must be devoted to this educational aspect.

Special attention must be devoted to the work of army personnel and border guardsmen who are assigned to the care and maintenance [of equipment]. Their high training level will extensively prevent the breakdown of combat equipment and weapons. If we analyze the damages and losses of recent years, we find that a large part can be traced back to errors in utilization, maintenance, and operation. Every breakdown of combat equipment and weapons however causes double damage: first of all, equipment produced at high cost is wasted and, second, the combat value of the units is reduced. Every neglect in the care and maintenance [of equipment] therefore weakens fighting strength and combat readiness.

Military discipline and order consequently assume ever greater significance in the process of care and maintenance. Here utmost attention must be devoted to the precise implementation of rules spelled out in service regulations, directives, and operating instructions. They are the first step toward a high level of military skill mastery. This is why all superiors and party organizations would do well to devote more attention to the process of care and maintenance and to leave the guarantee of rigid military discipline and order not only to the technical officers and the service units involved.

Develop a Sixth Sense for New Things According to Plan

The tasks which the Ninth SED Party Congress has assigned to the NVA and the GDR border guard forces require them to tackle these tasks creatively. The level of scientific-technical work and thus also innovator activities in the NVA and the GDR border guard forces therefore assume increasing significance. Through their activity, the 18,000 innovators of the NVA and the GDR border guard forces express the fact that the development of a sixth sense for everything that is new is increasingly becoming the primary requirement of our time. If we stop at what we have achieved, we will be falling behind. But in order constantly to move forward, we need a broader degree of scientific-technical thinking everywhere in the NVA and the GDR border guard forces.

Paying more attention to innovator work is not only a military-technical and military-economic matter but also a profoundly political concern of all superiors and party organizations. The results of innovator work by way of preparation for the Ninth SED Party Congress show how this became visible at the exhibit in Potsdam in June of this year; here we found that the orientation of the Tenth Conference of Delegates was being followed better all the time. One out of every three innovator proposals dealt with combat training. This produced some outstanding collective innovator projects which contained not only military-technical but also military-economic solutions, such as the modified AT practice hand grenade, the rubber AT practice mine, the equipment for hit and miss indication for small arms--just to mention a few. As Lt. Gen. Fleissner, deputy of the minister and chief of technology and armament, pointed out in Potsdam, the emphasis however must be placed even more on those developments with whose help one can directly improve combat training. Supporting innovator work effectively therefore in the final analysis means nothing more than increasing the fighting strength and combat readiness of the newest in a specifically target-oriented manner.

The few aspects of political-ideological work mentioned here in the struggle for the attainment of a high level of military skill mastery makes it clear that the specific questions of military life must be focused on even more. The objectively growing military-technical and military-economic tasks require us constantly to analyze and solve these problems in a differentiated manner, as well as to explain them specifically and in terms of unit effectiveness, in connection with the basic political-ideological issues of our time.

FOOTNOTES

1. See Honecker, E., "Bericht des Zentralkomitees der Sozialistischen Einheitspartei Deutschlands an den IX, SED," Berlin, 1976, p 118.
2. See Grechko, A. A., "Die Streitkroefte des Sowjetstaates," Berlin, 1975, p 277.
3. Verner, W., "We Carry Out the Military Class Mission Reliably," PARTEIARBEITER, Special Issue, Tenth Conference of Delegates, April 1976, p 29.
4. See "Programm der Sozialistischen Einheitspartei Deutschlands," Berlin, 1976, p 64.
5. Group of authors: "Soldat und Krieg," Berlin, 1972, p 144.
6. Hoffmann, H., "Accomplish the Future Tasks Aimed at Increasing Fighting Strength and Combat Readiness With Energy and in a Farsighted Manner," PARTEIARBEITER, Special Issue, Tenth Conference of Delegates, April 1976, p 60.
7. See group of authors: BEITRAEGE ZUR MILITAEROEKONOMIE, Berlin, 1976, pp 241 ff.
8. See Hoffmann, H., loc. cit., p 55.
9. Verner, W., loc. cit., p 26.
10. Hoffman, H., loc. cit., p 57.
11. Ibid.
12. Honecker, E., loc. cit., p 120.
13. See "Die parteipolitische Arbeit in der Sowjetarmee und Seekriegsflotte," Berlin, 1976, pp 368 ff.

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WEST GERMAN COMMENTARY ON PLIGHT OF GDR CHURCHES

Efforts To Return to Status Quo

Bonn DIE WELT in German 27 Sep 76 p 2

[Text] The Protestant Churches in the GDR are continuing their efforts to normalize relations with state agencies. At their weekend meeting in Zuessow near Greifswald on the occasion of the synod of the GDR Church Federation the Church leadership organizations spoke of the self-immolation of Minister Bruesewitz who set fire to himself in Zeitz in mid-August and emphasized that neither before nor after this tragedy "had the Churches been aiming for conflict or confrontation with the state and society."

The synod will run through Tuesday and deal mainly with matters concerning the unity of the Churches in the GDR. Bishop D. Helmut Class (Stuttgart), chairman of the Protestant Church Council in West Germany, has been attending the assembly as a guest since last Saturday evening. His entry visa was granted only after several interventions of the Federal Government with the East Berlin Ministry for Foreign Affairs.

In its annual report to the synod the conference of the Church leadership organizations emphatically justified its letter to church congregations regarding the Bruesewitz case. The letter was read a week ago at Sunday services. East Berlin Government agencies severely criticized it and up to now have prevented its publication in the GDR Church newspapers. The Church leadership organizations stressed that Minister Bruesewitz' act and the effects triggered by it "once again point up the tensions in our society and the internal tug of war to which many people are subjected."

The assembly of the Church leadership organizations regretted that in early August the East Berlin leadership had rejected its request, submitted last March, for talks on the harassment of young Christians in schools and vocational training. It is likely that the Church leaderships will have another try at getting such a fundamental discussion under way.

Dilemma of Churches

Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE ZEITUNG in German 30 Sep 76 p 3

[Text] Even after the fall meeting of the federal synod near Greifswald, a meeting which dealt primarily with the causes and effects of Minister Bruesewitz' self-immolation, the leadership organizations of the eight land Churches associated in the GDR Federation of Protestant Churches continues in a cleft stick. On the one hand their congregations increasingly reproach them for being excessively cautious and careful in their "formulations and actions" vis-a-vis the government and, for tactical reasons, insufficiently plain and emphatic in presenting their own standpoint. On the other hand the leadership is well aware that the SED and Government would need little provocation in order to interpret any unambiguity and emphasis by the Church as intentional and conscious confrontation. As a result relations between Church and state are liable to tense up further rather than relax.

The Church leadership organization fears, for instance, that the unrest which arose in the GDR in the wake of Minister Bruesewitz' death as well as certain comments on this event in the Federal Republic might provide the SED and thus the GDR Government agencies with a pretext for withdrawing the concessions lately granted the Churches--such as the promise in future to allow churches to be built in new residential districts or the willingness indicated in some cases to stop the harassment of Christian children and youths in the state educational system. That was the reason why the head of the Church Federation secretariat, Stolpe, addressed himself to the Protestant congregations as well as to the SED and government when he told the synod that the Church in the GDR would not allow itself to be made either the "transmission belt of the party nor the Trojan horse of the counterrevolution." Stolpe added: "We have not been asked to be the first, nor would we even attempt the other."

At the conclusion of their meeting the synod reiterated its request for a fundamental discussion between the Church Federation and those responsible for the state educational system. Until now the government had reacted to the Church's request only by letting it be known that it did not consider such a discussion advisable. The synod commented: "The discrepancy between the assurance of the freedom of religion and conscience on the one hand and the educational target of the communist personality in the uniform socialist education system on the other requires thorough ventilation to clear up matters for the children and youths in our congregations. At the same time the synod asked Church leadership organizations, ministers, helpers and parents to try and maintain an atmosphere of tolerance in discussions at all levels "so that children and youths may live the Christian life without coming to harm."

The synod regrets that the Church Sunday papers "were not able" to print the letter by the conference of Protestant Church leadership organizations to the congregations on the death of Minister Bruesewitz. In connection with the self-immolation in Zeitz the synod also talks of the problem of alienation, the feeling of "lack of success and dissatisfaction" noticeable in many places.

HUNGARY

SIGNIFICANCE OF PARTY MEMBERSHIP DISCUSSED

Budapest BRITISH EMBASSY PRESS SUMMARY in English No 244, 20 Oct 76 pp 7-10

[Article: "Party Membership Card"--originally published in PARTELETT No 10, Oct 76 pp 8-10]

[Text] The great effort to prepare the exchange of party membership cards is coming to an end. At the membership meetings soon to be held the members of the party will receive their new membership cards. These membership meetings stand out among the events of party life and due to their agenda will be obviously more solemn occasions. This solemnity will not manifest itself in the first place in formalities but in the feelings of the participants.

For an outsider this may be difficult to understand. After all, there are so many kinds of membership cards and this is just one of the many--one may think. For the communists, however, this is quite different. The party membership card signifies one's belonging to the party, it is a symbol of that. Far from being just one of the many passes, it is that of the party which is said to be "the brains and the heart of our era."

The appreciation and veneration of the party membership card reflects the relationship between the communist and his party. Nor is the communist party just one of the many organizations or institutions, but one that endows its members with ideas and goals. And even that is not all, even more than that is involved. The party is the common fate of communists, an organization to which they cling not only with an attachment of the mind but also with a devotion of the heart. It is an organization of great value and esteem for every communist. This feeling, of course, is not born with them nor does it grow as a result of some kind of moral preaching. It takes shape in the process of common work and common struggle as a personal relationship and emotive attachment between each other and between each of them and the party.

Our people are building socialist society led by the party and the personal examples set by party members. The idea of communism has carried our party,

the Hungarian working class and the Hungarian people to victory. This idea has shown the way toward the nation's socialist prosperity, toward the full building of socialism and the victory of communism. The ideological struggles and the hard day-to-day work of the party are inherent in every significant social and economic result attained by present-day Hungary, in her firm security and in her new prospects.

Many people do not understand why somebody chooses to become a communist when it produces no advantage, no "profit." In fact there were times--and this is the case in many countries even today--when belonging to the party incurred persecution and insecurity. But even in our country, where the party is the leading force of society, no one can expect any advantage from joining the party. It is the general political practice--one dictated by the need to protect the purity of the party--that no obstacles whatever are placed in the way of the ambitions of people of ability or talent because they are not members of the party. To be a communist today, to belong to the party of communists, does not entail advantages but it commands respect and esteem and gives prestige.

It will suffice to cast just one glance at the party rules to see that the demands made upon party members are not insignificant. Communist conduct, which is in itself a system of various requirements, demands setting an example both in work and in private life, active participation in the implementation of party policy and public-spiritedness.

At the present stage of socialist development the demands made on communists are higher than before. These demands do not originate from some subjective decision, they are made on members of the party by life itself. Our great objectives, the programme of the creation of a developed socialist society, cannot be realized unless every member of the party is prepared to come in for his share in this work by his personal efforts, unless every member sets an example by his activity for the community and by the conscientious performance of the tasks assigned to him, unless every party member works persistently and untiringly on shaping the way of thinking of his environment, arousing also in his companions the desire of active participation in public affairs, unless every party member rising above individual interests and if necessary subordinating them to the interests of the community gives proof of his generosity and selflessness. The community expects from party members more than from others in socialist class-consciousness, moral courage and political activity.

Also under our present conditions a great deal depends on the work of individual communists, on their conduct, on how they live and how they shape their relationships with their fellow-men and their families, on how they do their work and how firmly they believe in the justness of the cause. Also today there is a need for people having the courage of their conviction, for them to fight and act for it. To represent, protect and propagate the policy of the party, to combat in one's environment injustice, greed and abuse of power and against neglect--those are revolutionary deeds even today.

Thus to be a communist does not mean some kind of privileged position, in which the communist is placed over other people. To be a communist means, above all, the acceptance of an idea which lends life a richer meaning. It means to undertake the struggle consciously and to do more for the common cause than others. Communists have to set an example of the unity of words and deeds in doing any job of work. It is due to this that to be a communist means the same as to serve the people.

That is why some people even these days ask what then attracts people to the party? We can answer that it is a good thing that there is nothing to "drive" people to the party. The party is a truly voluntary organization. Its members accept the discipline and the duty that go with party membership of their own free will once they have reached the degree of consciousness to apply for admission to the party.

In no way do communists regard themselves supermen. They want to be human in the true sense of the word, people deserving of that title. For the communists ideology is not an abstraction outside time and reality but a guide to practical action that leads to the greater prosperity and welfare of the people.

The attachment of individual communists to the party determines the significance of the membership card. We know that the membership card itself does not make any one a communist but it expresses the unflagging striving to develop, and preserve, qualities that are characteristic of communists. Nor does any one get the most progressive ideology as a present on joining the party. To make it our own we have to study and perfect ourselves incessantly.

He who belongs to the party identifies himself with Marxism-Leninism, the most progressive scientific world outlook of our age. In this, and only in this, we can find the answers to all the questions of our society, to all the problems of importance exercising the human race today. This ideology arms members of the party, all those who are prepared to take the trouble of studying it, with the highest order of consciousness, with socialist consciousness. For socialist consciousness, the ideas of the party, are not automatically acquired by party members. Let the party membership card be a symbol also of the need for the party members to increase their knowledge incessantly, to learn the teachings of our great masters, Marx, Engels and Lenin, and to keep pace with the development of our ideas. One must never lose sight of the fact that Marxism-Leninism is the synthesis of the highest order of all progressive elements in human culture. Let the new party membership card be a constant reminder of the need for self-education and studying and of the appreciation of the achievements of culture.

Those who strive for things better and finer, who while seeking their own prosperity want to do something for others, for the prosperity of the whole of society, find in the party not only ideas but also companions. Of the many kinds of human relationships, the one of belonging to the great

community of communists has a special significance and particular role. Through the party, and together with the party, we can rise high, our strength is multiplied, the obstacles can be removed from the path of our true cause and all our noble endeavours and we can become invincible. The party membership card is a symbol of our belonging to such a community and at the same time it warns its bearer of all the duties he has to perform in order to strengthen the communist community.

The membership card of the communist party is also a symbol of internationalism. It is a reminder that essentially the communist movement is internationalist and international. Members of the movement are linked together by ties of a worldwide solidarity. It is good to know that everywhere, in all parts of the world where revolutionaries live, we have comrades and brothers-in-arms who feel and think as we do and are in sympathy with our cause. This is how communists who live in the other countries of the world think of us and regard us too. So let the new membership card be a constant warning for us to fulfill always our internationalist commitments.

In the struggle for the objectives of the party the individual communists themselves undergo a change; it is not sudden nor spectacular but in the course of time they become new men. They are helped in this by work done in the party, by the common and organized activity of the communists, which transform them.

Let the new membership card be a reminder of our political commitment to, and responsibility for, the implementation of the party policy, the resolution of the 11th Congress which has since then become a popular programme. It is our responsibility that everybody understands, and understands the same way, the essence of our development and of our concrete tasks. We share the collective responsibility of the local party organization for representing our cause, for organizing political work and for supervising the implementation of resolutions. Over and above this we have a concrete responsibility for our own work, our professional and political activity, for supporting and encouraging every initiative and effort designed to make work better and more disciplined. Let the critical remarks and observations made at the interviews in the course of the exchange of membership cards be guides for the fulfillment of this dual responsibility. Let us take over the new membership cards with the resolution to turn those remarks extensively to good account in our day-to-day work.

We, communists, can proudly profess: our ideas make human kind more human and our aims mean the same as culture and progress. It is, therefore, natural that every communist will be proud, reverent and moved when taking over his new membership card, the proof of his belonging to the party.

POLAND

RESULTS OF BERLIN CP CONFERENCE REVIEWED IN 'NOWE DROGI' ARTICLE

Warsaw NOWE DROGI in Polish No 8, Aug 76 pp 13-23

[Article by Bogumil Sujka, deputy director of the Foreign Affairs Department of the PZPR Central Committee: "The Conference of European Communists"]

[Text] The conference of the 29 communist and workers' parties of Europe, which was held on 29 and 30 June of this year in East Berlin, the capital of the GDR, represents an exceptionally valuable contribution to the contemporary political thinking of the revolutionary movement. The addresses delivered by the leaders of the participating parties, a document which received unanimous approval, and the atmosphere of the conference itself climaxed 20 months of preparations, which began with a consultation meeting held in Warsaw in October 1974 as the result of PZPR initiative in cooperation with the Italian Communist Party.

The course of the conference preparations was greeted with lively interest on the part of all progressive public opinion in Europe and the world. This is understandable, because these preparations were taking place in a special political atmosphere. These were after all the months of the intensive preparations for the European Security and Cooperation Conference, the deliberations of this conference in Helsinki, and the first year of the implementation of the final document, a period of intensive struggle over the practical structure of the principles of the policy of peaceful coexistence, the nature and content of international detente, and hence the model for the policy of such detente. The communists of Europe were not only to make statements about how they conceive of this policy and that they would support it, but also to define what it was to be for and what should be done and how, in order to make it a lasting, irreversible phenomenon.

The preparations for the conference in Berlin were also greeted with particular interest on the part of anticommunist groups, interests founded in the desire to undercut the political significance of the communist and workers movement and its conference, a desire which was all the stronger in the face of the growing crises in the capitalist economy, in the social and state structures of the capitalist world and in the face of the related growing dissatisfaction of the working class and the broad ranks of employed people. Hence various sorts of pseudotheories and bits of speculation were created

and circulated concerning the alleged decline of the communist movement, on the existence of profound, lasting differences within it which would somehow make it impossible to convene the conference, on the division of the communist and workers parties into various categories, on the irreconcilable conflicts among the communists of the socialist and capitalist countries growing as it were out of conflicts of interest, and so on, and so forth.

Although I do not intend to argue about "discoveries" of this type, it is worth pointing out that the essence of anticommunism is, among other things, the elaboration and dissemination of "theories" which are aimed in every period at discrediting and compromising the communist movement and communists, at counteracting their influence on the masses, and at breaking these masses away from the movement. Anticommunism would not be anticommunism, if it did not do this. During the period when the objective reality and conditions under which the parties operated were relatively similar or identical, and when the communist and workers parties were guided in their strategy and tactics by more or less identical slogans and methods, the anticommunists accused the parties of our movement of not being independent, of subordinating themselves, and of national nihilism. On the other hand, an era of tremendous differences in conditions, partly as the result of the uneven development of capitalism, at a time when the communist and workers parties take these circumstances into account in developing their programs and tactics for action, which fact is after all inherently related to the nature of the theory under which these parties operate, the anticommunists claim that there are differences within the movement and imply that there are "irresolvable conflicts." At one time the anticommunist constantly used the concept of national nihilism. Today they are equally anxious to use the concept of nationalism, to eagerly formulate the concept of "national communism," and so on.

Hence a statement which will still fit reality is that anticommunist attitudes toward our movement are schematic and dogmatic. On the other hand, the communist and workers movement, in and of itself, represents the contradiction of schematism and ossification, because it is guided by living, ongoing, vital, real-life theory and science, and because it is a dynamic movement which analyzes changing reality and draws conclusions from it. An active attitude toward reality and the desire to make continual improvements in it are in essence the major, supreme characteristic of the communists. Marx's idea: "Philosophers merely explain the world in various ways; the thing is to change it" is still timely and fitting.

From this point of view too the Berlin conference's contribution is exceptionally significant. It consists of three elements: comprehensive, fruitful discussion at the preparatory stage, addresses by leaders at the conference itself and the atmosphere of the sessions and a number of bilateral meetings, and, finally, the document itself.

Conference preparations, which actually led to work drafting the final document, were a marvelous occasion for all the parties to present their positions on key problems which they face under the changing conditions of reality. The method assuming that each of the parties would participate in drafting the

joint document at the same time permitted an ongoing exchange of views. It was after all a question of having the document adopted by the conference not interfere but rather assist each of the parties in carrying out its established policy and therefore meet its political needs. This condition was met in full, inasmuch as all the parties attending the conference agreed to its adoption. The editorial work in progress during the preparation period also fulfilled an exceptionally important function: it served as an excellent forum for exchanging information, for the key party activists to become acquainted with one another, and for personal friendships to begin. The knowledge acquired during the preparatory discussions will serve as valuable capital and assist in the proper understanding of the complicated, complex tasks which the communist and workers parties of Europe face every day. But the main result of this stage was the determination of the subject matter of the conference, the content of the draft of the document, and all procedural matters related to the course of the deliberations. It is worth in passing here to cover at least briefly the speculations made by the anti-communist groups, which attempted to use the period of the preliminary discussions as a testing ground for various schemes to divide the European communist and workers movement into groups of parties representing varying political lines. Attempts were made to find here not only difficulty but even to suggest the impossibility of harmoniously coordinating the drafting of the document or even the very holding of the conference itself.

Actually there were two objective factors responsible for the fact that 20 months elapsed between the Warsaw consultation meeting and the Berlin conference itself. First, the postponement of the European Conference on Security and Cooperation in Helsinki to the end of July 1975, which was bound to slow down the rate of preparations up until Fall 1975. Second, the inclusion of a broad range of problems of key significance to the continent within the scope of the subject matter of the document draft, the great sum of experience, and the richness of the forms of activity of an unprecedented number of attending parties made it necessary to carry on profound discussions on each subject. This was essential, in order to follow the principle of insuring that each party had the opportunity of making its constructive contribution to the elaboration of a document which reflected all the participants.

As for the course of the conference itself, the nature of which was established by the addresses of the leaders and the document* which was adopted by all 29 attending parties, one element is most prominent: the conference unanimously confirmed all the parties' position concerning the need to wage, extend, and strengthen the policy of detente and political coexistence as the only way of continuing social progress today. The emphasis on this role of detente was expressed in all the addresses of leaders. This fact clearly confirms that for communists detente and peaceful coexistence are not a temporary tactic or ad hoc argument but are directly related to the goals which set communists apart in terms of their deeply humanistic Marxist-Leninist ideology.

*The document adopted by the conference, "On Peace, Security, Cooperation, and Social Progress in Europe," was published in the July issue (7/1976) of NOWE DROGI.

On the other hand it is obvious that the tremendous differences in the conditions under which the parties operate, differences stemming from the various stages reached in the struggle for social progress, set each party apart in terms of direct goals in the struggle for the next stage of its development. The communists of socialist countries which have already reached and solidified the political leadership of the working class are waging a struggle in dimensions which are different from that being waged by communists in the capitalist countries, where they are fighting the all-encompassing rule of the monopolies and crisis phenomena, fighting "for a democratic solution to this crisis, for a solution which would be consistent with the interests of the popular masses and open up the way for socialist transformations of the society."* This struggle also takes different forms and manifests itself in different ways from one capitalist country to another, depending upon the internal structures of class, social, and political forces, traditions, and experience. In some of these countries the communists still have to make up for lost time (Spain, Turkey), and in some they are waging the struggle within the framework of nonparliamentary opposition (FRG, Austria, Great Britain), whereas in other countries they already enjoy broad parliamentary representation (Italy, France, Cyprus, Finland, Portugal, and so on). The severe forms of discrimination sometimes used against the communists in many countries (Spain, FRG, Switzerland, and so on) present further difficulties which stand in the way of broader party influence on the masses. In the socialist countries too we note differences in the form and content of the struggle of communists, in keeping with the successes already achieved in the field of social progress. They also stem from the current stage of development of the socialist structures in each countries. In his address to the conference, Edward Gierek, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, described the dynamic nature of this structure as follows: "Real socialism has been in existence for under 60 years. It is therefore a young structure which has not yet come out with the last word in any field, a system which is in constant development, in constant pursuit of ever better solutions to problems which exist or which life will produce."** It is this very direction that each of the parties of the socialist countries will take into account the general laws for socialist construction and its specific conditions and experience and then properly translate the program developed from the struggle for social progress into reality in its own country. An analysis of the materials and documents of the most recent parties of the socialist countries provide detailed information on these programs.

Despite these differences the communist and workers parties of Europe decided at the conference that insuring that the process of detente would be irreversible in nature helped them in their fight for social progress. This was something basically new which was the subject of deliberations at the conference. This notion is the key to the document adopted.

*Taken from the document cited above, Ibidem, p 10.

**NOWE DROGI, No 7, 1976, p 25.

In providing support for the final document of the Helsinki security and cooperation conference, the communists of Europe conducted an in-depth analysis of the most important political, social, and economic phenomena of the continent. In this analysis they pointed out the barriers standing in the way of deepening the process of detente and making it permanent, and the ways of combatting them in order to see that the principles of peaceful coexistence are materialized. It was generally emphasized that Helsinki was the beginning of the road in this direction. Leonid Brezhnev, secretary general of the CPSU central committee, said, among other things: "...for this goal to be accomplished, for detente to be irreversible, and for peace to really endure, it is essential to have not only the efforts of the government but also the participation of the popular masses. Everything must be done to make the popular masses clearly aware that their vital interests require active support and action aimed at strengthening peace, security, and cooperation. In our opinion, today this is one of the most important tasks of communists, the tasks of each brother party and all of them together." It is therefore a question of mobilizing the broadest social ranks of the continent at this initial stage along the road toward permanent detente, so that the work of peace, security, and cooperation becomes the work of whole nations.

To this end the communist and workers parties of Europe strongly emphasized the need to join efforts with all working people, regardless of their political views or religious beliefs. They called on socialists and social democrats, asking them not to fear ideological differences or existing prejudices but to remove the barriers standing in the way of cooperation and to expand and solidify past achievements made through mutual efforts. The role of the forces of the Catholics, Christians, and believers of other faiths in the struggle for working people's rights, democracy, and peace was also underlined. Emphasis was placed on the necessity of dialogue and joint efforts with them as an inseparable component part of the struggle for the development of Europe in a democratic spirit on the road toward social progress. The communists' conference called on trade unions, women, young people, white-collar workers, peasants, and groups in between, on the scientific and technical intelligentsia, artists and cultural activists, on all parties and associations, and on all people interested in progress and the peaceful future of our continent and asked them to take an active part in the struggle for a peaceful, secure Europe with broad international cooperation and social progress. The communist and workers movement thereby proved once again that it is not and does not wish to be a monopoly, a closed sectarian stream, that it is working for the vital interest of the broadest masses, that it is an open, resilient, dynamic movement ready to unify the universal efforts of all nations.

To this end the Berlin conference made a precise assessment of the successes which the forces of peace and progress have achieved in Europe and in the world. It also presented the struggle which the communists and other democratic and antimonopolistic forces are presently waging to make these achievements permanent. In this context general emphasis was placed on the special

*NOWE DROGI, No 7, 1976, p 41

role of the USSR and other socialist countries, which by virtue of their authority and position in the world division of power and their consistent peaceful policy are the most important underwriters of peace, independence of nations, and peaceful cooperation. The persons attending the conference also stated: "Universal peace is by no means assured yet, detente has not yet been made permanent, and there are still great barriers standing in the way of lasting security and cooperation."

These barriers were pointed out in concrete terms in addresses made at the conference and in the document itself: "The policy of imperialism, neocolonialism, and all forms of pressure and exploitation are the major danger to peace, independence, and the equal rights of nations. At the same time, uneven economic development and disparate economic and political relations are a source of tension and conflict and a serious hindrance to independence and social progress.**"

Many measures and actions were proposed to combat these barriers. An exceptionally important element of this program is the fact that the movement's internal and international tasks were brought together and recognized as being interdependent. In this sense, the internal successes of each party go together to make up the successes of the movement as a whole, and the stage reached in the international confrontation between socialism and capitalism helps bolster the position and role of each of the communist and workers parties. The unity of the national and international elements of the revolutionary movement was recognized to be one of the factors which determine whether it is possible to achieve further success in the struggle for peace and social progress. This was generally pointed out in the presentations made at the conference. Because of the many attempts which the anticommunists have made to falsify the position of the largest party in Western Europe we are including the opinion on this matter as presented by Enrico Berlinguer, secretary general of the Italian Communist Party. He said: "The basic principle of every party is internationalism. This means to feel ourselves to be participants and partners in the effort within our own country and on an international scale and in all the activity of working people and of the nations which are fighting for national liberation, for peace, and for the progress of all mankind."

This interdependence was also emphasized in the final conference document, which included this statement: "The struggle for socialism in its own country and the responsibility which each party bears vis-a-vis its own working class and nation are related to the mutual solidarity of the working people of all countries, the solidarity of all progressive movements and nations in the struggle for freedom and greater independence, for democracy, socialism, and peace throughout the world."***

*Conference documentation, Ibidem, p 9.

**NOWE DROGI, No 7, 1976, p 10.

***Conference documentation, Ibidem, p 12.

In the activities program the conference devoted special attention to the following:

The need within the realm of disarmament and the strengthening of security to take a number of concrete steps to deepen the already open process of detente and to counteract the division of Europe into military blocks. The conference recognized the elimination of the NATO and Warsaw Pact military organizational structures to be the first step in this direction.

The need to root out the vestiges of fascism; the defense of democracy and national independence in the many countries in which they are threatened by regenerated fascism and attempts to exert pressure or wage interference from the outside and on the adoption of repressive and authoritarian methods of rule, as used by monopolistic capital;

The need to develop mutually beneficial cooperation and better mutual understanding among nations.

In emphasizing this last realm of social activity, the conference made a commitment to the elimination of all forms of discrimination and barriers which hamper the development of universal European trade. This would correspond to the interests of working people fighting the effects of the crisis and meet the needs of further economic development of the European countries.

In calling on people of science, culture, and art to extend cooperation, the conference emphasized that it should be developed "in order to bring the countries and nations of Europe closer together, to enrich people's spiritual life through full respect for the equal rights of each nation and each person and for sovereignty and the principle of noninterference in the domestic affairs of each country."* In his address in Berlin the leader of our party pointed out the important role of intellectuals: "The 3 decades since the war have produced many examples to prove the deep commitment of the notable intellects of our epoch to the fight for peace and progress. The work initiated by the memorable intellectuals' congress in Wroclaw lives and is being made stronger. People of science and culture along with journalists can do an especially great deal to instill the ideas of peace, which is the greatest good of the people and of nations."**

The conference devoted much attention to the relationships between Europe and other areas of the world. In emphasizing these mutual bonds and relationships, many of the addresses accentuated their importance in insuring peace, security, cooperation, and social progress in Europe. It was underscored that the European communist and workers movement is not guided by Europe-centered conditions and goals. The history of the mutual ties between Europe and other areas is full of various disagreements and charters, both praiseworthy and uncommendable. After all, Europe has been the center of world

*Ibidem, p 18.

**NOWE DROGI, No 7, 1976, p 27.

civilization, culture, and science. It is the cradle of the leading political ideas of the world, the science of Marx, Engels, and Lenin, and it became the ground for the first practical victory of these ideas, the continent upon which the first socialist state in history came into being. Here is where the community of socialist states was created. Europe was also the center of destructive wars, conquests, and national oppression. Following the liberation at the end of the most destructive of all the world wars, it has become a continent of peace for more than 30 years, but it has also become the area of the greatest build-up of the means of destruction. It is hence no accident that it was here in Europe that the search for new forms of international relations began, that it was right here that the principles of peaceful relations among states with various systems were formulated and ratified in the final document of the European peace and security conference.

The communists of Europe see their struggle for peace and organic security "as a contribution to the solution of the political, economic, and social problems of the entire world." By virtue of this same principle, the successes of the nations of other continents in their struggle for liberation, against colonialism and neocolonialism and other forms of political and economic oppression are considered to be an element of their own struggle for social progress. In this sense it was with esteem that the conference took up the policy of the uncommitted states, saying on this subject: "The struggle of the nations of the countries which recently gained their independence from imperialism and all forms of domination and exploitation for the right to establish a new international economic order in keeping with the interests of the nations is of great importance to the progressive transformation of the world and represents powerful support for the European nations' struggle for peace, security, cooperation, and social progress."*

Many communist and workers party leaders pointed out these aspects in their addresses to the conference in Berlin. It was with great interest that people attending the sessions listened, for example, to these excerpts from the address by Josip Broz Tito, chairman of the Yugoslav Communist Party, concerning the assessment of the nature and tasks of the movement of the non-aligned states. "The nonaligned countries," Mr Tito said, among other things, "are directly opposed to imperialistic policies and any sort of domination. Their struggle is a reflection of the global, progressive, revolutionary process which characterizes our epoch. It is a process of struggle against social and national oppression and against all forms of exploitation and subordination."

In its document the conference expressed internationalist solidarity and support for the struggle waged on all continents of the world, from the Near East through Africa and Latin America right to the Korean peninsula, a struggle which contributes to the extinction of existing conflicts and focal points of tension and to full assurances of sovereignty and independence. It is waged against colonialism, racism, fascist oppression, terror, and the

*Conference document, Ibidem, p 19-20.

repression of communists and other democratic forces. The conference also stated that the European countries can make a valuable contribution to the struggle to eliminate the vestiges of colonialism and phenomena of neocolonialism, to insure all countries the conditions for economic and social development, and to set up broad international cooperation, which would help remove the distance which separates them from the advanced countries. "This cooperation," the conference document states, "would also help resolve complicated, important problems, such as hunger in the world, illiteracy, protection of the natural environment, pollution of the air and the seas, management and utilization of new sources of energy, the prevention of sudden disasters, and the prevention and treatment of the most serious diseases."*

In a short article it is impossible even superficially to touch on the whole magnitude of problems brought up at the conference, to say nothing of analyzing them, because the leaders' addresses and the conference document refer to the whole range of exceptionally important aspects of the contemporary political situation both in the individual countries and on an international scale.

Surely the conference and the conference document will be the subject of many publications and the focal point of the attention of people of the workers' movement engaged in practice and theory as an event of exceptional significance. Alongside the many practical problems important to the ongoing work of the party, the conference materials also need theoretical research. They are an inspiration to the theoretical front to undertake many current subjects the scientific analysis of which will contribute to the further development of Marxist thought. Many speakers actually pointed out this need, stating that Marxist-Leninist theory was in some respects behind practical applications, which were rapidly being developed. The need for theoretical research and generalizations applies both to the practice of socialist construction and to the problems of modern capitalism. The content and methods of party action under the conditions of socialism and also advanced capitalism, along with those of the developing countries.

In the socialist countries, party congresses and the plenary sessions of their central bodies play an important role which provides inspiration for this research. Many theoretical problems stem from multilateral meetings on ideological matters. It would seem that against the backdrop of the deliberations of the Berlin conference, problems related to the functioning of socialist democracy, the representative system, national fronts, the system and structure of ownership, changes in the thinking of the societies of socialist states, the development of the working class at the stage of the construction of an advanced socialist society, the mutual relations between the party of the working class and the state and the functions of that state and the operations of its machinery, the functioning of the body of civil rights and privileges, and many others should become the subject of intensive theoretical research. Within the problematics of the advanced capitalist

*Ibidem, p 21.

attention is focused largely on the need to take up the problems of social strata and classes, and further changes in the system of ownership, with particular attention to processes related to the creation, development, and consequences of the operations of multinational monopolies. It would also be worthwhile to take a closer look at the elective and parliamentary system and other problems of the functioning of the mechanism of the bourgeois state and its dependence on monopolistic capital. Changes in the balance of class power make it necessary to take up more intensive research on the party system and the influence which various parties have on certain sectors of society.

A problem which needs further research concerns the democratic changes which occur on the way from capitalism to socialism. Some parties in Western Europe formulate the need for an intermediate, transitional stage, which they call "the stage of political, antimonomopolistic democracy." In this connection they look for new slogans and new tactics for the struggle to acquire the widest possible group of allies and to seek new social power. These pursuits, related to the further development of the theoretical contribution of the 20th CPSU Congress, which recognized the possibility of many paths to socialism, including the possibility of the peaceful, parliamentary road, are the subject of much speculation today on the part of anticommunist groups. In this short article there is no possibility of a more detailed presentation of the whole complexity of this problem, which needs to be worked on separately. It is correct to say that the past deeds of the communist and workers parties are by no means the final work. They are barely the beginning, but practice has already provided initial proof of their worth.

The theoretical sphere of party operations should also become the subject of interparty cooperation. Many leaders spoke about this in Berlin. The mutual exchange of results of theoretical work, especially the exchange of views at the research stage, was considered to be an exceptionally important and helpful sphere of cooperation. It would lead to the mutual enrichment of the content of the research and represent an important source of inspiration for it. Leonid Brezhnev expressed the CPSU's extremely interesting position on this matter: "With great attention to the creative activity of our comrades in the communist family, we start with the assumption that only practical experience can be the criterion of the correctness or error of one hypothesis or another. Nonetheless, before practice can pronounce the final verdict, there is the possibility and necessity of checking these hypothesis in party discussion on the way to a broad comparison of viewpoints and experience of the various parties. It is obvious that as the result of these both theory and practice stand to gain, and our common interest comes out ahead."*

We are presently witnesses to especially intensive creative pursuits. They stem from the current needs of the communist and workers movement, which is not limited to the achievements of real socialism already attained but strives for further improvements in it. The communist movement does not stop at criticism of contemporary capitalism and the crises noted in it but

*Ibidem, p 41.

strives to find solutions for them with maximum benefit for the working class and employed masses. It proposes concrete ways to overcome the crises of capitalism in a democratic direction. It visualizes them in a turn to the left. It recalls in particular the historical experience of the 1930's, when capitalism found a way out of the crisis in a turn to the right, which many countries took in the direction of fascism.

The readiness expressed by leaders of 29 parties for cooperation in carrying out the program which the conference laid down for Europe is a clear expression of the deepening unity within the European communist and workers movement. This unity, developing on the basis of the different, specific conditions under which each of the parties operate in formulating their own political lines independently, is today and will be tomorrow a good basis for international solidarity in the desire for a peaceful, secure Europe of nations cooperating with one another, a Europe creating all the conditions for consistent social progress.

The deliberations of the conference also created the possibility for a number of bilateral meetings between party leaders attending the conference. This was a good occasion for exchanging the most up-to-date information on the activity of the parties, their problems, and their tasks. Edward Gierek, first secretary of the PZPR central committee, held official meetings during the two-day conference sessions in Berlin with Leonid Brezhnev, secretary general of the CPSU central committee; Gustav Husak, secretary general of the CPCZ; Erich Honecker, secretary general of SED central committee; Josip Broz Tito, chairman of the LCY; Todor Zhivkov, first secretary of the BCP central committee; Enrico Berlinguer, secretary general of the Italian Communist Party; and Herbert Mies, chairman of the DKP. He also held unofficial meetings with a number of other leaders. Other members of the delegation also took part in talks with the leaders and leading activists of many parties.

This was an industrious, fruitful conference, which will take an honored place in the history of the struggle of the communists of Europe.

10790
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'STATE CONSCIOUSNESS' AS DETERMINANT OF DEMOCRACY, PATRIOTISM

Warsaw IDEOLOGIA I POLITYKA in Polish No 9, Sep 76 pp 7-15

[Article by Andrzej Burda: "State Consciousness"]

[Text] Vladimir Lenin wrote: "The state derives its power through the consciousness of the masses." This statement contains the general thought that the source of strong ties of the society to the prevailing state structure is in the conscious acceptance, based on reality, of the state by broad groups of society. The context of the statement clearly indicates that such conditions are most likely to be fulfilled in a people's state.

I. All progress in the area of building a society free from oppression and exploitation and implementing the principle of social justice in public life is synonymous with the intensification of political consciousness of all working masses if for no other reason than that every step on this road brings irreversible achievements in absorbing the social consciousness into the affairs of state life. When the principle is proclaimed that the political authority in a socialist state should belong, in accordance with the highest and not outmoded reasons of social justice, to the working people who constitute the living and indestructible national substance, this principle must, not always immediately but always eventually in the final balance of the initiated process of social changes, produce measurable and lasting effects in the area of social consciousness and especially in the area of political (state) consciousness.

The last notion is widely circulated but the term does not always cover well defined contents. Without pretending theoretical perfection, it is worthwhile to define its contents in order to obtain a clear formulation, useful for practical evaluation of the idea of state consciousness. Generally, when defining this idea it is customary to consider the following aspects.

First--it involves a specially qualified social consciousness as it relates to the general relationship of society to the current state organization and to the forms and methods of operation of the state mechanism. When we talk

of the current state organization, however, it is in order to underline the great importance of delineating its character and the peculiar features of the state consciousness at a given stage of social development and not in order to completely belittle the influence of the outlived political structures of society from the previous stage of development on the consciousness. The traditions of outlived structures contribute to the stability and permanence of the ties binding the society with its current political structure.

Second--this notion contains in it the conviction of the society (or of its basic elements) regarding the real value and undoubted usefulness of the state in the social development, in satisfying the material and spiritual needs of the citizens and in realizing the moral-political ideas professed and accepted by the society. Let us add that this conviction and the standards which measure the values and the benefits of political structures are not based on theoretical abstractions but on practical political action and its results. In other words, the basic social ideas, political, legal and moral, become the real strength when they rule the society's consciousness. The current state consciousness of the society is the confirmation and the test of acceptance of the proclaimed political ideas and the proposed corresponding models of political institutions.

Third--state consciousness cannot be reduced to the rational aspects of moulding the citizens' attitudes to the actions of the state machinery. It is also essential that emotional feelings always accompany the proper social consciousness in this area (of state consciousness) and the emotions should never be belittled. Precisely, it is patriotism which is an important factor in forming state consciousness and patriotism manifests itself not only in the attachment to the native soil and national traditions but also in the love of political and legal institutions, in the cultivation of progressive national customs and mores from past centuries and in the readiness to bear sacrifices for the common good as long as these sacrifices do not become a senseless waste of social energy.

II. It is a truism to declare that state consciousness is a historical phenomenon inasmuch as the very object of consciousness, the state, is a historical concept, a phenomenon subjected to constant transformations and revolutionary leaps from quantitative to qualitative changes. This evolution of the character of a state is related to the changes of its social and political contents. The class character of a state is a basic factor in forming state consciousness. Slim and fragile is the moral and social basis of a state when the large multitudes of society can justifiably complain that "the government oppresses us, the laws are lying," i.e., when the state power is exercised in the interest of an insignificant minority of the society. The broader the social classes who gain influence on the political affairs of their country and obtain the opportunity to make basic decisions regarding the fate and the future of the nation are, the stronger and more lasting is the basis for strengthening the state consciousness. This was proven in its

time by the bourgeois revolution which raised the cry of liberty and fraternity and claimed realization by the bourgeois state of general national interest and basic convergence of the desires of the economically and politically ruling class with the desires of the whole society. The growing and deepening class conflicts demonstrated the hopelessness of these illusions but nevertheless development of the modern nation concept became a factor strengthening the consciousness in single nation political formations.

Abstract treatment of state consciousness, i.e., separate from its social basis, amounts to the denial of its historical character. This is so because state consciousness is not an irrational manifestation of the so-called state instinct, as some dare to prattle unceremoniously. Supposedly, this instinct is in a way produced by "the nature," by the social conditions understood as a static concept. Views of this kind are an obvious contradiction of the fact that generally in the historical development of state we are confronted with its various types which determine the differing limits of attitudes of particular social groups toward the prevailing political structures and, consequently, with various characters of political consciousness at continually different levels of social and political development of one and the same nation.

It is obvious that not only class conditions have determined and are determining the contents, the degree of intensity and the permanence of state consciousness. Even in states consisting of one and the same class there can be more or less extensive differences in this area. The determining factors can be: the intensity of the traditional historical state, the ethnic composition of the society, the level of political culture, certain characteristics of the unfathomable depths of social psyche, etc. The connection between national consciousness and state consciousness is understandable where it concerns a one nation state. In this case, state consciousness constitutes an extension of national consciousness into the political sphere and it finds support on the conscious sense of belonging to narrower regional-ethnic entities.

An illustration of transformation of the consciousness of the types mentioned above and of its mutation from the sense of belonging to narrower social groups to that of belonging to higher-level social structures (nation, state) can be provided by the evolution of consciousness of the peasant class in Poland in the last half of the century. After World War I, the peasant mass, with the exception of the more affluent ones, still did not participate actively in the political life; accordingly, their state consciousness was minimal and fragile. Undoubtedly, their economic situation, as well as the general economic situation of the whole country, did not favor the development of broader and more advanced social ties. The state was often associated in their minds with something distant and even inimical. The most essential were the ties to the inherited land. But the events and experiences of World War II drastically contributed to an increased awareness of the common fate of the inherited land, the nation and the Polish statehood. This was convincingly documented by the massive and spontaneous surge to the armed struggle for national liberation and later by the devoted participation in the task of building the People's Poland.

III. State consciousness at certain levels of state development is formed spontaneously, independently of the intentions of state authorities and the methods used by them to influence public opinion. In the modern states, we register growing trends toward programming of the attitude of citizens to the state and to the political line being implemented by the state by those in authority. What are then, in general terms, the most essential conditions and factors forming citizens' state consciousness?

For the sake of order, let us remember the role of technology in accelerating the integrating processes within large human societies. The special role of these processes manifests itself in societies organized as states; the phenomena of unifying the social consciousness in general and of the attitudes of various social groups to political institutions exhibited by these processes influence decisively, although indirectly, the development of state consciousness. Perhaps there is no need to reiterate the elementary theses of historical materialism, but it may be to the point to draw the attention for a moment to the fact that technological progress unifies the society (and in perspective, the entire human race) which cannot be without influence on the birth and development of state consciousness. For instance, industrialization of a country simultaneously strengthens the many ties which unify the society, thus strengthening the individual efforts for common achievement of the objectives of broader group, and unifies the way of thinking of individual members of that broader group thus enhancing integration of so far loosely connected regions of the same state. In a modern state, technology is indispensable to all; to a greater or lesser extent it serves everybody and because of that it changes state consciousness toward greater uniformity. The benefits of technical progress make obvious the need to coordinate common efforts and provide evidence that the state organization is indispensable and that the state is a useful tool in the hands of society. If this tool turns out to be inappropriate or awkward in certain cases, the new social forces acting in the name of the new consciousness will be able to, sooner or later, implement the necessary corrections.

But the progress of technology creates only material conditions for integration of societies organized as states and, for the problem in which we are interested, should be considered only as an indirect factor in the development of state consciousness. Progress of technology is a necessary condition for condensing and intensifying the activities of state but by itself it does not predetermine the manner in which the state authority is organized and, even less so, the moral and social value of a given state organization. This is emphatically stated in the well known quotation from V. Lenin cited at the outset. The power and the social usefulness of states having different social and political systems cannot be measured using the same criteria; consequently, the value of a particular state consciousness cannot be evaluated using uniform social and moral measures.

IV. We have repeated after V. Lenin that the real life of a nation develops correctly and openly where in fact the working people control politics. In other words, it develops in those places where the optimum conditions exist

to identify the will of the broad masses with the will of the state which presumes an understandable intensification of state consciousness. In a true democratic system, says V. Lenin in the cited statement, the masses know about everything, can pass judgment on everything and control everything. If this is the state of affairs in a given state, we are dealing with the most mature and most stable socialist state consciousness. Really, it is a superfluous chore to emphasize the relationship between the development of democratic methods of governing and the strengthening of citizens' devotion to their state.

Of course, we are assuming the correct perception of democracy and the correct placement of emphasis on various elements of the democratic structure because this is an area where misunderstandings easily happen. For example: during the first months of the existence of the People's Poland, when there was a widespread discussion of democracy, a prominent historian, Stanislaw Kutrzeba differentiated in one of his articles among four kinds of democracy: political, economic, social and cultural. His point was that the concept of democracy should not be limited to its political contents. The intent was probably right but the outcome was that these four democracies could lead separate, independent lives which, of course, is unacceptable. One can talk, however, of various aspects of democracy of a defined social-political entity but without forgetting that the political considerations must be decisive because only the power in the hands of the majority of society can assure economic and cultural democracy. And democracy, if it is to be true and lasting, must lead to a universality of education and culture and indirectly to the enrichment of the contents and consolidation of state consciousness in the widest circles of society. An enlightened society is best prepared to correctly form its state consciousness.

V. Lenin also said that an illiterate person is completely outside politics. (As an aside, the requirements of political culture increased so much nowadays that the mere ability to read and write cannot qualify anyone for active political life.) Today--remembering the masses' abstinence from paper reading--when we see lines in front of newspaper stands a reflection comes to mind: perhaps some are complaining after reading the paper, some may be unhappy about this or that but all of them, the enthusiasts and the bitter malcontents, have irrevocably taken in their country the road of tying their fate to that of the nation and they fully realize this fact. Maybe at such moments, when the circumstances are not easy, the consciousness grows to unexpected dimensions. The new way of thinking about the affairs of one's own state cannot be reversed by anybody or anything but it would be naive to think that the process of great changes in the consciousness of the masses which until now stood outside of politics, has been completed or that it will continue smoothly. Let us remember that the mills of history grind slowly but surely. The sharper the historical curve, the greater the tensions generated by conflicts.

V. The consolidation of a just social system and of people's power is the basis of correct self-definition of the citizen versus the state. If persons entrusted with the management of society resources succumb to the attitude of treating those resources as their own property of which they can dispose according to their own decisions, this cannot, even in the slightest degree, enhance such citizens' attitudes which would be characterized by the devotion to the republic and the assumption of responsibility for the fate of the nation. The situation will develop differently if the political inspiration comes from the working masses who feel that they are the co-creators of the political culture and the source of power for those who perform public functions and duties and when the working masses are convinced that those performing the governing functions are not touched by the vice of political narcissism manifesting itself in the immodest elevation of their own persons above the hard working crowds of producers of material and spiritual goods. It will be good when, in discussions of the affairs of state, tough but also honest words are used. The public does not like to be given opinions which are oversimplified or contrary to their feelings.

Political consciousness is formed and reaffirmed by nurturing and cultivating civic virtues in the society, above all--patriotism. It is not the declarations which help to plant firmly this sentiment in the hearts and minds of citizens, it can be best cultivated in the ambience of serious and frank treatment of public matters and deep attachment to the living political institutions. The meaning of patriotism will be decided by the living examples of hard work and sacrifice for the sake of the fatherland (the word "patriotism" is derived from "patria," i.e., fatherland) and to no lesser degree by a spiritual recreation and consolidation of things past and of praiseworthy and progressive national traditions. This is most closely related to the tasks of reasonable civic education.

The awareness of the need for such education is well established in the treasury of our national traditions. In the founding charter of the Zamosc Academy the founder expressed concisely the close relationship between education of citizens and their state consciousness in the sentence: "The Republic will equal the education of its youth." And in connection with this educational function, it should be emphasized that the youth must absorb the knowledge of the sublime and the progressive as well as what was tragic, false and even vile. Let the sublime uplift and inspire and let the vile frighten and create abomination of meanness. Fragile would be the foundations of state consciousness without the knowledge of the achievements and errors of the past generations.

Systematic implementation of the principle of legality in the public life has beneficial influence on the development of state consciousness when it flows from the deep conviction that this legality is very closely related to the realization of the principle of people's power. The citizens' devotion to the state is directly proportional to the degree of realization of the democratic methods of exercising authority and especially of

the rules written in the basic law. In their time, the bourgeois ideologues called the constitution the citizen's catechism but obviously a constitution imposed on the masses without regard for the public opinion could not become a catechism; the working and oppressed people could not accept such constitution as the book of truth and common good while the everyday brutal reality was baring the insincerity of the laws and while the people had no influence on the contents of these laws. Also, there is no need to prove the connection between state consciousness and the actual sovereignty of the state and its position in the world. The national ambition--and what nation can successfully develop without national ambitions?--and the sense of national dignity are the precious values which must be cared for and used for the consolidation of state consciousness.

VI. State consciousness can be developed both spontaneously and as the result of a focused and programmed intervention by the state factor; it happened that way in certain formations of the distant past and as a rule (to some degree) in the societies which have a weak state organization, and maintain themselves without a dynamic and centralized bureaucratic machine.

As a rule, in modern states there is an extensive organized system of means designed to systematically influence the social consciousness with the intent to form the desired characteristics of political thinking and to orient it in the desired direction. The use by the state of such means should be accompanied by the awareness that all institutionalized social education (including political education) requires proper methods which should be based on perceptive understanding of the current state of social psyche, especially of certain traits of character and the still living national traditions. While desiring to assure social progress and development of human personality, we should pay attention to the lessons of historical experience; if one wants to change or temper those traits, one should, for the sake of achieving the planned effects, do it seriously and deliberately without reaching for the means dramatically contrary to the already obtained level of society's political culture.

VII. Development of state consciousness which encourages to the maximum the correct functioning of the state mechanism is possible in the atmosphere of discussion and caring for the widening of social control. When we are talking about state consciousness, we do not mean an uncritical and mechanical acceptance of the political direction under implementation without regard to the methods used. Criticism and broad social consultations are indispensable because they demonstrate the real concern for the social good and the fate of the state; at the same time they are a guarantee of the citizens' readiness to bear the sacrifices and the responsibility. The acceptance of this rationale is proven by the inclusion of statements regarding social control, social consultations and social self-government in the current constitution of the Polish People's Republic.

For instance, the development of social self-government which the law of 10 February 1976 has elevated to the constitution level, contains a serious opportunity to consolidate and intensify state consciousness. This type of activity is promising and essential for the meaning of state consciousness because the attitude of a citizen to the state is not developed in an abstract form but through social groups within which a citizen encounters directly and on a day-to-day basis the manner in which the state machine operates and its real results and these operations and the results register vividly in the citizens' consciousness. And it is within the limits of these higher groups, as V. Lenin emphasized in his evaluation of the political achievements of the Paris commune, where the real life of a nation develops.

It is understandable that state consciousness by its nature does not imply an unconditional acceptance of just any political line of the state authority. And it would be naive to pretend that each decision of state authorities under any circumstances would invariably faithfully reflect the needs felt by the society. Such a belief would mean a rejection of the *raison d'etre* of public opinion and the need to seek it. Such a disrespect of the opinion of broad masses of society does not encourage the development of progressive and fruitful state consciousness of the citizenry. The concept of the so-called *raison d'etat* understood in the abstract sense is an anachronism in the sense that historically it has been developed in the era of absolutism enlightened by the prejudice that the subjects have limited political perception and, therefore, that the decision of those in authority regarding the state policy are final. Today, the whole society is convinced that the situation is completely different. It is different because the people who always desire their own well-being, can define it and realize it.

The above discussion, even if fragmentary and very brief, is in our opinion essential before passing on to the deliberations on the development of state consciousness of the society of People's Poland.

8801
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POLAND

CARDINAL WYSZYNSKI'S TRIP TO ROME NOTED

Departure From Gdansk

Warsaw SLOWO POWSZECHNE in Polish 20 Oct 76 p 1

[Text] Stefan Cardinal Wyszynski, the Primate of Poland, in accordance with the traditional annual custom, left for a visit of several days to Rome. On this trip he is being accompanied by his chaplain, Rev Dr Bronislaw Piasecki, and Rev Monsignor Hieronim Gozdziejewicz, director of the Secretariat of the Primate of Poland.

Bishop Bronislaw Dabrowski, Secretary of the Episcopate, also left for Rome with the Primate.

At the railway station in Gdansk the Primate and the Secretary of the Episcopate were seen off by the Warsaw auxiliary bishops J. Modzelewski, W. Miziolek, and Z. Kraszewski. Also among those bidding farewell were Bishop J. Czerniak, the Gniezno auxiliary; Bishop J. Mazur, the Siedlce ordinary; the closest colleagues of the Primate and the Secretary of the Episcopate, the diocesan clergy and nuns, and the faithful. The ATK [Academy of Catholic Theology], was represented by its rector, Rev Prof Dr J. Stepien, and prorector, Rev Prof Dr I. Subera.

Arrival in Rome

Warsaw SLOWO POWSZECHNE in Polish 22 Oct 76 p 1

[Text] The Archbishop of Gniezno and Warsaw, the Primate of Poland, Stefan Cardinal Wyszynski, arrived in Rome on 21 October 1976 accompanied by the Secretary of the Conference of the Episcopate of Poland, Bishop Bronislaw Dabrowski. The Primate's stay in Rome will last approximately 2 weeks.

At the Rome railway station, Cardinal Wyszynski was greeted by the Secretary General of the Synod of Bishops, Bishop Wladyslaw Rubin and the chairman of the Pontifical Commission for Social Communication, Bishop Andrzej Deskur.

Also present was the Counsellor-Minister Plenipotentiary, Kazimierz Szablewski, head of the Polish team for permanent working contacts between the Holy See and Poland.

The Primate was also greeted by the following, who are at the Vatican: the Szczecin-Kamien Pomorski ordinary, Bishop Jerzy Stroba; the rectors of the Polish Papal College, the Polish Institute, and the Institute for Church Research: Rev Monsig Boleslaw Wyszynski, Rev Monsig Franciszek Maczynski, and Rev Monsig P. Foksinski, and also the director of the Polish Program of Radio Vatican, Rev Stefan Filipowicz, S. J., as well as numerous Polish priests, nuns, and lay persons who are in Rome.

CSO: 2600

BRIEFS

CARDINAL WYSZYNSKI TO VATICAN--Vatican City, 21 October (ANSA)--Polish Primate Cardinal Stefan Wyszynski arrived here today for talks with Vatican officials. Holy See sources said that Wyszynski would remain in Rome for about 2 or 3 weeks. It was presumed that he would be received by Pope Paul VI during his stay. Wyszynski, who marked his 75th birthday in early August, has been widely reported as having written a letter to the Pontiff expressing his readiness to abide by Holy See regulations calling for the resignation of prelates upon such a milestone. Both Church and government circles in Warsaw, however, have voiced doubts that the Pope would insist on the regulation for the time being in Wyszynski's case. [Text] [Rome ANSA in English 1550 GMT 21 Oct 76 AU]

CSO: 2020

ROMANIA

DECREE ON ORGANIZATION OF CENTRAL APPARATUS OF ACADEMY

Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part 1 No 81, 9 Sep 76 p 3

[Decree of the Council of State on the Organization of the Central Apparatus of the Academy of the Socialist Republic of Romania]

[Text] The Council of State of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees:
Article 1--The collective leadership of the operational activity of the Academy of the Socialist Republic of Romania, in accordance with the statute of the Academy, is assured, between sessions of the Presidium of the Academy, by the Bureau of the Presidium, made up of the chairman, four deputy chairmen, and the secretary.

Article 2--The central apparatus of the Academy of the Socialist Republic of Romania has the following organization structure:

- a) the scientific secretariat;
- b) the directorate for the staff, for foreign relations, for economic affairs and planning.

The functions and the manner of organization and operation of the departments provided for in the present article are determined by the Presidium of the Academy of the Socialist Republic of Romania.

The maximum number of personnel in the central apparatus of the Academy of the Socialist Republic of Romania is stipulated in the annex*) which is an integral part of the present decree.

Article 3--Personnel transferred in the interest of the job or those who have entered the same unit, in positions with lower remuneration levels, as well as persons who have become available as a result of the application of the provisions of the present decree, benefit from the rights provided for in Article 21 of Decree No 162/1973 on the establishment of unitary structural norms for economic units.

Article 4--Decree No 211/1973 on the organization of the central apparatus of the Academy of the Socialist Republic of Romania and Article 8 of Council of Ministers Decision No 1492/1968 in regard to the regulating of conditions

for remunerating members of the Academy of the Socialist Republic of Romania and other scientist are abrogated.

*) The annex is being transmitted to the institutions concerned.

NICOLAE CEAUSESCU

President of the Socialist Republic of Romania

Bucharest, 7 September 1976

No 314

ROMANIA

LAW ON ACADEMY OF AGRICULTURE AND SILVICULTURAL SCIENCES AMENDED

Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part 1 No 81, 9 Sep 76 p 3

[Decree of the Council of State Amending Article 12 of Decree No 122/1970 on the Organization and Operation of the Academy of Agricultural and Silvicultural Sciences, Which Later Became Law No 19/1970, with Subsequent Modifications]

[Text] The Council of State of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees: Article 1--Article 12 of Decree No 122/1970 on the organization and operation of the Academy of Agricultural and Silvicultural Sciences, which later became Law No 19/1970, with subsequent modifications, is amended and will have the following content:

"Article 12--The Academy of Agricultural and Silvicultural Sciences has the following organizational structure:

- a) the scientific secretariat;
- b) the office for international scientific relations;
- c) the production directorate for seeds, planting material, and breed animals.

The maximum number of personnel in the apparatus of the Academy of Agricultural and Silvicultural Sciences is stipulated in the annex*) which is an integral part of the present decree."

Article 2--Personnel transferred in the interest of the job or those who have entered the same unit, in positions with lower remuneration levels, as well as persons who have become available as a result of the application of the provisions of the present decree, benefit from the rights provided for in Article 21 of Decree No 162/1973 on the establishment of unitary structural norms for economic units.

*) The annex is being transmitted to the institutions concerned

NICOLAE CEAUSESCU

President of the Socialist Republic of Romania

Bucharest, 7 September 1976
No 313

CSO: 2700

ROMANIA

BRIEFS

OFFICIAL APPOINTMENTS--The Council of Ministers of the Socialist Republic of Romania resolves that comrades Constantin Manolescu and Vasile Alexandrescu are relieved of their positions as deputy ministers of education and instruction. Comrade Constantin Petre is appointed deputy minister of education and instruction and Comrade Nicolae Iosif is appointed state secretary in the Ministry of Education and Instruction. [Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 84, 18 Sep 76 p 5]

CSO: 2700

END