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# East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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3 August 1984

EAST EUROPE REPORT  
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## 'INCORRECT VIEWS' OF MARXIST THEORISTS NOTED

AU111220 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 10 Jul 84 p 4

[Article by Professor Engineer Koloman Slivka, candidate of sciences, lecturer of the CPSL Central Committee, and Dr Frantisek Kan, candidate of sciences, lecturer of the CPSL Central Committee, in the "A Theoretical Topic" column: "The Workers Class and Scientific-Technical Development"]

[Excerpts] The speedy application of science and technology in practice is not possible without the steady deepening and, above all, implementation of the leading role of the workers class. In the present stage of building advanced socialism, this leading role is developing in a predetermined fashion and constitutes one of the main prerequisites for our successful advance. As is known, bourgeois science misuses the scientific-technical revolution to defend and further its theories and concepts about the development of society, according to which Marxism-Leninism is outdated and the workers class is getting to the periphery of society. Also in our theoretic thinking and in our practice there sporadically appear incorrect views on the role of the workers class in society, especially as regards its leading role in implementing the R&D. Some workers on the theoretical front but also in practice believe that the workers class is not strong enough and does not have the potential and sufficient prerequisites to resolve the strategic task of combining the advantages of socialism with the gains of scientific and technological development. They assume that in the new stage of society's development this role goes over to the managerial and scientific and technical personnel, and to other structures.

## The Tasks of Theory

R&D has a global character and influences in one way or another the development of socialist, capitalist, as well as developing countries. It is known that its inception dates back to the period of the transition from capitalism to socialism on the global scale and in this sense it is part of the world revolutionary process. It is precisely from this viewpoint that the scientific and technological development is least examined. From this follows that, first of all, it is necessary to examine in greater depth its role in the social reconstruction of the world and its importance in shaping a new civilization. The second important task of the theory of scientific communism is to explain the impact of scientific and technological development

on the workers class and on the changes taking place in it in quantitative as well as qualitative terms. This is important not only from the theoretical but also from the practical viewpoint because without explaining the trends and prospects of R&D and its multifaceted influence on social transformations in the world it is impossible to further develop and elaborate on scientific foundations the communist and worker parties' strategy in fighting against imperialism and capitalism and for peace, democracy, and socialism.

As events have shown, some propositions of some theorists, including Marxist ones, to the effect that by its very nature and escalated antagonisms capitalism is, as a matter of principle, incompatible with R&D have not been confirmed, just as the propositions and hopes have not been confirmed that scientific research and technological development, by virtue of its momentum, would work unequivocally and exclusively toward disintegrating the capitalist manner of production. Capitalism is not inimical to science and technology, but it is profoundly inimical to man, to personality.

In order to work out correct strategic principles for steering technical, economic, and social processes under socialism, it is highly important to proceed from the correct understanding of the stage in which R&D finds itself. Issues such as automation, the introduction of robots, and the like as well the question of conditions for their implementation come to the foreground in this respect. Scientific communism faces here the question of practical approach to the dialectics of social and scientific-technological progress. Some authors explain this dialectics as though R&D were the primary thing and the social consequences something secondary, something derived from and determined by this development. Such a one-sided view of the mutual relationship is one of the points of departure for the erroneous perception of the role of the workers class. It is precisely because of such erroneous approaches that scientific communism must shed light on the complex dialectics of the technical and the social, of the economic and the political, on their objective prerequisites and subjective factors. After all, the upsurge of R&D that has taken place in our conditions is determined by the preceding sociopolitical and economic deeds of people, such as industrialization, collectivization, and so forth deeds that were taken under the CPCZ's leadership.

#### Erroneous Points of Departure

The building of advanced socialism is successful to the degree to which the worker class succeeds in dealing with the strategic task facing the entire socialist community--to comprehensively utilize the advantages of socialism and link them organically with the gains of scientific and technological development. Current R&D progress does not alter in any way those characteristics of the workers class that predestine it to play the role of the leading class in building advanced socialism. By waging a struggle for scientific-technical progress, the worker class fulfills its revolutionary role and implements thus under new conditions its historic mission.

Although these ideas are not unknown, some doubts [rozpaky] nevertheless arise in trying to perceive the meaning of the leading role of the workers class under the leadership of the party in connection with R&D. These doubts stem:

--first, from an erroneous methodological approach in defining the workers class under the conditions of building socialism;

--second, from an erroneous interpretation of the term scientific-technological revolution;

--third, from a simplified, merely empirical understanding of the leading role of the workers class in R&D in a socialist society.

In Characterizing the workers class, some authors of monographs, treatises, and articles proceed either from Marx's conclusions or from Lenin's definition of a class. However, in defining the basic features of the economic determination of the workers class it is essential to make use of both key theoretical-methodological points of departure: Marx's conclusions about economic determination (Das Kapital, Vol I) and Lenin's definition (expounded in "Great Initiative"). These conclusions of Marx and Lenin cannot be perceived in isolation from one another or disregarded, also in determining the characteristics of the workers class under socialism. The implementation of the leading role of the workers class presupposes not only the knowledge of these dialectics, but also a correct definition of the economic and political determination of the workers class in the new stage of development, which the CPCZ did at the May 1974 session of the CPCZ Central Committee (Resolution on Strengthening the Role of Scientific Research and Technological Development in Raising the Effectiveness of the National Economy).

Another factor causing incorrect notions of the leading role of the workers class is an empirical approach to the issue. The exponents of such arguments often use, for example, so-called first-hand experience obtained in a specific plant in which workers allegedly take no part in management, nor do they make decisions about matters concerning their workplace. The leading role is then ascribed to professional managers and the economic or scientific-technical intelligentsia. To buttress these notions, ingenious use is also made of the fact that workers have a relatively smaller share in the overall management of production.

However, the classics of Marxism-Leninism did not explain the leading role of the workers class in the sense that the workers class as a whole, a group of workers, or even every individual worker decide, manage, and command in every individual situation. V. I. Lenin often spoke out against such erroneous notions, stressing that the leading role of the workers class is implemented primarily through its revolutionary vanguard--the Marxist-Leninist party and the entire structure of party bodies and organizations--and through communists working in state and social bodies and organizations, in the entire social system.

SOCIALISM'S NEED FOR DEFENSE READINESS

Reasons for Special Issue

Prague NOVA MYSL in Czech, Special Issue, Apr 84 p 3

Explanatory note by the editorial offices of NOVA MYSL

Text From the victory of the proletarian revolution the maintenance of peace has been a fundamental objective of the policy of the first socialist state. The concept of peaceful coexistence has become an inseparable part of the program of the communist and the working class movement. The peaceful proposals which the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries have presented throughout their existence, but particularly in the 1970's and 1980's, represent a continuation of this policy. It reflects the reality that the building of a new society, which has been undertaken by the people of a number of countries of Europe, Asia, Africa and on the American continent, cannot proceed smoothly without a calm atmosphere--without peace.

The successes of real socialism, the fact that its ideas are attracting ever more adherents in the current world, represents a serious threat to the exploitative capitalist system, to imperialism, an obstacle in its path to world domination. The ruling circles of the imperialist countries, especially the United States, therefore refuse to consider the peaceful proposals of the socialist countries. By increasing military budgets and developing ever newer weapons systems, they are seeking to gain unilateral dominance over the countries of the world socialist system, with the objective of unleashing a new world war. The governments of the United States and certain NATO countries responded to the specific peace proposals contained in the Political Declaration of the Political Advisory Committee of the Warsaw Pact with their decision to station new American missiles in Europe.

Under these conditions it has become necessary to defend socialism, which forms a dialectical unity with the building and development of a new society. Lenin's teachings concerning the need to be able to defend the results of the revolution remain current. The imperialist threat has forced us to take the countermeasures which began in the fall of last year.

The security of socialism is not guaranteed solely, however, by the amount and quality of weapons, but is also based on the economic strength of individual countries and of the socialist community as a unit on the ideological strength and political commitment of workers, on the ability to resist imperialist propaganda, and on the strength and unity of the world communist and workers movement.

The publication of this special issue of NOVA MYSL on this theme has the objective, then, of explaining the basic tasks of the defense and security policies of the CPCZ, demonstrating the complexity of the struggle for peace, democracy and socialism in the contemporary world, exposing the counterrevolutionary and nonpeaceful nature of the policies of imperialism, and outlining the tasks on the ideological front in today's situation. We are confident that this special issue of NOVA MYSL, entitled "Unity of the Building and Defense of Socialism," will be an appropriate aid to propagandists and all functionaries of the party in their work.

#### Domestic Causes of U.S. Imperialism

Prague NOVA MYSL in Czech, Special Issue, Apr 84 pp 60-71

Article by Stepanka Capova and Jaroslava Cervena: "Class, Political and Socioeconomic Causes of Current Aggressive Policy of U.S. Imperialism"

Text Lenin's interpretation of the basic characteristics of imperialism remains a valid methodological starting point for a Marxist-Leninist analysis of the development of contemporary imperialism. Imperialism, however, today exists in a fundamentally different international class political situation. It is confronted daily with an accelerating process of social and political change on a global scale, with a shrinking geographical area under its domain, as well as with intensifying internal socioeconomic and political conflicts.

Imperialism is attempting to resolve all of the internal and external conflicts stemming from the changing conditions of its existence by means of its own resources. Lenin wrote prior to the October Revolution that "...under capitalism there are no other potential resources for the temporary renovation of disrupted equilibrium than crisis in industry and war in politics."<sup>1</sup> The internal laws of the development of imperialism that Lenin discovered offer us a key at the present time to an understanding of the reasons why the monopolistic bourgeoisie is attempting to resolve its problems in the manner we are witnessing right now, even though this technique is in conflict with the trends of worldwide development and, in the final analysis, contribute to a worsening of the crisis of the capitalist system.

Let us review at least a few of Lenin's theses of the characteristics of imperialism: "Imperialism is a specific historical phase of

capitalism,"<sup>2</sup> in which there is domination by monopolies and financial capital, when the exporting of capital has become very important, when international trusts have embarked upon the dividing up of the world, and when the entire surface of the world has been divided among the largest capitalist states."<sup>3</sup> [quotation marks as published]

"The most significant expression of the economics of imperialism," wrote V. I. Lenin, "are the American trusts. In order to eliminate competitors these trusts do not restrict themselves solely to economic means, but rather unceasingly strive to use political and even criminal means." <sup>4</sup>

In the drafts of "State and Revolution" Lenin wrote: "With the rise of imperialist states generalized militarization has reached colossal proportions."<sup>5</sup> "Modern militarism is a result of capitalism. It is a "vital manifestation of capitalism in both of its forms; as a military force which is used by capitalist countries for external conflicts (Militarismus nach aussen, as the Germans say), and as a weapon in the hands of the ruling classes for the suppression of all economic and political movements of the proletariat (Militarismus nach innen)."<sup>6</sup>

Since the time of Lenin's analysis there have been qualitative changes in the world. Imperialism has lost its hegemony over a large portion of the world, and the socialist community, as the vanguard of revolutionary change, is today the motive force for the development of, and at the same time the supporter and defender of anti-imperialist, democratic and progressive forces on all continents. The main conflict of the current phase of the shift of humanity from capitalism to socialism is the conflict between antithetical social and economic systems--between socialism and capitalism. The political, economic and defensive strength of the socialist community, and especially the developmental trends represented by additional shifts of class and political forces in favor of socialism, democracy, progress and peace represents significant reduction of the "sphere of influence" of imperialism, a restriction of its regional domination, and therefore a qualitative change in the external conditions of its existence. Imperialism is capable of reacting to these changes only to a limited extent and with the limited means which are determined by its basic characteristics and laws of internal development as described by V. I. Lenin.

Following World War II, the United States became the leader of the entire capitalist group. The capitalist states of Western Europe that were weakened by the war and defeated Japan accepted the hegemonal role of the United States. The wealthy bourgeoisie of the Western European countries were happy to sacrifice a portion of their economic and power interests, out of fear of the development of progressive and revolutionary movements (recall the progressive class and political processes in France, Italy, and Greece), to the interests of American imperialism in exchange for the maintenance of the capitalist system.

Fears concerning the future fate of their capitalist domination have been voiced by the representatives of big capital for a number of decades. After World War II they reacted to the division of the world into two antithetical systems and the growth of the political influence and prestige of the Soviet Union and communist ideas by unleashing the cold war fanning the flames of anticommunism and anti-Sovietism. The purpose of the policy of "from a position of strength" was to destroy the "Soviet system" and to liquidate socialism as a social order and ideology. The first great demonstrations of this policy of confrontation were the anticommunist speech of Winston Churchill in Fulton, Missouri in March 1946,<sup>7</sup> the declaration of the Truman Doctrine in 1947,<sup>8</sup> as well as the doctrine of the "liberation" of the Eastern European countries from the time of Secretary of State John Foster Dulles.

This policy of confrontation not only did not result in the achievement of its declared objectives, it did not even prevent the historical change that occurred at the end of the 1950's--a change in the balance of forces between capitalism and socialism in favor of socialism. Imperialist politicians and ideologists had to reevaluate, in this qualitatively new situation, the entire complex of relationships with the socialist community and the rest of the world. This process of "reevaluation" lasted almost a decade and resulted in the crystallization of two differing conceptions: a relatively realistic concept (forced upon them by the complex internal political situation in the United States and a weakening in its international position in the 1960's and 1970's) and an extremely reactionary and aggressive concept which the United States has been gradually trying to implement since the mid-1970's.

During the 1960's the realistic concept became increasingly prevalent among the American political elite: a conviction that the historical conflict between capitalism and socialism cannot be resolved militarily, that the situation requires discussions to limit and reduce stocks of weapons of mass destruction and to create a minimum of political trust. The changed military-strategic situation resulting from the advent of a rough parity in nuclear weapons between the United States and the USSR (which was officially admitted by the American side in 1969) and the combination of internal political and international political events that objectively restrained the aggressiveness of American imperialism (a sharpening internal conflict and the spread of mass democratic movements in the United States in the 1960's, and the increasing antimilitarism of the American public as a result of the failure of the intervention in Vietnam), both of which at the turn of the 1960's and 1970's had a substantial influence on the growing trends towards realism in the policy of the United States, combined to set the stage for the undertaking of important steps to reduce tensions and reduce the danger of thermonuclear war. The first half of the 1970's, when an entire complex of U.S.-Soviet agreements, as well as the agreements which anchored the postwar order in Europe, demonstrated quite definitely

that in the nuclear age there is no alternative to peaceful coexistence. The signing of the SALT I agreement, the agreement on limitations on ABM systems, and a number of others confirmed the actual possibility of constructive discussions on the achievement of mutually acceptable compromises based on the principle of equality and equal security for the negotiating partners.

The 1970's also went down in history as a period of missed opportunities and unexploited possibilities, a period of the accumulation of strength within the American right and of the activation of its struggle against the policy of reduced international tensions. The American "cold warriors," the managers of the military industrial complex, have achieved their objective in the sense that the process of detente has not become a permanent and inexorable reality of international life, in the sense that there has not been a decisive turnaround in the "materialization" of detente, i.e., in a reduction of the material and resources for the waging of war.

In the complex of reasons which have resulted in the "renewed cold war," sociopolitical reasons on a global scale come significantly to the fore. The 1960's and 1970's saw a qualitatively new level of social movement in the world. It was a time when the final post-colonial empires were disbanded, when the Third World advanced from the achievement of independence to the formulation and assertion of demands for economic emancipation, which found expression in a movement for a "new economic order" (UN 1974). World socialism achieved significant successes in the economic and political spheres, the prestige of the peaceful policies of the socialist countries, led by the Soviet Union, increased substantially. The capitalist world saw the fall of fascist regimes in Greece, Spain, Portugal, and significant shifts "to the left" on the political scene in France and Italy. The end of the 1960's and the early 1970's were marked by a growing democratic movement in the capitalist countries, a movement for economic and political-democratic rights for the broad masses of workers. In general, it may be stated that political detente was a "catalyst" for positive, progressive sociopolitical changes in the world.

In evaluations of world developmental trends the intellectual elite serving big capital has often emphasized its serious dissatisfaction with the fact that over the long term the course of world development is proceeding in direct conflict with the interests of imperialism, and especially U.S. imperialism. In social and political development, in "the movement of the world in the direction of egalitarianism and collectivism" (Brzezinski), they have noted "the danger of the political, philosophical and economic isolation of the United States," In the class-based understanding of the theoreticians of the ruling class of the United States, this indubitable worsening of the external conditions of the existence of American imperialism caused by the activation of the struggles of peoples for sociopolitical liberation and a new international economic order appears as the "growth of anarchy" on an international scale, as a "worsening of the world crisis."

Based on their thesis of the indispensable position of the United States in the current system of international relations, these theoreticians have established the following objective for U.S. foreign policy: "We must try to achieve a remote, complicated objective--to give the world, which has just awoken politically and become troubled in a social sense, a specific form" (Brzezinski).

The monopolistic bourgeoisie has reacted to this keenly felt weakening of their global position with a frontal assault on the policy of detente, against the relationships of dialogue and cooperation with the Soviet Union. The forces of the American reaction have demanded first a "freeze," and then the liquidation of the entire complex of American-Soviet relations.

Leadership of the opponents of the policy of detente has been assumed by representatives of the U.S. military-industrial complex, above all its spokesmen in the legislative and executive organs, Zionist circles, the rightist leadership of the American union organization AFL-CIO, emigrant groups from the socialist countries and the press organs of the far right. In attempts to justify ideologically a "hardline" course for the foreign policy of the United States, theoreticians and ideologists of traditional conservatism and anticommunism have joined with the advocates of the ideology of neoconservatism and the political movement of the "new right."

The departure of the ruling circles of the United States from the policy of detente has signalled the predominance of the class, egoistical interest of imperialism--the interest in retaining and strengthening the system of exploitation on an international scale--over the imperative need for retaining and strengthening world peace. In the militaristic policy of the United States one is correct in noticing an undermining in the trust of imperialism in itself, a lack of faith in its ability to be victorious in peaceful competition with socialism.

The 1970's and 1980's have been rightly described as a qualitatively new phase in the postwar development of world capitalism, characterized by a sharpening of all the conflicts present in the capitalist system, and by the rise of a new level of socioeconomic, political and ideological instability.

We are witnessing a significant intensification of the general crisis of the capitalist social system. The techniques with which capitalism has succeeded in maintaining a relative stability in its postwar development are now losing their effectiveness. It is becoming more and more clear that imperialism is not capable of coming to terms with the social consequences of the unpredictably large and extensive research and development revolution which is condemning millions of workers to unemployment and poverty.

"Imperialism is becoming mired in internal and interstate antagonisms, shocks and conflicts."<sup>9</sup>

In the 1950's and 1960's bourgeois economists and politicians viewed the creation of a relatively comprehensive system of state monopolistic regulation as the most appropriate and also objectively necessary path to the stabilization of capitalism, primarily its strongest element--American imperialism. The objective of the creation of this system was to modify the antagonism in the economic area that were peculiar to capitalism and moderate the most urgent social conflicts through an effective state system of social security. In the period following World War II liberal bourgeois economists and sociologists expanded considerable efforts at the level of theory and propaganda to prove that capitalism had "overcome" in an evolutionary manner its crisis-prone essence and that it had in fact "ceased being capitalism," that it had, through evolution, been able to rid itself of its previous "shortcomings," that the revolutionary potential of the working class in capitalist society had been exhausted once and for all.

The socioeconomic and political realities of the United States, however, convincingly contradict the theories of the contemporary bourgeois ideologists. American imperialism has found itself in a stage of chronic crisis and overall socioeconomic instability. There has been a substantial decrease and in some cases a complete cessation of economic growth, and a stagnation in labor productivity; unemployment has risen sharply, and production capacities continue to be far underutilized. The end of the 1970's and early 1980's have brought high, double-digit inflation, and increasing government budget deficits. The cyclical crisis phenomena and stagflation have been magnified by the influence of a relatively new factor--a structural crisis in the economy--in its basic forms of a crisis of raw materials, power, and food, along with a general economic crisis.

The inadequacy of the current techniques for regulating the economy based on the post-Keynesian reformist model has been recognized by the American ruling elite and its ideologists at a time when American imperialism has been forced to acknowledge a tangible weakening in its international position. The internal socioeconomic sphere of the imperialist rule in the United States itself has logically become a mobilization base for an aggressive foreign policy; "strengthening its own rear" and the "curing" of the internal political and economic situation in the United States is considered by the monopolistic bourgeoisie of the United States as one of the basic dimensions of the current form of the conception of "national security" and a precondition for the success of a policy of aggression.

Since the mid-1970's we have been witness to an enormous growth in the influence of conservative socioeconomic and political ideas in the form of so-called neoconservatism. Under the conditions of an intensifying third stage of the general crisis of capitalism the imperialist bourgeoisie and its ideologists are shifting to an open, militantly defensive, orthodox dogma of the capitalist system--"free enterprise" and "equal opportunity" for each individual. The American exploitative order is put forward as an example of the "democratic organization" of a

political system. The clear and ever more pressingly felt crisis of these liberal, reformist socioeconomic theories and the practice based upon them has opened the way to victory for neoconservative socioeconomic concepts.

The conservative reaction began actively to exploit the positions it had achieved with the coming of the Republican Reagan administration. The old thesis of the "unlimited potential of the capitalist economic system," of its "vitality" and capacity for "self-regulation" were proclaimed once again. This ideological faith of the neoconservatives pay no attention to the archaic character of capitalist production relationships; the sharpening of the conflicts of contemporary monopolistic capitalism, although some notice is taken of it, is attributed to the negative consequences of excessive state intervention in the economy. It is as though the disfunction of capitalism were not an integral part of it, but rather a result of "unjustified" interventions in its functioning.

The rise of a neoconservative reaction in the area of economic theory is represented above all by the theories of supply-side economics and monetarism.<sup>10</sup> In the practical sphere neoconservatism manifests itself as a system of economic mechanisms utilized by the current administration in the form of Reaganomics.

"An economy oriented towards supply" does not spend much time on a profound study of the laws of the current stage in the functioning of the capitalist means of production, concerning itself rather with the study of the market and the "creative activities" of entrepreneurs. It worships the capitalist market as the fundamental regulatory principle of an economy, and overestimates the impact of the subjective psychological factors in economic life by studying the role of "motivation and expectation in the behavior of producers and consumers." It blames the "welfare state" of the 1960's and 1970's for causing on the one hand an enormous growth in taxes and government expenditures by stimulating economic growth and full employment, while at the same time breaking the motivation which is supposed to lead taxpayers to work, save and invest, which represents "the sole real source of new wealth." The "paternalistic state" and its tax structure must, therefore, be dismantled: a "supply-oriented" reduction in taxes will renew the previously existing motivation, thereby leading logically to an increase in investment, national income and labor productivity, and to reduced unemployment.<sup>11</sup> A continuation of a post-Keynesian economic policy would lead, as one is cautioned by G. Gilder, P. Roberts, A. Laffer and M. Feldstein, to a further "destruction of the incentive system" due to increased public expenditures, accompanied by an increase in the national debt and inflation. A reduction in the level of state regulation of the economy will make it possible to shift financial resources, through reduced taxes, to the private sector, where they will be "utilized effectively."

The monetarist conception of the Chicago School, led by Milton Friedman, has demanded the introduction of a restrictive monetary policy which, at the price of stopping economic growth and of high interest rates, should make it possible to overcome the main enemy of big American capital--the double-digit inflation of the 1970's and early 1980's.

A new budget policy within the context of "Reaganomics" set itself the objective of gradually reducing the state budget deficit, and creating the preconditions for balancing it, beginning in 1984. Along with a drastic restriction in the welfare function of the bourgeois state through a reduction in social expenditures, this restructuring of the budget has meant its further militarization. Military expenditures as a percentage of the state budget have increased rapidly (in the 1985 fiscal year budget, submitted to Congress in January 1984, the military budget reached a record 305 billion dollars, out of a total budget of 925.5 billion dollars). This militarization has played an important role in the fact that the planned balancing of the budget by the end of Reagan's first term was not only not achieved, but that the budget deficits got progressively bigger each year. (With a deficit of 200 billion dollars for fiscal 1983, the internal indebtedness of the United States has already reached the astronomical amount of 1.3 trillion dollars.)

The implementation of a "new taxation policy" brought tax reductions mainly to big business (in 1981-1983 tax levies were 25 percent less than previously), which thereby contributed only 7 percent of the state budget through taxes (in 1963 this figure had been 24 percent). The situation of the average American became, if anything, worse because of an increase in so-called indirect taxes. The restrictive financial policy of the federal reserve system in 1981-1983 brought a decline in inflation (from 13.5 percent in July 1981 to 3.2 percent in December 1983). This radical cure for the currency led to a huge increase in interest rates (in 1981 they were 21.5 percent, in January 1984 11 percent). Despite a certain decline in unemployment, in 1983 the level of unemployment remains high (official data speaks of 8.2 percent of the able-bodied population as of December 1983, which is more than 9 million Americans).

"Reagonomics" has been accompanied by a sharply antipopular and antiunion course aimed at the liquidation of "disobedient" trade unions and worker strike movements. With the support of the federal government and its "politics of the whip" the monopolies are forcing the agreement of unions to drastic wage reductions in the interest of preserving jobs in sectors particularly hard hit by the crisis--primarily in the steel and automobile industries.

Data from the U.S. Communist Party indicate that in the 1978-1982 period the real wages of workers declined by a full 15 percent.

In the background of the liquidation of the results of the long-standing class struggle of the American worker stands the antipopular, elitist philosophy of contemporary conservatism. Neoconservative theory demands the use of "market mechanisms" for solving social problems, taking away from the government its social function. This sociopolitical function of the capitalist market assumes "a rejuvenation of the entrepreneurial instinct" and a "philosophy of success in life" on the part of the socially weaker elements of society, under conditions of "equal opportunities" for all.<sup>12</sup> This invocation of the early bourgeois ideals of a capitalism of free competition, however, will prove incapable of resolving the deep conflicts of contemporary monopolistic capitalism. This neoconservative philosophy is more likely to penetrate the social consciousness of the United States with feelings of "personal guilt" and "personal failure" on the part of unemployed people, such as the millions of people living in the United States below the official poverty level (in 1983 data from the American press estimated this number at 34.4 million people). The ideal of the neoconservative philosophy is the rule of "big business," unrestricted by anyone or anything, in the economic, social, and political spheres, without the "moderation" of the most glaring social antagonisms by the federal government.

The sociopolitical pressure and economic instability in the country are being accentuated in the 1980's by the growing militarization of all aspects of life in the United States, resulting from the immediate economic consequences of building weapons, the strengthening of the political positions of proponents of the military industrial complex, and the militaristic accents on the psychological warfare against its own population.

Under the Reagan administration the arms race has assumed the character of a military mania. During the 1982-1987 period the astronomical sum of 1.6-1.7 trillion dollars is to be spent on armaments. This new round of the arms race is distinguished by its comprehensive character--it involves all components of the nuclear and conventional forces of the United States, its systems of administration and leadership: the emphasis is on both quantity (increasing the number of weapons and warheads) and quality (increasing the tactical sophistication of the weapons systems). It is typical that a reduction in the level of state monopolistic intervention has not in the least affected the role of the federal government in the implementation and organization of preparations for war. On the contrary, this role has increased. After several decades the myth of the "stabilizing" and "stimulating" influence of armaments on the economy of the United States, of arms building as a "catalyst" and "bearer" of scientific and technical progress, has proved to be false. Investments in the civilian sectors of the economy make it possible to employ twice as many people as the same amount invested in the arms industry. Arms production draws investment capital from the civilian sector, as well as qualified personnel, raw materials and power resources, and skews the structure of the research and development base of the country, siphoning off resources from peaceful research.

Under the Reagan administration, a concerted counterattack has been undertaken against all those forces which were putting capitalism on the historical defensive, primarily against the socialist countries. The policy of the United States in relation to the countries of the socialist community is characterized by a strategy of confrontation, above all in relation to the main components of the community and to the Soviet Union. In terms of the remaining socialist countries a so-called differential policy is still employed, which amounts to graduated degrees of pressure. The policy of differentiation is meant to gain for American diplomacy the requisite maneuvering room to allow it to focus on the weakening and the destruction of the unity of the socialist community. All socialist states are the direct objects of a confrontational military policy, with many of them being direct targets of the newly stationed Pershing 2 and Cruise missiles. The Reagan administration is attempting to turn economic relations into a means for political pressure against the socialist countries.

In addition to military-political and economic confrontation, an ideological crusade against communism occupies a special place in the comprehensively conceived psychological war of American imperialism against the socialist countries. Its organization and realization have been participated in by leading representatives of the U.S. Government, including President Reagan, who almost constantly makes speeches with militantly anticommunist and anti-Soviet content (see, for instance, his speech before the British Parliament on 8 June 1982, his speech to the National Association of Evangelicals in Orlando, Florida, on 8 March 1983, etc.). Matters have led to a never before seen institutionalization of psychological warfare against socialist countries, whether in the form of the financial strengthening and organizational restructuring of already existing centers of ideological disinformation (such as the seditious radio stations Liberty and Radio Free Europe), or in the form of the founding of new institutions and committees for "public diplomacy," motivated above all by attempts to neutralize peaceful Soviet initiatives and justify his own programs for the arms race.

In its policies towards Third World countries, the United States is stepping up its efforts to support trends of the more complete integration of these countries into the economic, political, and military system of international imperialism. In the cultivation of capitalist economies of a dependent sort American and international capital perceive a significant source for the expansion of their political and economic base: it cannot, however, at the same time fail to export the conflicts of imperialism themselves, which in the future will have a revolutionary resolution.

More than in the past, American monopolies are using policies of military blackmail and superpower pressure to assure external supplies of raw materials and energy. We are witness to this in the Near and Middle East, in the southern parts of Africa, in Central America and elsewhere.

U.S. imperialism not only creates military coalition ties with Third World countries and their reactionary regimes, trying to create a favorable regional balances of forces in this or that part of the world, and uses its monopoly on the resolution of conflict situations in a way favorable to its own interests. In connection with efforts to mask its role in the aggravation and provocation of regional military flareups, the American administration tries to raise local conflicts to the level of a "superpower conflict" between the United States and the USSR.

States with a socialist orientation are inevitably becoming the object of concentrated military-political pressure. This pressure is artificially developed, the impression created of the clear illegitimacy of popular and revolutionary regimes, and attempts are made to gain international approval of American intervention into the internal affairs of these countries. The United States would very much like to form a coalition of counterrevolutionary forces from the previous members of privileged classes, thereby attempting to secure its power objectives "with foreign hands."

The United States has been trying for a number of years already to get its political allies in Western Europe and Japan to take upon themselves a greater share of the financing of this extensive armaments program. The arms race is designed to weaken economically capitalist competitors, more closely link them to the confrontational policy of the United States, thereby making it possible to eliminate the possibility for them to conduct a relatively independent policy in relation to the socialist countries, and to limit their economic and other contacts with them. Egotistical economic measures and political interventions in relation to its capitalist partners, the introduction of protectionist measures, and the sharpening of financial machinations damaging to Western Europe and Japan, however, violate only sporadically the political strategy of strengthening the aggressive and militaristic community of the ruling bourgeoisie of these countries. This reality has been reflected in the joint participation by Western European governments in the acceptance and implementation of decisions concerning the stationing of American medium-range nuclear missiles on their territory, in agreements to increase the military budget of NATO by 3 percent annually (in real terms), in the adoption of the Rogers doctrine, which meant the escalation of a new generation of conventional arms and the strengthening of the strategical alliance of the United States and Japan in the Far East.

In the meantime, the internal conflicts within imperialism are worsening all the time. "Capitalism generally and imperialism especially makes democracy an illusion--but at the same time capitalism fosters democratic strivings among the masses, creates democratic institutions, stirs up antagonism between imperialism, which negates democracy, and the masses, which strive for democracy."<sup>13</sup>

At present when, through the fault of imperialism, there has been a serious worsening of the international situation and the danger of a war breaking out has increased substantially, the struggle for democracy becomes the same as the struggle for peace. Large peace movements have been organized in the countries of Western Europe, the United States and in Japan. Even though at the beginning these were made up of very different people, and despite the fact that they have been and are being subjected to strong anti-Soviet propaganda pressure, this originally politically amorphous movement has gradually turned into a new anti-imperialist and often also anti-American force which, in the struggle for the preservation of peace, the most pressing problem of the world class struggle, can play a positive role. The mission of communists is to help this movement to mature.

"The danger of nuclear war, which threatens the world, forces us to evaluate in a new light the main purpose of the entire communist movement. Communists have always struggled against pressure and exploitation of man by man and today are struggling as well for the preservation of human civilization and the right of men to live."<sup>14</sup>

A change in the strategic situation and disruption of the military equilibrium on the European continent as a result of the implementation of the NATO decision of December 1979 to station American medium-range missiles in Western Europe has forced the socialist states, led by the USSR, to adopt retaliatory military measures. The openly aggressive policy of U.S. imperialism and its allies must be stopped, the military equilibrium between socialism and capitalism in Europe and throughout the world must be retained. This is the essential precondition for the preservation of peace and the neutralization of the aggressive intentions of imperialism.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. Lenin, V.I. "Spisy," vol 21, Prague, State Publishing House for Pedagogical Literature (SNPL), 1955, p 345.
2. Lenin, V.I. "Spisy," vol 23, Prague, SNPL, 1957, p 109.
3. Lenin, V.I. "Spisy," vol 22, Prague, SNPL, 1957, p 288.
4. Lenin, V.I. "Spisy," vol 23, Prague, SNPL, 1957, p 43.
5. Lenin, V.I. "Polnoe sobranie sochineniy," vol 33, Moscow, Gospolitizdat, 1973, p 334.
6. Lenin, V.I. "Spisy," vol 15, Prague, SNPL, 1957, p 195.
7. In this speech Winston Churchill spoke against the transmittal of information about the atomic bomb to the United Nations, advocated closer ties between the United States and Great Britain and the creation of an international armed force against "the Soviet danger."

8. The Truman Doctrine, declared in a speech of President Truman to Congress, promised American assistance to all countries "threatened by communism," especially Turkey and Greece, and declared a decisive offensive against socialist countries.
9. Speech of Yu.V. Andropov. "Pressing Questions in Ideological and Mass Political Work," in "Documents from the Plenary Session of the CPSU Central Committee 14-15 June 1984," Prague, Svoboda, 1983, p 24-25.
10. See Poloucek, S. and Novotny, Z. "Influence of the Monetarist Conception of State Monopoly Regulation in the United States," NOVA MYSL, 1981, No 7-8, p 112.
11. See, for instance, Gilder, G. "Wealth and Poverty," New York, 1981.
12. See, for instance, Friedman, M. and Friedman, R. "Free to Choose," New York, 1981 (A Personal Statement, Penguin Books, N).
13. Lenin, V.I. "Spisy," vol 23, Prague, SNPL, 1957, p 22.
14. Andropov, Yu.V. "Pressing Questions in Ideological and Mass Political Work," previously cited, p 20.

#### Aggressive U.S. Military Policy

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/Article by Vladislav Rybecky: "The Main Threat to Peace--The Aggressive Military Policy of the United States"/

/Text/ Two fundamentally different military policies, that of socialism and that of imperialism, are reflected in their main foreign policy strategies. The most significant representatives of these policies are the Soviet Union and the United States of America.

The military policy of the Soviet Union is based on a socialist social and state administration, on the defense interests of the Soviet state and its allies, on the achieved sophistication of Soviet society, on economic and other potentials, on military doctrine, the requirements of contemporary military practice, and the existing military and strategic balance.

The military policy of the United States is based on the aggressive nature of American imperialism and its hegemonistic objectives of world domination. These fundamental characteristics stem from the fact that imperialism has been and remains the major source of wars in the current era and that the United States occupies the dominant political, economic and military position in the capitalist world. American military policy is characterized by an orientation of armed forces for conducting an aggressive nuclear war, a focus on strengthening the

military integration of the main forces of imperialism within the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) and other military blocs the implementation of a policy of interventionism and the rejection of the principle of equal security, the development of militarism and the military industrial complex.

A recognition of the nature of American military policy makes it possible to overcome certain illusions about the United States. Even now the words of Vladimir Il'ich Lenin remain valid: "It has been shown that the idealized Wilson democratic republic is in fact a form of the strongest possible imperialism, the most comprehensive possible suppression and strangulation of weak and smaller peoples."<sup>1</sup>

The relationship between American foreign and military policy is not only very close, it is becoming more intensive. Both policy spheres influence the other, supplement each other and often act jointly in foreign relations. A.A. Gromyko noted at the Stockholm Conference in January 1984 that "the chief threat to peace today is the foreign policy of the United States. Its militaristic strategy in international relations is a product of the policies of those countries where the arms race is a profitable business for arms manufacturers. This fact is being recognized by more and more people who are beginning to understand how petty the limited, bloodsucking interests of big business are in comparison with the vital interests of people."<sup>2</sup>

The interpenetration of American foreign and military policy, especially in relation to the external world, has many objective, subjective, and historical causes. The most important are the following:

1) The efforts of the ruling circles to assure the economic interests of American monopolies in a class-divided world. Priority is given to the satisfaction of the interests of the military industrial forces of American imperialism.

2) The dominant role of the element of force in American policy generally. The basis of this complex problem in American policy was expressed as follows by the minister of defense of the USSR, Marshal of the Soviet Union D.F. Ustinov: "We must build peace only on the basis of strength...peace will be firm at such a time as we will be strong; this is what the American President says about his foreign policy program. Force, military force, armed force, nuclear force, air force, naval force--this is the basic vocabulary of the speeches of the current leaders in Washington." The element of force in American policy is closely related to the fact that military force and its major expression--the armed forces--are considered to be a basic mechanism of foreign policy. To assert its superpower interests the United States has sent military units to the territory of foreign states on 45 occasions since World War II.

3) The pursuit of political, economic, military and ideological ways of liquidating or of substantially weakening the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, thereby arresting the further development of the world revolutionary process. It is precisely this fact which forms the basis of all the foreign policy and military doctrines of the United States since the end of World War II.

It is estimated that since the end of World War II there have been 160-180 military conflicts and localized wars of various magnitudes which have complicated the international situation. In an absolute majority of these the United States participated either directly or indirectly. The most important military actions of the United States include: military intervention in China (1945-49); an aggressive war against the People's Republic of Korea (1950-53) in which 302,500 American soldiers participated; military intervention in Lebanon in 1958 and 1982; aggression against the Dominican Republic (1965-66); an aggressive war against Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia (1964-73) in which more than 543,000 American soldiers participated; military intervention in Grenada in 1983, and others. According to data from the Brookings Institute in the United States, the White House on 19 occasions between 1948 and 1978 considered using nuclear weapons. It is probable that in the ensuing years the United States has considered using nuclear weapons.

Since 1945 the United States has waged the following types of wars: wars against socialist countries, wars against Third World countries, wars against peoples fighting for national liberation; it has intervened in civil wars and in wars between capitalist states and Third World countries. The most important wars for the United States ended unsuccessfully--the Korean War and the Indochina War.<sup>4</sup>

American military policy expresses the reactionary interests of monopolistic capitalism and is relatively independent. It is distinguished by antidemocratic, antisocialist, anticommunist, hegemonistic and aggressive intentions. This policy determines the directions of the building of the armed forces and their use for the realization of "state (political) objectives," and forms the basis of American military doctrine<sup>5</sup> and military strategy.

The military policy of the United States has a history. Its postwar years may be divided into these main phases:

The first phase encompasses the years 1945-1954. Military and foreign policy was based primarily on the current nuclear monopoly<sup>6</sup> and the dominant position of the United States in the capitalist world. The United States had become the center of imperialist reaction, of militarism and aggression in the world. Military strategy presupposed the conduct of a general war against the socialist countries using both conventional and nuclear weapons; it also included a scenario for localized wars. It was based on a conception of balanced armed forces

and military integration within the framework of NATO. This military strategy was closely tied to the doctrine of "containing communism" and a policy from a position of strength, based on so-called nuclear diplomacy.

Immediately after World War II a number of plans were formulated by the Pentagon for nuclear attacks on the Soviet Union. These plans were based on the assumption that the United States would have at its disposal about 196 nuclear warheads to be used on about 20 Soviet cities. In 1948, plans projected attacks with nuclear warheads on 70 Soviet cities, for which the United States had about 200 nuclear warheads at its disposal. In 1949 the "Dropshot" plan, which called for the possible use of 300 warheads on about 100 Soviet cities, was formulated and approved. These aggressive plans represented a military threat to the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. The United States considered using nuclear weapons during the Korean War (1950-1953).

The second phase of American military policy and strategy covered the years 1954-1960. Military strategy developed the conception of mass responses, i.e., the conduct of a nuclear war against the USSR and other socialist countries, and the delivery of a nuclear first strike; a local war against nonsocialist states was projected. This military strategy was based on the fact that the United States had an undoubted advantage in strategic forces, that its territory was basically militarily untouchable, and that it could carry out this military policy without even paying attention to allies and the internal political situation in the country. It has been demonstrated that the main basis of this strategy was fictitious. Why? On 4 October 1957 the USSR launched into orbit the first artificial earth satellite--Sputnik. This was a clear success for Soviet science and for the mastery of space. Sputnik showed at the same time that the USSR had at its disposal intercontinental rockets capable of delivering a nuclear warhead to any target on Earth. This liquidated the idea of the military untouchability of the United States which had fundamental strategic significance and impact. Around 1959, the rearming of the Soviet armed forces with missiles and nuclear technology was completed, and a reorganization that took place at the beginning of 1960 created a new type of armed force--the strategic missile force. This qualitatively increased the defensive capability of the Soviet Union. The critical change was that now the Soviet Union now had enough forces and equipment to undertake a retaliatory nuclear strike. This resulted in the creation of a new military and strategic balance between socialism and imperialism. The conception of a "mass response" became obsolete, because a nuclear war against socialism would represent suicide for imperialism. The conception of a "massive response" was linked with the foreign policy doctrine of "suppression of communism."

The third stage of American military policy and strategy covers the years 1961-1968. Military strategy defined the concept of a "flexible response" that, in terms of the previous conception, expanded the range of wars for which the U.S. leadership must be prepared. The

United States thus oriented its preparation of armed forces in the following directions: toward the conduct of a general nuclear war with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries;<sup>7</sup> this assumed that nuclear strikes would go primarily against Soviet military forces. Preparations were also to be made for limited types of wars with and without the use of nuclear weapons. Finally, preparations were to be made to fight guerilla wars against revolutionary forces, primarily of the countries of Asia, Africa, and Latin America. In the nuclear war vocabulary against socialist countries the following concepts appeared: "assured destruction," "second strike," "damage limitation," and "counterforce." The ruling circles of the United States considered it most important to maintain a strategic superiority to the USSR. The concept of "flexible reaction" was linked to the foreign policy doctrines of "new borders" and the "building of bridges."

During the 1960's there was a reorganization of the U.S. armed forces, and the following units were created: a strategic strike force (nuclear), an air defense force (North America), antimissile defense, general purpose forces (land, air and naval), strategic transport and support forces.

In October 1962 the United States announced a blockage of Cuba, thereby creating the most serious crisis of the entire postwar period, pushing humanity right to the brink of a thermonuclear catastrophe. Thanks to the decisiveness of the Cuban people, the support of the USSR and of other socialist countries this crisis was overcome and the security and independence of revolutionary Cuba preserved.

In the mid-1960's the United States got involved in a struggle in Indochina with its own armed forces. Thus began the largest and longest military aggression of American imperialism following World War II. At the same time, the territory of Indochina, including all of Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia, covers about 750,000 square kilometers, while the European battleground in World War II was more than 4 million square kilometers.

The fourth phase of American military policy and strategy covers the year 1969 to the present.<sup>8</sup> Military strategy has defined the conception of "realistic containment" and later the conception of the "strategy of direct confrontation." The strategy of "realistic containment" forms the basis of the Nixon doctrine, which was proclaimed in 1971 and recognized the existence of a military and strategic balance. It was assumed that the United States had to be prepared to fight the following types of wars: a general thermonuclear war, i.e., a war between the United States and the USSR and between NATO and the Warsaw Pact; a nuclear war on a battlefield outside of the territory of the United States in which tactical nuclear weapons would be used; and a conventional war on an area outside U.S. territory, i.e., a local war using conventional weapons. This typology of wars is still the prevailing one. The conception of "realistic containment" was linked to the principle that the United States may conduct at the same time

a war in Europe alone with one local war in another area of the world, the principle of the guaranteed destruction of the enemy,<sup>9</sup> the principle of the strategic flexibility of the use of armed forces, the principle of the comprehensive construction of the armed forces, i.e., the strategic forces, operational tactical forces and conventional forces. The emphasis has been placed on an increase in the numbers and quality of the strategic nuclear missile forces, on a continuing increase in the size of the armed forces, on outfitting them with the best possible battle equipment, primarily new weapons systems, and on the building of forces designated for use in so-called crisis areas. The military conception of "realistic containment" has been linked with the foreign policy doctrines of building bridges and human rights.

Presidential Directive No 59 in 1980 adjusted the existing American military strategy. Why? Directive No 59 contains: 1. The concept of a limited nuclear war, above all in Europe. This kind of war would spare the territory of the United States from the catastrophic effects of a nuclear war. 2. The principle of a nuclear first strike carried out by medium-range nuclear weapons. 3. The idea that the United States can win a limited nuclear war and survive a nuclear attack from the Soviet Union. 4. The idea of so-called "partial defeats" for the Soviet Union in areas which are vitally important for the existence of socialism.

This is an adventurous and dangerous conception. From a military viewpoint it is very doubtful that it would be possible to keep a nuclear war within some sort of theoretical framework. If one accepts the thought that one side will launch some limited number of missiles at military and other targets or make a nuclear strike with a limited number of nuclear forces, it should not be assumed that the other side will respond in like manner. That side, after all, will not know whether the missiles have been launched against civilian or military targets. Under current conditions it is, moreover, difficult or impossible to separate military targets from civilian targets, as they are usually in the midst of each other or very close together. The responses of each side can easily grow, in a chain reaction, into a total nuclear war. It will be sufficient only to use nuclear weapons in a tactical situation for them soon to be used in a strategic situation. Wars are waged according to cruel laws. The aggressor unleashes a war so as to paralyze his victim and force his will upon it. He understands, however, that if he is defeated he will suffer the same fate that he had planned for his victim. Every country that participates in war, regardless of whether it has attacked or is defending itself, stops at nothing to achieve victory and will not acknowledge defeat until it has exhausted the entire arsenal of weapons which it has at its disposal. There is no guarantee that a nuclear war will remain within any confines. Experiences from past wars indicate that a military conflagration has never been successfully kept within established boundaries.

The untenability of the concept of a "limited nuclear war" in Europe stems from the nature of contemporary warfare. The chief of staff of the armed forces of the USSR, N.V. Ogarkov, has written about this issue: "...war against the Soviet Union and other countries of the socialist community, should the aggressive forces of imperialism be able to unleash one, will become a decisive armed conflict of two antagonistic social systems, capitalism and socialism."<sup>10</sup>

In 1981, the Reagan administration announced a "strategy of direct confrontation" in the political and military areas. Both types of confrontation have many common elements and supplement each other, but are not identical.<sup>11</sup> The danger of military confrontation stems from the fact that it may easily result in a general nuclear war. The logic of this strategy necessarily leads arms manufacture to giddy heights, and to the intentional development of plans for a nuclear first strike.

The important components of this "strategy of direct confrontation" are:

- 1) an orientation on the part of the United States toward the achievement of military superiority over the Soviet Union in all major military and strategic areas, as well as on a regional (European) and global scale.
- 2) a confirmation of the validity of Directive No 59 from 1980 and its development. The implementation of material and other preparations for various types of nuclear wars.
- 3) attempts to find a way to eliminate, by a first strike, the strategic nuclear potential of the Soviet Union.
- 4) an emphasis on the assertion that the so-called "national security interests" of the United States are global in nature and involve all areas of the world, above all strategic areas.
- 5) an orientation toward a policy intended to "disarm" the Soviet Union and step up anticommunism and anti-Sovietism.

American ruling circles consider the most important components of this strategic dominance to be: the ability of the United States to control successfully a localized political or military conflict; the ability of the United States to be in control of the escalation to a nuclear war; the ability of the United States to achieve political objectives in a nuclear war, i.e., be victorious. This is the essence of the danger involved in the American military policy and strategy, because it results in an illusion that can be transformed into reality. American ruling circles approach the issue of war and peace and nuclear war without regard for the fact that nuclear war threatens the very existence of all life on our planet.

The "strategy of direct confrontation" perpetuates the weaknesses of all previous American military strategies. The conflict between declared interests and the possibilities for realizing them is once again deepened. The general secretary of the U.S. Communist Party, G. Hall, has stated: "American imperialism still retains the hope that with the assistance of nuclear dominance it will achieve what it was unable to achieve with conventional weapons and an anticommunist propaganda offensive--an end to the Soviet Union and the world socialist system at the same time. This dangerous policy, which is based on a race to achieve military superiority and preparations for a limited nuclear war, is destined to be a failure. It is, however, fraught with the danger of general harm."<sup>12</sup>

The "strategy of direct confrontation" emphasizes these principles: 1) a strengthening of the role of medium-range nuclear missiles, which have almost pinpoint accuracy and a short flight time and which are designed for a first strike against the USSR and other socialist countries; 2) the further development of the concept of a "limited nuclear war" in Europe; 3) the escalation of existing conflicts and a strengthening of the base for the conduct of conventional wars in important regions of the world. In conjunction with these principles, American strategists hope to make it possible for the United States to be victorious in a nuclear war.

Since August 1982 the American Army has had Field Manual (FM) 100-5, which sets forth the principles for the combat activities of the army. This manual emphasizes that the United States must wage an offensive war and that the army must be prepared to wage nuclear war (both limited and total) and conventional war. The manual states that the army must focus on the destruction of the nuclear weapons of the enemy, the main command posts and the military targets behind the battlefield. Manual FM 100-5 was written for the command staff of the American army. In 1982 the American Army approved the "air-land battle strategy," which projects the location in Western Europe of electronic weapons backed up by missiles and warheads with nuclear and chemical payloads. These missiles would be used against the second line of the enemy.

The Reagan administration has been creating the material, military equipment and psychological preconditions for this adventurist strategy of "direct confrontation." These preparations are summed up in the 5-year plan for the development of the American armed forces in the 1984-1989 period that was approved in May 1982. This plan establishes guidelines for the development of American armed forces which are outfitted on a continuing basis with modern weapons and military equipment. These forces are currently made up of 2,136,400 soldiers,<sup>13</sup> a significant portion of which are stationed outside the territory of the United States.

The United States is the main instigator of the arms race. From the end of World War II through 1980 it spent the astronomical sum of 2

trillion dollars on weapons. In recent years the expenditures for weapons have been as follows: 1980--142.7 billion dollars; 1981--176.0 billion dollars; 1982--215.6 billion dollars; 1983--247 billion dollars. It is projected that by 1988 military expenditures will reach the sum of 425 billion dollars annually.

Western data indicates that profits for the monopolies of the military industrial complex are 60 percent higher than for civilian companies. More than 11 percent of all industrial workers are employed in plants of the military industrial complex. Sixteen research and development institutes work for the Pentagon and employ more than 7,000 researchers. Approximately 50 percent of all research is conducted for military purposes, both directly and indirectly. The United States sells weapons and military equipment to 63 countries.

In arms production, a major role is played by so-called quality arms manufacture, i.e., the rapid modernization of weapons systems and the introduction of new types of weapons.<sup>14</sup> The major weapons systems are modernized about every 10 to 12 years.

In 1990 the United States plans to develop the following primary systems: 1) Trident submarines (by 1990, 12 Ohio-class submarines are to be built, each armed with 24 Trident I missiles; these have a range of 7,400 kilometers, 8 warheads each with a destructive force of 11 kilotons. Later these submarines are to be equipped with Trident II missiles); 2) the MX intercontinental ballistic missile (plans are to build 100 units, each with a range of more than 11,000 kilometers, 10 warheads with a destructive force of 600 kilotons); 3) the Trident II ballistic missile, which is to be installed mainly on submarines (range of 11,000 kilometers, 14 warheads each with a destructive force of 150 kilotons); 4) Cruise missiles, which are to be installed primarily on 172 B 52G and B 52H bombers (these are pilotless missiles which are easy to hide and reach their targets by automatically following the terrain); 5) the B-1 strategic bombers (it is projected that 15 of these will be produced by the end of 1988, each with a range of 9,800 kilometers and a payload of 34,000 pounds); 6) the Stealth strategic aircraft, which will be capable of eluding radar systems.

Extensive financial resources will be expanded during this 5-year plan on the procurement of these new weapons systems, as follows (figures are in billions of dollars):

For strategic purposes

1. Land-based MX strategic missiles	40
2. Trident submarine missile system	52.8
3. B-1B strategic bomber	30
4. Air-launched cruise missiles	8.5
TOTAL	111.3

For general purpose forces

1. F-18 fighters	39.7
2. Missile cruisers	27.6
3. F-16 fighters	42.0
4. M-1 tanks	19.5
5. F-15 fighters	40.5
6. Nuclear attack submarines	24.2
7. F-14 fighters	35.8
8. Infantry combat vehicles	13.4
9. Frigates with various missile systems	14.2
10. Patriot anti-aircraft missiles	11.3
11. R-35 patrol plane	8.4
12. Blackhawk helicopters	7.7
13. Nuclear aircraft carriers	10.0
14. AN-64 helicopters	7.4
15. A-10 combat aircraft	5.4
16. Roland anti-aircraft missiles	3.3
17. Pershing missiles	2.8
TOTAL	313.2

Research priority is being given to: antimissile defense systems, radiological weapons, neutron beam weapons, infrasound equipment, and chemical weapons. Ever more destructive weapons systems are being developed and put into production. At the same time a program is being pursued for using space for military purposes. This program, for instance, is working on the problem of transporting military equipment from earth to space and back, the use of new weapons systems under the conditions of space, the use of electronic and other equipment for military purposes on earth, in the water and in the air, the use of intercontinental missiles, strategic bombers and other equipment, the destruction of satellites, rockets and other equipment of an enemy.<sup>15</sup> On 1 September 1982 in Colorado Springs a Chief Space Command was set up. In 1982 in Kirtland, New Mexico a center for space technology was established.

The "triad" of strategic offensive forces of the United States is composed of land-based missiles, submarine-based missiles and missile-carrying bombers. The United States has at its disposal approximately 12,000 units, approximately one-third of which are located outside of the territorial United States.

The American strategic nuclear forces can use at one time 12,000 warheads with a total force of 3,400 megatons. This is 170,000

times the force of the first nuclear warhead dropped by America on Hiroshima. By 1990 the United States wants to increase its stockpile of nuclear warheads to 20,000.

A portion of the strategic nuclear forces of the United States is located in the countries of NATO. One finds here 6,000-7,000 nuclear warheads, as well as the so-called forward equipment: about 651 carriers that can carry a nuclear warhead to targets as far as a line running from Leningrad to Kiev. In the fall of 1983 implementation was begun of the December 1979 resolution of the NATO Council, which stated that by 1984 574 new American medium-range missiles, capable of reaching as far as Volgograd, would be stationed in Western European countries.

These measures are designed to:

- 1) gain superiority in medium-range nuclear missiles in Europe, which plays a very important role in the struggle between socialism and imperialism;
- 2) strengthen the role of medium-range nuclear forces as strategic weapons, as well as the destructive power of a first strike;
- 3) weaken the destructive value of the retaliatory nuclear strike of the USSR and, as a result, the destructive consequences of a nuclear war for the territory of the United States;
- 4) increase the military pressure on the Soviet Union and other countries of the socialist community.

Leading Pentagon officials have announced that they have identified 40,000 targets on the territory of the socialist countries for a nuclear strike.

In 1981 the United States had 2,500 military bases and facilities in more than 110 countries, and more than 500,000 soldiers stationed abroad.

Number of American soldiers in certain countries (as of 1983)

West Germany*	256,400	Iceland	2,900
Great Britain	25,900	Holland	2,600
Italy	13,000	Belgium	2,300
Spain	8,900	Portugal	1,500
Turkey	5,200	Canada	600
Greece	3,500	Japan	51,000
South Korea	39,200	Lebanon	1,200
Sixth Fleet	32,500	Saudi Arabia	600
Seventh Fleet	33,000	Bermuda	1,400
Advanced naval forces	14,800	Panama	9,000
Philippines	14,200	Puerto Rico	3,800
Guam	9,000	Guantanamo	2,100
Australia	700	Salvador	60
Diego Garcia	1,800	Honduras	40
Egypt	1,500	Other countries	4,700

\* On the territory of West Germany weapons are stored for additional American units that are to be airlifted from the United States.

American military strategy allocates a large role to the navy. It is composed of 569,000 personnel, 187 surface vessels, 90 nuclear submarines equipped with missiles, 5 conventionally powered submarines, aircraft carriers, naval air forces (with about 1,450 combat aircraft) and other equipment. The navy is considered to be the most important resource for achieving a "constant military presence" for the United States in its sphere of influence.

Operational areas for the fleets of the U.S. Navy

Fleet designation	Number of			
	aircraft carriers	defensive vessels	nuclear submarines	combat aircraft
Second Fleet (Atlantic)	7	105	43	720
Third Fleet (Eastern Pacific)	3	80	30	552
Sixth Fleet (Mediterranean)	1	14	5	94
Seventh Fleet (Western Pacific)	1	21	5	262
Naval Group in Indian Ocean	2	17	3	180
TOTAL	14	237	86	1,803

American armed forces are stationed in many countries of the world and on its oceans and seas. As of 1 January 1983 a so-called Central Command has been operational, which has at its disposal military units for rapid insertion in world areas rich in raw materials.

The militaristic military policy of the United States represents the main threat to peace and security. Its aggressiveness has been increasing in recent years. The American military machinery is developing insane plans for a nuclear war. The danger of these plans consists in the fact that they are based on the immense power of American imperialism and that they are based on an adventurist attitude to the fateful question of peace and war.

In a realistic evaluation of the military strength of the United States it must not be overlooked, however, that American military and foreign policy have their limits. The United States has for some time now not been able to approach issues of war and peace, and many others, simply as it wishes, because it has had to respect the military and strategic balance. Numerous politicians and military leaders in the United States are aware that there are no winners in a nuclear war.

Face to face with the military threat from the United States, the Soviet Union and its allies must take steps to assure their defensive capability. USSR Defense Minister and Marshal of the Soviet Union D.F. Ustinov has stated that "the strengthening of our defensive capability is a guarantee of the reliable security of the Soviet state and other countries of the socialist community. It contributes objectively to the maintenance of world peace. The Communist Party and the Soviet people are doing and will continue to do all in their power to keep the defensive forces of our homeland and the combat readiness of our armed forces at a high level. The objective of the United States of achieving military superiority over the USSR is futile. The Soviet Union will never allow it. We will never allow ourselves to be defenseless in the face of any danger."<sup>16</sup>

#### FOOTNOTES

1. Lenin, V.I. "Spisy," vol 28, Prague, SNPL, 1954, p 169.
2. Speech of A. Gromyko in Stockholm. RUDE PRAVO, 19 January 1984, p 6.
3. Article by D. Ustinov in Soviet newspaper PRAVDA: "Struggle for Peace, Strengthen Our Defensive Capability," RUDE PRAVO, 19 November 1983, p 6.
4. The United States spent about 150 billion dollars on the war in Indochina.
5. The term "military doctrine" is meant to refer to the system of views on the objectives and character of future wars, on the preparation of a country and its armed forces for these wars and their method of conduct, as accepted by a given country at a specific time. In the United States other concepts, such as military strategic concept, military strategy, national security strategy, and others, are used to express the idea of military doctrine.

6. The Soviet Union was aware of the secret of nuclear weapons in 1947 and conducted its first nuclear test on 29 August 1949.
7. In the second half of the 1970's, the United States had at its disposal about 1,100 strategic bombers and about 1,054 intercontinental ballistic missiles. It developed rapidly the research and production of medium-range missiles and missile-equipped submarines.
8. This stage may be further divided into substages, the most important of which is the substage connected with the Reagan administration.
9. The concept of "assured destruction" originally assumed that the United States would be able, in a second nuclear strike, to destroy roughly 20-25 percent of the population and about 50 percent of the industrial potential of the USSR. Later requirements called for the destruction of 30 percent of the population and 75 percent of the industrial potential of the USSR.
10. Ogarkov, N.V. "Always Prepared To Defend the Homeland," Prague, Svoboda, 1983, p 38.
11. For instance, psychological warfare, ideological warfare, geophysical warfare, and other types of warfare are closely connected with military confrontations.
12. Hall, G. "Who Can Stand Against the Passage of Time," OTAZKY MIRU A SOCIALISMU, 1983, No 9, p 5.
13. The United States turned to a professional army on 1 July 1973.
14. The United States, for instance, is developing "small" intercontinental missiles with a single nuclear warhead that would be easily transported from one launcher to another by armored transporters or even helicopters.
15. For example, the United States is preparing to test the antisatellite ASAT missile, which is to be shot from an F-15 fighter into space.
16. "Struggle for Peace, Strengthen Our Defensive Capability," RUDE PRAVO, 19 November 1983, p 6.

9276

CSO: 2400/345

HUNGARY

MSZMP CC MEMBER ON NEW WAYS TO CHOOSE MANAGERS

AU121500 Budapest PARTELET in Hungarian Issue No 7, 1984 pp 19-23

[Article by Janos Csizmadia, member of the department of party and mass organisations of the MSZMP Central Committee: "More Up-to-date Methods in Personnel Work"]

[Text] Although it is barely 1 and 1/2 years since the resolution on new forms of enterprise personnel work was issued, the experiences of the first steps provide us with important information for advancing and refining the daily practice of cadre work. We have examined the activity of the economic sector ministries and 46 enterprises in this respect. I will try to disclose our experiences.

The afore-mentioned period has produced exciting debates such as have not been seen for a long time and it has brought many noteworthy views to the surface in cadre work. Thinking aloud and confronting argument with counter-argument have helped to modernize an outlook that used to show great variations, to clarify bad narrow-minded habits, and pinpoint factors in outlook that retard further progress in cadre work. The fact that in the end the progressive outlook has carried the day in the exchanges of views is a significant result. Of course, problems have also been encountered. It was not a propitious procedure, for instance, that the directors and directors general of enterprises were informed about the planned branch measures later and more superficially than the personnel apparatuses. Largely as a consequence of this, we still come across the outlook in several places today that the latest instruments and methods of cadre work constitute merely a polishing up of the working methods of cadre apparatuses and that it is enough just to inform economic managers of this.

In fact, the competition system, the appointment for a definite time, and the system of specific requirements are methods for choosing managers and are, therefore, matters pertaining to the economic managers' sphere of tasks and sphere of rights as employers. They are matters that most of them--correctly--would not permit to be removed from their sphere of tasks.

There are enterprises in which we can perceive an incorrect interpretation of cadre work also in another respect. We have experienced in large enterprises that the jurisdictionally competent party organ made the head of the

personnel apparatus give a report on the position of cadre work rather than the director or director general of the enterprise. There was also the case recently that the director general of an enterprise, in making some critical remarks at a party forum, said: "...I am dissatisfied with cadre training work, let the personnel apparatus switch into higher gear if it wants to keep abreast with the requirements of the age."

We have encountered extreme attitudes both at ministries and enterprises alike in connection with the selection of managers through competition and their appointment for a definite period of time. Some people overestimated these methods and proposed that they be applied everywhere, because this would automatically resolve the problems of our cadre work. Others--more than once, party workers and leading ministry officials--doubted its expected results from the very first. They regarded it as insignificant as a merely methodological matter, and, therefore, did not expect it to produce results.

It is incorrect both to attribute an absolute value to, or to underestimate the new methods. One must dispute these extreme views. We cannot regard the selection of managers through competition or their appointment for a definite time as the only methods leading to salvation, as methods that eliminate all problems. There will be a need, also in the future, for training talented experts and preparing them for managerial work and it will not be possible to dispense with planning in the course of replacing cadres in the future, either. On the contrary, in addition to the new methods, their significance will even increase in many respects. One must not abandon the traditional means, either, but the cadre replacement sphere can be expanded and objectivity in the selection of managers can be strengthened by the augmentation of the storehouse of instruments. Cadre work must flexibly adapt itself to economic policy and continuously ensure personnel and managerial prerequisites for economic activity. The regional and enterprise party organizations have considerable tasks in this. Their competent and stimulating role can make a renewal of enterprise personnel work easier. However, an eventual lack of understanding of the directing party organs, behind which there is mostly a state of being misinformed and a stubborn insistence on what is customary, hampers the allocation of up-to-date methods and also causes confusion among economic managers.

#### Decentralization of Appointment Competence

Employer competences have been decentralized in every area concerned. The ministries and organs with countrywide jurisdiction have reduced the number of those included in the appointment--employee--competence. There have been people with scruples at the beginning. The leaders of several branches declared that they were not certain that every enterprise manager can take charge of their deputies' competence as employers (cadre competence).

A sign of uncertainty is the fact that several macromanagement organs have retained the right of "consultation" prior to paying rewards and premiums to deputy directors. It has also been said that deputy directors will become completely defenseless and lose a great deal of prestige. The fact that

some directors aspire to constant consultations with the superintending organ shows that increasing enterprise independence has taken some managers unprepared.

It can be established at every branch, and it is worth calling the attention of the competent party organs to this fact, that decentralization within enterprises has not been consistently implemented, that in many places it is unacceptable even as a concept that the heads of factory and larger units should obtain broader independence and greater responsibility than at present in personnel matters. The argument enterprise managers have a predilection for using: The medium-level manager is, as yet, too immature for this, and, therefore, that employer responsibility cannot be further decentralized, this argument is most assuredly unfounded.

It makes one think that there are also party organs that do not sufficiently encourage enterprise managers to delegate employer's cadre jurisdictional responsibilities. For the most part, they, themselves, also jealously protect their existing jurisdiction, although their decentralization would be useful and resolvable. For instance, we have found at several enterprises that not even the party executive committee operating at an enterprise center regards it as timely to transfer its jurisdiction over factory unit managers to the factory unit party organ. The modernization of the internal enterprise mechanism should be made more dynamic in this respect also. We can also enhance the prestige of our party organizations by ensuring that decisions are made and positions adopted in personnel matters truly on the level on which the people concerned are best known.

#### Assignments for a Definite Time

The reception accorded to the relevant resolutions was the most diverse on both the branch macromanagement and enterprise levels. The resolutions have generally been received with accord and understanding in the area of the Ministry of Agriculture and Food, the United Chemical Works, and the Ministry of Domestic Trade, but they have elicited many debates in the industry sphere. At many enterprises, managers still fail to comprehend why this is necessary and do not realize its objective, and, therefore, regard it as senseless.

It implies timidity that this method has been applied only for the appointment of new managers in some areas. In others, they dispense with an appointment for a definite time on the grounds that the person in question is generally known as a good expert, or that his political prestige must be safeguarded. It is an almost general misunderstanding that the duration of the appointment is regarded as a trial period after which, if the manager proves his suitability, he is appointed for an indefinite time.

A considerable number of managers still do not trust this new procedure, although they agree with the fundamental cadre policy principle that everyone should remain in a leading position as long as he fulfills the requirements and performs his work on a high standard and successfully. An enterprise director expressed the view that appointment for a definite time is like having the sword of Damocles sway constantly over one's head and that,

in that knowledge, it is impossible to perform managerial work. The opinion, too, has been voiced that, if someone is not trusted, he should not be appointed. Appointment for a definite time is easy to apply and expedient instrument, because it links the filling of a managerial function to continuously proven high-standard and successful work, which is a fundamental social interest.

Our party organizations must stress with greater force the principle that one's appraisal is based on the work he has accomplished and his attitude. Through appointments for a definite time, we can facilitate that the necessary changes of managers take place at a suitable time and in a humane manner. Continuous good cadre work calls for a rational replacement, one involving a qualitative improvement of managers, and it does not permit patience toward those who are unsuitable.

We have experienced at several enterprises that, in filling leading jobs, they apply appointment for a definite time as a general system. It is easier to ensure in such places that demands are leveled that conform to changing requirements and that an appropriate selection of managers is made. The possibility for enabling managers to resign voluntarily who feel that the changed conditions overtax their ability and strength and endanger their health must also be ensured. Our party organs can do a great deal in this respect. It occurs frequently that public opinion is merciless toward a manager who initiates his own "withdrawal": If the "withdrawal" does not lead to a managerial job or a lower grade of the managerial hierarchy, the environment speaks of "failure." The social environment must be attuned to accepting that the appreciation of managers is not linked to the position they occupy in the hierarchy.

The modification of the way of making appointments is taken place more dynamically in those branches where the practice of appointing ministry leaders is exemplary. At several branches, the reorganization for a determined period of time of the appointments belong in the sphere of ministries is ending in 1984-1985. This will take place correctly in the course of regular working process--of classification and supervisory control--while reviewing the tasks, that is, not intermittently.

In several places, the limits of the routine that can be broken through only with difficulty hinder the widening of the practice. At those enterprises, however, where they prepare this practice with careful work, argumentation, and continuity, (such as, for instance at the Ikarus plant, the 1 May Clothing Factory, the dairy enterprises, the sowing-seed producing and supplying enterprise, the Metallurgical Works of Ozd), in those places this activity is also helped by the enterprise public opinion.

#### The Competition System

This is not a new type of selection system and, recognizing the democratic values within it, the majority of branch leaders accepted it readily. It is understandable, however, that many of them started from the known contradictions of the competition system applied in the areas of health,

science, and public education, saying that it has brought only sham-democracy here too, therefore we had better not even try this method at the state enterprises. There were some other extremist opinions, too: Several people categorically declared at the ministerial conference that in the future managerial posts should be filled only through this system. Others claimed that by this we are abandoning the purposefulness of personnel activity and disarranging the process of cadre education. It has also happened that party leaders and personnel managers feared for the policy from the dangers of the competition system, claiming that we will become defenseless against careerists and the possibility of influencing and control will slip out of our hands. The understanding of the competition system today has already become more unified, and extremist and apprehensive interpretations have decreased.

The initial practical results are good. Employers also reduce the risk of appointments by connecting the selection done through the competition system in almost every case with the application of an appointment for a determined period of time. Practice has proven that the competition system opens up the possibility of mobility not only regarding promotions, it also facilitates horizontal movements, and reveals the established workers' need to be able to change positions and to change their job possibilities. Fear has been expressed in several places that the talented deputies will not compete because they are hurt by competition, or that they do not want to expose themselves to a new loss in prestige. Practice has not confirmed these worries. It was proved at several enterprises that the announcement of competition was taken naturally also by the deputy, and that if he believed he was suitable for the requirements, offered himself as a candidate for the managerial post. One deputy said that he accepted the competition because the better the competing "field," the more valuable the "victory"; and this success has a different taste than if he had "inherited" the position. In spite of this, subjective value judgments are still playing a role. There are managers who are willing to promote people only from the circle of people they know; therefore, they invariably select from a small circle. It also happens that there is a chosen successor and that political tones are given to narrow personal, particular interests, and at other times, due to considerations of comfort and avoiding conflicts, enlarging the circle of cadre supply is neglected.

Competition is restricted when the party organization has its own candidate; in the majority of these cases, the party organizations involved do not require or do not approve of an announcement of competition.

The committees deciding on the competitions do a harmonized substantial evaluation work covering several areas of the managerial requirement system. The possibility of subjectivism is also present in the evaluation of the competitors, although the collective activity of the evaluating committees reduces this. In further development of their activity of preparing decisions, the objective, scientifically based possibilities of evaluation of training, professional knowledge, readiness and the speed of decisionmaking, capability of taking burdens on creativity, and so on, and their system of means must be formulated. Of course, this is a requirement that is not just

connected with the evaluation of the competitors. Increased objectivity is generally an important task in work with personnel.

The enterprise managers synchronize together with the competence-exercising party organs the necessity for the announcement of competition and the main factors of its content. The fact that the representatives of party organs participate as members or observers in the evaluation of competitors and then, based on the experiences they have gained in the course of the committee's activity, supply detailed information to organs exercising competence, has proved to be a successful method. In this way they also facilitate the formulation of a more careful position. In the case of alternative proposals, so long as they are suitable for requirements, the party organs will support several proposals, but will properly more and more leave the selection and decision on the appointment to those making the appointment. This system is in harmony with the principled requirements of the practice of competence.

#### The Requirements Faced by Leaders

The leaders of state, political, and social organs unanimously accepted the decision's intention that the leaders' most important tasks must be formulated more precisely and concretely than before, in such a way that they are measurable and can be assessed, and in the course of later evaluations, they can serve as the basis of work evaluation.

At first, concrete requirements were determined only in the case of new appointments. Since the second half of 1983, however, the circle has gradually expanded, when in several branches, when evaluations were due, this method of task determining was also applied for leaders appointed earlier.

In our experience, this is the most difficult part of implementing the decision. This work requires a sense of reality, thoughtfulness, an approach at the level of the people's economy, and professional knowledge. Setting the specific requirements causes problems mainly at branch level for those making the appointments. For instance, the enterprise manager's tasks are determined in such a way as to be clearly understandable but at the same time do not limit the enterprise's independence. Today there are still many determinations of tasks that contain general requirements or go to the other extreme by disregarding enterprise independence.

Our party organs can supply considerable help to those making the appointments in order to ensure that the requirements emerge from the real enterprise conditions. Particularly important in this respect is the principled cooperation between those making the appointments and the party organs. The implementation of the decisions of the Politburo and the Council of Ministers concerning the modernization of enterprise management has started successfully, and the sum total of initial experiences are favorable.

There has been an increase in democracy in activity with personnel, selection is taking place from a wider circle, and the requirements facing the leaders have become more modern and more purposeful. These favorable processes are still often hindered today by the unjustified sticking to the routine, a backwardness in attitude, or an extremist interpretation of tasks. Based on initial experiences, there is a need to continue the application of progressive, modern methods. The encouraging and supervisory role of the district and enterprise party organs is essential in this.

## QUESTIONS RAISED AT LUTHERAN WORLD CONFERENCE IN BUDAPEST

Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 5 Jul 84 p 7

/Article by K.A.O., datelined Geneva, 4 Jul: "Will a Hungarian Become President of the Lutheran World Conference?" Uncertainty About Future Ecumenical Work/

/Text/ On Thursday, the Executive Commission of the Ecumenical Council will meet in the ecumenical center in the Geneva suburb of Grand-Sacconex. It is making final preparations before the meeting of the Central Commission is convened, which will elect the successor to Secretary General Potter who is leaving at the end of the year. It is expected that the nominating committee will announce its election proposal, next Tuesday and that by midweek, the secretary general will be elected, both in closed session.

In the same house in Geneva, but in a different wing, the reorganization of the leadership of the Lutheran World Conference is being prepared at the same time. Immediately after the Geneva meeting of the Central Commission of the Ecumenical Council, the election of the president of this union of 97 Lutheran churches with a membership of 94 million will take place in the second half of this month in Budapest. To be elected in plenary session are the president and the executive committee of the Lutheran World Conference, and subsequently the secretary general of the Lutheran World Conference, to be elected by the new executive committee. As in the Ecumenical Council, selection of candidates in the Lutheran World Conference, also, is made difficult because of uncertainty about the future course of ecumenical work. The Lutheran World Conference is considering greater participation in the work of the Ecumenical Council than at present, or else to search for new ways of ecumenical cooperation. This will depend on coordination with other religious world conferences, and on the basic decisions being taken at present by the Ecumenical Council in Geneva. In the past, the Lutheran World Conference has conducted theological dialogues with other church groups which have prepared the way for further rapprochement.

The plenary session of the Lutheran World Conference, 22 July to 5 August in Budapest, is the second large conference of an ecumenical organization to be held in the East bloc. Five years ago, the meeting of the Central Commission of the Ecumenical Council in Dresden was an encouraging experience. In the present instance, the Hungarian state also does not put obstacles in the way of preparations by the ecumenical churches. That there are political

difficulties, nonetheless, is due to the unfortunate past in the relationship of the Hungarian state with the churches. During the time of Stalinism, the Lutheran church in Hungary (with a membership today of 400,000) suffered persecution by the state, like the Catholic and the Reformed churches. Lutheran bishop Ordass became a symbol of it. He was jailed in 1948 and later released, but was forced into retirement by the Lutheran church leadership which had been made to conform politically at the time. During the short period of Nagy's reform policy, Ordass was rehabilitated by the courts as well as the Lutheran church. After the suppression of the uprising by the Soviet Union, Ordass was removed from his bishop's see through a transparent ruse. On the basis of that law, Dessery, Ordass' predecessor during the Stalin period and acceptable to the state, again became bishop. In 1958, Bishop Kaldy, who is still in office today, was elected as his successor.

Probably no one would have remembered the dark shadows of the 1950's if the Lutheran World Conference had not accepted Hungary's invitation for its plenary session, this being the only Communist country where there is still an unresolved conflict with the Lutheran church, and where attempts are being made within the Hungarian Lutheran church to have Bishop Kaldy elected as president of the Lutheran World Conference. Except for Kaldy's age; he is in his mid-sixties, a bishop would become president of the World Conference which is politically active in the Hungarian Parliament and in its foreign policy commission. This would create difficulties for the churches of other countries. Although the office of president is not synonymous with the management of the Lutheran World Conference, the president is supposed to hold together the churches existing side by side and to reconcile differences.

Yet it would be wrong to call Kaldy a "red" bishop as is averred by church people who know him. He is acceptable to the Communist state, but it is said that Kaldy has a solid footing in the Lutheran parishes because of his unadulterated evangelical teachings and his pietistic sermons. He has their trust and is considered a man of the church who also has his way with communist authorities. Kaldy represents a "diaconate" theology. This draws a sharp line between the Gospel and Marxism, makes no ideological concessions to communism, and in turn expects none from the latter; the church must not withdraw from the world, but rather must cooperate with those who think differently, with a necessary change of circumstances. Kaldy belongs to the type of progressive revivalist preacher so rare in Germany.

9917

CSO: 2300/562

## MENTAL ILLNESS INCREASING AMONG YOUTH

Budapest MAGYAR HIREK Supplement in Hungarian 16 Jun 84 p 4-5

[Excerpts] The technical department of the National Nervous Disorders and Mental Illness Treatment Institute issued a proclamation on 29 March 1984 which it submitted to the Ministry of Health. The document calls for the creation of an institute for psychotic children as soon as possible. It also details the institute's operations, personnel and material needs, and the expected results of services and therapy.

There has been no response yet to the proposal.

The chief doctor, a woman, said: "If the institute were founded, we could not only treat but train these children. They would be capable of mastering some kind of simple trade or of accomplishing acquired work skills. They could adapt to society in their own way, and would earn at least half the expense of their care. But now, however, they go from the child psychiatric department to the confined adult department or to a nursing home for mental patients, and remain a burden to society until the end of their lives...."

The number of sick youths is growing constantly. This is due to two basic reasons. The first is a side effect of happy development: doctors are capable of keeping alive the majority of infants suffering from birth defects. A portion of the mentally handicapped children come from that category. The second reason is called TBZ, or "inability to adjust to society," by social psychiatrists. This is due to breaking up of the family environments, intellectually and socially disadvantaged, drug and alcohol abuse, extravagance. All of these can cause mental illness in youths. The parents are overburdened, as a result the children, too, are hauled off to a day care center or kindergarten at dawn. There, they have to "fit in" and "behave" all day long. At night, they are at home but there is no one to pay attention to them since the parents are at the second shift. So the kids stare at the TV or hang out in the street. These are frightening perspectives. It is even harder to care for a sick child, and the parents do not know how to do it. The institute and specialized schools are waiting to be established. So this department and its two subsections remain as they are, out in the countryside. The mentally ill child becomes an adult mental patient. He strays, he struggles, and his recovery is hopeless. He cannot influence his own sick life. The solution would be humane medical science, and the use of therapy combined with humanitarian technology based upon the standards of the age. But, this however remains a pipe-dream as long as mental health care is not reformed from top to bottom. Until all of this is settled, we cannot expect visible results from child psychiatry, nor from nerve and mental therapy.

## JARUZELSKI RECEIVES UNESCO DIRECTOR

LD071809 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1700 GMT 7 Jul 84

[Text] Premier Army General Wojciech Jaruzelski has received and held lengthy talks with UNESCO Director General Amadou Mahtar M'Bow. They assessed the current international situation and the dangers to world peace and security resulting from the serious exacerbation of the situation. They pointed to the role that UNESCO could and should play in the resolution of global problems of fundamental importance for human society. This applied above all to the efforts to consolidate peace, international security, and disarmament, as well as to fight against colonialism and racism and for the benefit of the development of education, science, and culture.

Also discussed were prospects for the further widening of cooperation between Poland and UNESCO. The premier expressed support for UNESCO and its director general in the discharge of the provisions of its constitutional act and the current program of activities for the period 1984-85. In this context he criticized the attempts led by the U.S. Administration to exert pressure designed to achieve a one-sided subordination of that organizations.

Outlining the manifold conditions for Poland's extrication from the crisis and the stabilization of life in the country, as well as the immutable principles of Polish foreign policy, the premier stressed that only through the rebuilding of trust between states and through detente is it possible to restore the normal conditions for advantageous and equal international cooperation in all domains.

Present during the talks was Foreign Minister Stefan Olszowski.

CSO: 2600/1104

## SIWICKI MEETS CUBAN YOUTH BRIGADE DELEGATION

AUI20956 Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 9 Jul 84 pp 1, 2

[Major Janusz Pruszkowski report: "Far, and Yet So Near to Each Other"]

[Excerpts] On Saturday, 7 July, General of Arms Florian Siwicki, PZPR Central Committee Politburo candidate member and minister of national defense, met with a visiting delegation of Cuban youth from the First Youth Brigade named after Carlos Roloff Mialowski. The meeting took place at the oldest college of our armed forces, the Tadeusz Kosciuszko Higher Officers School of the Mechanized Forces.

Cuban Ambassador Quintin Pino Machado also attended the meeting.

We have already reported several times that a delegation from the Cuban Union of Communists has been in Poland since 29 June on the invitation of Army General Wojciech Jaruzelski, PZPR Central Committee first secretary and chairman of the Council of Ministers. The delegation consists of 163 school-children, students, teachers, soldiers, workers, farmers, artists, journalists--all of them exemplary people in study, work, and combat training. They are spending 1 month in Poland in order to get to know our history and culture, as well as the 40-year achievements of the PPR. During meetings with their Polish colleagues, they have been exchanging views on young people's role in building socialism, on the difficult international situation, and on the contributions our countries can make toward preserving peace. They have also been performing social work at various premises.

General of Arms Florian Siwicki said during the meeting that he is convinced that the experience and friendly contacts gained by members of the delegation during their stay in Poland will help strengthen the comprehensive internationalist cooperation between our two countries. He said that Poland and Cuba have been and will continue to be strong centers within the socialist community and in the struggle for peace.

Referring next to the approaching Cuban national day which commemorates the start of the "26 July Movement," F. Siwicki stressed the Cuban nation's exceptional valor in the struggle against American imperialism, plus the fact that the victory of the Cuban revolution was in fact a victorious battle

between the forces of progress, freedom, and peace on the one hand, and forces of reaction and war on the other. Expressing his recognition for the combat readiness of the Cuban Revolutionary Armed Forces, he stressed that the present meeting also confirms the deep friendship and unshakable class alliance between both fraternal armies. Against this background and with reference to the international situation, he next spoke about the important matter of continuing the military combat traditions and enriching them during peaceful service and work. For only through a joint economic and armed [orezny] effort can we effectively oppose the aggressive actions of world imperialism and halt its militaristic aspirations.

Finally, F. Siwicki wished the Cuban guests much satisfaction and joy during the rest of their stay in Poland and success in the performance of their duty toward their own fatherland and for the benefit of the entire socialist community.

CSO: 2600/1102a

## POLITBURO MEMBERS ADDRESS PROVINCIAL PLENUMS

AU121159 [Editorial report] Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish on 10 July on page 2 carries three reports of about 250 words each on province PZPR plenary sessions that were held in Kielce, Wroclaw, Olsztyn provinces on 8 or 9 July.

The first report, by Tadeusz Wiacek, outlines the 8 July plenary session of the Kielce Province PZPR Committee, which was attended by Tadeusz Porebski, Politburo member and PZPR Central Committee secretary. It was concerned with the "tasks facing party members in inspiring workers' self-government bodies and trade unions to perform social functions at their work plants." The report notes that, "trade unions in the Kielce Province now consist of almost 150,000 members, and so, almost 48 percent of those employed in the province's socialized economy." The resolution the meeting adopted was to "accurately define the tasks facing the party organization in the consolidation of their ties with workers' councils and trade unions, and in inspiring these bodies to improve their activities at factories."

The second report, by Czeslaw Kubasik, deals with the 9 July plenary session of the Wroclaw Province PZPR Committee, which was not said to be attended by any Politburo members. Its subject was "An appraisal of the province's socioeconomic development from 1982 until mid-1984 under the conditions of the economic reform, and the tasks facing this field in the near future." This development mainly concerned market goods production. The adopted resolution "recommends that, among other things, factory committees and primary party organization executive committees assess the implementation of production savings programs and make proposals in view of this on the further implementation of these plans and programs."

The third report, by Stefan Luczak, traces the 9 July plenary session of the Olsztyn Province PZPR Committee, which was attended by Jozef Czyrek, Politburo member and PZPR Central Committee secretary, whose speech to the session's participants was reported. The session was dedicated to "the role of the party in the ideological-educational system of influencing young people." This is because "it was stated during the meeting, that the uniform educational front has been weakened during the past years."

"In his speech to the participants, Jozef Czyrek referred to the problems of educating young people in the entire country, assessing that the state

of the implementation of the resolutions of the Ninth PZPR Congress and the Ninth PZPR Central Committee Plenum was unsatisfactory in this field compared to the existing needs and potential. It will, therefore, be necessary for the party and all the bodies of the ideological and political front to focus more attention on the problems facing the attitudes of young people. J. Czyrek also made a general assessment of the current stage we are at in overcoming the country's political-social and economic crisis, and also presented certain problems facing the growth of Poland's position in the international arena."

The adopted resolution mapped out tasks to be implemented in the process of educating young people.

CSO: 2600/1101

## DAILY REPORTS COUNCIL OF MINISTERS SESSION

AU171804 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 14/15 Jul 84 pp 1, 2

[Excerpts] PAP--On 13 July, the Council of Ministers acquainted itself with a report on the course and results of the official visit of friendship to Poland by Milka Planinc, president of the SFRY Federal Executive Council, which took place from 3 to 5 July on the invitation of Army General Wojciech Jaruzelski, chairman of the Council of Ministers.

The Council of Ministers approved the decisions adopted during the visit concerning long-term economic and scientific-technical cooperation, and stressed that this cooperation should concentrate on developing and increasing specialized production and coproduction; increasing trade, including trade in raw materials and in products of the processing industries; intensifying cooperation in science and technology; speeding up technical progress; and introducing cooperation on third markets. This will no doubt encourage an even better use of both countries' potential as far as socialist construction is concerned, and will also reduce their dependence on unfavorable features in world markets.

The Council of Ministers hailed both sides' aims, expressed during the talks, to increase contacts and cooperation between social organizations, especially between the Patriotic Movement of National Rebirth [PRON] and the Socialist Alliance of the Working People of Yugoslavia, and between trade unions, youth organizations, districts, regions, cities, and work places. The importance of further cultural and scientific exchange was stressed, especially as far as sports, information, the press, and culture are concerned. Government institutions and also social organizations should play an energetic role in this process.

The Council of Ministers asked the appropriate bodies to work out a schedule of specific undertakings aimed at guaranteeing the full implementation of the decisions made during the visit.

Next, the Council of Ministers examined the draft 1985 Central Annual Plan which was presented by the Planning Commission and which will be submitted for social consultations. The draft stems from the sociopolitical goals defined in the 1983-85 National Socioeconomic Plan.

The basic task facing the national economy next year will be to achieve economic equilibrium, especially financial-market equilibrium. It is envisaged tentatively that supplies of goods to the market will rise by 4 percent compared to this year. The draft plan submitted for consultations foresees a \$100 billion reduction in investment outlay for building and refurbishing work. It is assumed that production will be increased through greater productivity. It will also be essential to use fuel and energy sparingly and rationally, make better use of raw materials, and improve the quality of products.

Some of the tasks of the 1985 Central Annual Plan have been presented in the form of variants, especially those concerning market equilibrium, the structure of market supplies, and housing construction. The economic tasks for 1985 will receive a final shape after the social consultations.

The Council of Ministers entrusted the chairman of the Planning Commission with the task of coordinating the consultations on the 1985 Central Annual Plan. State administrative bodies were obligated to take joint part in organizing and conducting the consultations. It was determined that the help of specialized public opinion research centers and of the mass media should be availed of. The consultations will be held by the end of September and their results will be presented to the Council of Ministers.

CSO: 2600/1100

## EFFECT OF RADIATION ON INTEGRATED CIRCUITS EXAMINED

Warsaw WOJSKOWY PRZEGLAD TECHNICZNY in Polish No 5, May 84 pp 193-194

[Article by Janusz Wislowski and Waldemar Wronski (doctors in engineering):  
"Measurement of the Effect of Radiation on Integrated Circuits"]

[Text] One of the most important characteristics of integrated circuits is their immunity to nuclear radiation. Originally, the problem was examined above all as a problem concerning the applications of semiconductor devices in military equipment intended for use in space, but several years ago, reports began to appear concerning interference in the performance of an integrated circuit that was caused by alpha particles emitted by materials from which the circuit's casing was constructed. At present, this problem is an object of concern for all important electronics firms, since this phenomenon is limiting the further development of semiconductor electronics. In the currently applied designing rules for a 16K or 64K RAM memory (about 2 micrometers), alpha particles, being a product of the decay of atoms of uranium or thorium found in the casing material, can cause the total disruption of the memory. These particles, having a charge of  $+4e$  and an energy of from 6 to 10 MeV, produce on their path the damping of several million pairs of electron holes, which, as they are dispersed in the electrical field of the integrated circuit, can change the logic state of the memory cell or cause an error in the readout amplifier. It is shown that a source emitting several alpha particles, which strike a  $1 \text{ cm}^2$  surface of an integrated circuit in the course of an hour, have a significant effect on its application parameters. The threat of radiation to integrated circuits placed in space or in the vicinity of a neutron explosion is illustrated by the diagrams presented in Figures 1 and 2.

The subject of the experiments which will be described in the following part of the article is the effect of nuclear radiation on integrated circuits of Polish manufacture. For purposes of identification, experiments were conducted on the effect of alpha and beta radiation on RAM static memories of the MCY 7102 type. To the same end, a simple isotope station, for irradiating precisely controlled doses of alpha or beta particles, and a portable tester, which registers each individual error of memory, which in turn consisted of 12 integrated circuits, were constructed.

The station for irradiation consists of a lead casing as protection from radiation and a slide to assure a fixed and repeatable geometry of irradiation. Each integrated circuit, placed on a measuring head (printed board) and pushed into the slide on runners, receives a dose of radiation from an individual source placed in the seat of the slide (Figure 3A). In the slide there are 12 positions for irradiation. The geometry of the irradiation (Figure 3B) assures, within limits of  $\pm 7$  percent, radiation dosages of equal strength on each surface of the structure of the integrated circuit. Such homogeneity of radiation dosage is secured by the use of flat or planar sources with a thick radius of the active part (8mm) in comparison with the dimensions of the structure (4mm). The station is equipped with an isotope source for irradiation with alpha and beta particles. With regard to the high cost of the source  $\text{Am}^{241}$ ,  $\text{Pu}^{238}$  with a half-life of 86.4 years that emits alpha particles having energies of 5495 (72 percent) and 5452 (28 percent) keV was applied. The sources made on individual order have an activity rate of 15, 440, 10,700, or 49,000 particles/cm<sup>2</sup> sec.

For irradiation with beta particles, sources of the SR1GA3 type with an activity rate of 5 mCi (185 MBq) were used. They contain an isotope of  $\text{Sr}^{90}$  with a half-life of 20 years and  $\text{Y}^{90}$ , which is a transition product of the decay of  $\text{Sr}^{90}$  with a half-life of 64 hours. Such a source is characterized by comparatively heterogeneous emission yield in the energy range of 200-900 keV. In view of the difficult measurement of the dosage (the miniature geometry of the radiation transmitted by the slide), a control of the dosages received by the integrated circuits was not applied. The calculated strength of the dosage on the surface of the integrated circuit irradiated by an individual source amounts to 8.2 krad/hr. The autoradiography method was used to determine the coefficient of absorption of beta particles by the casing of the integrated circuit that was constructed from material of unknown screening characteristics. By considering this coefficient, the strength of the dosage of beta radiation on the surface of the structure of an integrated circuit located under a layer of this material 1 mm thick was determined. It amounted to approximately 1.5 krad/hr. In the case of the alpha isotope sources, the strength of the dosage is accepted in units of activity given in the certificate for the source and related to the surface of the source and the irradiated structure on the basis of their direct contact--particles/cm<sup>2</sup> sec.

The commonly accepted unit of a nuclear radiation dose is the rad. This is the energy equivalent, in the form of radiation, of 100 ergs that is absorbed by 1 gram of matter. Correspondingly, the unit of strength of a dosage is given in terms of a rad per unit time, in which the dosage is delivered (sec, min, hr). These units are easily converted to the accumulation over time by taking into account the power of the dosage (only under very heavy dosage strengths is it necessary to consider additional phenomena, which augment the effect of irradiation). There are often found, in the literature, other units of dosages which are convenient: stream-particles/cm<sup>2</sup>, activity rate (Curies), and so on. In a comparison of the effects of different kinds of radiation on matter, it is necessary to use special coefficients calculated or experimentally determined for each material of the irradiated disk. In addition to the disk, it is

necessary to regard also the material of the detector, which is used for measurement of the radiation, as a disk. In the table there are comparisons of the units of dosages for different kinds of radiation at a specific energy level for several disk materials given in the parentheses beside the rad unit.

The effect unit of the influence of nuclear radiation on an integrated circuit is one error of information introduced into memory-type MCY 7102. With the aim of measuring this effect, a portable tester (Figure 4) was developed for this memory that was intended for experiments on a model consisting of 12 integrated circuits. The tester records in the memory under investigation only the "0" and "1" or contrasting pairs "0,1"; at regular intervals of time it compares the contents of the memory with the recorded standard and gives the number of errors and the addresses of the erroneous cells (in which, in place of "1", there is "0", or the reverse).

The MCY 7102 memories being tested were characterized by great speed, and they met all the parameters of the technical specifications for Class A. On the measuring head they had all the alternating terminals fixed in parallel, with the exception of the input, a structural option (CE). Then, leads from the tester were attached to the head (15+12), by means of a Canon socket.

It was assumed that the model of integrated circuits being tested would be placed in a radiation field, but that the tester would be as close as possible, though at a safe distance from the source of radiation. For isotope sources placed in a thin lead casing, the length of the leads (approximately 50 cm) has no effect on the accuracy of the measurements; on the other hand, for a lead segment of 150 cm that is required for operation with  $\text{Co}^{60}$  sources of great strength, disturbances appeared in the readout of corresponding pairs. Therefore, just memories which recorded only "0" or "1" were tested. At distances of over 10 meters (required in operation in electron accelerators), it was necessary to use transmitters and receivers located in the radiation field.

The experimental tests have made it possible to define the upper boundary of beta radiation dosage which does not cause errors in the memory. Figure 5, using a Weibull distribution graph, plots the relation of the distribution functions to the dosage of radiation on the surface of an integrated circuit, with the above listed parameters of isotope sources. The results show that, for the model being tested, the first errors appear with a beta dosage above 8 krad (over a 1-hour period of irradiation); after this, the number of errors grows rapidly: at 14 krad the tester registers errors for all cells of the memory.

The methodology used for testing the effect of nuclear radiation meets the needs of the users of integrated circuits, who must know the resistance of integrated circuits to nuclear radiation of a given type. The correct operation of a station for irradiation and of the tester have been determined. In the next stage of the work, extensive research on the resistance of integrated circuits to nuclear radiation was started.

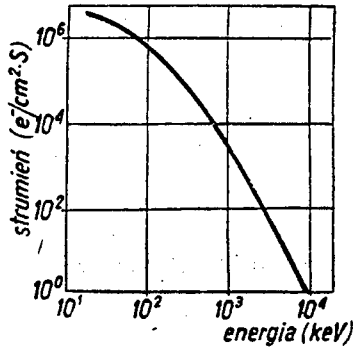


Figure 1. Energy spectrum of the electron stream in the outer Van Allen belt

Key:

x-axis: energy (keV)  
 y-axis: stream ( $e^-/\text{cm}^2 \text{ sec}$ )

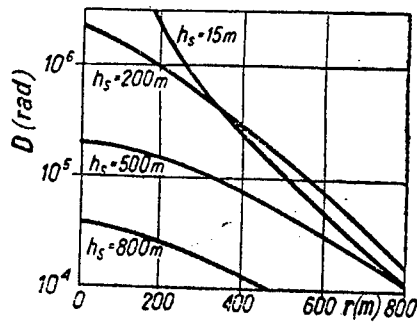


Figure 2. Dosages of rapid neutrons at an altitude  $h_s$  and at a distance  $r$  on earth from the epicenter of a neutron explosion

Key:

x-axis:  $r$  in meters  
 y-axis: amount  $D$  in rads

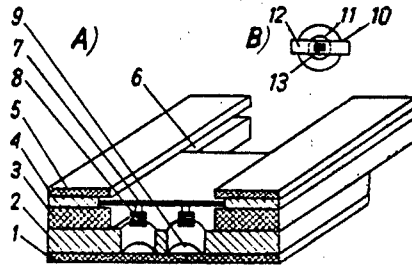


Figure 3. Slide for irradiation

Key:

- A. general aspect and cross-section
- B. relative emplacement of the source and the integrated circuit in operating position (geometry of measure)
- 1-5. plates and strips of organic glass
- 6. inlet track
- 7. measuring head (board of printed circuit) with seats for 12 integrated circuits
- 8. integrated circuit
- 9. seat for placement of isotope source
- 10. casing for the source
- 11. active part of the source containing radioactive preparation
- 12. casing for the integrated circuit
- 13. place in which the silicon structure of the integrated circuit is located

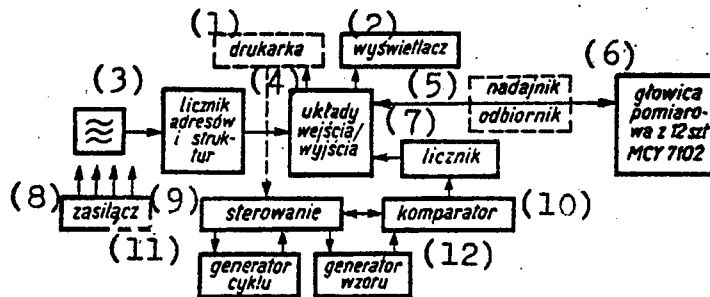


Figure 4. Block diagram of the tester

Key:

- |  |                       |
|--|-----------------------|
| 1. Printer                                   | 7. Counter            |
| 2. Projector                                 | 8. Feeder             |
| 3. Address and structure counter             | 9. Controller         |
| 4. Input/output circuits                     | 10. Comparator        |
| 5. Transmitter-receiver                      | 11. Cycle generator   |
| 6. Measuring head with a 12-circuit MCY 7102 | 12. Pattern generator |

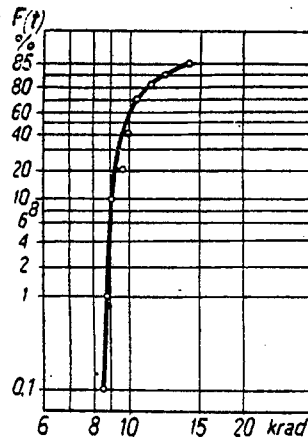


Figure 5. Relation of experimental distribution functions to the dosage of beta radiation for a 12-element model of the MCY 7102 memory, plotted on a Weibull distribution graph  
 $U_{DD} = +5V$

Key:

x axis: krad  
 y axis: percent F(t)

WSPÓLCZYNNIKI PRZELICZENIOWE JEDNOSTEK DAWKI					
(1) Energia MeV	(2) rad (powietrze) / cz. cm <sup>-2</sup>	(3) rad (powietrze) / rad (Si)	(4) rad (Si) / Rentgen	(5) rad (Si) / rad (tkanka)	(6) rad (Si) / rem
gamma					
1.25 (Co-60)	5,14 · 10 <sup>-10</sup>	0,966	0,869	0,902	0,902
beta					
1	2,36 · 10 <sup>-8</sup>	0,968	0,797	1,23	1,23
protony (alfa)					
(10,5)α	5,41 · 10 <sup>-7</sup> 9,40 · 10 <sup>-4</sup>	0,978	0,752	0,738	7,38
neutrony					
(7) rad (powietrze) / n. cm <sup>-2</sup>	(8) rad (Si) / n. cm <sup>-2</sup>	(9) rem / n. cm <sup>-2</sup>	(10) rad (tkanka) / n. cm <sup>-2</sup>	(11) rad (Si) / rad (tkanka)	
14,0	5,3 · 10 <sup>-11</sup>	1,2 · 10 <sup>-9</sup>	,667 · 10 <sup>-9</sup>	6,67 · 10 <sup>-9</sup>	5,54

Figure 6. Conversion coefficients for units of dosage

Key:

1. Energy in MeV
2. rads (atmosphere)/particle cm<sup>-2</sup>
3. rads (atmosphere)/rads(Si)
4. rads(Si)/Roentgen
5. rads(Si)/rads(tissue)
6. rads(Si)/rem
7. rads(atmosphere)/neutrons cm<sup>-2</sup>
8. rads(Si)/neutrons cm<sup>-2</sup>
9. rem/neutrons cm<sup>-2</sup>
10. rads(tissue)/neutrons cm<sup>-2</sup>
11. rads(Si)/rads(tissue)

## EXAMPLES OF IMPERIALIST 'DESTRUCTIVE ACTIVITIES' CITED

Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 5 Jul 84 p 4

[H. Florek commentary: "A New Stage in the Modern Class Struggle"]

[Excerpts] History teaches us that in the struggle against socialism, the forces of imperialism are concentrating their destructive and confrontational activities on three areas at the same time: the economic, political, and ideological spheres. The cohesiveness of these activities is confirmed by our most recent Polish experience. The extent thereof also varies.

An analysis of the modern class struggle proves that it possesses an international character. Aiming to alter the balance of forces in Europe and achieve military-strategic and economic superiority in the world, imperialism, especially American and West German imperialism, has led to a sharpening of the class struggle all over the world. The confrontation policy of the United States and of NATO militaristic circles has caused a drastic growth in tension in international relations, especially between East and West. A characteristic of the modern class struggle is not only its international extent, but also the various forms and methods of economic and military pressure being applied by imperialist forces not only against the socialist countries, but also against countries in geographic regions where American and NATO strategists have "observed" a threat to their interests. The latest years show that American politicians, acting from a position of strength, are aiming more and more frequently to reach their goals with forces. Grenada may be an example. As part of global American strategy, the forces of imperialism are also actively supporting such political dictatorships as the ones in Chile, Salvador, Honduras, and Israel. Military blackmail is being applied elsewhere, as in the Middle East and Nicaragua, where the threat of armed intervention is constantly looming. Widescale economic blackmail and restrictions are also being applied, the purpose of which is to lead to economic collapse and arouse the dissatisfaction of wide sections of society so that the right conditions may come about--as part of a defined scenario--to adopt a plan corresponding to the principles of imperialist strategy. But the example of Poland shows that any attempt to brutally intervene in the domestic affairs of sovereign countries will not bring the "set designers" the results they expect.

An analysis of contemporary forms of class struggle by imperialism against socialism shows that anticommunist strategists have recently been questioning the legal basis of the European territorial structure which has taken shape on the strength of the Yalta and Potsdam agreements. The arms race policy and the questioning of the territorial status quo in Europe are closely connected and interdependent. Hence, they are two features of the same aggressive policy by imperialism.

We know from our own experience that demands were once made for a "return" of Gdansk and Upper Silesia. We remember how these demands ended. Right now, revisionist-revanchist forces in the FRG, approving this country's official government elements and supporting U.S. militaristic circles, are demanding the "return" of Polish territory in the West and a return to the 1937 borders. The creators of this conception forget or ignore the fact that today's Poland is different from the one in 1939 and that it has reliable allies, including the GDR. In such a situation, the making of such demands by certain FRG circles is ostensible nonsense. But the idea of a return to Third Reich borders envisages at the same time a "unification" of Germany, under the auspices of the FRG, of course. Thus, the implementation of such ideas would threaten not only Poland, but the GDR as well, and would have wider consequences.

In imperialisms' strategic goals, the idea of the above changes and territorial demands is an important part of a worldwide policy designed to further sharpen the world situation and implement a confrontational course through interference in the domestic affairs of other countries, undermining the peaceful basis of international relations, and brutally violating the international norms and principles contained in the UN Charter and CSCE Final Act.

Hence, the questioning of Polish borders possesses an unequivocal political significance and is meant to disturb international relations. At the same time, it directly affects European security and hits at our national interests. Therefore, supporting West German revisionists in any way whatsoever can only be regarded as activity to the detriment of one's own nation and a treason against the vital interests of People's Poland. It is in these categories that one must assess the regrettable speeches made by some people in the opposition who have called for a revision of the Yalta and Potsdam agreements.

Some rightwing trade union leaders are being used in a spectacular way for political activity in the class struggle against the socialist countries. A lot of evidence in this connection has been furnished by documents confiscated during the detention of Bogdan Lis [Solidarity activists] in Gdansk. It emerges from them that the American trade union AFL-CIO, which is connected with the CIA, and its president, Lane Kirkland, in particular, is developing energetic destructive activity against Poland. The documents seized from Lis not only reveal the purpose of this activity, but reveal at the same time financial sources and methods of conveying resources to Poland for anti-socialist purposes. The detention of B. Lis is yet another blow to the foreign sponsors of the so-called underground.

CSO: 2600/1107

## URBAN DEPLORES FRG'S 'INCONSISTENCIES'

LD191859 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1700 GMT 19 Jul 84

[Marek Kassa report]

[Text] Today's hour of truth, as journalists call meetings with Jerzy Urban, began with the spokesman answering a question concerning the attitude of the Polish Government to the new wave of revanchism in the FRG and the role of the Catholic Church in that trend.

[Being Urban recording] The question is topical. After the celebrations of the 40th anniversary of the Polish People's Republic our collective memory will turn to the 45th anniversary of the Hitlerite invasion of Poland. This anniversary will give an opportunity to draw lessons from World War II. These lessons are not only for us--in fact, we have already drawn all possible political lessons--but also for the Federal Republic of Germany

Since the CDU-CSU has been in power in Germany, revanchist trends have been strongly revitalized. The FRG Government is supporting many events and theses of the revanchists. The FRG Government attitude to agreements with Poland which were supposed to normalize relations in 1970, is full of inconsistencies, ambiguities, and sometimes evasions. In its relations with Poland the Federal Government often stresses issues which are not favorable to rapprochement; for example, it mentions the issue of the alleged German minority, the minority allegedly living in Poland but which, as we all know, does not exist. Similarly, the Polish identity of our western territories is being questioned in many ways.

The restrictions imposed on West German authorities in the sphere of armaments have been gradually withdrawn over 30 years. Latest decisions allowing the FRG to possess a air force of an offensive nature, a long-range air force and long-range missiles have to be noted in the context of the policy of the FRG which is full of revanchist elements. This decision which broadens the range of FRG military capabilities coincides with attempts by the United States and the NATO to breach the balance of power in Europe and in the world.

If one adds to this what I said about the revanchist trends in FRG policy, the Polish Government has to be alarmed, is alarmed, the whole of Polish society is alarmed by this dangerous political constellation that is taking shape. Each time there is an increase in armaments in the FRG it poses a

threat to the security of Poland. We do not come out against the FRG; we want to develop constructive relations, based on equal rights, with this country, on the strict foundation of the treaty of 1970. But we will come out against German armaments and revanchism.

Concerning the Catholic Church in the FRG, well, this church speaks of reconciliation, and yet within the framework of the Catholic Church in the FRG a special pastoral structure exists for the displaced. This is an ecclesiastical structure which sustains the illusion of a return to our western and northern lands by the transplanted, and thus it supports revanchist aspirations. This pastoral care of the transplanted is in the hands of so-called visitors, and these take part in the revanchist anti-Polish congresses of the associations of compatriots, which question the permanence of our Polish borders and also question the irreversible nature of the postwar order in Europe. Believers in Poland, as Poles and as patriots who hold dear the supreme interests of our state and our nation, should regard these aspects of the Catholic Church's activity in the FRG distrustfully and should oppose this indirect support of revanchist tendencies by the structures of this church. [End recording]

[Kassa] The government spokesman also presented further results on the check on the nonsocialized sector of the economy. Out of 30,000 private firms, irregularities were found in 7,000; and so, Jerzy Urban said, it is wrong to think that all private businessmen are swindlers. When asked about the introduction of wage systems in factories based on motivation, the spokesman said that such systems can operate or already operate only in 113 enterprises. This is because it is essential to put their financial policy in order before those systems are introduced. This involves, among other things, the elimination of supplements which have no connection with work done. This is going very slowly.

The spokesman also reported that the concept of worker-peasant inspections will be adopted in December. Their creation over such a long period is necessary so that the results of their activity can be better than toward the end of the seventies, when similar inspections were set up without proper preparation, the spokesman said.

In conclusion, I would like, to present Minister Urban's reply to the question whether, on the basis of the talks held in Paris with French politicians, he could say that that country intends to depart from restrictions on Poland.

[Begin Urban recording] I held talks in Paris with eminent representatives of the leadership of all the important French parties, apart from the Socialist Party. Can one draw conclusions from that about any prospect for the lifting of restrictions on Poland, any desire to do this by France? I do not foresee that the Socialist Party will break away in some way as regards this, in relation to American policy. Presumably it will act very slowly toward us, and if the United States departs from the restrictions then the French Government will depart from them; and if not, it won't.

On the other hand, I think that--at least, I heard such declarations from the opposition, an opposition which has inherited Gaullist traditions, namely a more independent policy that is more geared to coexistence and toward the independence of France's role in Europe, and they assured us that they consider these restrictions to be decidedly harmful, and if they were to bear governmental responsibility they would express their conviction in a policy of practical action, and they will work toward this end insofar as they have influence in parliament and on public opinion in France. [End recording]

CSO: 2600/099

DAILY CITES DATA ON ALCOHOL ABUSE

LD070848 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0430 GMT 7 Jul 84

[DZIENNIK LUDOWY article: "A Stiffer One Refuses To Go Away"]

[Text] DZIENNIK LUDOWY alerts us to an alarming fact: According to data of the public committee against alcohol, which has 230,000 activists from all communities, the number of drunks and alcoholics in Poland has passed 5 million. Of this number 93 percent are men, 7 percent are women, and a certain proportion of the people involved are juveniles.

The overwhelming majority of drunks and alcoholics are people of working age. This, in turn, must have a certain influence on the state of the economy. The figure of 5 million citizens, mentioned above, is almost 23 percent of the potential consumer population and about one-half of males of working age.

What people spend on alcohol from their private means is also an economic factor: this spending amounted to approximately Z550 billion last year, that is to say, more or less one-third of what was spent on foodstuffs.

This juxtaposition of the number of those who hit the bottle and the amount spent on alcohol shows better than anything else at whose expense--an enormous one--they live: at the expense of their own children, their families, the public. Despite the Sejm act on raising children in sobriety, despite commonsense which aware citizens of a county in crisis should particularly have alcohol abuse persists. Irrespective of what was done before and of what is being done today, of the criteria used to assess the consequences and of the methods and forms of combatting it--the problem remains a painful and open one.

CSO: 2600/1102

## PCP DELEGATION ENDS VISIT

AU051152 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 2 Jul 84 p 2

[Text] PAP--A study delegation of the PCP Central Committee, including Fernando Blanqui Teixeira, PCP Politburo member and Central Committee secretary; Ernesto Alfonso, PCP Central Committee secretary; and Teresa Monica Silva, member of the PCP Foreign Department, visited Poland on 24-30 June at the invitation of the PZPR Central Committee.

The delegation met with Jozef Kzyrek, PZPR Politburo member and Central Committee secretary; Wlodzimierz Mokrzyaszczak, PZPR Politburo candidate member and Central Committee secretary; Czeslaw Dega, head of the Foreign Department; Jerzy Majka, head of the Information Department; and Marian Orzechowski, PZPR Politburo candidate member and secretary of the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth.

The guests visited the Olsztyn and Warsaw party organizations, toured the Olsztyn tire plant and the Warsaw car plant, and met with the party-trade union activists in these plants. They had talks with Stanislaw Ciosek, minister for trade unions; Zdzislaw Sadowski, deputy government plenipotentiary for the economic reform; and Stanislaw Wronski, chief editor of NOWE DROGI.

PZPR and PCP representatives exchanged information on the situation in their parties and countries. Their meetings and talks took place in a candid and friendly atmosphere.

The Portuguese comrades spoke of the activities of the PCP, which is giving its main attention to the struggle to defend the achievements of the April revolution in 1974.

The two parties stressed that it is necessary for all communists and all progressive forces in the world to wage a joint struggle in defense of peace, which is being threatened by U.S. policy of confrontation.

The representatives of the two parties expressed their great satisfaction with the present development of relations and cooperation between the PZPR and the PCP and declared their resolve to further develop these relations and cooperation in the interest of the two parties and the international communist and workers movement.

PENALTIES FOR ILLEGAL INSTALLATION OF NATURAL GAS UNITS

Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 47, 18 Jun 84 p 2

[Council of State Decree Amending and Supplementing Decree No 243/1798 on the System for the Distribution and Consumption of Natural Gas and for the Adoption of Measures for Combatting the Illegal Consumption of Natural Gas]

[Text] The Council of State of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees:

Article I--Decree No 243/1979 on the system for the distribution and consumption of natural gas, published in BULETINUL OFICIAL Part I No 58 of 13 July 1978 is amended and supplemented as follows:

1. After Article 15, Article 15<sup>1</sup> and Article 15<sup>2</sup> with the following content are inserted:

"Article 15<sup>1</sup>--Executing installations and putting them into operation or installing receivers for the utilization of natural gas, without legal approval, and the consumption of natural gas by such installations or receivers are punishable by prison terms of from 3 months to 1 year or by a fine.

The same punishment is applicable for anyone who executes the work on the installations or installs the receivers stipulated in paragraph 1, for a consumer."

"Article 15<sup>2</sup>--The installations executed and put into operation or the receivers installed, without legal approval, are dismantled under the conditions specified in Article 13 for interrupting the supply of gas."

2. Article 16, letter A), is amended and will read as follows:

"A) the design and modification of exterior and interior installations for the distribution and utilization of natural gas, without legal approval, as well as the intentional destruction and damaging of conduits or other installations for the transport and distribution of natural gas."

3. The provisions of Article 13, point A) letter a) and of Article 16 letter B) are abrogated.

Article II--Any installations executed and put into operation or receivers installed, without legal approval, after the inventory of 1976, up to the time that the present decree goes into effect, will be dismantled under the conditions specified for interrupting the supply of gas in Article 13 of Decree No 243/1978.

NICOLAE CEAUSESCU  
President of the Socialist Republic  
of Romania

Bucharest, 16 June 1984  
No 205

CSO: 2700/233

## BRIEFS

**APPOINTMENT, RELEASE OF DEPUTY MINISTERS**--The President of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees that Comrade Stelian Teodorescu is relieved of his position as deputy minister of the machine building industry and is appointed minister state secretary in the Ministry of the Machine Building Industry. Comrade Nicolae Manescu is relieved of his position as first deputy minister of industrial construction and appointed first deputy minister of electric power. Comrade Stelian Postelnicu is appointed deputy minister of the machine building industry. Comrade Mircea Badica is relieved of his position as deputy minister of agriculture and the food industry. Comrade Aurel Antoniu is appointed deputy minister of agriculture and the food industry. Comrade Gheorghe Antonescu is relieved of his position as deputy minister of foreign trade and international economic cooperation. Comrade Constantin Stanca is appointed deputy minister of foreign trade and international economic cooperation. Comrade Stelian Pintelie is appointed deputy minister of transportation and telecommunications. [Excerpt] [Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 48, 23 Jun 84 p 2]

**NEW CEMA OFFICIAL**--The President of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees that Comrade Grigore Bargaoanu is relieved of his position as deputy to the permanent representative of Romania in the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance, with headquarters in Moscow. Comrade Gheorghe Cocos is relieved of his position as deputy minister of electric power and is appointed deputy to the permanent representative of the Socialist Republic of Romania to the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance, with headquarters in Moscow, with the rank of deputy minister. [Excerpts] [Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 48, 23 Jun 84 p 3]

**DEATH OF BISHOP**--The Diocesan Council of the Diocese of Rimnicu and Arges announces the death, on 9 June 1984, of the Most Reverend Bishop Iosif of the Diocese of Rimnicu and Arges. The burial ceremony took place on 12 June in the cathedral in Rimnicu Vilcea. [Excerpts] [Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 14 Jun 84 p 4]

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