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JPRS 83466

13 May 1983

# East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 2140

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13 May 1983

EAST EUROPE REPORT  
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HUNGARIAN MINORITIES POSE PROBLEMS FOR FRATERNAL NEIGHBORS

Vienna WIENER TAGEBUCH in German Apr 83 pp 15-17

[Article by Martin Pollack: "The Legacy of Trianon"]

[Text] An icy rain has made the streets slippery. The bare bushes in the front yards were dripping from wetness. In front of the wrought iron fence of the old villa, which had been converted into a youth club sometime after the war, a few dozen people were standing in loose groups and waiting. We joined them and attempted to protect our heads from the drops falling from the bare trees of the alley. It was 10 o'clock at night. The lecture cannot take place, explained a man with shoulder length reddish hair who I believe was the philosopher Mihaly Vajda, because the club has been closed due to a broken water pipe. As if to underline his words, it started to rain more heavily.

Gyorgy Dalos, who has accompanied me here, dragged me from one group to the other, called out names and translated. Most of those tarrying here in the cold were obviously intellectuals, many of them well-known dissidents among them, but a few youths have also come and were now conversing in the cold. What now? An excited young girl declared that the broken pipe was surely a trick by the secret police, to whom the lecture by Tamas had been a thorn in the eye. With a glance at the villa, which in the darkness appeared rather much in need of repair, Gyorgy ventured that he could imagine that damage had indeed occurred. But he too would not exclude the possibility of quiet intervention by the officials.

After half an hour of waiting, in a small Trabant car, someone brought the lecturer, Gaspar Miklos Tamas, a lanky 35-year-old intellectual with full black beard and cheerful eyes behind frameless lenses. He declared merrily that the officially permitted lecture was forbidden by officials at the last moment; he himself learned about it only an hour ago. He turned to me and said in German, "I have been very naughty indeed lately." Recently, he had sent an open letter to Husak, the Czechoslovak party chief, in which he protested against the arrest of Miklos Duray, a member of the Hungarian minority in Slovakia. That must have offended them above--and he pointed upward into the dark trees. After a brief consultation it was decided to move the discussion from the rain into a coffee house.

I learned only later that the obstructed lecturer in the youth club was to speak about "internationalism," a topic that generally in Hungary could not entice a dog to leave his place by the fireplace. Obviously, the lecturer alone was the subject of the interest. Gaspar Miklos Tamas emigrated from Rumania to Hungary in 1978; in his home in Transylvania, he became known as a philosopher but mainly as a courageous spokesman for the Hungarian minority. Finally, this activity brought him into conflict with the Rumanian Party and soon also with the secret police, the notorious Siguranza--as he told me during the evening. Hungarian officials kept him waiting for 5 years before giving him permission to immigrate. Nevertheless, he must consider himself lucky. "The Rumanians usually permit the exit to Hungary, even if the cost of education must be repaid, but Budapest locks its borders against immigration from Transylvania. According to my information, the Hungarian authorities have about 600,000 requests lying around," declared Tamas.

Because of his efforts on behalf of the Hungarians in Rumania, by means of articles in Samizdat newspapers and lectures, in the spring he also got into conflict with Hungarian officials and, as a result, has lost his teaching position at the University of Budapest. But this could not dampen his zeal. In Hungary today, Tamas is considered among those best informed about the situation of the Hungarian minority in the neighbor to the southeast--a problem of great concern both to critical intellectuals and to the governing authorities.

According to official Rumanian data, which are certainly rounded downward, the minorities living at the foot of the Carpathian mountains ("Szekler") and in the Banat--referred to in the official Rumanian usage in a friendly way as "co-inhabitant nationalities"--number 1.7 million. In Hungary, the interest in this ethnic group has increased enormously in recent times: people are convinced that their brothers on the other side of the border are harassed and treated prejudicially by the Rumanian officials, and they expect their own government to intervene more forcefully on behalf of the ethnic group discriminated against. The reports from Rumania are indeed everything but encouraging.

Already in November of last year, a group of Hungarians living in Rumania submitted an appeal to the Madrid follow-up meeting of the signatories of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) that complained that Hungarian intellectuals and workers were treated as enemies of the state in their Rumanian homeland. The authors of the appeal demanded the establishment of cultural autonomy for Hungarians in Rumania, the right to use either language in the minority regions, equal professional chances for Hungarians with the Rumanians, proportional representation in government and self-government in regions where Hungarians predominate. It said in the paper that the Hungarians in Rumania must be given the opportunity to buy without restriction newspapers and books in Hungarian and to have their youth educated at Hungarian universities. "The Rumanization of the Transylvanians and the oppression of our culture are pushed with an effort never seen before. Rumanians are transplanted into the largely or exclusively Hungarian regions. Hungarian schools are being systematically demolished. Book and magazine publications are increasingly cut back. Our language is excluded from public life," reported the authors of the appeal to Madrid. Rumania reacted rapidly:

on the one hand, the demands were unjustified, on the other hand, they have long been fulfilled anyway, the suspected authors of the appeal were arrested.

The relationship between Rumania and Hungary has reached its lowest point, Tamas professed to know. Trade and tourism between the two countries have come to an end. "The trains across the border run empty in both directions."

The roots of the national strife should be sought in history. In Rumania, the memory of the arrogant behavior of the feudal Hungarian overlords in Transylvania during the past centuries is kept alive, whereas in Hungary the so-called imperialistic dictate of Trianon of 1920, in which the Banat and Transylvania had to be handed over to Rumania, is not forgotten. But in Budapest, one also remembers the defeat of the Bela Kun revolution in 1919 by Rumanian troops who had committed terrible vandalism in Hungary.

Party history is also burdened. With a few thousand members, the Rumanian Communist Party had been condemned to insignificance until the Second World War. The only part of Rumania where the Communists had a majority in 1945 was Northern Transylvania, the most important political force there was the Communist-oriented Hungarian People's Alliance, which was finally dissolved in 1949 by Rumanian officials. The strength of the Communists in the region inhabited by Hungarians automatically secured them great influence in the Party during the first few years after the war. In the 1950's, Hungarians lost most of their rights as a national minority and the Party was increasingly cleared of Hungarian elements.

#### Cold Shower

"This complex history explains why even today many Hungarians in Transylvania recall the Stalinist era with nostalgia," concluded Tamas in his description of the torturous paths of realistic socialism in Rumania. "Then they enjoyed much freedom and could speak Hungarian freely, everywhere." In 1968, some Hungarians would have liked it if Soviet troops had also marched into Rumania in order to liberate the Hungarian minority. It came as a cold shower to the Hungarians, after 1968, to watch the situation of the Hungarian minority deteriorate in Slovakia.

Although it is repeatedly emphasized by authorities in Budapest that the problem of Hungarian minorities in Transylvania is a matter for the Rumanian government and that they do not want in any way to interfere with the internal problems of a neighboring country, they must nevertheless consider the opinion of their own population. Thus, last year, when Rumanian author Ion Lancranian in his book "A Word About Transylvania" gave undisguised expression to Rumanian nationalist and anti-Hungarian themes, the Hungarian government had the author Gyorgy Szaraz reply in the journal VALOSAG. A few years ago Szaraz had already taken on the no less sensitive question of antisemitism in Hungary. The thesis of Lancranian, according to which "The Hungarians in Transylvania represent 'newcomers' who had robbed the Rumanians of their land and, through conversion and denationalization, of their aristocratic leadership," was rejected by Szaraz as untenable. He accused the Rumanian of advocating an ethnocentric state in which all nationalities would be subjected to progressive Rumanization.



A little later, prominent Hungarian intellectuals appealed to the political leadership to intervene on behalf of the suppressed Hungarian intellectuals in Transylvania. The grand old man of Hungarian literature, Gyula Illyes, described the situation of Hungarians in Rumania as unbearable and reproached the officials there for their outrageous behavior. The borders of Trianon were simply unjust. Similar tones were uttered by Janos Gosztony, general secretary of the World Association of Hungarians, who also pointed out the injustice of the Trianon Peace Treaty.

In Hungary it is generally agreed that Rumania overplays the national problem in order to divert its own population from the deep crisis in which the country has slidden because of the incompetence of its leadership. But the first signs of crisis are also noticeable in Hungary; a discussion of national problems could serve a similar venting function here as well. The intellectuals critical of the regime, those who press for a certain understanding from the leadership toward the problem of Hungarian minorities across the border, also know this, "Both sides, Rumania and also Hungary, play the nationalistic tunes on the piano today," thought Andras Hegedus, who believes the Transylvanian problem represents a dangerous time bomb, "but it sounds false because both play it with hands bound." Both governments know full well that the affair is extremely sensitive and has enormous explosive power. In Hungary, one has to avoid unleashing the nationalistic spirit which had produced so much trouble in the past. No one could afford even to discuss some actual territorial demands. This would create a precedent with unforeseen results for all of Eastern Europe, which indeed has more than one border subject to questioning.

In this situation, the increasingly aggravated condition of the Hungarian minority in Slovakia presents the Hungarian leadership with the unthankful task of strengthening the spine of its own ethnic group within the framework of available possibilities and, simultaneously, of protecting the fraternal unity of the CEMA states; it cannot offend public opinion in its own land too much but it must also be careful not to antagonize its neighbors. Dancing on eggs promises to be difficult.

According to official Czechoslovak data, in 1980 there were 630,000 Hungarians within the borders of the CSSR. Already by the end of the 1970's, arrests had taken place among Hungarian intellectuals in Slovakia, in the wake of the suppression of Charter 77. Since the granting of full Slovakian autonomy in 1968, the situation of Hungarians has gotten increasingly worse, as documented in 1979 by a report of the Defense Committee of Hungarian Nationality in the CSSR, which was based on Charter 77 and founded in 1978. One of the authors of that report, the 39-year-old geologist Miklos Duray was arrested in November of last year in Bratislava (the Hungarian Pozsony) and was accused of having slandered the republic. Prominent Hungarian authors signed a petition calling on the state leadership to intervene on behalf of Duray and three prominent authors, all members of the Presidium of the Association of Hungarian Authors, travelled to Bratislava and participated in the proceedings against Duray. In an interview with FRANKFURTER RUNDSCHAU (21 Dec 1982), Gyula Illyes criticized the situation of Hungarians in Slovakia: it was almost worse than in Rumania because, while in the latter at least there still are Hungarian intellectuals who have upheld their cultural traditions, intellectual life was threatened with complete extinction in Slovakia.

## Falkland in Sight?

The proceedings against Duray reminded the Hungarians once more that today about 3.3 million of their compatriots live in the neighboring countries where they do not always enjoy true equality. Should the crisis in Hungary increase, it would be quite possible for the nationality problem to gain in importance and explosiveness.

A well-known economist in Budapest, who wanted to remain anonymous for understandable reasons, gave the following opinion, half jokingly: "When truly bad times befall us, one could almost imagine that Transylvania would become a Falkland for Hungary and Rumania."

2473

CSO: 2300/188

YUGOSLAVS NOTE SOVIET ATTACK ON ROMANIAN ARTICLE

'VJESNIK' Report

Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 17 Apr 83 p 2

[Article by Bogoljub Lacmanovic, VJESNIK's permanent correspondent in Moscow]

[Text] Moscow--By means of an article in the most recent issue of the political weekly NOVOYE VREMYA, Soviet Doctor of Philosophical Sciences Edvard Bagramov has sharply criticized Romanian journalist Vasile Iota and the Romanian weekly CONTEMPORANUL for the publication of an article by Iota in which "the national is inflated at the expense of class criteria, which damages the cause of socialism and international workers' solidarity." The article by Vasile Iota that Moscow is now sharply criticizing was published by the Bucharest weekly in its 10th issue of last year.

The main Soviet objection to Vasile Iota is that in the perception of current international problems he "supplements" class criteria with national ones and thus "softens" the class position of the proletariat, which, according to Bagramov, leads to capitulation before the bureaucratic-nationalistic concept. Bagramov also quotes the following sentence from Iota's article: "From a broader point of view, in interstate relations it is possible to note a tendency by some large states toward the exploitation and oppression of other states and peoples, toward the violation of their independence and sovereignty, toward the conduct of a policy of force and diktat in international relations." Concluding that quotation, Bagramov poses the question whether it is still necessary to prove that Iota's concept leads toward "undermining the international union of world socialism and international workers' and national-liberation organizations." Bagramov also charges that the article published in CONTEMPORANUL attributes to the socialist states the characteristics of expansionism and neocolonial aspirations that are typical of imperialist states.

It is held against the Romanian journalist that he concludes that the emphasis on class criteria leads to the "reduction and underestimation of the roles of nations and national states and the principle of international law in interstate relations." It is held against him that he directly contradicts certain evaluations of the present world which were fixed in a document at the 1969 conference of Communist and workers' parties, in which Romania was a participant, and thus assigns an equal position, and responsibility, to the socialist countries with regard to, for example, the arms race or the currency-financial and other crises.

The publication of sharp criticisms of Romania has awakened great interest in Soviet circles and among observers, the more so because the countries of the Warsaw Pact very rarely resort to public disputes and polemics. It is also being asked why Moscow has only now decided on public criticism of the aforementioned article, even though it was published in the Romanian weekly 7 months [as published] ago. The author of the Soviet criticism also recalls now the words of Ceausescu that "more than ever it is necessary to strengthen the solidarity and cooperation of the socialist states," which the Romanian leader spoke from the rostrum of the CPSU Congress 2 years ago. Bagramov also cited the recent words of Yuriy Andropov that the Soviet Union will do everything for the further "strengthening of the closeness of the great community of socialist states."

#### 'Overwhelming' Effect of Article

Ljubljana DELO in Slovene 16 Apr 83 p 3

[Article by Danilo Slivnik: "Strong Reaction From Moscow to Article in Romanian Weekly"]

[Text] NOVOYE VREMYA is angry because a Romanian author deliberates about national peculiarities in socialism and because the black and white picture of West and East is abandoned.

From our correspondent--Moscow--15 April--The claim of the Romanian review CONTEMPORANUL that national criteria should be taken into consideration in the analysis of contemporary international relations has produced unexpectedly strong protests in Moscow. Today, the Soviet weekly NOVOYE VREMYA, by means of which circles around here frequently give, officially, "unofficial" advice to the "fraternal parties," brutally and without pleading ignorance charged that the writer of the CONTEMPORANUL article, by emphasizing national criteria in international relations, was ignoring the "class connection" and that this leads to considerations which "contribute, in no way, to socialism and international workers' solidarity."

The reproaches addressed to Vasile Iota and CONTEMPORANUL are much worse, and NOVOYE VREMYA links the writer's views of the world and of international relations directly with the "experiments" of those middle-class theoreticians (and bourgeois propagandists), who are trying to stir up "national emotions" and to slow down the development of social liberation movements in the world. According to the accusations, the Romanian weekly and all those in Bucharest who might share the author's views serve the "opposite side" and interests which are not in harmony with contemporary "international reality" in which one superpower struggles only for "peace and progress" and the other, for "war and hegemony."

In his analysis of "all international factors" supporting and opposing a schematic (especially on the part of Moscow) view of the world, Vasile Iota reaches the conclusion that the nature of internal social relations alone is not sufficient for defining the foreign policy of any state, including both superpowers.

Of course, the effect of his analysis was "overwhelming" and to circles here it signified exactly what many others, the Italian party, the nonaligned and all those who judge international actions by their content and not by their slogans, have been asserting for some time. It seems that Vasile Iota, among other things, plainly states that a response must be given to the arms race between the United States and the Soviet Union and to the behavior of both superpowers in general.

The weekly NOVOYE VREMYA responded in the "experienced manner" in which circles here handle such cases: Vasile Iota and his editors neglected the "class connection" in the article and, by leaning toward a nationalistic position, "capitulated to bourgeois-nationalist concepts." It is clear that this is a criticism of all excessive strivings for national independence and of all those who follow different paths of building socialism.

NOVOYE VREMYA maintains that the main characteristic of the Middle period is the "class struggle which is taking place between the two systems; capitalism and socialism," and consequently, everything which is subordinate to this is "positive." Supposedly, this was written in "The Communist Manifesto" and also in the documents which the communist parties approved at their world conference in 1969 and which the Romanian comrades also accepted.

Because of this, theses about "rich" and "poor" in the contemporary international community are erroneous because, in the framework of development and lack of development, in no way is it possible to put developed capitalist and socialist countries in the same place. According to opinion here, "true Marxist-Leninists" decisively reject both in practice and theory all such concepts which the Romanian author presents as logical issues. These concepts only serve imperialist propaganda which seeks to "denigrate the real socialism" and to propagate the story of the "neocolonialist character of Soviet foreign policy" and its "interference in the internal affairs of developing countries."

CSO: 2800/268

IDEAS, ACTIVITY OF STALIN HAILED ON ANNIVERSARY

Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 5 Mar 83 p 3

[Article by Pavllo Gjidede and Kujtim Ymeri: "The Great Stalin"]

[Text] "Stalin joined the ranks of the great classics of Marxism-Leninism with his rigid and principled struggle for the defense, persistent implementation and further development of the ideas of Marx, Engels and Lenin."

Enver Hoxha

The heart of great Stalin stopped beating on 5 March 1953. For the communists and true revolutionaries, the name of J. Stalin is engraved in history, along with the names of Marx, Engels and Lenin, because, Stalin was their faithful pupil and the continuer of their work; as a result of his contribution to theory and personal activity, Stalin enriched and further developed Marxist-Leninist scientific theory. For the progressive people, Stalin was the protector of the people, a great antifascist and a determined militant for the cause of freedom, democracy and peace. For the communists and the Albanian people, Stalin was a faithful friend, a dear teacher and a man with a brilliant mind and a great communist heart.

When, on the Albanian mountains, the torch of the National Liberation War was lit, our communists and partisans loved Stalin and trusted him, because, the party had taught them that Stalin was the symbol of struggle and resistance. The name of Stalin was linked with the name of the great Lenin, with the Bolshevik party and with the October Revolution. It was Stalin who led the armies of the Red Army in Moscow, in Stalingrad, in Belgrade and Budapest, in Warsaw and Prague, and in Berlin, the den of the Hitlerite beast.

The love and respect, which our party and people had for Stalin, had its roots in a deep and conscientious conviction which was more and more reinforced as his practical and theoretical work was better and better known. It relied on living history and could not be shaken either by the lies and attacks of the bourgeoisie and the reaction nor by the [secret] reports concocted by Khrushchev. Let Tito and Togliatti cheer in vain and let the bourgeoisie and imperialism joyfully call for "democratization" and "liberalism," our party, which judges with Marxist-Leninist wisdom and maturity, did not follow them and did not involve itself in the game concocted by Khrushchev.

From the history of the party and from its published documents, especially, from Comrade Enver Hoxha's books--"With Stalin" and "The Khrushchevites"--now it is clear how the struggle was developed in regard to this important issue. From the beginning, our party judged that the issue of Stalin was a great principled problem and that the campaign, which was taking place against him, not by chance, coincided with other "daring initiatives" which were being taken then by the crew which had assumed power in the Soviet Union. The Albanian Workers Party treated the assault against Stalin as thoroughly linked with Khrushchev's rapprochement with Tito, with the efforts to rehabilitate elements such as Kostov, Rajk, and Koci Xoxe and with the opportunistic and capitulating policy in the face of imperialism. From this context of the historical moment and from the development of events nearby, our party came to the conclusion that the attack against the illustrious personality of J. Stalin was, in essence, an attack against Marxism-Leninism and against the dictatorship of the proletariat; it was the first tribute which Khrushchev was paying with pleasure, for the antirevolutionary alliance which was being planned between Khrushchev and American imperialism. History proved the correctness of this conclusion.

The defense which our party and Comrade Enver carried out and are carrying out in regard to the personality of Stalin is not simply an intention to right an injustice toward a historic personality. Above all, defending Stalin's personality and Stalin's work, the Albanian Workers Party and Comrade Enver defended and are defending Marxist-Leninist theory, the ideological and political line which Joseph Stalin executed for 30 years, during which years he led the Soviet party and government. This was a historic period, a troubled period not only for the Soviet proletarian state, but also for all mankind; during this period, Stalin developed a comprehensive theoretical and practical activity which became an indivisible and necessary part of the revolutionary doctrine of the working class. In his works, Stalin analyzed and further developed the basic principles of dialectical and historical materialism formulated by Marx, Engels and Lenin. This contribution to theory, together with his activity, as the main leader of the party and the state, constitute the essence of J. Stalin's personality. It was Stalin who led and managed the colossal work of the party and of the masses for the industrialization of the country and for the building of a powerful industry which played a decisive role in the victory over the Nazi-Fascists. It was Stalin who applied in practice and greatly improved the line and policy of collectivization of agriculture. It was Stalin, who, at the head of the party, mobilized the masses for fulfilling the five-year plans, eliminating the attempts and acts of sabotage by the Trotskyites, Bukharinites and Zinovievites who would be proclaimed as the victims of the "personality cult" by Khrushchev and his friends. The strengthening and tempering of the Red Army and the purge of its ranks from agents of domestic and foreign enemies is also due to the care, vigilance and revolutionary determination of Joseph Stalin. But, above all, Stalin carried out a fierce, ruthless and principled struggle in order to strengthen and protect the party from the Trotskyite and Bukharinite, left-wing and right-wing, opportunistic groups and elements, always struggling so that the party will act and militate in accordance with the Marxist-Leninist principles and norms.

However, all this had to be combatted by the Khrushchevite mafia in order to achieve its intentions for which it had worked secretly when Stalin was alive. The plotters, who were going to dig the tomb of the October Revolution, had to liquidate the revolutionary theory and practice and attack Marxism-Leninism and the dictatorship of the proletariat which Stalin had defended and implemented. And, in the feverish efforts to find a way which would act without any danger for them, they created the legend of Stalin's "crimes" and "despotism" and concocted the "facts" and "documents." This legend, as history showed, was created and spread by those who had committed these very crimes behind Stalin's back, who built their own personality cult and who established the fierce fascist dictatorship in the Soviet Union; those who trampled with their tanks on the freedom of Czechoslovakia and of Afghanistan and who sell and buy countries and people; and those who send across the world the fleets of their ships and submarines, who carry out acts of espionage and of terrorism, and who made the country of the Soviets a prison for the people and a gendarme for the other countries. Who denigrated Stalin and the Stalin Era? Who accused Stalin of dogmatism? It was American imperialism, the enemy of freedom and progress and the shield of all bloody cliques and regimes; there were Tito, Rankovic and other Titoites who built concentration camps for the communists and who murdered, banished and oppressed the Albanian population in Yugoslavia and who send their tanks and airplanes against the people and youths who were defending their legitimate rights in peaceful demonstrations. The assault against Stalin was supported by all the people whom the dictatorship of the proletariat had punished.

From the death of J. V. Stalin to our days, the development of events has indisputably proven the correctness of the line and of Marxist-Leninist policy which was set and executed by Stalin. Failures in economy and the aggressive policy of Soviet social-imperialism, the recent events in Poland and the critical economic, political and national situation in Yugoslavia do not prove that socialism has failed, as the bourgeois heralds like to say; on the contrary, they show that the abandonment of the Marxist-Leninist policy inevitably results in capitalism, in the establishment of regimes of the new bourgeoisie.

The people saw in Stalin their friend and protector, the leader, a great internationalist and a simple, dear, wise and sweet man, just as the imperialists saw in him a strict, resolute and intelligent opponent. There were Khrushchev, Brezhnev, Andropov and cronies who violated and are violating the dignity of the Soviet Union, which Stalin kept high even during the most difficult moments of the war, giving the proper place to the "requests" of the Anglo-Americans who aimed at profiting from the situation which the attack of Hitlerite Germany had created. Neither pressures and blackmail, nor bargains on markets and on zones of influences, could find place with Stalin.

The correctness of the Leninist-Stalinist line is fully proven by the experience of the revolution and of the building of socialism in our country; it is proven by the history of our party which always stood faithful to the teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin. During about 4 decades, the working masses have changed the aspect of the fatherland, because, our party



and Comrade Enver have, consistently and creatively, implemented the teachings of Lenin and of Stalin. Only by marching on this road, the dictatorship of the proletariat in our country managed to crush the class enemy, tempered and strengthened itself, disregarding the clamors of "dogmatism," of "bureaucratic state control," of "isolation," and so forth and so forth. And, here our people: standing on their feet, as a fist around their party and ready to strike at anyone who would attack our liberty and independence. Considering all the reasons, the attitude toward Stalin was, and remains, the line of demarcation between the Marxist-Leninists and the renegades, between the revolutionaries and the counterrevolutionaries.

"Stalinist" is one of the most "serious" accusations of the bourgeois propaganda used, not unfrequently, as a characteristic of our party and socialist state. The "Stalinist" term for the "democratic" chatterboxes, paid by the bourgeoisie, means "despotism" and a "totalitarian state," attributing to it all the repulsive characteristics of the bourgeois and revisionist dictatorship. For the revolutionaries, Stalinist means to be a Marxist-Leninist, a courageous and resolute militant for the revolution. And, in this meaning, this attribution really belongs to our heroic party.

"Our party and people, Comrade Enver Hoxha has said, will persist on the road of Karl Marx, Friedrich Engels, Vladimir Ilis Lenin and Joseph Stalin. The future generation of Albania will faithfully pursue the line of their beloved party."

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ROLE OF TURKEY AS LOYAL U.S., NATO ALLY EXAMINED

Sofia ARMEYSKI PREGLED in Bulgarian No 2, 1982 pp 41-46

[Article by Lt Col Dimitur Mavror: "Turkey--Bastion of the United States and NATO in the Balkans and the Near East"]

[Text] Turkey has been allotted an especially important place in the aggressive plans of the United States and NATO. Its geographic position enables it to control the routes connecting Central and Western Europe with Asia and the Arab world and to dominate the strategically important straits zone (the Bosphorus, the Sea of Marmara and the Dardanelles) and the broad exit into the Eastern Mediterranean. The significance of Turkey is intensified still more by the fact that it has common borders with the USSR and the Bulgarian People's Republic, favorable conditions thus being created to conduct active intelligence, subversive, sabotage and--should the need arise--combat operations against the countries that are Warsaw-Pact participants.

Turkey's important, militarily strategic position has prompted the United States and NATO for many years to make efforts to bring Turkey under more and more complete obligation and turn it into an obedient tool for the accomplishment of imperialism's military and political goals in the Balkans. As early as 1947 Turkey came under the impacts of the Truman doctrine and later of the Marshall plan. Under the pretext of so-called economic and military "assistance" the country was turned into an outpost of imperialism in this region of the world. Thus was realized in practice the American triune formula for Turkey: economic obligation, political dependence and military subordination.

In 1952 Turkey became a member of the NATO aggressive bloc and was entirely subordinated to American interests. In a short time over 100 military installations and facilities were built in Turkish territory. The Turkish harbors of Izmir, Iskenderun, Trabzon, Sansun etc. were rebuilt into great sea bases and made available for use by the American Sixth Fleet.

The victory of the revolutions in Afghanistan and Iran have hampered the operations of the United States--the main "policeman" for Western interests in this region of the world. This has compelled the Pentagon and NATO to take speedy measures to build a "healthy and stable Turkey" in the interest of Near Eastern and Balkan strategy. Realization of these plans of imperialism has been facilitated by the Turkish military government that came to power after the coup

d'etat on 12 September 1980. To demonstrate in practice its loyalty to the United States and NATO, the military junta very soon ratified the military agreement (signed in 1980) whereby 26 bases and other installations in Turkish territory were granted for the needs of the United States. Four of these alone--Sinope, Karga Burnur (Sea of Marmara), Pirincli and Belbas--provide 30 percent of the U.S. espionage information about the USSR.

The military junta subordinates Turkey's foreign policy to the interests of the United States and NATO. Without reservation it adopts the plans of imperialism for an increase in the country's contribution to the strengthening of the Southern Wing of NATO. It also makes common cause with the doctrines of the United States and NATO regarding basic international questions (Afghanistan, the siting of medium-range missiles in Europe, "violations" of the arms balance between NATO and the Warsaw Pact, readily accepts the suggestion for an annual 3-percent increase of military expenditures etc.).

Turkey is also highly active in uniting the forces of reaction in the region of the Near and Middle East against expansion of the influence of the democratic and anti-imperialist forces in the region.

In its domestic policy the military government is successfully implementing its program of strengthening the supremacy of the bourgeoisie in the country. Under the pretext of a campaign to suppress anarchy and terrorism, the military have proceeded to wipe out all democratic and progressive parties, organizations and forces. At the same time they have taken legislative measures to strengthen the power of big capital and the political future of the military leadership.

The main blow has been struck against the vanguard of the politically most active part of the toiling masses--the adherents of scientific socialism. With special fury, the military junta has smashed the DISK [Confederation of Revolutionary Workers Trade Unions]--the largest mass trade-union organization in Turkey. More than 2000 of its members have been arrested and the military prosecutor is seeking death sentences for 52 of the leading figures. The Turkish Communist Party has suffered a heavy blow. Judicial proceedings are under way against more than 1500 of its arrested leaders, members and followers. The TRP [Turkish Workers Party], the TSRP [Turkish Socialist Workers Party], the Koykoop [Union of Rural Cooperatives], the Organization of Progressive Youth, the Tobder [Union of Teachers] etc. have been banned and persecuted. In 639 Turkish prisons there are more than 80,000 political prisoners who are placed in inhuman living conditions.

The military junta subjects the 7 million Kurds living in Turkey to "state terror." Nearly 14,000 Kurds have been put on trial in mass proceedings, charged with separatism and an attempted coup d'etat--crimes for which the Turkish criminal law provides the death sentence. Here is what one of the recent defense counsels in the Kurd trials, who himself was a prisoner and later escaped from the military prison in Diarbekr, says.

"New arrivals at the prison, by way of welcome, are made to repeat 44 sentences from the works of Ataturk. In the prison courtyard there is continuous

marching to the sounds of Turkish marches and words of wisdom of the founder of the state, Ataturk. By blows on the heels, electric shocks and other corporal punishments imposed on Kurd prisoners during interrogations, the aim is to demoralize and exterminate them. Each prisoner gets from 60 to 100 grams of bread and 3 to 5 spoonfuls of food. Rarely does anyone weigh more than 100 pounds (1 pound = 453.6 grams). The Diarbekr prison commandant often reiterates to the prisoners, 'Anyone among you who gets a death sentence will be hanged. The rest will be treated in such a way that they won't get out of here alive.'\*\*

Under the pretext of "a universal campaign against political terrorism" there is no letup in the arrests and investigations of activists in progressive parties and organizations. The 22nd trial of members of the Dev-Yol (Revolutionary Path) youth organization began in the middle of October 1982. On trial are 574 of its members, with death sentences sought for 186 of them on the charge of "attempting by armed combat to replace the constitutional system with a Marxist-Leninist state."

The myth of the regime's impartiality, created immediately after the coup d'etat, has been shattered once and for all. Indicative of this is the attitude of the junta towards the trial of the fascist party of the Turkes nationalist movement, which began in August 1981 and now has almost come to a halt. Death sentences have been asked for 220 of the 587 defendants. However, 151 persons now remain in prison and the others have been released on bail.

In the third year of its rule the military junta now realizes that it cannot get the country out of its severe economic crisis. Despite the replacement of the governing economic team headed up by Turgut Ozal, no signs are discernible that the symptoms of crisis in the Turkish economy are being overcome. Over two-thirds of the industrial enterprises are unable to increase their production. Industry is operating at barely 59 percent of its capacity. The planned 23-percent annual inflation has proved unrealistic. It is already officially expected to exceed 40 percent.

An acute energy crisis continues in the country. The balance-of-payments deficit is around \$4 billion. A constant shortage of foreign exchange for the import of raw materials and equipment is experienced, while foreign debts are continuously increasing (more than \$20 billion).

The state of the economy leads to unremitting deterioration of the situation of the working people. In the past 14 years the prices of consumer goods have risen 38-fold. In the capital of Ankara the increases are as follows: food products 32-fold, clothing 36-fold, heat and light 36-fold, other consumer goods 38-fold. Real wages for various jobs have declined from 27 percent to 138 percent in the past 5 years (with the highest wage in 1977 taken as the base for calculation).

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\*DER SPIEGEL [Mirror], No 28/1982.

The attempts of the military junta to reduce unemployment in the country, which according to official data exceeds 3,600,000 people, have had no result. This figure does not include partially unemployed persons or persons working abroad (more than 2 million). Every year the country must find 600,000 new jobs, but provides many less. That is why the army of the unemployed constantly increases. Measures to reduce illiteracy, which nationwide is over 40 percent (and in the eastern regions is as high as 90 percent), have collapsed, too.

The antidemocratic character of the regime's actions has provoked adverse reactions among Turkish and--to no small degree--among European public opinion. Under pressure from some West European countries (France, the FRG, Denmark, Holland etc.), the European Economic Community, the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development and other organizations, the military government has been compelled to announce a "calendar" for the transition to civil government in Turkey.

A draft of a new constitution has been drawn up that has been adopted by the Consultative Assembly. On 19 October 1982 the draft was approved by the National Security Council and on 7 November a referendum was held on its adoption by the people. The new constitution has, more properly, the character of criminal law. It contains 200 articles and will return Turkey far back of the democratic gains won with the constitution of 1961 and far back of the basic Kemalist principles. It gives great powers and rights to the president. He can appoint the prime minister and the Council of Ministers, dismiss them and dissolve parliament. He gets a power of veto over laws approved by parliament. In the event of a governmental crisis lasting more than 30 days, the president can announce new elections. He can declare a state of war and can declare war. Into his power is given the right to appoint several high government and military posts, including the chief of the general staff.

The constitution prohibits the formation of a class workers' party and defines any attempt at a seizure of power as "a most serious crime." Trade unions cease completely to be legal personalities. They lose their previous capacities and the right to mediate directly in labor conflicts between workers and employers. The right to strike is made contingent upon many conditions and the permission of the government, and the striking of small enterprises is totally banned.

Officials, teachers, scientists and the military are forbidden to participate in the country's political life, i.e., politics becomes a monopoly of a specific category of people.

The constitution forbids the leaders of the Republican People's Party and of the Justice Party, Bulent Ecevit and Suleyman Demirel, to form new parties or to hold any political or state posts whatsoever.

The new constitution cancels any democratic rights and liberties existing before the coup d'etat. It forcibly restrains a number of objective social processes, legitimizes the authority of the military elite and for a long period of time replaces obvious dictatorship with covert semidictatorship.

The armed forces are the mainstay of the reactionary regime in Turkey. The Turkish armed forces consist of the Land Forces, the Air Force and the Navy with a total strength of 569,000 and, separately, a police force of nearly 120,000, most of whom are subordinated to the army in wartime.

The Land Forces are the most numerous branch of the armed forces with 470,000 men (80 percent of the total strength). They include four field armies (the 1st, 2nd, 3rd and 4th Aegean Armies) and two separate corps (the 4th AK [Army Corps] and 11th AK--the so-called "Turkish Peace Forces" on the island of Cyprus). The Land Forces have assigned to them organically 17 divisions, 21 separate brigades, 18 "Honest John" PU NURS [unguided missile launchers], about 3500 tanks, 3000 armored carriers, about 2000 guns and howitzers (203.2mm, 175mm, 155mm and 105mm); 1750 mortars of various calibers, 2500 anti-tank guns, 900 anti-aircraft guns and about 500 army-aviation aircraft and helicopters.

According to Western specialists, the 1st Army is best manned and most battle-worthy. Included in its organic strength are a total of 10 divisions and four separate brigades. Its units--divisions and larger, regiments and lower--are stationed in Eastern Thrace and on the Kocaeli peninsula. It is envisaged that they will operate against the Bulgarian People's Republic in any possible war.

The Air Force of Turkey has a personnel strength of 53,000 men. Organizationally, it reduces to two tactical air forces, a ZUR [anti-aircraft guided-missile base] and an air training corps. It has a total of 350 military and 63 transport aircraft and 15 helicopters. The Turkish Air Force is consolidated into 19 combat squadrons, including 11 fighter bombers, 5 fighters and 3 reconnaissance aircraft. Four of the combat squadrons carry nuclear weapons. The "Nike" ZUR has 72 launchers.

The Turkish Navy has personnel numbering 46,000. Organically assigned to it are 200 combat ships, including 15 submarines, 12 destroyers, 21 landing ships, 7 minelayers, 25 minesweepers, 7 missile-launching motor boats, 13 torpedo boats and other types.

In its "crusade" against socialism and the national liberation struggles, the Reagan administration gives prime attention to the establishment of numerous military bases far beyond the limits of its own territory in order to station thereat units of the rapid deployment forces. The important position that Turkey occupies in the Balkans and the Near and Middle East is taken into account by the NATO strategists. They are doing everything possible to make the Turkish government shoulder new additional obligations. In implementation of these designs a seminar of the social and political research society was held in Istanbul at the beginning of October on the topic of "NATO Strategy in the 1980's." Participants in it were 26 foreign policy specialists from the United States, the FRG, England, France, Italy, Greece etc., and more than 100 Turkish specialists. Among those invited were Professor (Uolsteter) [possibly Wolstetter]--chief theoretician of the United States' new Gulf strategy; the head of the American section of the mixed Turkish-American Commission for Defense Cooperation, Richard (Purl) [possibly Pearl, Perl], who is third in the

machine hierarchy and is concerned with U.S. security questions; Professor Peter (Duyunan) et al. The Main aim of the conference was to prepare public opinion for the new role assigned to Turkey in the so-called Gulf strategy of the United States. In practice this envisages Turkey assuming the functions of a policeman to protect U.S. interests in the region in case of undesirable events, regardless of whether a "Soviet threat" exists.

In his Gulf strategy Professor (Uolsteter), without negating the role of the "rapid deployment forces," defended the thesis that the airlifting of "small forces" from a great distance cannot play a decisive role in the event of any USSR "invasion" of the south of the Persian Gulf. "Large-scale forces" could play a decisive role provided that such forces had been trained beforehand in the region around Lake Van or Eastern Anatolia generally. The advice of Paul (Kheits) (former President J. Carter's adviser) et al. was also focused on the training of such forces. They manipulated the danger from Armenian terrorism which aims at cutting off this territory from Turkey and NATO altogether and annexing it to Soviet Armenia. At the same time, they tried to persuade the official Turkish representatives and public opinion that it was the Soviet Union that was to blame for the anarchy and terrorism in the country before the 1980 military coup d'etat.

From 20 September to 13 October 1982 part of the NATO-wide training exercise "Demonstration of Determination-82" was conducted in the immediate vicinity of our border. Participants in it were 34,000 Turkish officers and men and 500 members of the American landing forces from the 82nd American Airlanding Division, constituting the "rapid deployment forces" airlifted from Stuttgart (FRG). Along with these, the Pentagon lifted amphibious units, too, from Western Europe to Turkey to participate in the training exercises.

The purpose of the joint training exercises was to test the rendering of assistance to Turkey in "any possible moments of crisis."

The official Turkish position regarding these plans of the United States and NATO was expressed laconically by the country's Minister of National Defense Bayulken, who declared to the conference that "NATO's responsibility is defined within the framework of the boundaries of the member countries and going beyond these boundaries can be done through the 'free will' and 'free solidarity' of the countries."

Considering the important role of the Turkish army\* in this region, the strategists of the bloc are at exceptionally great pains to rearm it. Every year the United States increases its military assistance to Turkey. Whereas in 1981 the assistance was \$252 million, in 1982 it was \$403.5 million and in 1983 is expected to be as much as \$600-700 million. The assistance received from the United States and other NATO allies is more than \$1 billion. In the next few years the United States will supply Turkey with "Lance" strategic and tactical missiles, M-60 tanks, self-propelled guns and more than 70 F-16 aircraft. By the end of 1982 it has been envisaged that Turkey will receive

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\*The Turkish Army ranks second in strength in NATO after the U.S. Army.

from the United States 15 "Phantom-2 E-4E" multipurpose tactical fighters, 15 "Iroquois IN-1N" multipurpose helicopters, 100 "Sidewinder" A M-9 class air-to-air UR [guided missiles], spare parts for various models of aircraft equipment etc.

It is envisaged that the FRG by virtue of a signed agreement will grant Turkey special military assistance within the limits of 600,000 West German marks in the 1980-1983 period. According to the agreement, in 1982 alone Turkey will receive two "Leopard 1A2" tanks, 54 "Leopards 1A3," about 800 "Midas" PTURS [antitank guided missiles] and other armament. In addition, it will supply two destroyers for the needs of the navy, and another two will be built in Turkish shipyards under FRG license. With the help of West German specialists a tank plant has been built in the city of Arifie to modernize obsolete M-48 tanks (the gasoline engines are replaced with diesels, the 90mm guns with 105mm's, and night vision instruments are installed).

Immediately after the military junta came to power in Turkey, the share of the country's budget represented by military expenditures increased sharply. In 1978 military expenditures amounted to 53 billion Turkish liras, in 1979 to 65 billion Turkish liras, in 1980 to 180 billion Turkish liras, in 1981 to 250 billion Turkish liras, and in 10 months of 1982, reckoned from 1 March, to 317.7 billion Turkish liras. In the fiscal year 1983, out of the targeted budget of 2600 billion Turkish liras, 450 billion are earmarked for military purposes. If to this we add about another 47 billion Turkish liras, this represents 19.1 percent of the budget.

The Turkish military leadership allocates considerable sums for modernization of existing production capacities and for construction of new enterprises in the military industry. This year expansion of the (Kurukkale) complex of war plants and the tank repair plant in Arifie was started. About 400 million Turkish liras have been earmarked for construction of a production facility to assemble combat aircraft of the F-16 or F-18 type. The production of 160 combat aircraft in 8 years for the needs of the Turkish Air Force is planned. Considerable funds are earmarked for the development of navy repair enterprises, as well as for a logistic system for ships of the Turkish Navy.

The military junta pays exceptionally great attention to the training of the Turkish Armed Forces to wage war. The Turkish Armed Forces participated in NATO's greatest maneuvers in 1982--"Autumn Forge" and "Display Determination-82," in national training exercises "Shoo!-82," "(Deniz)-82" etc. Most of these were conducted in regions close to the borders with the USSR and the Bulgarian People's Republic.

Parallel with troop modernization and rearmament measures, systematic ideological brainwashing is being conducted among the personnel and population for the purpose of turning them into obedient tools for implementation of the militaristic policy of the military junta and for strengthening the pillars of the capitalist order in the country.

The main theme of the ideological brainwashing is a malicious anticommunism in all its manifestations. Opportunistically combining Ataturk's ideas with the



racist theory of pan-Turkism and juggling with the myth of the "communist danger," they strive to implant fanatical Great Turkish chauvinism, especially among the armed forces. The cult of the Moslem religion plays an exceptionally favorable role in this regard.

Anti-Bulgarianism is an essential feature of the anticommunist brainwashing of the army and population, undertaken with new force by the Turkish military junta. A normal phenomenon in connection with the implementation of the bilateral agreements signed between the Bulgarian People's Republic and Turkey is the distortion of their meaning and the hurling of unfounded charges against our country--with the aim of discrediting us in the eyes of the Turkish people. Absurd cock-and-bull stories are fabricated about the "violation of visa conditions by Bulgarian authorities," about the "harassment" of Turkish citizens passing through Bulgaria etc. This is the way in which hatred of "the moral standards of communists" and their "arbitrary acts" is implanted every day.

The ruling elite in Turkey pays extremely great attention to the creation of mental readiness in the personnel of the armed forces for immediate combat operations against the Warsaw-Pact countries. For this purpose they suggest ideas of "the army's mission of salvation," "the superiority of the soldiers of Islam over the infidels," "the invincibility of the NATO armies." Constant efforts are made to achieve a high combat spirit and to overcome any moral inhibitions of the Turkish soldier on the battlefield.

The aim of the military junta is to perpetuate the capitalist regime in the country and to turn the Turkish Army into a reliable tool in the hands of the United States and NATO, into a policeman in the Balkans and the Near East and into the main military force intended for operation against the USSR and the Bulgarian People's Republic.

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CSO: 2200/65

DEPUTY MINISTER EMPHASIZES IMPORTANCE OF MILITARY DISCIPLINE

Sofia ARMEYSKI KOMUNIST in Bulgarian No 3, 1983 pp 8-13

[Article by Col Gen Mircho Asenov, deputy minister of national defense: "Discipline and the Commander's Moral Responsibility"; passages enclosed in slantlines printed in boldface]

[Text] During the stage of the building of a developed socialist society the question of discipline and responsibility becomes one of the timeliest. The complex and large-scale problems in socialist construction require, as the July (1976) plenum of the BCP Central Committee pointed out, that "Everybody should be responsible for everything to all."

The party's positions regarding the strengthening of discipline in our society apply with full force to military discipline, as well. It is one of the most important forms of state discipline--an inseparable component of it.

Marxist-Leninist doctrine regards military discipline as a complex and dynamic social phenomenon with distinctive characteristics and specific features resulting from the character, purposes and missions of a socialist army.

Discipline in the Bulgarian People's Army is of exceptionally great importance now for strengthening the defensive might of the socialist state. In it are reflected the moral and political qualities of the defenders of our homeland and their selfless devotion to the communist party.

The time that has passed since the 12th BCP Congress and the results that have been achieved in elevating combat readiness and strengthening discipline have confirmed the vitality of the party's estimation of our country's military cadres and their role in raising the level of discipline.

The BCP Program says, "The nurturing of ideologically convinced, morally stable, physically hardened and socially active individuals with a high awareness of duty and responsibility to socialist society is central to ideological work."<sup>1</sup>

The demands for a heightening of responsibility apply in maximum measure to all officers of the Bulgarian People's Army. "The one-man commander bears full responsibility to the party and people for the combat readiness and combat

ability of the unit entrusted to him, and in wartime for the successful accomplishment of the combat mission assigned to it."<sup>2</sup>

An upsurge has now occurred in the overall work of commanders, staffs, political organizers, party and Komsomol organizations, generated by the sound comprehension and implementation of the theoretical resources contained in the post-congress speeches, statements and practical approaches of Comrade Todor Zhivkov. This is reflected with particular force in the intensification of personal responsibility for the accomplishment of every mission in everyday military life.

Commanders' awareness of duty and responsibility stem from the place and role they have in military collectives and in society. The commander is the basic figure in our army. His job is strenuous, accompanied by joys and difficulties. It requires great exertion of physical and moral strength, internal self-discipline and creative activity. At the same time it is also a job filled with high moral responsibility. The Interior Service Regulations of the Armed Forces of the Bulgarian People's Republic indicate that the commander is responsible for combat and political training, education, military discipline and the state of morale of personnel; for the condition and safeguarding of armament, combat materiel and other equipment, ammunition, fuel and other supplies; for providing his unit or ship (subunit) with logistic and medical support, equipment and personal necessities, financial support.<sup>3</sup>

The demand for a heightening of discipline as an important strategic mission in the campaign for implementation of the decisions of the 12th Party Congress and for the development of the army is dictated by the changes that have taken place in social life.

Under present-day conditions the scope of discipline has significantly expanded. Not only has there been an increase in the importance of efficient and willing compliance and of general service routine, based on observance of the oath, the laws and military regulations, but time discipline and the discipline of individual and collective responsibility of soldiers for the accomplishment of assigned missions have taken on much greater meaning.

Especially important in its thrust is the personal responsibility of commanders for strengthening discipline and for inculcating a sense of discipline in soldiers. This is preordained by several circumstances.

/First./ Military discipline always plays an important role in the combat ability of armed forces. It helps transform the will of thousands of people into a single will and guarantees coordination and smooth operation of the military organism even in the most challenging situation.

The BCP Central Committee requires of soldiers and commanders that they ceaselessly improve their combat and political training, their strategic and tactical skills, their discipline and vigilance. The main mission of the Bulgarian People's Army is to be ready at any time, together with the fraternal Warsaw-Pact armies, to defend socialism and inflict a decisive blow on any aggressor.

From this important mission flows the necessity of maintaining constant and high combat readiness. Not a single element of combat readiness of troops can be separated from discipline. It is the basic factor and without it maintenance of constant combat readiness is impossible. If the prescribed service routine is not strict, and if the obligations that commanders and men have and perform are violated, combat readiness in these military collectives is debased, too. Heightening of the personal discipline of every officer, noncommissioned officer and soldier for performance of the tasks involved in the maintenance of high combat readiness is one of the most important expressions of their responsibility to the party and people.

/Second./ The drastic military and political aims of war will give an extremely bitter character to all combat operations and will require personnel to demonstrate tremendous moral and physical strength, high discipline and efficient and willing compliance.

It must not be forgotten that the decisive role in modern war falls not to equipment, but to man. He controls, he actuates all equipment and armament. Therefore attention must always be paid to the training of personnel, to their political consciousness, moral responsibility, discipline and readiness to execute missions.

In a challenging combat situation only disciplined soldiers can demonstrate stamina, self-control, firmness, determination, will and mental stability. The commander is called upon--in all his work as commander and organizer, in his party work and by his general and military knowledgeability--to inculcate qualities that will, if necessary, be displayed at the most critical moments of battle.

/Third./ The saturation of the army with new combat materiel requires precise and strict observance by all service personnel of the procedure established by laws and military regulations. Complex machinery, highly perfected instruments and electronic devices can be maintained and operated only if instructions and directions are most strictly observed. The slightest deviation or a careless attitude towards equipment and armament leads to a breach of discipline and causes difficulties in the performance of functions.

The increase in the importance of military discipline is occasioned to a great extent by the fact that the new weapons are crew-served weapons. Successful use of them depends on the skillful operations of many people. The least manifestation of a lack of discipline by a soldier or commander may frustrate the accomplishment of a subunit or unit's mission. Modern combat materiel will operate flawlessly only when combat gun, tank and plane crews or subunits are united and harmonious, and prescribed relationships have been established among service personnel. That is why organization, impeccable discipline and efficient and willing performance by every soldier and commander assume paramount importance.

/Fourth./ Military discipline in a socialist army, being based on commanders' keen political consciousness, initiative and creativity, contributes to the accomplishment of missions involving communist indoctrination of the military personality.

Command experience conclusively shows that military discipline actively affects the molding of the military personality, its socialization and the indoctrination in it of a proper attitude towards labor, towards commanders, towards the collective, towards military duty.

These circumstances make it obligatory for commanders, staffs and political organizers to work continuously and with high responsibility to strengthen discipline. It is the commander first and foremost who bears responsibility for the state of discipline. In those units where commanders show their subordinates constant regulation strictness, have established their relations with them properly and work in cooperation with party and Komsomol organizations, combat readiness and discipline are at a high level.

The commander's responsibility for strengthening discipline involves the routine performance of a number of activities which are of both a personal and a social character. It is expressed above all in the personal contribution of every commander and political worker. Army experience shows that the force of moral influence is directly related to the degree of manifestation of a sense of responsibility or irresponsibility, to the social and moral nobility or degradation, to the humaneness and respect that the individual can express in a given situation. The personal responsibility shown by commanders is a kind of performance of the duty they feel.

The moral components that a commander possesses and that he uses to strengthen discipline are numerous. He educates first and foremost by /his personal example/. Unless in his everyday practice the commander pays enough attention to his activity, gradually an atmosphere of laxity and irresponsibility is created. Unless he assesses his blunders in leading and instructing his subordinates, unless he calls officials to task for their violations, unless he knows the status of equipment and armament, of prescribed service routine and the morale of personnel, he creates the preconditions for flagrant disciplinary violations in the unit and for the lowering of combat readiness.

Personal moral responsibility requires a commander to react in good time and show severity over every lapse, to analyze disciplinary infractions properly and take measures to eliminate them. In this connection Georgi Dimitrov emphasizes, "If a military man differs from an ordinary citizen, an academician, university professor or teacher, it is above all in his character, in his very unshakeable will, in his determination to bring an undertaking once started to a conclusion, to accomplish a mission in spite of everything. This requires strong nerves; this requires a firm will, strong character and the subordination of everything personal to the common, major interests of the army, people and state."<sup>4</sup>

A commander's profound and unshakeable ideological conviction and his readiness to devote all his energies and service to his people and homeland produce a strong moral response in his subordinates. His words and personal example inspire and instruct the actions of the military collective. There is no more powerful factor in the molding of discipline and responsibility in subordinates than /the unity of words and deeds/ of the commander. It is he who by honest, fair and persuasive words and by party zeal reveals the strength of socialist

discipline. By his attitude towards the accomplishment of assigned important missions and by his concern for and attention to his personnel, a commander inculcates in them personal responsibility and a sense of duty.

A Commander's moral responsibility for strengthening discipline involves his /work style/, and especially his efficiency. Discipline is directly dependent on the expert ability to make timely and correct assessments of the missions that will have to be accomplished and to make timely and clear assignments to his subordinates. This presupposes that he will not permit any crude over-practicality and subjectivism in his work. Sometimes in their endeavor to show their "responsibility" for strengthening discipline, some commanders violate their personal prescribed obligations, thus adversely affecting their relations with their subordinates. The strong commander is one who is diligent in his job, who constantly enriches his knowledgeability, has learning and a proper approach in his relations with his personnel, and shows them strictness and fairness.

In order for the commander to achieve high moral responsibility in his activity, the minister of national defense, Army General D. Dzhurov, points out that "he must possess high moral qualities and virtues such as honesty, fairness, industriousness and modesty, a self-critical attitude and exemplary conduct in his social and in his personal life."<sup>5</sup>

These are qualities which act with special force on subordinates. They help maintain a close spiritual relation among officers, noncommissioned officers and men. Combined with a strict and principled exactingness on the part of the commander, these qualities help create an atmosphere of candor and respect, of cordiality and a thorough understanding of the interests and needs of subordinates.

Present-day conditions require commanders to work with all their energy and resources to elevate moral attitudes in military collectives. Naturally, success can be achieved only if commanders themselves strive for their own moral improvement.

Moral responsibility involves exactions on the part of the commander. The one-man commander is not only responsible, but has great powers, obligations and disciplinary authority, which he must use skillfully and purposefully. Exactions on the part of the commander help strengthen discipline when they are organically combined with intelligence, will and a humane spirit. "Reasonable exactions," according to A. S. Makarenko, "are not only legitimate, but necessary as well. They help shape strong human character, inculcate a sense of responsibility, and train the will, human dignity and the ability to resist temptations and overcome them. The commander helps strengthen discipline when he makes demands with equal strictness and constancy on his subordinates and especially on himself. When, however, the exactions are not warranted, he offends the human dignity of his subordinates and there will be no results. Harsh exactions are a sign of impotence, of poor pedagogical and psychological skills and abilities, of the commander's inadequate moral strength."

Strictness on the part of the commander, combined with fatherly concern for his subordinates, is an effective means of strengthening military discipline. Practical experience shows that in cases where the commander isolates himself from his subordinates, there are more frequent infractions of prescribed service routine and the results of combat and political training are lower. But wherever he maintains sound relations with his personnel, high results are always achieved in the training of the unit.

The commander's moral responsibility for the state of discipline is directly linked with /the adherence to principles/ that he displays in his work. The principled commander is not afraid to disclose, frankly and honestly, the shortcomings in his work. He does not endeavor to gloss over these weaknesses. His moral integrity is manifested in his understanding that every deed, every infraction of discipline must be judged by the interests of the party and people. Adherence to principles is measured by the care and attention a commander displays to eliminate any weaknesses that occur. For it is not by words, but by deeds that the responsibility of every soldier, noncommissioned officer and officer is raised. This moral trait animates his work and helps him see the connection between his deeds and actions and partywide and nationwide goals.

The sense of great responsibility with which the commanders, political organizers and staffs in our army work was highly estimated by the 12th Party Congress. "The Bulgarian People's Army has matured as an up-to-date armed force with modern combat materiel, with high skills and an invincible fighting spirit," the report emphasizes. "Service in the armed forces has become a remarkable school for the ideological-and-political, moral and physical tempering of the younger generation, for courage and heroism, for the nurturing of virtuous patriots and internationalists, of vigilant defenders of the homeland and enthusiastic builders of socialism."<sup>6</sup>

This estimation obliges us to work still better, to strive constantly to achieve still higher results in combat and political training, to raise the combat readiness and combat ability of every military collective.

The present-day world situation requires raising the responsibility of commanders, staffs and political organizers to still higher levels. The task of raising moral responsibility is a constant factor on which the combat might of the army and the strength of our society depend.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. "Programa na BKP" [Program of the Bulgarian Communist Party], Sofia, 1971, pp 76-77.
2. D. Dzhurov, "Komandirut--Organizator i Vuzpitateľ" [The Commander as Organizer and Educator], Sofia, 1974, p 56.

3. See "Ustav za Vutreshnata Sluzhba na Vuoruzhenite Sili na NRB" [Interior Service Regulations of the Armed Forces of the Bulgarian People's Republic], Sofia, 1976, p 29.
4. G. Dimitrov, NARODNA VOYSKA [People's Army], No 439, 19 February 1947.
5. D. Dzhurov, op. cit., p 23.
6. T. Zhiykov, "Otchet na TsK na BKP pred Dyanadesetiya Kongres i Predstoyashtite Zadachi na Partiyata" [Report of the BCP Central Committee to the 12th Congress and Impending Party Tasks], Sofia, 1981, p 107.

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CSO: 2200/65



BULGARIA

ADMIRAL DOBREV DWELLS ON ROLE OF NAVY COMMANDER, STAFF

Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 12 Apr 83 pp 1-2

[Article by Adm Ivan Dobrev, deputy minister of national defense: "Constant Concern for the Navy Commander and Staff"]

[Text] Recently the navy command took a number of steps aimed at improving the organization of the training process and service in the navy. A party aktiv met on this occasion. A large number of commanders, political workers and specialists attended and actively participated in the discussion, presenting their views, understanding and approach to the solution of the problems.

We were pleased that a proper political criterion was adopted in approaching combat training requirements, based on the military-political situation in the world and in our area.

Numerous statements were made. Nevertheless, some problems remained unresolved, although their proper solution would have created conditions for high results in combat and political training and combat readiness. This statement is based on some expressed thoughts and suggestions, the application of which could hardly yield high results. Thus, for example, under the guise of a new approach to scientific treatment, intellectualization and intensification of military work, occasionally we reach a state of separating, ignoring or circumventing regulations, instructions, orders and directives. It is true that the content, forms and methods of combat training change constantly. However, these changes are the result of qualitative and quantitative processes which take more than a couple of years to complete. We, however, are still in the first half of an already organized school year in which all possible changes and entire preceding experience in combat training have been taken into consideration.

The conclusion is that every commander must use his organizational system in seeking and applying specific means for carrying out this year's assignments.

When we speak of the organization and management of the training process we should mention above all the people responsible for it.

A person in the navy can easily find his way by locating the flagship, in order to see its actions and obey its signalled orders.

The flagship, large or small, with its staff, its organs and services and flagship specialists, is responsible for the combat readiness, the organization of combat training and the management of each run.

This reminder may sound trivial. In my view, however, some units are currently showing a certain underestimation. An unnoticeable process of pushing aside obligations and, hence, responsibilities, is taking place.

The process is unnoticeable, for in the course of practical activities, occasionally the performance of functional obligations is replaced by the implementation of instructions, participation in commissions and groups, unexpected assignments, and so on.

The role of the senior staff in the operative and dynamic guidance of the daily training process and the organization of navy service is frequently reduced to the function of a superior operative center which records the daily results achieved at combat training areas. Occasionally the role of flagship specialists and particularly services carrying out such duties is belittled. Hesitations in terms of their subordination and management have not been entirely removed.

Conversely, formalism is making its way. The desire and efforts of the officers to carry out their duties are sometimes channeled into writing and reworking necessary or unnecessary methods, plans and instructions, which do not always reach the intermediary staffs, but reach the staffs of navy divisions in numbers which may clog even the smoothest running machinery.

This is clearly apparent even if we adopt a most skeptical attitude toward the statements made by Officers Petrov and Yordanov, who mentioned that dozens of measures are imposed "from above" as part of the monthly plan. If the fact that all of this is "cleverly concocted" is also true, achieved on the basis of additional steps received by telephonograms, it becomes clear that the work of staffs such as theirs comes to a full stop.

Allow me to express yet once again my view on the role and place of the ship's captain, ship unit and its staff in managing the training process. Unquestionably, the position of ship commander is the most responsible, the most difficult and most honorable, for which reason the path leading to the captain's bridge is not an easy one.

Yes, in the career of a navy officer, to command a ship is the dream of those who are climbing the command ladder. What commander has not experienced the excitement of the first orders to the machines and the helmsman, seeing the way the ship begins to move and obey his will! This is a position the development, variety and improvement of which are limitless, which requires a great deal of steady efforts the results of which give the officer complete moral satisfaction.

That is why the ship's commander has a number of obligations which require the creation of suitable conditions. Such conditions must be provided by the commander of the superior unit in accordance with ship's regulations.

It is no accident that the command-organizational and tactical duties, particularly those of a commander of a navy division, are considered essential, for they determine the combat readiness of the ships' forces. They presume very high command experience, broad organizational scope, method knowledge and skills, creative thinking and tactical maturity. They require individual qualities such as daring, decisiveness and autonomy, and readiness to make most daring decisions and assume responsibilities. In this respect, particularly good work is being done by many commanding officers such as Yordanov, Rusinov and Petrov, who are successfully fulfilling assignments related to ship training and maintenance.

The commander of a naval division is actively assisted in his efforts by his staff. The staff, which is made up of specialists, is above all an instrument for the combat training and organization of the service aboard the ships. The staff must ensure the overall combat readiness of the ships. Particularly responsible positions are those of the navigator, the communications officer and the specialist in the main weapons. The chief of staff may head this control group under the divisional commander or else head the command of a separate tactical group.

It is erroneous to try to assign to this small staff of specialists the functions of the operative staff in controlling the forces.

Some characteristics of an organizational-personnel nature (structure, staffing, and so on) have had a certain influence on the style and method of work of our naval units and formations and the development of ships' commanders. For example, a smaller number of ships offers favorable conditions for the divisional commander in terms of training ship's captains. However, it also leads to a certain petty supervision, which paralyzes their initiative and autonomous thinking.

Adding to this the flood of instructions we mentioned, we can see the additional difficulties experienced by naval units in the course of their service. All of this affects the development of ship and division commanders. It leads to a formalistic implementation of obligations as stipulated in the regulations and orders, and omissions in the organization of the ship's service, which may remain unnoticed until a grave accident occurs.

The investigations carried out by various groups and commissions do not always make a profound study of the nature of the organization and order aboard ship. They do not sufficiently demand of and help the commander in their establishment. Thus, during fire practice, weaknesses which should have been eliminated during the very first training task were noted on the ship commanded by Officer Dulevski; the ship's order and documents were also not to be envied. In Officer Yankulov's unit a number of shortcomings have been manifested in preparing for and organizing a run. It was only when Captain-Lieutenant Petrov undertook to carry out his assignment at sea that this because the occasion of one more failure, for neither the commander of the combat unit nor the ship's commander were not at their combat places and were unaware of the way the seamen carried out their duties.

Ship's regulations have not become part of the life of all ships. That is why in some units navy standards are at a low level.

Sometimes reviews, reports and instructions are meaningless in terms of real or imaginary results, successes and prospects in the organization of the ship's order and service. This applies to the units we mentioned.

It becomes apparent that the concern expressed in these organized discussions and conversations does not develop into the type of concern which should direct the attention and mobilize the efforts to resolve such a basic problem of navy activities.

Weaknesses and their prime reasons are not profoundly sought and analyzed. This applies to the work style and method, command-organizational and practical activities of commanders, staffs and political organs, and the use of a highly organized training process in mastering, maintaining and impeccably operating the ships and the combat equipment. Furthermore, initiatives and experimentations are frequently blocked by formalism, routine and schematism, which rise as insurmountable obstacles. The absence of sufficient exigency, both official and party, do not allow their manifestation or contribute to their development.

The same applies to the question of intensifying military labor and the current management of the daily training process, in which occasionally problems are hastily covered instead of relying on guiding documents, planning and organization and working on assignments on the basis of the courses for combat sailing and command control.

Both during this and the last school years cases of major shortcomings have been noted in the navy. All of them lead to the conclusion that one of the basic requirements for the methodical and consistent development of military skills, i.e., the ability of military personnel to act quickly, economically and with excellent results, is being violated in the course of combat training.

Our people say that "Whoever does not grab does not grasp." This equally applies to commanders and seamen. In the course of organizing the service aboard ship and determining deadlines for combat readiness, the stipulations of the ship's regulations must be obeyed in full. In the course of a given training assignment, the methodical instructions contained in the "Combat Sailing Course" must be observed strictly and required exercises must not be skipped.

The specific nature and complexity of combat training, as a process in developing military skills and reaching high level navy training, do not allow any compromises or arbitrary command decisions. This complex process requires not only stress but also effort and time if good results are to be achieved.

It cannot be compared with the labor and results in construction or any other area. However, time is always short. That is why the deadlines stipulated in the course should not be considered merely as "astronomical days." If nothing but the working time is used within this overall time period, ignoring evenings, Saturdays and Sundays, the personnel of such ships will always complain of lack of time.

The qualitative and prompt implementation of training assignments largely depend on the skill of the officer to command his crew or subunit. This is a complex process which requires, in addition to professional training, the consideration of a number of social, psychological, physiological and other problems. The officer must learn not only what to do but also how to do it. It is necessary, above all, for commanders to try to develop their own high internal moral standard, i.e., political and moral criteria and behavioral indicators and norms which will ensure a most active life stance. Nothing influences subordinates in organizing the service aboard a ship more than the personal example set by the commander.

The struggle against formalism and routine must be waged most energetically in navy units.

That is why, particularly now, in the midst of completing the formulation of assignments for the winter period, the time for more active sailing and raid assemblies, ship and divisional commanders must be the subject of specific attention combined with exigent control. Ship and division commanders must be trained at sea rather than merely examined.

The time and place for such commanders to prove themselves must be provided. No one better than the ship's commander and the commander of a naval division and his staff can contribute personally so much to upgrading combat readiness in the navy.

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CSO: 2200/63

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

FEBRUARY 1983 ISSUE OF SED THEORETICAL JOURNAL REVIEWED

East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 12-13 Feb 83 p 10

[Rene Heilig review of East Berlin EINHEIT in German Vol 38, No 2, February 1983, signed to press 13 January 1983, pp 113-224: "Without Loss From Idea to Practical Application." Translations and/or summaries of articles by authors cited below and by others are published in pages following this review]

[Text] In its issue No 2, 1983, EINHEIT publishes as the first contribution the "Political Declaration of the Warsaw Pact Member States." The subsequent articles are published together under the overall headline "The Topic: Science in Our Society."

"New dimensions in our development also entail new, higher achievements in science"--this fact is pointed out by Hannes Hoernig, chief of the SED Central Committee's Science Department. The author continues to emphasize that the entire scientific potential of our country must be utilized even more purposefully in accordance with the economic strategy in order to obtain more and better products from the available raw materials, supplies and energy. Hannes Hoernig refers to the responsibility of the entire society in shaping the science-technology-production cycle without any losses. Stable cooperation and practical relations with combines are an essential basis on which to advance more rapidly from finding a subject to the processing and practical application.

Herbert Weiz demands that the economy be made even more effectively the starting base and the goal of scientific-technical work. The minister for science and technology analyzes experiences in the use of tasking workbooks (Pflichtenhefte). In 1982 such documents were worked out for all planned 20,000 research and development tasks in the productive sectors.

The February issue also carries the concluding address at the GDR's Seventh Congress of Historians, in which Kurt Hager particularly refers to the great significance of continued solid research and vivid propagation of the history of the German people. Ingrid Beyer and Helmut Netzker give a first assessment of the works presented at the Ninth Arts Exhibition [in Dresden]. While Karl Seidel and Bernd Schirmer deal in their article with questions of the efficiency of our health services, Siegfried Vietzke sheds light on the background of the fascist Reichstag fire.

In the 'Consultations' feature section, philosophers Alfred Kosing and Heinrich Opitz discuss the categories of "Contradictions and Motivations" and "Experience and Perception," respectively.

CSO: 2300/212

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

SED POLITBURO'S HAGER OUTLINES HISTORIANS' TASK

West German Commentary

Bonn IWE-TAGESDIENST in German No 19, 4 Feb 83 pp 1-2

[Report from Berlin: "Hager Attacks Historiography in FRG." A translation of the East Berlin EINHEIT article cited below follows this commentary]

[Text] Kurt Hager, the SED Central Committee secretary in charge of culture and science, has sharply attacked historiography in the FRG about the fascist seizure of power in Germany 50 years ago because it sought "to obscure historic truth by all means." Many books and TV programs had "pushed all sorts of secondary aspects into the foreground" so that it would not become apparent "that monopoly capital produced fascism and launched it into power," as he wrote in the most recent edition of the theoretical party journal EINHEIT (No 2, 1983). As Hitler's role was reduced to that of an unfathomable psychopath, the generals were being "described as victims of their illusions, their Nibelungen brand of fealty, as men who saw through Hitler's crimes too late." Calumnies were being heaped on calumnies "to blame the communists, in blatant contradiction to historic truth, for the destruction of bourgeois democracy, again with the purpose of whitewashing the actual destroyers of democracy and those that let them get away with it."

Hager affirmed that "the absolutely contrary positions on that key date of the most recent history" expressed a wholly diametrical position of the two Germanys on basic sociopolitical problems. The example demonstrated that "no reference, no matter how noisy, to a history in common" could create "anything the GDR and the FRG have in common" because the "class positions," the political and ideological contradictions, "are insurmountable."

Kurt Hager's Address to Historians

East Berlin EINHEIT in German Vol 38 No 2, Feb 83 (signed to press 13 Jan 83)  
pp 161-172

[Text of concluding speech by Kurt Hager, SED Politburo member and Central Committee secretary for culture and science, given at Seventh Congress of Historians in East Berlin, 6-9 December 1982: "History and Present Times."]



For a paper on the subject given at the congress by Prof Walter Schmidt, as well as for some additional references to related information, see translations published under the heading, "'Independent German National History of GDR' Explained," in JPRS 83282, 18 Apr 83, No 2130 of this series, pp 19-23; for additional related information see also translations of two Hamburg DER SPIEGEL articles, published in the same JPRS issue under the following headings: "Bismarck Revaluation Seen in GDR Historiography" (pp 24-26) and "Marxist Historians' Changing Views of Luther Analyzed" (pp 27-34)]

[Text] By way of this significant concluding speech given at the Seventh Congress of Historians of the GDR, which points out that socialism is deeply rooted in the history of the GDR people, our historiography and history propaganda are getting an authoritative and suggestive compendium for further exploring the history of the German people and for a vivid and all-round enrichment of our socialist image of history as an important source for coping with present tasks. Interesting, theoretically sound presentations of history that can capture hearts and minds and cogent issue-taking with bourgeois concepts of history enhance the effectiveness of our historical research and history propaganda.

The fifth SED Central Committee session has declared the year 1983 to be a Karl Marx Year and has issued theses on that occasion. The Seventh Congress of Historians of the GDR gave the upbeat, as it were, for paying tribute to the great son of our people and the founder of scientific socialism. The fact is that the theme of this congress, "Social Transformations in History, Ways and Forms, Leadership and Driving Forces," concerns a central problem of the social and historic conception of materialism created by Karl Marx with the help of Friedrich Engels.

#### History's Great Law of Motion

In taking issue with the idealistic conceptions of history by Hegel, the Young Hegelians and Ludwig Feuerbach and with the utopianism of the "true" socialists Marx relied on a thorough study of the history of the French Revolution and of political science and jurisprudence. From his first works, which established the history concept of historical materialism--"The Holy Family," "The German Ideology," and the "Communist Manifesto"--all the way to the "Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte," but above all in his main work, "Das Kapital," Marx explored the social transformations in history and proved the correctness of his theory. As Engels wrote, Marx had been the one "who first discovered the great law of motion in history, the law according to which all historical struggles, may they occur in the political, religious, philosophic or any other ideological field, actually are a more or less clear expression of struggles of social classes, and that the existence of, and thus the collision between, these classes are conditioned in turn by the developmental degree of their economic situation, the ways and means of their production and the manner of exchange it conditions."\*

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\*Third edition preface to Karl Marx, "The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte." Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1982, p 13.

The discovery of "history's great law of motion" cannot be detached from the demonstrative proof that the last exploiter system of history, capitalism, must be overthrown by the workers class which has to fulfil that historic mission while led by its revolutionary party. For Marx, science was inseparable from the revolutionary movement; he not only discovered the causes and nature of social transformations and developed his theoretical principles out of concrete historic experiences. As a communist he simultaneously sought to free the workers class from the chains of capitalist exploitation and also from bourgeois influence and to attract and structure it for the struggle against capitalism and for socialism.

Marx is a scientist and revolutionary at once; he not only proclaims the conception of dialectic and historical materialism but he applies it as well, in his theoretical work and in his revolutionary practice. That must never be forgotten; it is giving us our direction.

The history of all peoples and all eras knows constant social transformations in the material economic relations as in the political and legal superstructure, which are reflected in social awareness and, at once, affected by it. This conference was right in pointing out that there are periods of gradual social changes, "silent ones," as it were, and periods of vehement class conflicts, revolutionary tempests, that history is marked by both progress and reaction, victories and defeats, revolution as well as counterrevolution. Social transformations are changes in the productive forces, scientific and technical developments, and new working conditions, but they also are changes in the daily and ordinary habits of men, in their cultural and intellectual needs, and in their modes of conduct. It would be an oversimplification to consider only those transformations that are brought about by revolutionary movements. They are, to be sure, junctures or high points in history which occur after lengthy preparatory intervals.

Marx called revolutions "locomotives of history."\* That is especially true of the socialist revolution that establishes a historically completely new type of social relations. It amounts to an unprecedented incision in the history of mankind. It ended in world history the exploitation of man by man that had lasted through several social orders, with the step being taken into an era free from exploitation, suppression and war. That also is the reason why the socialist revolution is a true people's revolution, why it moves broad people's masses, stirs them into political consciousness and creative initiative, and without them the construction of the new socialist social order would be impossible.

#### The Beginning of the Largest Turning in Human History

There has been no event in all of the history of mankind that has had such a deep and lasting influence on its development as the Red October of 1917. The fundamental changes in the world brought about by the October Revolution,

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\*"The Class Struggles in France, 1848-1859." Marx/Engels, "Werke" (Works), Vol 7, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1960, p 85.

the effects emanating from it and the revolutionary impulses released by it are becoming more apparent year after year. With the triumph of the October Revolution in 1917 and the founding of the USSR 60 years ago, on one-sixth of the globe the rule of imperialism was ended forever and the gates to socialism opened wide.

The world historic importance of the victory of the Russian workers and peasants under the leadership of Lenin's party mainly lies in that thereby a new era, the revolutionary era of the worldwide transition of humanity from capitalism to socialism was initiated.

Hundreds of millions of people already on four continents are pursuing socialist construction, and always new countries and peoples are breaking the chain of imperialism and are opting for the course of penetrating social transformations. Ernst Thaelmann's remark of 1925, that the Great Socialist October Revolution in Russia marked the "beginning of the biggest turn in the history of humanity" and that in the future there would be "no important political phenomenon in the world" that would not be affected by it,\* has been impressively confirmed.

Socialism has become an irrevocable historic reality. It represents the uncontainable social progress in our time. The means our enemies employ against socialism and its worldwide effect every day give the lie to their babbling to the effect that socialism allegedly is in crisis and is finished. This expresses all the perplexity of bourgeois propaganda which can explain the revolutionary changes to itself only as a "breakdown," as an aberration of history.

Whoever is unbiased in judging historic development will have to admit that the revolutionary world process the Red October initiated has fundamentally changed the countenance of the earth. The forces of peace, democracy, progress and socialism have taken and further extended the historic initiative on a global scale. Imperialism has lost forever its once predominant place in world events.

Especially in the 1970's, on various sectors of the struggle for a renewal of the world, successes of historic scope were achieved. Imperialism, through the loss of wide spheres of domination and influence, had to suffer sensitive defeats due to the revolutionary struggle by the peoples' masses. Imperialism remains a dangerous enemy, however, not to be underrated, with its aggressiveness, its unaccountability, and its worldwide hegemonial drive--relying on a potential that still is considerable. The peoples' struggle for peace and social progress, and for shaping their own destiny, meets increasing and harsh imperialist resistance. International class conflicts have become much more intense.

The whole development since 1917 clearly shows: The further we move away in time from the October Revolution, the more apparent it becomes how the revolutionary impulses it released and the effects emanating from it ever more

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\*"The Seventh of November--A New Epoch in World History," "Geschichte und Politik" (History and Politics), Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1973, p 45.

emphatically affect all world events. The October Revolution was not merely a Russian revolution but the revolution of a new epoch. The close cooperation among the main currents of the revolutionary world process and all anti-imperialist forces, mainly thanks to the international communist movement, offers us the guarantee that in the future also the forces of peace and progress will further turn back those of war and reaction and make them suffer new defeats.

#### The History of the GDR--The Source of Our Pride and Spur

Also in the homeland of Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels socialism has won. Under SED leadership, the GDR has become a stable socialist state. Socialism has triumphed in a territory from which two devastating world wars emanated in our century and in which 50 years ago the barbaric fascist dictatorship was installed for the express purpose of erecting an insurmountable dam against any social progress, unmercifully destroy the communists and all other progressive forces, and stage the elimination of socialism in the Soviet Union. It remains one of the most important tasks of Marxist-Leninist historiography in our country to explore and present the magnificent transformation process our people has brought about in close solidarity with the Soviet people and the other peoples in the socialist community.

The socialist revolution had to cope with gigantic tasks and keeps facing enormous problems. It is not through when it has rendered the capitalists and landowners impotent and has set up the workers and farmers power. Bringing socialist social relations and conditions to realization, surmounting modes of thinking and conduct shaped throughout centuries of exploitation, and shaping an awareness that conforms to the new social conditions--that calls not only for great efforts but for a long historic time frame as well. As we know from experience, for solving many problems life has posed virgin territory has to be entered and creative solutions have to be sought. We are pioneers of a new age. Our historiography and history propaganda ought to consider it their priority duty to create awareness for these revolutionary changes and requirements; they ought to arouse pride in our solving tasks that no one before us ever tackled in German history.

It is not a matter of merely recording the history of our socialist fatherland as a chronicle for posterity. To us, the history of socialism is aimed mainly at the here and now, it being, after all, the biography of generations living and striving today. It erects a monument to all those who with the labor of their hands and with their ideas, under much deprivation and trouble, turned a ruined landscape into a blossoming socialist state. Let us not only remember our successes but also the difficulties and reversals that had to be surmounted. The knowledge of the tough but successful road of the GDR is a source of justified pride in our achievements and a spur for coping with the ambitious tasks of today and tomorrow.

An indispensable prerequisite for developing a socialist consciousness of history is the thorough study of GDR history. We can by no means claim that everything has already be done in this field. We need an ever more comprehensive and differentiated picture of this magnificent and, at once, complicated, conflicting and problematic process.

We need detailed investigations into the manner and forms in which the universal inevitabilities of the socialist revolution and the construction of the new society came to prevail in our country. We need to work out thoroughly the abundant experiences of our party and its historic accomplishments for the good of the working class and all working people. Incessant and still greater efforts are needed in research and in our interesting, captivating history propaganda to ascertain the whole wealth of our people's creative achievements in our country's development down to the territories, towns and communities, the enterprises and brigades. The vivid interest in regional history suggests that there is a great need to find out in detail how our life has changed and who has accomplished exemplary and permanent deeds in this.

Let us remember Lenin's significant remark that, "to approach" any social issue, there is nothing "more important than keeping track of the fundamental historic connections and look at each question from the standpoint of how certain phenomena in history originated, which main stages these phenomena passed through in their development, and from that point of view investigate what has now become of any such matters."<sup>\*</sup> That remark of Lenin's is what our party lets itself be guided by; the success of its policy has emphatically confirmed that this is the right approach.

#### Deeply Rooted in History

The fact that socialism in the GDR is deeply rooted in history holds an important place in the socialist German nation's sense of historic identity. It continues the best traditions of German history that originated through centuries of struggles for a socially just order of human dignity. We are strengthening and protecting socialism in the knowledge of all those who through their productive work, their intellectual-cultural achievements and their political struggle drove social development ahead, who fought and suffered for social progress.

Imperialist ideologists have constantly been saying in recent years that the GDR is seeking its historic legitimacy. I must say we have never felt any alleged deficit in our state's historic legitimacy in any phase of its development. The GDR has brought to realization what the revolutionaries of the past fought for. It is the culmination of the work of the revolutionary German workers movement, the executor of the daring foresight of Marx. It has evolved out of the antifascist struggle. Is that not the best historic legitimacy a state can have? Constituting our republic was a revolutionary act; it meant the break with all reactionary features that had so much corrupted German history, particularly in the first half of this century. Is there any higher historic legitimacy than the free decision of the working people to overthrow obsolete social conditions and create for itself its own state?

We regard the socialist GDR as the outcome of all German history, all class struggles and developments culminating in the great people's revolutions.

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<sup>\*</sup>"On the State," "Werke," Vol 29, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1961, p 463.

Through the practice of socialist construction we have been legitimized as the successors to the revolutionary, democratic and humanistic aspirations in our history.

Nor are we hiding the fact that our own image of tradition still develops and our view of our heritage is constantly becoming more precise--along with our society itself and with the intellectual needs of the various classes and strata. New social tasks and new conditions have always also posed new questions to history. An image of history has never been anything rigid. That, by the way, also explains the logic in the activity of historiography.

Proceeding from our positions of principle on our tradition and legacy, we also are getting set for the quincentenary of Martin Luther. We appreciate the work of the Wittenberg reformer by regarding his efforts and struggles in connection with and as an element of the revolutionary struggles of the early bourgeois revolution which dealt the feudal system in Europe its first blow and thereby created the conditions for making social progress prevail in line with the historic criteria of that time. Not without this overall social as well as concrete historic integration does it become possible to determine the revolutionary thrust Luther provided, the lasting contribution of the Reformation to the formation of bourgeois relations, and to weakening the feudal system, as well as Luther's limits in his time due to the class conditions then.

We also take up clear positions on the reactionary forces and inclinations in German history, again motivated by fundamental considerations of principle. We analyze the class-bound determinants of their acts and their ominous role vis-s-vis the popular masses; and this we do from the position of the workers class which through its revolutionary action made an end, for once and for all, to social and political reaction in its own country.

The German communists and Marxist-Leninist historians have been asking themselves from the outset how the establishment of a fascist dictatorship in Germany could happen in 1933, where the social roots of fascism lie, and who bears the historic responsibility for the victory of fascism. Nothing has to be deducted from the assessment of fascism as, in principle, a variant of monopoly capitalist policy and from judging the fascist dictatorship as the obvious terrorist power rule by the most reactionary and aggressive elements of finance capital that it was. In fact, recent research has further reinforced such assessments. Likewise, a thorough study of sources by Marxist-Leninist historiography has confirmed that mainly the communists were the ones who did what they could to prevent the victory of fascism in Germany at a time when all other political forces proved unable to defend bourgeois democracy or even helped actively in destroying it. It has been proven irrefutably that the KPD made the by far largest contribution to the antifascist resistance struggle. We always pay tribute of course to the contribution Social Democrats, Christians, unionists and other antifascists made in the struggle against the Hitler regime. But mainly it was the communists who fought against the Nazi dictatorship from the start and did not shy away from risking their lives, while others who later claimed they had been representatives of the resistance--industrialists and bankers, generals and diplomats--served that dictatorship and supported

its crimes until the doom of Nazi rule dawned on them. The KPD it was which sought to prevent half a century ago the establishment of the fascist dictatorship while authoritative representatives of all bourgeois parties by passing on the "enabling act," gave free rein to the fascist conspiracy against democracy and peace.

The predominant trend of imperialist historiography in the FRG seeks to obscure historic truth by all means. Many books are published and TV programs are produced in which all sorts of secondary aspects are pushed into the foreground so that it remain perfectly hidden that monopoly capital produced fascism and launched it into power. As Hitler's role is reduced to that of an unfathomable psychopath, the generals--such as Rommel or von Kluge--are described as victims of their illusions, their Nibelungen brand of fealty, as men who saw through Hitler's crimes too late. Calumnies are being heaped on calumnies--this, by the way, also by Social Democratic historians--to blame the communists, in blatant contradiction to historic truth, for the destruction of bourgeois democracy, again with the purpose of whitewashing the actual destroyers of democracy and those that let them get away with it.

The absolutely contrary positions on that key date of the most recent history express a wholly diametrical position on the basic sociopolitical problems of our time. This example also demonstrates: No reference, no matter how noisy, to a history in common can in fact create anything the GDR and the FRG have in common, simply because the class positions, the political and ideological positions, are insurmountable. This, of course, does not preclude the development of normal state relations between the GDR and the FRG based on the recognition of the independence and sovereignty of each of the two German states.

#### Real Socialism--The Main Force of Peace

Neither our policy nor our historiography can ignore that socialist construction has been carried on for 65 years under constant pressure from the enemy. Remember the imperialist intervention against the young Soviet power, German fascism's rapacious attack on the USSR and the countless assaults and intrigues against socialist countries in recent decades. Again today we witness arduous efforts by the aggressive circles in the United States and other NATO states to threaten and weaken the community of socialist states by an arms-buildup, confrontation and boycott policy. Not only do they want to isolate socialism politically and diplomatically, hurt it economically and put it under military pressure. In their strategy, psychological warfare preparations play an ever increasing role. Reagan and Shultz, Luns and Strauss, or whoever the champions of a policy of strength against the Soviet Union and the community of socialist states may be, seriously believe they could smash the ideas of socialism and break its worldwide influence.

The policy of the aggressive circles of imperialism is a mix of wanting to bomb back to the stone age the socialist states and the boundless hatred of the socialist ideology, which is an ideology of humanism, peace and international friendship. Yet since Metternich all have failed who would paint the specter of communism onto the wall, even though we do not underestimate

the fact that the antisocialist propaganda through the imperialist media at present, thanks to the enormous means and possibilities at their command, still affects broad strata in the capitalist countries and even among progressive forces not rarely causes confusion.

And yet we may take it for an accepted fact in the ongoing ideological conflict that socialism has proven its vitality and invincibility throughout the last 65 years no matter how complicated the situations have been. Their source lie in the firm ties of the workers class and the classes and strata allied with it with their socialist fatherland, in the resolute and sound scientific leadership activity of the Marxist-Leninist parties, in the close and indestructible alliance of the states in the socialist community, and in anti-imperialist solidarity.

Thanks to the existence of socialism, not only moral, intellectual and political forces for peace can be placed in balance today. Thanks to it, mankind must not be surrendered to military or nuclear blackmail. The approximate military-strategic equilibrium between socialism and imperialism is one of the greatest achievements that mainly goes to the credit of the Soviet Union. In spite of that NATO propaganda contends, against its better knowledge, that this equilibrium has been upset and the West is threatened by the Soviet Union and the other Warsaw Pact states. Historiography, in this connection, ought to refute the lie about the threat in its various versions. It ought to make clear that the roots of war danger, despite the menacing development of military, chiefly nuclear, weapons, are not found in the equipment but in the imperialist system and its aggressive policy.

#### Historical Science and Propaganda in the Struggle for Peace

It is a big difference, as history shows, whether weapons, in the hands of imperialism, serve military blackmail, threats and violence or, in the hands of the socialist defense power, protect the peace and tame the aggressors. The history of warfare and class struggles furnishes many examples for it. There was an absolute contrast between the political role of the fascist tanks making for genocide and a "new order" in Europe under the boot of the SS and the Soviet tanks that liberated Europe from the plague of fascism. The rifles in the hands of revolutionary sailors increased the pressure of the November Revolution, but the weapons of the Free Corps of the Whites helped suffocate the November Revolution. History also is full of examples showing it to be fatal for the freedom of nations to allow imperialist aggressors gain unilateral arms advantages. Only recall the consequences of the nonintervention policy by the Western states, which refused weapons to the popular front in Spain but submitted to the intervention by German and Italian fascists.

In our situation today the preservation of peace is possible only by taming the imperialist lust for aggression, by having the peoples force imperialism to renounce a nuclear first-strike policy, arms buildup, and creating new weapons systems. In view of the danger of modern means of mass destruction, that can be done only by a well balanced reduction of arms and the cautious preservation of the military equilibrium.



We have to create an awareness of how great the danger is by which civilization and the life on our planet are threatened from the incumbent administration in the chief imperialist power. It also follows from the magnitude of this peril that an outstanding place also must be given in historiography to the subject of how to preserve peace and prevent war.

Thus we must continue to uncover the class forces and interests behind the predatory wars, above all, in our own century, the methods by which such wars have been prepared, and the enormous injury and suffering they caused the peoples.

Mainly, however, we should uncover and convey more than we have done thus far the historic lessons and the traditions of struggle against imperialist war and for peace. Those are mainly the traditions of the labor movement's anti-war struggle, of the 1912 Basel Conference, the struggle of Lenin and Karl Liebknecht against the 1914-1918 imperialist war and the KPD warning: "A vote for Hindenburg is a vote for Hitler; a vote for Hitler is a vote for war." Recall those who opposed the mad belief in the fatefulness of war, the lie about war as a natural and, possibly, useful element in the life of the nations. Such are the traditions of our movement; one of their strongest impulses produced the will to banish chauvinism and militarism, the glorification of war and, eventually, war itself from the life of the nations.

Our historiography ought to show how with the genesis of the revolutionary workers movement the sense of responsibility to all mankind determined the position of a whole class, which above and beyond all the different social orders and everywhere on the earth time and time again moved great thinkers and inspired important cultural creations. That is part and parcel of the historic mission of the workers class; it has found and finds its expression in proletarian internationalism. This awareness of the responsibility for humanity, for peace and for the energy required for it today ranges far beyond the revolutionary workers movement.

History therefore can today establish and help reinforce also the alliance of socially and ideologically broadly faceted forces in the struggle for peace. That includes disclosing the contribution the best representatives of the arts and of science have made to this struggle out of their humanistic responsibility. The peace movement in the United States and the other NATO states now has become a mighty political force focused on preventing the deployment of U.S. nuclear medium-range missiles in Western Europe. This is a movement that unites rather diversified forces. The range and rapid growth of the peace movement have induced the adherents to the deployment of missiles to start a campaign which aims at causing confusion and splitting the movement. So it is all the more important for us effectively to counter all anticommunist and anti-Soviet slander and spread the truth about the peace policy of the Soviet Union, the GDR and other socialist states--starting with the October Revolution, the Peace Decree, continuing through the efforts by the Soviet Union on behalf of collective security in the time between the two world wars, all the way to SALT II and the solemn obligation by the USSR not to make the first use of nuclear weapons.

The GDR is playing a crucial role in the struggle for preserving and securing permanent peace. That follows from its being a socialist state in which there are no social, political or military forces with aggressive intentions against other states. It also follows from the GDR's location on the dividing line between the two social systems, socialism and imperialism, in Europe--and between the two military coalitions, the Warsaw Pact and NATO. In this we must, in particular, be mindful of the fact, as Comrade Erich Honecker stressed at the fifth Central Committee session, that to the west of our national border the FRG is the most highly armed state of NATO besides the United States and that that state has the strongest concentration of nuclear and other means of destruction.

That can indicate the great importance of the political stability and constant defense readiness in connection with the consistent peace policy in the GDR. The 5th Central Committee session declared as a task of this peace policy to work alongside the Soviet Union and the other fraternal socialist countries for concrete arms limitation and reduction measures, mainly in nuclear weapons.

Special importance attaches to this remark by Erich Honecker: "The GDR will pursue its active peace policy, which conforms with the character of socialism and the nature of our state, always mindful of the oath when it was set up, that never again must a war be allowed to emanate from German soil. That is the spirit in which we shape our relations with the FRG which are not of slight importance for the stabilization of peace in the European configuration."<sup>\*</sup>

The all-round strengthening of socialism, mainly through enhanced economic efficiency and a fast increase in labor productivity, heightens the GDR's contribution to the preservation and safeguarding of peace in Europe. A strong GDR is a stabilizing factor of peace that cannot be bypassed. It is no plaything to be toyed with by all sorts of speculations but a firm state on which any attempts at diversion, boycott and ideological subversion will founder.

The policy of the socialist community of states and of the GDR aims at resuming and extending the detente process. This policy joins the tradition of the protracted struggle by the workers class for a world of peace.

Historiography means a report on the great accomplishments of generations for the progress of humanity. It is a report of the creativeness and peaceful intent of man. Thereby it reinforces the awareness of responsibility to human culture and the will and determination to protect that work from destruction through a nuclear inferno. In this sense then it becomes one of the loftiest tasks of our historiography to pay tribute to the great achievements of socialism on behalf of peace and help disseminate our peace proposals; and this in an intelligible, cogent and understandable fashion for everyone.

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<sup>\*</sup>"Aus dem Schlusswort des Genossen Erich Honecker, 5. Tagung des ZK der SED" (From the Concluding Speech by Comrade Erich Honecker--Fifth SED Central Committee Session), Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1982, p 14.

## Who Could Deny That History Has Something Important to Say to Him?

A few weeks before the outbreak of the French Revolution in 1798 Friedrich Schiller declared in his famous inaugural address in Jena with regard to the meaning and purpose of historical studies: "There is no one among you whom history would not have something important to tell; all the most diversified courses of your future vocation are somewhere connected with it."\*

In proceeding from that idea today, we take into account that many of our citizens already grew up under socialism and that, in fact, the generation that today enters actively our public life, production, science and management of public sectors was born only after the transition period to socialism had come to the end. The birth of our republic, the conflict with the class enemy in 1953, and the securing of our national border in 1961 no longer are history they experienced themselves, let alone the earlier phases, the age of capitalism or the fascist dictatorship. Many socialist accomplishments are taken for granted in our lives, and that is all right because it is part of socialist progress. Particularly younger citizens often can no longer even imagine how things were before the workers class and its allies assumed the power in our country.

These facts, not last, illuminate the responsibility the historians have. We can state with satisfaction that considerable advances have been made in recent years in conveying the Marxist-Leninist concept of history to our youth. We have many good books, written for the young. Noteworthy, e.g., is the history series, mainly written by historians, that the children's book publishing house has brought out. There are massively effective pictorial histories of important events and interesting illustrated historical brochures. Impressive biographic presentations are being worked on. Historians and publishing houses have also come out with atlases and reference works meant especially for youth. Yet advances also raise new problems and call for analyses to be able to determine the requirements that will be placed on the science, propaganda and instruction of history in the 1980's and 1990's.

There is obviously a greater interest now in history, especially recent history. That is also indicated by the vast response to literary works such as "Wenn es ans Leben geht" [When Life Is at Stake] by Peter Edel, Ruth Werner's "Sonjas Rapport," films like "Die Verlobte" [The Betrothed], TV documentaries like "Busch Sings" and others. To know what actually happened, hear the plain truth, find out what history means to the individual--those are not so seldom the motives for such interests.

Historic events, mind you, are never uncomplicated; resolving their inherent contradictions is not so easy at all. If historical studies or instruction belittle or hide these complications or contradictions in the way they are presented, they lose something in their truth content. Our struggle is tough, every day calls for new efforts, for overcoming many difficulties.

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\*"Was heisst und zu welchem Ende studiert man Universalgeschichte?" (What Is the Meaning, and for What Purpose Does One Pursue the Study, of World History?)

But precisely in the manner in which the working class party and the efforts of the working people cope with these difficulties one detects the social progress and the role of the working class party. A historiography that takes this into account enhances its value in forming a consciousness of history and for the communist education of youth.

#### Winning Hearts and Minds

Recent historiographical publications show themselves ever more able to picture historic events and processes concretely, plastically and in their distinct uniqueness. No one will assume, however, that not much remains for us to be done here. The expectations of our public, especially also of our youth, for a vivid and effective account of history should always be of current concern to the science and propaganda of history.

Nor must there ever be any letup in the theoretical demand and ideological substantiation of historiographic work. Any presentation in historical materialism will have to gage itself against the demand to make social inevitabilities apparent and understandable through concrete events in an objective and strictly scholarly manner that is adequate to any given historic material and the purpose of publication.

No genre of history writing should forget, however, that Clio in Greek antiquity was one of the nine muses. In the preface of his Marx biography, Franz Mehring wrote sarcastically: "I do not remember right this moment who the cool cat was that gave birth to the brilliant idea that aesthetic points of view have no place in the halls of historical science."\* The respect for aesthetic points of view Mehring asked for--and that includes the diction and the style--applies of course to all types of our historical literature. All dullness and narrow-mindedness in the presentation of historic events is bad. And in particular one should never forget that the material and intellectual culture cannot be banned from the life of society, that it puts the proper light on the variety and direction of public events in the first place. We do not confine ourselves to political or economic history but include the whole wealth of culture in our considerations.

The individual does not always get his scientific picture of history, and not primarily, from scientific methods and scholarly literature. Great independent work in conveying historical knowledge and in basing socialist convictions and attitudes on it comes from the school, the home, the youth organization, the Ernst Thaelmann pioneer organization, the arts and the media. The veterans of the party and of the revolutionary struggle, many forms of traditional preservation and the museums have a large share in the development and dissemination of our image of history.

To this irrefutable fact, however--despite all promising beginnings--does not yet conform the cooperation and discussion between historians and artists and journalists in either direction. Not new institutions and organizations is

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\*"Karl Marx, History of His Life, Preface," "Gesammelte Schriften" (Collected Works), Vol 3, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1979, p 9.

what we need. Not enough is made today of the exchange of ideas and experiences and the debate on substantive issues. That is clearly indicated when one looks at appropriate journals. With all due respect for any given requirements, methods and working procedures, however, a joint responsibility for developing a socialist image of history for our young generation and for a high level of history instruction in line with the latest state of research should more definitely become a consciously assumed concern.

Historians and all who teach history should be aware how great the role of history and of teaching it persuasively and with interest is today. In view of the magnitude of our social tasks and the intensity of the ideological conflict in our time, its importance is growing further. We also should be aware that dealing with history is fruitful only if it captures hearts and minds. Our country has had good prerequisites for that for a long time. Much has been done. Much remains to be done and must be done still better. There is no cause for smugness and self-satisfaction. Every day charges us with new tasks and addresses new questions to history, demanding thus a higher efficacy and effectiveness from history research and propaganda. And then of course, we must always again think about how to apply all this effectively in history instruction.

All in all: We face the tasks resulting from it because we want to take Goethe's admonition to heart:

"If three thousand years cannot  
Give you anything to say,  
You remain a sorry lot,  
Dallying from day to day."\*

But we do not wish to dally from day to day but live with awareness of our origin and with a view to the future which we see as our future, as a future of the forces of peace and socialism.

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\*"West-Oestlicher Divan (West-Eastern Divan).

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

ACADEMICIAN ACCEPTS 'CONTRADICTIONS IN SOCIALISM' AS NORMAL

West German Commentary

Bonn IWE-TAGESDIENST in German No 20, 5 Feb 83 p 1

[Report from Berlin: "SED Justifies Contradictions in Socialism: 'A Normal Phenomenon, Not in Conflict With the Essence of Socialism.'" A translation of the East Berlin EINHEIT article cited below follows this commentary]

[Text] The theoretical party journal EINHEIT (No 2, 1983) has now attempted to justify the many contradictions between the ideal and reality in socialist society which are giving a hard time especially to young people in the GDR. They were "a normal phenomenon and not in conflict with the essence of socialism." According to EINHEIT, they "inevitably evolve from the developmental process of socialist society, develop as the 'contest' of the contradictions, take effect as the most important motivation for progress and are resolved when the conditions are ripe for it." A clear understanding of this issue was of great importance for comprehending social development in socialism. The theoretical SED journal made a special point of that "contradictions of socialism" as for instance that between "production and needs" should not be equated with nuisance or deficiency "caused by subjective circumstances such as poor management activity, deficient work discipline, irresponsible conduct and the like, which by means of the party organizations must be eliminated as fast as possible."

Furthermore, EINHEIT recognized a "new historic quality of the social contradictions in socialism." They originated "on the basis of the public ownership in the means of production" and were tied in with classes and social strata having identical fundamental interests. Therefore it was possible "actively to manage the contradictions in their motion and development and use them deliberately as motivations for progress." Primarily this task was a "challenge to the creative capacities of each." Not the "bemoaning of objective contradictions" would lead ahead, EINHEIT emphasized, "but only the will to seek efficient ways to resolve them."

GDR Academician's Discussion

East Berlin EINHEIT in German Vol 38 No 2, Feb 83 (signed to press 13 Jan 83)  
pp 200-204

['Consultation' feature article by Prof Dr Alfred Kosing, Institute for Marxist-Leninist Philosophy, Academy of Social Sciences, SED Central Committee;

member, GDR Academy of Sciences: "Contradictions and Motivations in Our Society"]

[Text] Without contradiction there is no motion, no development, no progress. That is why Karl Marx called contradiction "the fountain of all dialectics."<sup>\*</sup> And V. I. Lenin wrote: "Actually, the dialectics is the exploration of the contradiction in the essence of things themselves."<sup>\*\*</sup> This Marxist-Leninist realization is in line with the observation in the theses proposed by the SED Central Committee for the Karl Marx Year 1983: "The continuing creation, consolidation and development of harmony between social, collective and individual interests is the fundamental pattern for the movement of the qualitatively new contradictions in socialism and simultaneously the path along which these propel social progress."<sup>\*\*\*</sup>

Dialectical contradictions of social development are a normal phenomenon in socialism and not in conflict with the essence of socialism. A clear understanding of this problem is of great theoretical and practical importance for comprehending social development in socialism and for the practical political-organizational and ideological work of the Marxist-Leninist party. Ultimately this amounts to a deliberate development and use of the impulses of socialist society aiming to ensure its further progress by its increased economic capacity, a higher labor productivity, and a speed-up of scientific-technical progress.

#### A Universal Law

There is a universal validity to the basic dialectical law of the unity and contest between contradictions, in which the dialectical contradiction is the motor of all development. It operates in every society, in socialist society also. Socialism, after all, is no static condition for once and for all but a vivid, constantly changing and developing organism. And that then is necessarily linked up with the creation, movement and resolution of dialectical contradictions. They inevitably evolve from the developmental process of socialist society, develop as the "contest" of the contradictions, take effect as the most important motivation for progress and are resolved when the conditions are ripe for it.

By contradiction Marxist dialectics understands a unity of opposite sides, characteristics, inclinations, tendencies, conditioning and mutually excluding each other, affecting and penetrating each other and turning into each other. That is why the contradictions not only form a unity but are also working against each other, are in "contest" with each other, and this very contest is the source of their movement and development, of their motivational effect.

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<sup>\*</sup>"Capital," Vol I, Marx/Engels, "Werke" (Works), Vol 23, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1962, p 623.

<sup>\*\*</sup>"Conspectus to Hegel's 'Lectures on the History of Philosophy,'" "Werke," Vol 38, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1964, p 240.

<sup>\*\*\*</sup>"Theses Proposed by the Central Committee of the SED for Karl Marx Year 1983," Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1982, p 44.

Dialectical contradictions arise in all domains of socialist society. In the economy, e.g., we find the contradiction between the development level of production attained and the working people's growing, and changing, needs. In socialist consciousness, then again, we find the contradiction between the socialist ideology and the residues of bourgeois and petty bourgeois ideology. These contradictions are objective in character. So socialist society has no power to avoid them. What matters rather is to find ways to resolve them and steer their movement in such a way that they work as impulses for further social development.

Let us, for example, look at the contradiction between production and needs. That contradiction is constantly being resolved and at once placed on a higher level since neither in production nor in the development of needs either standstill or absolute limits are found in socialist society. Our goal to ensure and step by step further elevate the material and cultural standard of living the people has attained can only be reached if the means needed for it are first produced. The prerequisites for it are a high developmental speed in production, the acceleration of scientific-technical progress, higher efficiency and growing labor productivity. And from that it results that the produced national income can in part not be used directly for the goal of elevating the standard of living but must be used for developing the proper means for it, for productive investment. The contradiction between needs and production, between the goal and the means, shows up here as the contradiction between consumption and accumulation. What is accumulated cannot be consumed, and vice versa. The Marxist-Leninist party and the planning organs of the socialist state again and again face the complicated task to analyze the concrete historic content of that contradiction and, with regard to all developmental conditions, find, and base the planning on, the proper accumulation/consumption ratio so that both the standard of living and further economic growth and stability are ensured for the future. What matters thus is to lend that contradiction the kind of motion that, as an impulse, it will take maximum effect.

So we have to understand deeply the content of the opposite sides, characteristics and tendencies and correctly evaluate the trend in the movement of the contradictions, that being imperative for an objective, realistic and progressive management activity that can use the contradictions as impulses. The contradictions of socialism are not to be equated with nuisance or deficiency caused by subjective circumstances such as poor management activity, deficient work discipline, irresponsible conduct and the like, which by means of the party organizations must be eliminated as fast as possible.

#### A New Social Quality

That the dialectical contradictions inherent in socialist society, as impulses, work very differently than in any previous societies is because they are so different in nature. Whereas the crucial contradictions in capitalism and earlier class societies were antagonistic in nature, those in socialism have lost their antagonistic character, are nonantagonistic contradictions.



Social contradictions assume the character of antagonisms when they express the hostile relationship of opposing classes and have for their substance or are intertwined with the relations, interests and aspirations of such classes. These historic conditions originate with the private ownership in the means of production which is bound to lead to a split of society into hostile classes, to implacable class interests. For that reason all societies relying on private ownership are antagonistic in character. Their decisive contradictions are antagonisms. They have the tendency to sharpen and produce social conflicts. One of their most significant forms of motion is the class struggle. Resolving it ultimately requires surmounting the existing social system.

Not until the workers class conquers the political power, the private ownership in the means of production is abolished and the socialist society is established, new qualitative conditions arise under which the social contradictions lose their antagonistic character. "Antagonism and contradiction are by no means one and the same. The former disappears, the latter remains, in socialism."\* The concept of nonantagonistic contradiction expresses the new historic quality of the social contradictions in socialism. These are contradictions developing on the basis of the public ownership in the means of production and are relating to classes and social strata whose basic interests coincide.

The transition from antagonism to nonantagonism is not a one-time act but a historic developmental process. It depends on the degree of maturity of the qualitatively new socialist relations, on the objective developmental status of the socialist society and, above all, of that of socialist property. As long as in the socialist society evolving, capitalist private property still exists to any significant economic extent, whereby hostile class opposition and class struggle also still survive, there are then also still social contradictions antagonistic in character, and the class struggle still acts as an impulse. But to the extent that socialist society consolidates, the socialist production relations win out over the capitalist production relations, and a political-moral unity of society emerges and consolidates itself on the basis of socialist property, the social contradictions lose their antagonistic character. After socialist society has entered the period of shaping developed socialism and further develops on its own foundations and in accordance with objective inevitabilities, the new social quality of the contradictions of the new society takes on further shape.

Surmounting the antagonisms implies that the classes and strata of socialist society, which change qualitatively in the process of constructing the new society, become aware of their new social role. That explains that residues of antagonisms may persist for still some time in the thinking and action of some individuals. Precisely such residual thoughts are what the imperialist class enemy seeks to pick up to gain ideological influence and hurt socialism.

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\*Lenin Compendium XI, Moscow/Leningrad, 1931, p 357 (in Russian).

## The Decisive Social Impulse

Because in socialism, with the class antagonism, the antagonism of interests is surmounted, shared basic interests of all society, the workers class, the class of the cooperative farmers and the social stratum of the intelligentsia, have evolved. That is manifested by that our party policy, aimed at the safeguarding of peace, the well-being of the people and the all-round development of personality, conforms to the interests of all working people and finds their unreserved support.

This identity of interests is the crucial social impulse in our society. At the same time, however, due to differences in working and living conditions, contradictory interests still develop. E.g., the laws of socialist commodity production give rise to contradictions between social and collective interests. Work is of immediate social character in socialism but is done by collectives and individuals working under diverse conditions (as to their material-technical equipment, their technology, their labor organization). Overall social production takes place in a large number of combines, enterprises or LPG's which all assert themselves as relatively independent commodity producers. Thus, on the basis of shared social interests also collective interests arise which in one respect or another may contradict social requirements or other collective interests. It is important to bring collective interests (and individual interests, for that matter) in harmony with the social interests--and this in such a way that the enforcing of collective interests becomes the lever for realizing social interests and, vice versa, collective interests are satisfied all the more, the more social interests are made to prevail.

One shared basic interest of all classes and strata, all collectives and individuals, in our society now is to ensure high economic growth and produce a steadily increasing national income. That way alone can one ensure comprehensive social security for all, full employment, a high material and cultural standard of living, and educational opportunities, and make possible further advances in all domains of our socialist society. This shared economic basic interest, however, shows differences on the social, collective and individual level simply because the concrete conditions and tasks differ very much from one another. The overall social interest in an acceleration and rapid utilization of the scientific-technical progress, e.g., appears on the combine or enterprise level as a demand to change production that has long been successfully undertaken, transform technology that has stood up well, enter virgin territory, and assume the risk that unforeseen difficulties arise that might jeopardize the plan fulfilment. So it is an important task of management activity to harmonize, consolidate and develop these social and collective interests--in a process where increased social efficiency, a boost in labor productivity and a growth in national income become the crucial thrust. The socialist performance principle, the economic cost accounting in the enterprises, socialist competition, the forms of incentives and inducements like target and instant bonuses, the year-end performance bonus and others focus the thrust of all interests on performance development, particularly its qualitative factors.

Identity of interests thus is no static condition but a constant process of creating, consolidating and developing the harmony between social, collective

and personal interests. This process takes place as a fundamental form of movement of the qualitatively new contradictions in socialism. The "contest" of contradictions proceeds here by way of searching for and finding joint solutions that combine the social, collective and individual interests in such a way that they motivate one another. And that precisely makes the identity of interests an important impulse for socialist society.

#### The Increasing Role of the Subjective Factor

Socialism has the great advantage that it is possible here actively to direct the contradictions in their movement and development and to use them consciously as motivations for progress. What must management activity and political-ideological work pay special attention to so as to be effective in that direction?

First: Experience tells us that the main task course in its unity of economic and social policy has proven a motor for outstanding initiatives in socialist competition toward fulfilling and overfulfilling the 1982 national economic plan. The fine results achieved through the industry of the working people again document--everyone can find that out and test it himself--that the exertions of all also benefit each and every individual. These motivating effects the main task policy has on men's energy are of great importance to cope with the tasks and objective contradictions arising from the altered internal and external reproduction conditions, especially from the exacerbation brought about by the confrontation and arms-buildup policy of the most aggressive circles of U.S. imperialism and other NATO states.\* For this reason, ideological work must be eager to make all working people aware by means of concrete facts and figures of what we have accomplished on our tried and tested course and why we have every good reason to approach the implementation of the targets in the 1983 national economic plan with confidence.

While in the capitalist world scientific-technical progress is linked up with an enormous intensification of the social contradictions and conflicts, socialism also proves its historic superiority by that it can use the accomplishments of the scientific-technical revolution for the good of the working people. It also confirms--as the theses for the Karl Marx Year 1983 have put it--"that, once the exploitative capitalist order has been abolished, every class and stratum is able to work for economic and social progress because their basic interests coincide."\*\* Reinforcing this realization is a crucial mental prerequisite for the continuing purposeful development of the impulses in our order.

Second: Through the proper use of the material stimuli, the consistent enforcement of the performance principle, we have an important lever for linking up the social, collective and individual interests so they become impulses for high performance improvement. Comrade Erich Honecker asserted at the fifth Central Committee session: "Where we have already managed effectively to harmonize, by way of economic cost accounting, the economic interests with

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\*Cf. "Aus dem Schlusswort des Genossen Erich Honecker, 5. Tagung des ZK der SED" (From the Concluding Speech by Comrade Erich Honecker--Fifth SED Central Committee Session), Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1982, pp 5-6

\*\*"Theses . . .," op. cit., loc. cit.

the interests of the combines and enterprises, we have made fine headway."\*

Third: To cope with the objective contradictions in socialist society is primarily a challenge to the creative capacities of each. Not the bewailing of objective contradictions can lead ahead, only the will to search for effective ways to resolve them. That is both an intellectual and a moral demand. Knowledge and skill are as much wanted as a sense of political responsibility and a commitment to surmounting difficulties, the readiness for risks, stick-to-it-iveness and tenacity in pursuing the higher goals desired. To foster such attitudes and resolutely take issue with modes of thinking and conduct that contradict socialist morality and our ideas is up to every party group and every communist.

Fourth: Socialist competition stands up as the characteristic form for resolving objective contradictions in our society. Through contest and comradesly cooperation, the old and obsolete is surmounted, innovations are asserted, and, in being linked up with motivating and mobilizing ideological work, there also then form the attitudes and lifestyle that conform with current requirements such as critically examining one's own performance, constant striving for more perfect methods, incessantly learning from what is better and working on oneself, and consistency in looking for solutions by which to tap reserves. This is the way in which in socialist competition the identity of social, collective and individual interests is realized ever anew as a motivator for the successful advances of our society.

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\*"Aus dem Schlusswort . . .," op. cit., p 30.

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CSO: 2300/213

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

'SOCIALIST CONSCIOUSNESS' TO DEVELOP FROM 'CONCRETE EXPERIENCES'

East Berlin EINHEIT in German Vol 38 No 2, Feb 83 (signed to press 13 Jan 83)  
pp 204-208

['Consultation' feature article by Prof Dr Heinrich Opitz, director, Marxist-Leninist Philosophy Study Program, Karl Marx Party College, SED Central Committee: "Experience and Perception"]

[Text] "The doctrine of Marx is a summary of experience pervaded by a deep philosophic world-outlook and a rich knowledge of history."\* This cogent assessment by Lenin contains two statements essential for our topic, of significance to an understanding of Marxism, its genesis and development to the present, as well as for an epistemological account of the connection between experience and cognition.

First: Marxism is most intimately linked up with mass experience. It constantly dips into the practical experiences of the working class struggle, they forming an inextinguishable source for its constant enrichment and development. Second, thereby Marxism does not confine itself however at all to mass experience in merely portraying it and adding it up. It generalizes it scientifically on the basis of the world-outlook of dialectical materialism and secured historical knowledge. It means that in Marxism experiences, notably the working class experiences of revolutionary struggle, are turned into sound scientific convictions and compressed into a logically orderly system of scientific cognitions.

The relevance and theoretical profundity of Marxism-Leninism are due to the fact that it proceeds from human experience, picking it up and analyzing it and generalizing it into scientific cognitions. As the resolutions of the 10th party congress and the subsequent SED Central Committee sessions indicate, those features of our world-outlook are precisely to which our party keeps orienting its political-ideological work. A high level of ideological work is distinguished by a great sound scientific idea content and relevance to life, and by its ability to grab the minds and hearts of men, their reason and their perception. It picks up the immediate experiences of the individual and turns them into generalized, sound theoretical insights. What then are experiences and how do they differ from theoretical understanding?

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\*"State and Revolution," "Werke" (Works), Vol 25, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1960, p 419.

## Distinction and Connection

Normally experience refers to a certain type of cognition, which is no doubt true. Only that which is "certain" in such cognition must be clearly conceived because the difference between knowledge by experience and knowledge acquired through theoretical work is by no means inconsiderable. A simple example--which to many workers in capitalism still amounts to bitter experience even today--will at once throw a light on it. So there are many workers in capitalist countries who answer when asked about wages, with reference to their everyday ordinary experiences: the wages the capitalist pays me is the price of my labor performed. But that is precisely not so. Here experience aborts completely. As Karl Marx proved accurately and irrefutably through his theoretical analysis of capitalist exploitative relations, the wage simply is not the price for labor performed but for the value of labor as commodity. Mere experience, however, does not as such provide such knowledge.

At least in two respects is empirical knowledge specific and limited.

--Experience always relates to specific factors or sides of concrete objects, phenomena or processes, to surface criteria, as it were. They cannot mentally reproduce the general, necessary, internal and repetitive connections between the things and the phenomena that are effective as natural or social laws. Empirical knowledge does not as yet necessarily include the knowledge of inevitable connections. Every citizen in our country, e.g., can every day make the experience that responsible work is wanted and fostered for our common socialist cause. Yet such an experience is not bound to contain the realization what importance this specific activity of the working people happens to have for the implementation of the objective social laws of socialism.

--Experiences are always determined by what has happened directly to a certain subject (the individual, a collective, a class). Those are cognitions gained by a directly experienced event on the part of an individual or several people themselves. That to a good degree also determines the distinctions of experiences. The necessary and far stronger use of the experiences of others, e.g. in socialist competition, thus requires always a creative application to the concrete conditions in one's own collective or enterprise.

In contrast to experience, theoretical knowledge is aimed at the mental representation of essential interconnections and structures of the objective world, the exploration of natural and social laws. That requires absolutely an objectivity and comprehensiveness in exploring the subject or state of affairs put under scrutiny. Thinking here must also rise from the immediate and concrete, the phenomenal forms on which the experience is based, to abstractions. It must arrive at generalizations to comprehend reality more deeply and more accurately than experience makes possible. Outlining this dialectics in the cognitive process, Lenin wrote: "Thought rising from the concrete to the abstract--if it is correct, does not distance itself from the truth but gets closer to it. The abstraction of matter, of the natural law, of value and so forth, or in other words all scientific abstractions, reflect nature more deeply, correctly, completely."\*

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\*"Conspectus to Hegel's 'Science of Logic,'" "Werke," Vol 38, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1964, p 419.

Experiences, for all that, are and remain the source of theoretical knowledge. And though theoretical knowledge differs essentially from mere empirical knowledge, there is a very close intrinsic connection between the two. That, of course, does not come about automatically and spontaneously, neither in the individual nor in the social process of cognition. In the life of our society, in the process of the conscious shaping of socialism in our country, that is mainly provided through the implementation of the SED's leadership role, through its policy. "We are proud of our party," Comrade Erich Honecker said, "because it has always held up high the banner of Marxism-Leninism. It has always creatively applied the lessons of Marx, Engels and Lenin to the concrete conditions in the GDR. It commands the most reliable compass that provided it with the ability to lead the workers class and all other working people ahead successfully on the road to socialism. This compass makes it possible today to shape the developed socialist society and create the prerequisites for the gradual transition to communism."\*

#### Experiences Shaped by Socialist Life

Experiences gained by the workers, the cooperative farmers, the scientists and all working people in our country are experiences through which they already more or less clearly experience one side or another of the practical application of Marxism-Leninism. Through the practical shaping of socialism they are being molded; more and more, in one respect or another, they are grasping Marxism-Leninism in action. To be sure, this does not mean that such experiences could make up for theoretical knowledge but--and this is essential--they facilitate access to the Marxist-Leninist theory and to a deeper comprehension of our party policy. We must therefore in our ideological work always pick up the working people's concrete experiences.

How much direct experiences one has with socialism at once mold the awareness and attitude of the citizens in our country is seen by simple facts in everyday life. Anyone, e.g., who looks around attentively in our country will not have failed to see that more and more people, above and beyond their personal and immediate everyday interests, reflect on the commonwealth and the future development of our society. They care about social concerns as much as about the satisfaction of their personal needs and interests. After all, the citizens in our country perceive in life itself, in the results of their own work and in the efforts toward implementing the main task, in the various socio-political measures, in our state's resolute peace policy and in many other things socialism's care for man, his well-being and his happiness. And then also the experiences the working people have gained teach us that nothing falls into our lap and that it is up to them whether and how our plans are realized. But that are crucial realizations for more advanced and deeper insights, as into the connection that exists between further boosting our country's economic capacity and the continuation of our political course, it being oriented to the well-being of the people, or as it exists in the identity between socialism and peace, and between socialism and humanism. The conviction of the correctness of our socialist cause, gained from experience and theoretical knowledge,

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\*Erich Honecker, "The Party Tasks in the Continued Implementation of the Ninth SED Congress Resolutions," "Reden und Aufsätze" (Speeches and Essays), Vol 6, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1980, p 103.

is an important impulse for further reflections, initiatives, proposals and ideas in passing along on the road our party has charted for the continued shaping of developed socialism in the GDR.

The concrete experiences gained by the workers, the cooperative farmers, the scientists and the other working people are for the party an important and irreplaceable basis for its implementing its leadership activity. "Based on constant consultation with the working people and their rich store of experiences, the party leads the masses ahead, teaching them and learning from them at once."\*

#### Knowledge and Conscious Action

If one analyzes the many competition commitments passed on in the outcome of the fifth SED Central Committee session for the fulfilment of the national economic plan in the Karl Marx Year 1983, it becomes conspicuous that the readiness to assume more responsibility, above and beyond one's own field of activity, for the whole has grown significantly. As the working people in industry, agriculture and the science sector pose tasks that ensure a high economic growth, they direct and orient their action--and not only in their own interest--at further ensuring and expanding the standard of living attained, further successes in the implementation of the main task as set down in the SED Program, our sociopolitical advance according to plan altogether, the all-round strengthening of our socialist state and, thus, the consolidation of the socialist world system, the further advance of the peace forces, of the national liberation and of socialism all over the world.

The competition commitments show how personal and collective experiences are led on into insights and realizations through the practical application of which a contribution is made to the SED's economic strategy. In the competition commitments then experiences and theoretical knowledge have been worked into a concrete program that directs the working people's conduct toward coping with social processes that are of crucial importance for the further development of socialism in our country and the all-round strengthening of the socialist community and, hence, for the safeguarding of world peace. These campaign programs are based on our party's economic strategy for the 1980's and serve its deliberate implementation.

What important capacities are becoming effective here! Has it ever happened before in social eras of the past that a whole society, deliberately and purposefully, relying on its scientific insights into natural, technical and social processes, successfully shapes its life according to plan? Sure enough, unexpected events do happen that affect the course of developments. Unforeseen burdens and difficulties arise, e.g., from the arms buildup and confrontation course pursued by the aggressive imperialist forces. Channeled via the world market, the negative influences of the crisis-ridden capitalist system on the implementation of our own projects are perceived here. And that calls for extra efforts.

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\*Comrade Erich Honecker, "Bericht des Zentralkomitees der Sozialistischen Einheitspartei Deutschlands an den X. Parteitag der SED" (SED Central Committee Report to the 10th SED Congress), Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1981, pp 130-131.



Relying on our accomplishments thus far, and provided with a sound scientific economic strategy and with the knowledge of the need and magnitude of the tasks to be solved, we shall succeed even under these complicated national and international conditions in shaping the overall social process for the good of the people, in the interest of the individual and of all, according to plan and consciously. One advantage of socialism, after all, is that, in contrast to capitalist society, the economic, political and ideological relations become successively more intelligible for men so that in their experiences not only their immediate field of activity but also more and more the whole can and will be comprehended and conceived as their own work, as the effort of freely united individuals.

#### From Experiences to Theoretical Knowledge

In solving the ambitious tasks of the 1983 national economic plan, the subjective factor plays an increasing role. That was once again made perfectly clear at the fifth Central Committee session. To attain the planned performance growth, everybody has to work hard and all the material and intellectual potentials our country commands must be efficiently used. That also means paying still more attention to the working people's socialist consciousness--another important experience from our socialist practice. More and more must we extend empirical knowledge into understanding the objective inevitabilities of socialism and lift the insights gained by individual experience onto the level of scientific awareness.

In particular, the working people have to be made familiar with the economic laws of socialism and the content of our party's economic strategy because understanding the interconnections, as provided, e.g., by the laws of time economy and the boosting of labor productivity or by knowing of the need and ways for high performance improvements, decisively helps mobilize, and thus mentally motivate, high achievements.

Aware action is distinguished mainly by that everyone fully exercises at his own place the responsibility with which society charged him. "If everyone assumes the responsibility he is charged with in his field of work to the fullest, with high discipline and creativeness, the greatest successes are achieved,"\* Comrade Erich Honecker has asserted. To act accordingly, one has to cross the borders of empirical knowledge. After all, assuming responsibility only means confronting the effects that grow out of one's own action. And with the social range of such effects, the weight of responsibility is bound to increase. That makes equally necessary keeping an eye on the variety of connections between one's own acts and the acts of others (the collective, the enterprise, the combine and, finally, all society). That calls for theoretical knowledge an individual can gain only on the basis of Marxism-Leninism.

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\*"Aus dem Schlusswort des Genossen Erich Honecker, 5. Tagung des ZK der SED" (From the Concluding Speech by Comrade Erich Honecker--Fifth SED Central Committee Session), Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1982, p 24.

For the further advancement of socialist awareness also, and especially under the aspect of the dialectics between experience and theoretical knowledge, the deepening of historical awareness becomes of increasing importance. That has to do with that most of our citizens fortunately have had no direct experience of capitalism and their field of experience no longer includes the struggle in the early years of the revolutionary transformation in our republic.

The accomplishment and advantages of socialism are taken completely for granted. And that is perfectly all right. But without knowing the historic dimensions, these accomplishments and advantages cannot be fully understood. It was perfectly correct, therefore, for the 10th party congress to state: We have "to take into account that after more than 30 years of GDR history, our people has had only a direct experience of its own with socialism, yet not with capitalism. Born into the new society, these citizens regard the advantages and values of socialism as self-evident and as a normal human right, so that a historical view simply is needed to appreciate them to the fullest."\*

In the process that carries on the socialist revolution, experience and theoretical knowledge as elements of socialist consciousness, reflecting the social given and dialectically fostering each other, are a mighty capacity. Experience in and with our social practice proves a strong component of understanding social inevitabilities and forming an active lifestyle. Only that experience per se does not yet provide socialist consciousness. Ideological party activity is needed on the basis of Marxism-Leninism so that the knowledge of the working people--while picking up individual experiences--is brought to their realizing social interconnections and inevitabilities in the construction of socialist society.

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\*Comrade Erich Honecker, op. cit., p 142.

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CSO: 2300/213

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

IMPROVEMENTS, IMBALANCES IN PUBLIC HEALTH CARE ANALYZED

East Berlin EINHEIT in German Vol 38 No 2, Feb 83 (signed to press 13 Jan 83)  
pp 180-186

[Article by Prof Dr Karl Seidel, department chief, SED Central Committee; member, GDR Academy of Sciences; and Bernd Schirmer, MD, staff employee, SED CC: "Efficient Socialist Health Care System--Guarantee for High Quality Medical Care"]

[Text] What is the object and concern of the needed efficiency improvement in public health? Why does that also mean making complex "prophylactic ideas" something that will be taken for granted everywhere? Why does efficiency improvement amount mainly to a high demand made on the work ethos and political awareness of the staffs? Why do we have to pay more attention to education and training? Tasks, problems and experiences in making medical care more efficient. Performance comparison and skillful political direction as important factors in a purposeful improvement of performance for the benefit of the patients.

Between 1971 and 1982, there was an increase in the number of physicians, by 8,245 to 35,500,  
of dentists, by 3,151 to 10,500.

Instances of public health care treatments (per 10,000)

	1970	1982
Physicians	16.0	20.9
Dentists	4.3	6.3

Between 1971 and 1982 there was an increase in the number of polyclinics, by 114 to 566,  
of outpatient clinics, by 134 to 962.

Doing everything for the good of the people, for the happiness of men, implies "applying the accomplishments of modern medicine and improving the quality of medical work."\* That is in line with the care given public health especially

\*"Programm der Sozialistischen Einheitspartei Deutschlands" (SED Program), Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1976, p 26.

since the Eighth SED Congress. The opening of the surgery-oriented center at the Charite hospital and of new hospitals, lately in Karl Marx Stadt and Nordhausen, and the completion of modern policlinics and outpatient clinics in towns and communities in our country make that as clear as the extremely rapid development of our nursery vacancy capacities and the steady rise in the number of old-age and nursery home vacancies. Everywhere in our country excellent conditions have been created for vastly expanding and improving medical work through new construction, reconstruction and modernization and the use of high-grade medical equipment and techniques. On this basis it was possible notably to improve further the citizens' state of health.

Many illnesses which not so long ago greatly increased mortality are no longer a dread to us. That includes tuberculosis. We have not lost even one child since 1976 through that infectious disease, and hardly any one contracts it any longer. Infantile spinal paralysis was completely eradicated, and so was diphtheria. Tetanus in infants and adolescents--often fatal in many countries in the world--we do not know anymore. Infant mortality has been steadily reduced. Serious chronic diseases like heart and circulatory and rheumatic ones, are under better control, and their effects can be mitigated.

The successful realization of our social policy is furthermore reflected by the fact that average life expectancy keeps rising in our country. For men, it lies around the age of 69 and for women, of 75 years, which means it rose for men since 1949 by 5 years and for women, by seven. This fine, steady development has greatly enhanced the citizens' trust in the SED's socialist health system and health policy.

Efficiency Improvement for the Good of the People.

"There is an ever stronger realization that our resolutely carrying on the unity of economic and social policy in the 1980's also calls for higher efficiency in public health and social welfare so as to achieve greater benefits in the citizens' health by means of the extensive potential available."\* Higher efficiency in public health always amounts to a performance improvement with regard to taking care of people. Intensification in public health means saving time, not from medical care but for taking care of patients. That is true of the routine in in-house service as much as in introducing early and late-hour visits to outpatient clinics.

We will make public health much more efficient if we can, if possible, prevent illnesses, if something is done for health in the all-inclusive sense of the word. Only in our social system it is possible, but also necessary, to turn prophylaxis into an overall social concern and tackle the health care for all citizens as a practical task. Especially those who are working in public health get a lot to do by that. That starts with promoting a healthy lifestyle for children and adolescents and requires more of an open-minded atmosphere for proper health conduct and for enabling and winning over the citizens themselves more and more to take care of their health. Physicians

\*Comrade Paul Verner, "Aus dem Bericht des Politbueros an die 4. Tagung des ZK der SED" (From the Politburo Report to the Fourth SED Central Committee Session), Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1982, p 55.

and nurses can make an important contribution to that by their own work and example.

The main thing, however, is in public health that in medical science and research more attention is paid to considering more than the detail, any particular case of illness. One must always examine a person holistically and be aware of his social environment and spot influences there that might negatively affect his health, and then help do away with them if possible. Practice keeps telling us that often it is much better to engage in sports several times a week, e.g., than spending money for expensive medication. Not a few collectives are doing good work in this regard, some in the field of heart and circulatory diseases. It will be necessary in the years ahead, however, to turn complex preventive ideas into normal procedure everywhere in public health and in all our society.

#### Higher Demands Placed on Work Ethos and Political Awareness

The requisite performance improvement in public health and social welfare in the sense discussed depends on the readiness of the staffs to make a still greater contribution of their own to improving the medical care and social welfare for the population.

Such a readiness depends on that the physicians, nurses and others on the staff sense and get involved in their own daily life in the purposeful implementation of the party's health policy. Also the realization, of which more must be made, that the party does all it can to carry on its policy course aimed at peace and the people's prosperity often leads to new initiatives and consideration in their improving their own work. More and more staffers have realized that the socialist social order is the crucial precondition for comprehensive humanistic efforts in service to men's health and lives, and that therefore all the strength must be used to consolidate socialism in our country. Added to it is the experience that coping with the problems with which our dynamically developing social system is confronted every day helps fulfil the purpose of socialism in life. Collectives which therefore in their competition programs place the focal point on the responsibility of the individual and make the joint effort daily to live up to that pave the way for how one must proceed everywhere.

In many collectives and institutions--such as the Cottbus Bezirk hospital--it already has become a norm to make high demands on each staffer with regard to his conduct and attitudes, knowledge and skill. That starts with such simple traits as honesty, diligence and punctuality. They are in the final analysis the prerequisites for the high political and moral ethos needed that must characterize those who work in socialist public health. Then their better understanding of political interconnections helps them better understand and exercise their own responsibility. It is thus no coincidence that mainly such institutions have come up with outstanding results in public medical care were an aggressive effort is also being made to gain clear political positions.

Public health is an area that has great political impact. The manner and attitude of each individual physician, nurse or nursery teacher have a direct effect on the reputation of public health and, in fact, affect the picture many citizens make themselves of socialism. More and more staff members, therefore, consider it their civic obligation to make a contribution of their own in the spirit of the basic humanistic concern on the part of our socialist state by an outstanding personal dedication to medical care, education, training and advanced education, and in medical research.

#### Paying Heed to Training and Education

Also in public health is the working people's creativeness the crucial condition for higher achievements. So it is necessary to make full use of the high educational level and purposefully direct and promote the training for all staff members. We have meanwhile had many good results and experiences with the advanced and specialized training for physicians, nurses and other associates. That includes training cycles and college studies for head nurses, the steady work by many clinics in advanced education, and the encouragements given to physicians and dentists. Our plan is further to educate and challenge as many physicians as possible this way. Practice has shown that then it is also possible to fertilize the scientific life at the institutions themselves and raise its level--a precondition for high-grade medical care.

Scientific life at the institutions naturally is nourished from many other sources as well. Experienced collectives and chiefs use methods for it that have long stood up in many places in practice. X-ray visits, pathology demonstrations, afternoon lectures serve the experience exchange as much as the quality control and advanced training. In some institutions they had to do without such fine traditions and then accept quality decreases. What matters today is to apply such methods not only in the hospitals but, *mutatis mutandis*, in the outpatient field as well. That is confirmed, e.g., by the experiences in the Leipzig Southwest Polyclinic. Especially for physicians and nurses in the polyclinics and outpatient clinics it is necessary to create more opportunities for continued training. That is also served by new measures for keeping physicians working in outpatient clinics regularly also in attendance at hospitals.

Of great importance for promoting health and recovery are the advances in medical science and research and their rapid practical application. In many research collectives therefore the efficiency of their own work is also always measured against a rapid practical use in medicine, for the patients. Of growing importance for the needed advances in knowledge is the increasingly closer cooperation with the scientists in the Soviet Union and other fraternal socialist countries. That, of course, presupposes a complex and up-to-date survey on fields that are essentially of common interest.

#### Efficient Organization of Medical Care

To improve the results and reduce the expense in each and every measure in public health means ensuring better and more effective medical care through reduced material outlay and, partly, with less personnel. It became apparent

during the 1983 plan and competition debate that great efforts are being made to live up to those requirements. The associates at the Magdeburg North polyclinic intend to improve house calls in their area, offer the citizens more early and late office hours and cut down waiting periods. Many other institutions have similar projects. They reveal the great personal commitment that exists in one collective or another seeking to make the process of their own work the centerpiece of initiatives. Diverse and highly effective are the measures and initiatives in the collectives of hospitals, old-age homes, nurseries and other facilities that are aimed directly at making the most efficient use of all available funds in personnel, material and finances on behalf of the patients. When Leipzig, e.g., considered to set up twelve new jobs for physicians, instead of the originally intended nine, in the newly constructed outpatient clinics--while ensuring good working and living conditions--there then too intensification leads to better care for the citizens. In the hospitals this goes together with paying more attention to the patients in terms of their care and in talking with them, in the homes, with a loving and cordial care for the senior citizens, some of them needing special attention, and in the nurseries, with individually fostering and providing for the children's mental and physical health.

There still remains much to do in these areas. Only imagine the opportunities in our new hospitals, in surgery for instance and in making full use of high-grade equipment and the like.

An important task lies in further developing the family doctor principle in our country. In many polyclinics, outpatient clinics and private practices the advantages of the socialist family doctor principle have already become clearly apparent. A citizen is made comfortable when he knows he has a doctor he can trust, who will give him advice at any time he needs it. A longtime acquaintanceship is what leads to mutual trust between the physician and the patient. Knowing him personally, a family doctor will know what his patient needs in terms of prophylactics and effective diagnostics and, in case he gets sick, therapy as well. He usually is best qualified to judge whether or not it is necessary and suitable for the patient to be excused from work.

The family doctor principle requires and makes possible sensible and economic examination methods and a rational, scientifically sound medicinal therapy. Experienced physicians know that a talk, some advice or some other kind of therapeutic measure sometimes is more important and necessary for the patient than a hurriedly written prescription, some rapid referral, or an X-ray or laboratory slip.

The role of the specialist in general medicine is going to grow, and he as a rule is also the family doctor. That is shown, not last, by figures. In 1970, there were 6,500 in general medicine, in 1980, as many as 8,200. The main thing will have to be to speed up the development of care by family doctors in the conurbations. Already many physicians have demonstrated that even under such conditions one can work as a socialist family doctor. In some territories, better prerequisites will have to be created for it in terms of personnel and materials, and then there are also still places where the motivation and ability for such activities have to be strengthened. In

big cities, some doctors in general medicine at times play dispatching roles by shoving off the whole "problem" through a referral instead of taking care of the patients themselves. Things are done better where a patient is only referred to have specialized problems clarified but his family doctor gets it all together who can also then in most cases conduct the treatment and the check-up. Then there are other specialists among the doctors who at times take on the responsibilities the family doctor should have. A sensible correlation among the various specialized fields is what is needed here. The bottom line must be to have the family doctor do as much diagnostic and therapeutic work as possible and the specialists, as much as necessary.

All this links up of course with concrete management activity requirements. Good experiences are encountered mainly in places where the citizen is given sensible and understandable explanations, where no exaggerated methods are figured out in the office and insisted on in practice--at times even in opposition to the citizens' interests. Good collectives do not ride roughshod over the citizen; they engage in what is feasible and decide with good common sense. That is the approach that works in all domains of public health and social welfare. So it is surely worth emulating what the associates of the Erfurt Bezirk Hygiene Institute are trying to do when they themselves, for instance, together with the physicians and inspectors in hygiene in the kreises, bring a stronger influence to bear on matters that directly affect the lives of people every day. In that they are concerned, among other things, about cleanliness and order in kitchens and sales outlets, about hygiene in our towns and hygienic conduct always and everywhere. To make changes especially there, in so-called trifling matters, is often not easy but often causes remarkable effects in the interest of the citizens.

Much depends on ensuring close and effective cooperation among the various partial sectors of public health and social welfare. In concrete terms that means further improving the cooperation between research institutions and hospitals and involving the educational institutions and so forth.

Based on the new hospital framework order, many collectives seek closer cooperation with in-house and outpatient health facilities. If we can, e.g., reduce the hospital stay before a scheduled operation through targeted outpatient pre-examinations, the patient's interests coincide completely with economic efficiency.

Much more than thus far must the policlinic idea be applied in our outpatient care. There are places where the policlinic rates exclusively as a common roof--mainly in the material and administrative field. Other collectives deliberately use the opportunities for genuine interdisciplinary cooperation available in the policlinic in the interest of their patients. That, naturally, calls for both a readiness by the various specialist for cooperation and consistency in the political leadership for this important process by the manager.

Much attention must be given to the cooperation among specific areas in health care. Examples of meaningful arrangements for specific illnesses or surgical measures indicate much of a gain can come from it for patient care in quality and efficiency. It would for instance doubtless be in the



interest of the patient that intricate and rare measures and operations are undertaken by a collective experienced in the field. That also is economically sensible because then valuable material funds are used intensively and suitably, especially since frequently specialized medical equipment is used for it. Sure enough, habitual ideas often have to be changed there in having particular directors or physicians forget about their prestige. That calls for patient ideological work on the one side and for clear official measures and stipulations, on the other. And especially in this respect we need more consistency. Expensive equipment must not be allowed to go to institutions that use it only a little or not at all. That is not given enough attention as yet everywhere. State managers bear a great responsibility for having experienced specialists assigned where they can do the most good in giving medical care to the citizens. That calls, mainly, for high discipline and understanding.

Equally important is to see to it that nothing is haphazard in this field. That is a requirement that is also mainly derived from the high speed in the development of the medical science. What even only a short time ago was carried out as a highly specialized care action in but a few institutions (e.g. implanting pace-makers) can sooner or later be done broadly in many institutions and can even in some cases become part of the basic care. It is understood that the treatment of certain rare diseases will always be preserved for a few centers.

In conjunction with thoughts given to improving their efficiency, more and more collectives are addressing the tasks of socialist rationalization in public health. That entails improving medical care but avoiding superfluous diagnostic and therapeutic measures which also are, after all, a burden for the patient. Good experiences have been made in this, e.g. by applying the scientific labor organization in hospitals, policlinics and other institutions. A targeted, scientifically justified use of X-ray and laboratory diagnostics is both useful for the patient and economically beneficial. In the Berlin-Buch Clinic, lab checks made laboratory examinations more scientific. This is a place where, in contradistinction to many other hospitals, a broad palette of blood samples and analyses no longer is taken from any patient admitted, but they only take, in principle, those necessary measures that a particular diagnosis requires. That saves up to 30 percent of the lab work and amounts to an obvious economy of benefit to the patient that should be practiced everywhere.

Much attention must also be given of course to auxiliary and subsidiary processes in public health, the cleaning of buildings, laundries, heating, refuse collection and the like. Everywhere one should think more about producing one's own means of rationalization, a thrifty handling of valuable material, and improved secondary raw material collection.

The investment policy has perceptible effects on making the care process more effective. Many new health facilities are under construction or are being readied for it. Low costs are expected to provide a maximum benefit. It has been found useful closely to involve the later work collectives in it to find sensible and efficient solutions and get things going fast. The point is to put new facilities rapidly--and step by step--into operation and thereby have a noticeable impact on care and training in the given territory. That makes high demands on the skill of the staffs and the work of the managers.

## Performance Comparison--An Important Method for Increasing Performance

In analyzing the overall situation of medical and welfare care in our country, one finds, along with many outstanding achievements and a broad range of solid performance, in many places still unjustified disparities of levels. Not yet are the experiences of the best workers rapidly generalized everywhere. Not frequently, it turns out, that deficiencies in the quality and effectiveness of medical and social care attributed to personnel, material or financial problems, actually are subjective in nature. All the more important then becomes the effort to invest one's own work with high quality and efficiency. Especially in medical and social welfare care, results much depend on what can be done to improve the health condition of the population. This makes high demands on labor organization, the qualification level, and the attitudes and views of all associates. Here also applies what Comrade Erich Honecker called for in a different context, that "high quality becomes the rule, the norm, one can always count on."\* For that, progressive collectives use performance comparisons and experience exchange. Where one's own work is honestly and frankly analyzed and, if necessary, implacably and critically, where concrete results are compared with those in comparable facilities, and the causes for differences are uncovered, one does best in making changes in one's own work and noticeably improving qualities and efficiency.

Of crucial importance for realizing all our projects is a consistent political qualification on the part of management and the managers in public health and social welfare. This is what our experience tells us: Good results are achieved mainly where the manager exercises his political responsibility consciously and comprehensively. That calls for knowing what the problems are that concern the collective, how the party policy is understood and how much willingness there is to put it into action. Good managers know their associates' attitudes and thoughts, which questions they must answer, which problems they have to explain. Some evade that still--most of the time because they still have questions themselves, which to answer they must be assisted. Political work in public health--as everywhere--also always is personnel work. Nothing must be left in arrears there. Steady political training for bezirk and kreis physicians and all other managers in public health and social welfare is of great importance for the work in public health at large. Also setting up effective personnel reserves, the selection and preparation of foreign personnel, and the work with reserve and replacement personnel, their constant development in line with the principle of "promoting and challenging" is a critical element of political work and multiplies our capacities and chances. Many collectives have found out that political work in public health and social welfare must be aimed at making all our associates steadfast even in complicated situations. Facing the demands of our time means, for every physician and nurse and for all associates in public health at once, taking a position of unshakeable allegiance to our socialist fatherland.

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\*Comrade Erich Honecker, "Bericht des Zentralkomitees der Sozialistischen Einheitspartei Deutschlands an den X. Parteitag der SED" (SED Central Committee Report to the 10th SED Congress), Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1981, p 55.

BOOK ON SED'S 'SOCIAL STRATEGY' IMPLICATIONS REVIEWED

East Berlin EINHEIT in German Vol 38 No 2, Feb 83 (signed to press 13 Jan 83)  
pp 213-214

[Review by Dr Helmut Kintzel, research group director, Institute for Theory of State and Law, GDR Academy of Sciences; of book "Unser Staat in den achtziger Jahren" (Our State in the 1980's) by Klaus Sorgenicht, member, GDR Council of State; chief, State and Legal Affairs Department, SED Central Committee; published by Dietz Verlag, East Berlin, 1982]

[Text] The Fifth Session of the Central Committee has once again reiterated the fundamental historic experience that the all-round strengthening of socialist state power, the ensuring of its stability and functionality, is the fundamental prerequisite for implementing the coinciding basic interests of the workers class and all working people, and that this is going to remain the case throughout the entire process of shaping the developed socialist society. To understand this in its full importance and scope so as to comprehend the challenge the 1980's present to the socialist state and act accordingly makes a clear understanding of the social strategy the 10th party congress has issued imperative. To broaden the comprehension of what those party congress utterances mean for the stability and functionality of the socialist state, to present vividly what lies behind those assessments and observations, what the context is in which they have to be seen and what the experiences of the best workers have been in successfully coping with the challenges of the 1980's--all that is the main concern of the work, "Unser Staat in den achtziger Jahren" (Our State in the 1980's), written by Dr Klaus Sorgenicht, department chief in the SED Central Committee and member of the GDR Council of State.

Making use of the most recent research results and extending them--based on a comprehensive analysis of political practice--the concept of state, as issued by the 10th SED Congress, is presented in its theoretical substance and in its historical significance for implementing our party's social strategy. A comprehensive analysis is given of the ongoing intertwining of all public sectors in the development of the social productive forces for improving economic capacity: "To the extent that the shaping of the developed socialist society is linked more closely with the scientific-technical revolution, as the material bases of socialist society are growing, their complex interrelations with one another and their interactions with all other sectors of life increase and, connected with that, international economic relations

expand and deepen with the other socialist states, the objective dialectics between economic, social and intellectual-cultural processes and of the growing political stability of socialist state power becomes of ever increasing importance. The more solid the political stability of the socialist state, i.e., the relations between party, workers class, the people's masses and state power, the greater becomes the authority and impact of the socialist state, the more effectively it can manage and direct the developmental processes in socialist society and reliably protect its accomplishments against any attacks." (pp 27-28)

The requisite higher quality of complex state management of the social processes must aim at providing "a social labor organization in each sector that is oriented to maximum achievement and efficiency." (p 46) Many examples are presented to show how this is to be done, e.g. how the deputies of the Sondershausen Kreis assembly have managed to change the whole organization of passenger traffic on behalf of the economy and the citizens in the kreis, what problems they ran into doing so, how they coped with them together with the citizens, and what exemplary results they were able to achieve in it.

Of theoretical and practical interest are the accounts about the changes in the implementation of the socialist state's economic-organizational function and the other basic functions linked with it. (cf. p 128) That must be understood to perfect democratic centralism further. The key question is the kind of quality in management and planning that will allow meeting all requirements for the development of the modern productive forces for the good of the people with the highest possible efficacy. There the realization is growing that a complexity in socialist state management activity in line with intensively expanded reproduction must omit no sector if the potentials and advantages of socialism are to be used in conformity with the objective possibilities and requirements for socialist personality development.

Special attention is paid to the consequences for the work of the people's representations. Considering the state plan the "axle" for all the activities of the people's representations on all levels, fulfilling it without exception, developing for it time and time again revolutionary creativity at a massive scope, constructively approaching the generalization of the best experiences, taking resolute steps against faintheartedness and lack of faith in the creative capacities of the working people, and always approaching all tasks under the aspect of overall social responsibility--those are the attitudes that have to distinguish today the work of the people's representations and their deputies.

Generalized insights gained from the activity of the People's Chamber and its commissions and from the local people's representations and their organs provide important insights for developing further the character of the people's representations as well functioning corporate bodies as well as their links with the masses. The party demand for planning, consistency and relevance to life is described as a compelling demand for what is absolutely necessary and feasible (cf. pp 101 ff). That relates in particular to working out conclusions for improving the social effectiveness of territorial rationalization and to the analysis of outstanding examples in tapping local reserves for

improving economic capacities and the development of cooperative efforts. The conditions and factors are described which cause and mark the increasing complexity in state management activity, such as the ongoing intensification of the economic reproduction process, the tapping of territorial potentials for fulfilling the main task, and the efficiency improvements in territorial rationalization.

Cogent and exemplary thereby is the issue taken with bourgeois conceptions of democracy. The nature and function of political pluralism are exposed as an instrument of anticommunism. It is shown that the doctrine spread mainly by liberal and right wing socialist ideologues of "pluralistic democracy" is, at it were, the "soft" or humane-sounding model conception by the apologists for the capitalist system of government to justify its "eternal" existence (cf. p 119). The author explains that the pluralism conception in the imperialist states themselves is more and more brutally led ad absurdum day after day, and that all the recommendations to "improve" socialism by pluralism, to pluralize Marxism itself and abandon the principle of democratic centralism come down to driving a wedge between the working class party, socialist state power and the working people, shake the workers and farmers power and, eventually, liquidate socialism as such. While confronting antisocialist theses, constructive answers are supplied throughout about how socialist democracy--proceeding from the nature and objective developmental requirements of socialism--must be constantly further developed and perfected and why that precisely amounts to the chief developmental thrust of our socialist state power.

A special point ought to be made about the pleasant diction of the work, which facilitates reading it, not last due to a selective use of quotations from Rousseau, Fontane and Brecht.

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CSO: 2300/213

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

SED SCHOLAR'S BOOK ON SOCIALIST ECONOMIC THEORY REVIEWED

East Berlin EINHEIT in German Vol 38 No 2, Feb 83 (signed to press 13 Jan 83)  
pp 215-216

["Economic Efficiency Through Modern Science"--Review by Dr Karl-Heinz Graupner, economist, SED Central Committee: of book "Wissenschaft, Technik und Reproduktion" (Science, Technology and Reproduction) by Prof Dr Helmut Koziol- lek, economist, member, SED CC; director, Central Institute for Socialist Economic Management, SED CC; chairman, Council for Economic Research; member, GDR Academy of Sciences; member, EINHEIT editorial board; published by Verlag Die Wirtschaft, East Berlin, 1981]

[Text] At the Tenth SED Congress, a clear guideline was given for a resolute transition to intensively expanded reproduction by the explanation for the economic strategy for the 1980's. The steady continuation of the main task in its unity of economic and social policy is the condition for the high economic performance improvement to be attained solely in this manner and requires in particular an important upswing in science and technology.

As all experiences have shown emphatically in the shaping of the economy of developed socialism, scientific-technical progress has in particular become the crucial source of growth; its contribution to significantly improving productivity and efficiency must be made ever more permanently effective. That connects directly with making a purposeful use of the advantages of socialist production and rapidly applying in production the results of science and technology, so as to ensure the rapid and stable rate of economic growth that will permanently secure social progress.

These burning issues of our time were once more confronted by Comrade Helmut Koziol- lek in his book "Wissenschaft, Technik und Reproduktion" (Science, Technology and Reproduction), recently published by Verlag Die Wirtschaft. Most relevant are his sound theoretical, strategic and practical considerations and the inferences drawn from them, e.g., on the connection between socialism and the scientific-technical revolution (pp 7 ff), the economic innovation process (pp 40 ff), the attaining of top achievements and their rapid application and massive use, the science-technology-production cycle and how it can be contracted (pp 68 ff), the relevance of Marxist insights into the connection between science and production and the efficacy of qualitative factors in the economic cycle (pp 83 ff), the efficient use of all material resources and the reproductive aspects connected with that (pp 101 ff), the experiences in the

management and planning of scientific-technical progress on the basis of the work in the combines (pp 120 ff), and the connection between the economic strategy and the socialist way of life (pp 137 ff).

These considerations are in line with the current demands and requirements for science resulting from the continued implementation of the SED's social policy. The following aspects deserve to be considered in particular:

First: On a high level it is being shown, cogently, vividly and impressively, that our farflung economic strategy already now makes the highest demands on the socialist economy in achieving economic efficiency through modern science. By an analysis of the new reproduction conditions of the 1980's it is shown that and how this strategy also sets up the framework for the productive forces in the continued shaping of the developed socialist society, which presupposes an high effectiveness of the production relations. A thrust into the details of problems examined is linked with a deeper analysis of the processes in their totality, cohesion and interdependence, whereby also the theoretical principles are further extended for the research complex of science, technology and reproduction. The considerations on the whole, and specifically, always tell the reader exactly what it is that concerns the author, why he approaches particular questions just in the way he does, and why he arrives at conclusions that are worth thinking about in detail. The theoretical accounts and explanations are always closely linked with the problems to be solved and with the practical economic tasks, taken from them and aimed at their further perfection and at social progress. Thus the work offers an important scientific orientation through the interconnections set down, examined, analyzed and generalized in it and the degree of their complexity.

The task that our party has more and more moved to the foreground, organically to combine the scientific-technical revolution with the advantages of socialism, is dealt with throughout in its crucial importance and the bearing it has on social dynamics, and it is shown that high results in production and scientific work require purposeful political-ideological, science policy and organizational efforts, in the consequence of which again the advantages of socialism can all the more effectively be unlocked. Through the presentation of this dialectical interaction the responsibility of science and the scientists to society becomes extremely clear. It is shown to what extent science truly pervades all domains of public life in socialism and is in active interaction with all of them, how it affects social reproduction and must be brought to realization through high productivity and efficiency in social work, what must express its growing contribution to the planned development of the material and cultural life of all working people and how it can, not last, arouse and foster intellectual needs.

Second: Based on the cyclical theory established by Karl Marx and with close attention to his insights into reproduction theory, the author addresses such burning issues as the further expansion and effective use of the intellectual potential of our society, the effectiveness of science as a productive force, and the universal criteria for fund cycles and accumulation in connection with the production phase and with distribution. Under the aspect of an effective reproduction by the combines under prevailing objective economic requirements, the cycle and the reproduction of national wealth, and the fundamental developmental tendencies of the production structure, the author deals with how all national wealth can and must more effectively be used.

There are weighty ideas here on how fully to develop the intellectual potential. The point is made that the average age of more than 220 important inventors and discoverers in the history of science and technology was thirty-four. Three-fourths of them were no older than forty, more than one-third no older than thirty. That underscores our party's demand to lead young personnel still more purposefully up to the focal points of science and technology.

Third: Clearly with relevance to the needs of our time are the remarks about the management and planning of scientific-technical progress. It is shown vividly what has been accomplished, which reserves are available for speeding up the scientific-technical progress, and how they can be tapped more rapidly and effectively. In particular, relating to the combines, the following issues are discussed: What are the preconditions for a high speed in spreading scientific-technical innovations? What are the most favorable conditions for reducing application time frames? What demands have to be made on using investments to achieve scientific-technical top accomplishments? What is needed to provide management activity with enough expertise for such ambitious tasks?

Fourth: The book makes a thorough use of the lessons of the classic authors of Marxism-Leninism, resolutions and tasks of the 10th SED Congress, fundamental materials of our country's party and state leadership and of the CPSU and other fraternal parties, and it analyzes important works of scientists. When the author goes into polemics with other views thrown into the debate, he shows his customary objectivity and scientific accuracy, yet his views nonetheless unmistakably rely on the conviction that things in this important field of social policy must not deteriorate into pseudo-academic quarrels, but that a genuine contribution is to be made to strategic questions and decision needed for resolutely implementing our party's economic strategy by way of the continued shaping of developed socialism. This of course precludes from the outset any sort of detached complacency about scientific-technical progress or any sham scientific pretense about the place and importance of the categories of the categories of reproduction and the economic cycle.

By deepening the theory of the political economy of socialism, the book is a creditable contribution to the Karl Marx Year 1983 and can only be recommended to economists and representatives of other social science disciplines, natural and technical scientists as well as economic functionaries and propagandists.

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CSO: 2300/213



OUTLINE ON THEORY OF SOCIALIST CULTURE REVIEWED

East Berlin EINHEIT in German Vol 38 No 2, Feb 83 (signed to press 13 Jan 83)  
pp 217-218

[Review by Dr Dieter Struetzel, lecturer, Department of Literature and Art Studies, Friedrich Schiller University, Jena; of book "Zur Theorie der sozialistischen Kultur" (On The Theory of Socialist Culture), authored collectively by Helmut Hanke and Christa Ziermann under supervision of Hans Koch; published by Dietz Verlag, East Berlin, 1982]

[Text] The book is based on cultural experiences gained in the shaping of the developed socialist society and in the ideological class conflict and on insights provided in scholarly monographs through Marxist-Leninist cultural theory, mainly since the Eighth SED Congress. Its publication responds to an objective need for expert information and an overall presentation of our culture conception suitable for broad circles of readers, based on the up-to-date advancement of knowledge.

The authors' collective to which, under Hans Koch's supervision, Helmut Hanke, Christa Ziermann and Wilfried Barthel belonged, let itself be guided by that it is imperative for a theory on socialist culture "to deal with the more general inevitabilities and definitions of the cultural history of humanity. Outside their overall historic context, detached from the general laws in cultural development, the specific inevitable forms of thrust in socialist culture are hard to understand." (p 9) Thus in the demanding theoretical first chapter, they mainly deal with the nature and function of human culture, describing its social foundations and tracing the processes of cultural history since the beginning of history.

Providing evidence for the historic quality of all culture forms the book's conceptual framework. That then gets modified in the second chapter, which discusses the nature and inevitabilities in the formation of a historically new type of culture, of the substance and stages and laws in the socialist cultural revolution. That then also confirms the Leninist thesis that "proletarian culture (must) be the inevitable further development of the sum total of knowledge mankind worked up under the yoke of the capitalist society, the land owner and civil service society."<sup>\*</sup> The authors convincingly describe

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\*V. I. Lenin, "The Tasks of the Youth Associations," "Werke" (Works), Vol 31, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1959, p 276.

the socialist cultural revolution as part of the socialist revolution, which in every phase of the revolution was "involved in indispensable cultural contributions to solving fundamental social, economic and other processes of socialist construction" (p. 225), and that the Marxist-Leninist party objectively plays the leading role in the socialist cultural revolution.

Those explanations are followed by two chapters dealing with concrete questions of contemporary processes in socialist cultural development. They are dealing vividly and relevantly with the interaction between lifestyle and culture in socialism. The discussion of the contents, essential features, dissemination, appropriation and development of intellectual culture in socialist society would however still have gained something if the interaction between the specialized production of scientists, artists, teachers or journalists and the massive intellectual processes in ordinary consciousness, the formation and modification of value orientations, objectives and expectations, had been included in these deliberations. A broad historic view on developmental problems of culture is gained, relying on the creative extension of decisive positions by the classic authors of Marxism-Leninism as on a receptivity for experiences from fraternal socialist countries. As to that, the more than 60 years of development in the cultural revolution of the Soviet Union is of special weight, particularly since, in its multinational character, it constitutes "a historically new developmental form of culture." (p. 124)

Being oriented to historicity and complexity, the fifth chapter also includes cultural development problems in the young national states; it is brought out that socialist culture due to its progressive content also helps ensure the continuity in the development of human culture by supporting those states in their desire to preserve and extend their own progressive traditions. A most substantial section persuasively portrays the potency and impotence of contemporary imperialism and its culture. It brings out how urgent and important it is for today's Marxist-Leninist cultural science also to throw socialist society's experiences and advantages into the scales of the struggle between the ideologies and systems.

The expertise and familiarity with problems by the book are based, not last, on experiences the authors have gained mainly through their various cultural policy activities--also those within the framework of the multilateral commission for Marxist-Leninist cultural and art sciences. Remarkable furthermore is the incorporation of knowledge from other social sciences, e.g. of historical materialism and the political economy, sociology but also ethnography and special areas in aesthetics. Relevant literary references allow the reader to expand his state of knowledge and understanding, which is less so, however, in the case of cultural history and sociology.

By embedding socialist culture in the development of human culture at large and by the breadth and variety of cultural problems dealt with, the book lives up to its claim to be a contribution to a theory on socialist culture, as it does through its progressive theoretical accomplishments and suggestions. That includes, e.g., investigations into the class character of culture, the concept of culture as a regulator and order for men's communal living, which opens new perspectives, the issue about culture and the standard of living,

which excels in its pugnacity, caution and power of argumentation, the linking between culture and the shaping of the social reproduction process, which unfortunately has only partly been brought out, the endeavors to provide a cultural science contribution to ordinary problems, and the concepts on popular culture and the function of entertainment in socialism that exceed the definitions heretofore available.

There are, however, problems in this multifaceted view on culture in socialist society which the publication mentions only in passing. Partly that is due to the limits of our current state of knowledge, but sometimes it is also due to the fact that valuable insights of the dialectics of socialism and its social structure, as worked out by Marxist-Leninist philosophy and sociology, were not given adequate attention. That becomes apparent, e.g., by that the unity and interaction between material and intellectual culture is nowhere shown even in summary form. Another disadvantage is that a reader often is compelled to work through the whole thing when all he is looking for are answers to special questions. Here the publishing house might have been more helpful by supplying an index.

Of special importance to a theory on socialist culture of course is the question about the fundamental traits the workers class grants to cultural development. This the authors have confronted several times, especially in the second and third chapters--which should be read as mutually complementary--where it is explained that the working people through their material production create the fundamental conditions for preserving and further developing the way of life and culture of all members of society. The planned textbook for the theory on socialist culture, which is meant to be produced on the basis of the present outline, is likely to deal still more thoroughly with that complex of problems--and by reporting to meanwhile published investigations that lead still further. That will pertain mainly to problems that have to do with the social organization of modern large-scale production, rationalization and intensification, the effective handling of live labor, the socialist organization of the total social reproduction process and so forth. The present publication, meant as a contribution to public debate, provides many insights and suggestions which will help in this.

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CSO: 2300/213

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

BOOK ON HARMONIZING ACADEMIC, IDEOLOGICAL COMMITMENT REVIEWED

East Berlin EINHEIT in German Vol 38 No 2, Feb 83 (signed to press 13 Jan 83)  
pp 219-220

[Review by Prof Dr Manfred Banaschak, department chief, SED Central Committee; chief editor, EINHEIT; of book "Geheimnis des Erfolgs" (Secret of Success) by Dr Gerlinde Mehlhorn and Dr Hans-Georg Mehlhorn; published by VEB Fachbuchverlag, Leipzig, 1982. For a discussion of a related subject by the Mehlhorns, see translation of March 1981 EINHEIT article published under the heading, "Effective Methods for Science Talent Detection Outlined," in JPRS 77973, 30 Apr 81, No 1875 of this series, pp 25-33. For some critical writings by the below mentioned Prof Juergen Kuczynski and a response by Stefan Bollinger of Humboldt University, see translations of three East Berlin FORUM items published under quoted headings in the following JPRS issues of this series: "Ideological Demands on Talented Students to Be Relaxed," in 81121, 24 Jun 82, No 2025, pp 49-54, and "Education System for Scientists Criticized," 75548, 23 Apr 80, No 1781, pp 21-27 (both critiques by Kuczynski); "Argument for Relaxing Ideological Demands on Students Contested" (by Bollinger), in 82174, 5 Nov 82, No 2071, pp 96-99. For additional related information see the following JPRS translations of this series, published under quoted headings: "'Education Potential' Seen 'Utilized Ineffectively'" (by Dr Rudolf Pfretzschner, Karl Marx University) in 82426, 8 Dec 82, No 2083, pp 19-20; "Psychologist on Young People's Need for Greater Independence" (interview with Prof Wolfgang Kessel), 81567, 18 Aug 82, Np 2044, pp 14-18; "Reforms of Legislation on Higher Education Proposed" (by Prof Willi Buchner-Uhder, Martin Luther University), 80179, 24 Feb 82, No 1979, pp 18-26]

[Text] The worth of a publication does not lie in its page count. A small one often gives more and can do more than some thick opus that has been many years in the making and afterwards perhaps just adorns the shelves of its author and gathers dust in libraries. Among the smaller ones worth reading, it seems to me, is "Geheimnis des Erfolgs" (Secret of Success) by Gerlinde and Hans-Georg Mehlhorn, who have already made their mark in other publications by prudent thoughts on making more of all opportunities to detect, develop purposefully and foster systematically talents and gifts early in the game. Entertaining and instructive for teachers and students, helpful mainly for those who are starting their studies, their new book, by analyzing the life-style and working style of scientists of world renown, pursues the question: How does a person become creative, how does he become one who succeeds in producing top achievements of far-reaching significance?

Socially, we have what it takes. That is shown by the achievements setting standards in many fields. It is by no means odd to refer in this connection also to the successes of our athletes, for instance. They surely are no "chance hits." Earning more and more "gold medals" in the international contest for science and technology as well implies, as the authors correctly demand, paying as much attention to scientific and technical gifts as we have already been paying, with much success, to the talented athletes and musicians among our children and adolescents. Much that is useful has already been done about it. Only recall the Mathematics and Russian Olympiads and other parallel promotion measures at our schools and also the examples of unconventionally encouraging the fast learners at colleges. Measured against our expectations, however, which we have to place in science what we have done is not yet enough. More than ever we need top achievements in science to keep in step with the ever steeper rise in productivity caused by the tremendous scientific-technical progress. That has to be organized. New rules in training are hardly needed for that. More daring is wanted. And that precisely is what the authors are calling for.

The bourgeois educational privilege has been broken in our country for once and for all. In the outcome of our party's purposeful educational policy, everyone not only has the right and opportunity fully to develop his talents, he is in fact being induced to do so--through the educational system and his work life as much as through family education and meaningful leisure time activities, or in short: through the overall structure of social life. That is a compelling precept for high economic performance improvement and, at once, an expression of the humanism of socialism, in which it is part of the meaning of life that each individual makes his contribution to social progress by the fullest possible development of his talents. To use for it all advantages growing out of socialism on behalf of all society and of each individual's personality development is--as the present book documents--a claim made on the students and teachers alike.

Our society provides the students with the most favorable conditions one can think of for coming up with high achievements. Yet without hard work one can neither reach nor maintain a high scientific level: "Instilling such a high performance readiness based on a firm socialist ethos is, to be sure, a lifelong process of education by society and, with it, of the scientists' working on their own personality development. Yet society must demand great efforts from each and everyone. The basis for it is the kind of ethics such as those possessed it, and are possessing it, who, like Einstein and many others, achieved great things, found the purpose of their life in their service to society, and gaged their own size against the benefit achieved for the further and higher development of human society." (p 127) Someone who is mainly interested in the labor code and--figuratively--in the 8-hour day, has understood nothing of the nature of scientific work and probably missed his calling. "There may be some who think such life, concentrated on one important target over many years, too ascetic," the authors say with reference to Juergen Kuczynski and many others. "Yet there seems to be no other recipe. When the work is not the focal point and not everything is subjected to it over long stretches, top-level scientific achievements are not likely to arise. Science calls for the whole person--or at least almost the whole."  
(p 154)

Creative work also always means productive unease, a constant urge to surmount blocks to achieve set goals. It is, as Karl Marx wrote, "damn serious, most intensive effort, an effort not by man as a specifically drilled natural force but as a subject."\*

A will for high performance that is self-understood must be based on high capabilities, which is just as self-understood. And that presupposes for our students that they are not just going to accomplish the task assigned in such a way that in the end they are doing fairly well. That would mean, as it were, preprogramming mediocrity in their achievements. But if we want to preprogram top achievements, it demands of the individual comprehending his study obligation as one that is made to top achievements and going into depth, above and beyond the questions to be expected in exams, in line with his individual gifts, and pursuing on his own the interconnections there and the new ideas derived from them.

Absurd it would be to derive from that a contradiction to our declared educational idea of the all-round developed personality. Universality does not mean equal proportionality. "We have enough average achievements and scientists and engineers good enough for them," the authors say (p 85). "Indeed, for any given person it may be easier to develop the whole palette of his possible talents and gifts on a good average level than tormenting himself every day in trying to become a far above-average pianist, athlete, painter or physicist. From the vantage point of society, however, the latter is more important, and the meaning of life for everyone results precisely from the personal contribution he can make to social process." (p 88)

Such an orientation to scientific creativeness has nothing in common with political abstinence. That should be brought out still more pointedly in a possible second edition, as a salient point against manifestations of one-sidedness in terms of technical requirements. We want a new science generation firmly rooted in our life and fighting with hearts and good sense for our socialist cause. Moreover, all experiences confirm that socially most committed students normally also are among those who come up with the best science achievements because they comprehend social demands made on science development in more relevant and clearer terms and appropriate attitudes through their public efforts that are also indispensable, precisely, for scientific work, such as a sense of responsibility, tenacity, and a deeper penetration into the causes and interconnections of phenomena. Precisely those committed best students ought to get special encouragement, mainly, from the college teachers.

Developing enthusiasm for a field greatly depends on having good teachers who will not just stuff their pupils full of facts but ignite a fire in them for solving the problems that exist in their field. This the Mehlhorn couple has found out by questioning scientists about it, and it fully conforms with what our students expect. As utterances from them show, e.g. in FORUM--

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\*"Principles of the Critique of Political Economy," Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1953, p 505.

they seek no perfection in their college teachers, any models ready-made and to be duplicated as incarnation of moral and pedagogical ideals. They are eager for unique personalities who, in their uniqueness, command authority when they, with all their differences in personality, combine creditable scientific achievements and an exemplary research spirit with clear political positions and teaching capacities.

One should wish for this book to be handed around among as many students as possible and also to be picked up by college teachers so that through one or another of the suggestions offered here they can contribute still more effectively to forming a highly capable new science generation fully committed to our socialist cause.

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CSO: 2300/213

LISTINGS, SUMMARIES OF OTHER MAJOR 'EINHEIT' ARTICLES

East Berlin EINHEIT in German Vol 38 No 2, Feb 83 (signed to press 13 Jan 83)  
'Resumes' addendum

[Text] The Topic: Science in Our Society

[PLEASE NOTE: Translations of all six 'Topic' articles are published under JPRS headings quoted below in a recent issue of EAST EUROPE REPORT: ECONOMIC AND INDUSTRIAL AFFAIRS]

- 1) "On the Position and Responsibility of Science in the Social Reproduction Process" (pp 129-135), by Prof Dr Hannes Hoernig, member, SED Central Committee; chief Science Department, SED CC.  
  
[JPRS heading: "SED Science Chief on Ways to Improve Basic, Applied Research"]
- 2) "Develop Readiness and Capabilities to Master Scientific-Technical Progress" (pp 136-142), by Dr Gerd-Rainer Radtke, economist, Institute for Political Economy of Socialism, Academy of Social Sciences, SED Central Committee; and Dr Heidrun Radtke of the same academy.  
  
[JPRS heading: "Need for S&T Workers' Attitude Change, Recognition Stressed"]
- 3) "Time Saving Through Rapid Transition" (pp 143-146), by Dr Manfred Drodowsky, engineer, general director, VEB Hermann Matern Strip Steel Combine, Eisenhuettenstadt.  
  
[JPRS heading: "Steel Combine Director on Research, Production Speedup"]
- 4) "Basic Research Today--Efficiency Tomorrow: On the Utilization of the Economic Potential of Otto von Guericke Technical College, Magdeburg" (pp 147-152), by Prof Dr Reinhard Probst, candidate member, SED Central Committee; rector, Otto von Guericke Technical College, Magdeburg.



[JPRS heading: "Significance of Interdisciplinary Basic Research Explained"]

- 5) "The Tasking Workbook (Pflichtenheft) as Management Tool in Research and Technology" (pp 153-157), by Dr Herbert Weiz, economist, member, SED Central Committee; deputy chairman, GDR Council of Ministers; minister for science and technology.

[JPRS heading: "'Tasking Workbook's' Importance as S&T Management Tool Explained"]

- 6) "Agricultural Science Focusing on Practical Application" (pp 158-160), by Dr Bernhard Larisch, Institute for Agricultural Economics, GDR Academy of Agricultural Sciences.

[PLEASE NOTE: A translation of the following 'Information' report (pp 211-212) is likewise published in a recent JPRS issue of EAST EUROPE REPORT: ECONOMIC AND INDUSTRIAL AFFAIRS. "On the Data Bank for Robots," by Ingolf Barth, engineer, chief, Central Industrial Robot Data Bank, Research Center for Machine Tool Construction, Karl-Marx-Stadt; and Prof Dr Erich Paessler, engineer, program director for industrial robot research at the same Research Center. JPRS heading: "Performance of New Robot Technology Data Bank Reviewed"]

#### The Ninth GDR Arts Exhibition--Results and Effect

[Summary of article by Dr Ingrid Beyer and Dr Helmut Netzker, lecturers, Institute for Marxist-Leninist Culture and Art Studies, Academy of Social Sciences, SED Central Committee; pp 173-179]

[Text] The Ninth GDR Arts Exhibition offers a multifaceted scale of works in various genres, themes and subjects. Diverse modes of presentation and artistic signatures reflect the stylistic wealth of works of art relevant to reality. Reality is rated artistically from socialist and humanistic positions. But there are also works in which artists address existential problems in our existence without being able truly to cope with them substantively. Most of the art works are meant to stimulate the creative debate about the activating social function of art in socialism.

#### Development of and Prospects for Economic Management and Planning in Cuba

[Summary of article by Santiago Garcia Lopez, economist, department chief, Communist Party of Cuba; pp 187-193]

[Text] This instructive presentation, written by an expert, ranges from the tough beginnings via the comprehensive and penetrating economic reform initiated by the

First Congress of the Communist Party of Cuba to the current stage of Cuba's economic management and planning and its looking forward to its further development. The purpose of the economic reform and its results thus far. Directions in the further development of socialist economic management and planning under the fraternal Cuban country's concrete conditions.

#### The Fascist Reichstag Fire Provocation and Its Background

[Summary of article by Prof Dr Siegfried Vietzke, deputy director, SED History Department, Karl Marx Party College, SED Central Committee; pp 194-199]

[Text] The Reichstag fire provocation gave the upbeat to unrestrained terror through which the fascist rulers mainly sought to destroy the KPD, to extinguish then also the SPD and all bourgeois-democratic parties. Yet they did not accomplish their main goal. The KPD proved itself the only German party able to centralize and organize the antifascist resistance, and the worldwide solidarity movement developed by the Communist International, which enforced the release of Dimitrov and his comrades-in-arms, that dealt the fascist dictatorship the first political defeat international in scope.

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CSO: 2300/213

IMPORTANCE OF MONEY, PROFITS IN SOCIALIST ECONOMY AFFIRMED

Leipzig, LEIPZIGER VOLKSZEITUNG in German 19-20 Mar 83 p 11

[We and Our Times' feature interview with Prof Dr Horst Richter, Karl Marx University, by Rolf Moebius: "Timely Dialogues: Seeker, Not a Prophet--How Does Marx Nonetheless Help Shape Our Economy Which He Did Not Know?"]

[Text] Prof Dr Horst Richter, age 51, director, Franz Mehring Institute, Karl Marx University; member, SED Leipzig Bezirk Management. Started as a mechanic, prepared for higher education at the Worker and Peasant Faculty (ABF), studied in Moscow until 1956. Doctoral degree in 1961, university teaching qualification certificate (habilitation) in 1968, appointed professor for political economy of socialism. First secretary, SED Kreis Management at Karl Marx University, 1972-76. Author of college textbook on political economy; other publications on industrial operations, goods production, value theory in socialism. Married, two children, two grandchildren.

The Central Committee's theses for the Karl Marx Year call our economic strategy for the 1980's a creative use of Marxist knowledge under the real conditions of the GDR. Some may think this a somewhat exaggerated bow to the one being celebrated, for, much as he wanted to, Marx could not make any concrete predictions as to the function of a socialist economy. We wanted to find out in more detail from someone who teaches and does research in the field of political economy of socialism. Our conversation partner: Prof Dr Horst Richter.

[Question] What exactly is meant by applying Marx to our economic strategy?

[Answer] The emphasis here is on creative use. Marx did not actually leave us any recipes for a socialist economy. But that has also never been our idea. We prefer to leave such simple concepts to those who at this time always want to "defend" Marx against us, in order to make real socialism appear unfavorable. Just look at this sharp contradiction: Marx, whom they have declared dead a hundred times, also becomes their measuring stick for the qualities of

socialism. Now, conflicting statements in the bourgeois concept of Marx are nothing new. But when professors on FRG television in every breath literally accuse us of merely clinging dogmatically to Marx quotations, and at the same time figure out where we allegedly deviate from him, that is the height of helplessness, of course.

Today we need Marx more than ever. The two decisive tasks facing us, as comrade Honecker stated to the first Kreis secretaries--maintaining peace and, also for the purpose of making socialism strong, better utilizing its advantages--pose incomparably greater demands on the leadership and planning of economic processes. The highest level of this is inconceivable without completely exhausting the abundant economic writings of Marx.

[Question] Is it still possible to discover new things in them after 100 years?

[Answer] Aside from the fact that new Marx manuscripts are actually still being discovered, it is only now, through the work on the complete Marx-Engels edition (MEGA), that Marx's economic works have been opened up editorially--for 70 years we only knew the four volumes of "Kapital" (including the "Theories on the Added Value"). It was an extraordinary event for the development of political economy and the practice of it when the "Outlines of the Criticism of Political Economy," the first variant on the "Kapital," was published in 1953. The same applies to the second draft of "Kapital," the recently published 1861/63 economic manuscripts (MEGA II/3.1-6). Precisely these preliminary works contain genial predictions about phenomena which were implied, to be sure, with the increasing collectivization of capitalism--the development of the productive force, the role of science and technology--but which are fully realizable only under socialism. Much of this did not flow into "Kapital," but was to be worked into special studies for which Marx never found the time.

To really exhaust these preliminary works for "Kapital" is to demand a great deal from our theoretical work. However, that is only one side which concerns the "new discoveries." Lenin once advised his comrades to bring out the Communist Manifesto again once a year, because something new could always be discovered. That is even more true for Marx's mighty economic works. The questions we ask of Marx also depend on our economic level. Not only did Marx's statements on the intensely expanded reproduction of society naturally become particularly important to us when we were able to begin the transition to it, but first with the experience gained from it does the importance of some knowledge, about which Marx wrote, become disclosed.

[Question] Should it not also be possible to prove this with our economic strategy?

[Answer] Let us take the statement by Marx, that in social development a point is reached where science is given the leading role in the production process--"the development of science as an independent factor in the production process." A direct line leads from that to the requirement: "A new step must be taken in connecting the advantages of socialism with the achievements of the scientific and technological revolution."

Naturally, we have always valued science highly and utilized it. But that is certainly not the same thing as the integration of science into production as strategy point number 1. We possess favorable preconditions for this integration in the form of socialist production conditions. The task was and is to utilize these optimally. For this we have formed combines throughout the entire national economy. The deepest meaning of this actually lies in rapidly connecting science more tightly with production.

[Question] What is the reason why the Karl Marx Year theses established that precisely the Marxist theory of reproduction is the foundation for our economic strategy?

[Answer] To that as well the statement applies, that Marx did not study the reproduction process of the socialist society. But Marx left us the methodology, with which for example the task of intensifying all reproduction processes can be established. The reason for this demand is often increasing raw material prices. This is true, of course, just as the economic war of U.S. imperialism against socialism further intensifies the demands. To a highly developed industrial society intensification is first and foremost an objectively legitimate process. This applies already to capitalism--and even more so for socialism. We cannot lift the work productivity, which is ultimately decisive for socialism, above the level of the most progressive capitalist nations, unless we pay at least as much attention to the highest efficiency in all sectors of the reproduction process as a capitalist does to the greatest possible profit from both components of his capital--from the constant one, which he expends for machines, buildings, raw materials and energy, and from the variable one, with which he buys the commodity of labor.

[Question] That also answers the question, often asked, of whether this will continue forever, that the present plants have to be made more productive through modernization, and that more has to be produced with less material and energy.

[Answer] That is an objective process, Marx teaches us. And we are still quite at the beginning of it. In many branches of industry we are in the process of implementing Marx's findings, that through the modernization of fixed capital without an additional mass of value, that is to say through simple reproduction from the aspect of value and simple (equal in value, but more modern) replacement of worn-out production tools, effects can and must already be achieved, which de facto equal an expanded production.

That is the methodological starting point for rationalization: By using the knowledge of natural science and technology at their "highest point" not only to restore the capacity of a plant during general repairs and capital expenditures for replacements, but decisively to improve it.

Marx also dealt with the retransformation of the "excrements of production," which we today no longer even call waste but secondary raw materials, as a basic question of intensely expanded production. Reusing the "waste" saves society additional accumulations. This as well is proof that by means of the

most recent scientific knowledge simple reproduction back to the source becomes expanded production. That is to say, not poor people politics, but an expression of the fact, that "the productive power available to humanity"...is "immeasurable" (Engels).

The idea of the national economic circulation, in which nothing goes to waste, existed long before Marx. It only received a scientific foundation when Marx connected the circulation of material with the circulation of value. We see similar things under another decisive aspect of intensely expanded reproduction, processing. The concept becomes transparent only in the light of Marx's value theory. According to Marx, the expenditures for raw materials and machinery must not necessarily grow in order to obtain a surplus profit; it is sufficient when the product "...receives a higher finish, higher consumer value," which can be achieved through a much higher proportion of complicated (especially more highly qualified) labor and then also results in a higher new value.

Our economic strategy is also linked to this idea by Marx--it is like tailor-made for us: Growing new value, a more valuable end product not by the use of more human labor (which we do not have), but through complicated, qualified labor, which according to Marx is multiplied, potentiated, simple labor, which our republic possesses in ample measure. That is also an advantage of socialism which we must utilize far better. We have a highly trained working class, and in addition we have trained more diplomate engineers and economic scientists than most highly developed nations. This must now be put to use economically.

[Question] In addition to the role of scientific and technological progress you have frequently stressed the importance of the Marxist value theory for our economic strategy. That is one of the points which our adversaries love to attack....

[Answer] ...because Marx envisioned the new society as free from the goods-money relationships, which hide many internal connections. Well, when they need to they treat Marx just as dogmatically as they charge that we do. Even Lenin, while continuing to develop Marxism for his epoch, was accused of falsifying Marx, of "revisionism."

It is truly among the greatest theoretical achievements of the CPSU, of other parties and other fraternal parties, that they have unequivocally declared that socialism cannot exist with the production of goods, without money, costs and profits. We obtained this knowledge, which actually goes beyond Marx, precisely after having used Marx's method consistently to study the practical application of socialism from 1917 until today.

But the accusation which our opponents link with it--that the socialist economy cannot function, which is why we still have to resort to "market-economic principles" through the back door, so to speak--is of course a prime example of imperialism demagoguery. After all, Marx did prove first, that socialism functions only with social ownership of the means of production, second, that planning is part of socialist production and finally, third, that the goal of

socialist production is not value, not even added value, but the manufacture of consumer values in order better to meet the needs of the people.

Those are the essential marks of a socialist economy, which distinguish it from any other "market economy." The historical application of it corresponds exactly with Marx's predictions. The production of goods, costs, prices and profits does not eliminate methodical planning, but turns out to be the indispensable means for its implementation. The production of goods is an extremely important means for realization of the purpose, the significance of socialism, but not a goal in itself. To that extent it is necessary to penetrate even deeper into Marx's value theory, in order to reveal Marx's economic knowledge in its entirety.

[Question] So you expect significant new findings in the future as well?

[Answer] As I said, an important part of Marx's work has just been made accessible, among it for the first time the complete "Pamphlets for Technology." Marx shows in detail how the process of producing relative added value is inseparably connected with the formation of a type of technology which corresponds exactly with the capitalist production conditions: Manual work was replaced by machines, labor was laid off with all the social problems which still plague capitalism today.

From the aspect of methodology this is highly interesting to us, because it helps us answer the question of what the nature of the technology must be. It is not enough for socialism simply to reach the level of technology produced in capitalism, although for the moment that may be the target of the struggle on many points. We need technology which first enables us to have a higher technology than the capitalist one. Second, it must give pleasure to those who use this technology--work must be creative. And third, this technology must be inherently sensible in relation to the environment.

The theoretical explanation and practical solution of this is a task which will last us into the new century. The abovementioned pamphlets by Marx provide interesting incentives for this.

Thus, we are constantly gaining new insights into Marx's research laboratory. It helps us master our current problems. It makes it impossible for the opponents to play off Marx's words one against the other--the "young" Marx against the "old" Marx, perhaps, or passages from the third volume of the "Kapital" against the first--because the inner connection of these statements now stand openly revealed.

Our ideological adversaries would certainly be poor opponents if they did not constantly initiate new attacks despite all. But it is becoming more difficult for them all the time. The things that occur to them are not getting any cleverer, as we saw. Marx is just as far above the heads of today's "Marx Killers" as he was above those of 100 years ago.

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CSD: 2300/190

'INNER CONTRADICTIONS' IN SOCIALISM YET TO BE RESOLVED

Leipzig LEIPZIGER VOLKSZEITUNG in German 2-3 Apr 83 p 11

[ 'We and Our Times' feature article by Prof Dr Martina Thom, Karl Marx University, Leipzig: "The Marxian Prognoses About the True Realm of Freedom--What Marx Can Tell Us With Regard to Shaping the Developed Socialist Society." See also a translation of a LEIPZIGER VOLKSZEITUNG interview with Prof Horst Richter of Karl Marx University on the importance of money and profits in the socialist economy, published elsewhere in this JPRS issue. For additional related information, see translations of articles from various East and West German sources, published under quoted headings in the following JPRS issues of this series: "Utopian Expectations From Real Socialism Flouted," 82824, 8 Feb 83, No 2105, pp 12-14; "Existence of Contradictions in Socialist System Acknowledged," 80734, 5 May 82, No 2007, pp 22-24; "Class Differences Defended Against 'Ultraleftist Ideas of Equality,'" 82114, 29 Oct 82, No 2069, pp 32-42; "Academician Warns Against Misinterpreting 'Communist Equality Ideal,'" 82376, 3 Dec 82, No 2081, pp 4-8; "SED Sociologist Claims 'Intellectual Work' Insufficiently Rewarded," 80936, 28 May 82, No 2017, pp 12-16; "West German Book on Class Differences in GDR Reviewed," 82758, 28 Jan 83, No 2101, pp 51-53; "'Pluralist Democracy,' Other 'Bourgeois Socialism Concepts' Attacked," 81989, 15 Oct 82, No 2064, pp 40-47]

[Text] To you, then, falls the glorious task of proving to the world that the working class now will finally no longer enter the theater of history as a dependent follower, but as an independent power, which is aware of its own responsibility and is capable of offering peace where those who want to be its masters are screaming for war.

Karl Marx, 1869

On the basis of analysis of the capitalist society Marx and Engels developed their prognoses for society which, free from private ownership of the means of production and development, is capable of realizing true humanism for all people.

In shaping the developed socialist society we support ourselves on prognoses, which Karl Marx presented over 100 years ago from scientific analysis of the historical powers of the social labor process and the historical mission of the working class. In our party program, in the following party documents and



recently in the theses for the Karl Marx Year, it is convincingly shown how today, under the conditions of a complicated international class struggle and in accordance with our internal historical opportunities, we are shaping the humanist character of communist social development in the phase of developed socialism. With that, we in the GDR supply proof that even in a highly developed industrial nation socialism "is the only possible way to solve the vital questions of the working people and to bring about social progress." (Theses for the Karl Marx Year.)

Karl Marx formulated the following principle for shaping the communist society, as a humanist society, in which general progress no longer takes place at the expense of the masses but is measured by and based on a rich development of the creative potentials of all individuals: In communism "we are dealing with a union of free people, who work with common means of production and who use their many individual labor strengths confidently, as a social labor force." (Kapital, I, Marx/Engels/Works, Vol 23, p 92.)

The purpose of this development and the meaning which people give to it lies in a qualitatively new relationship of necessity and freedom and in the creation of a new kind of wealth. To be sure, this depends on the wealth of material goods as its material-technical basis, but that is not all of it. It expresses above all the wealth of developing the personalities, their individual talents and capabilities founded on a multitude of activities and collective relationships. The "realm of necessity" (of the material production) naturally remains the unavoidable basis for such development, but it is not an end in itself: "The true wealth of society and the opportunity for constant expansion of its reproduction process does not depend on how much longer the work is, but how productive it is and on the more or less abundant production conditions under which it takes place. In fact, the realm of freedom begins only where the labor, which is determined by necessity and purpose, ends: According to the nature of the matter it is therefore outside the sphere of the actual material production.

Marx thus emphasizes the growing advantage of leisure time for free self-activity by the individuals, who could thereby return to the production process as new subjects, however. This process becomes highly productive through science and technology, but is organized with savings of human labor--and moreover according to the principle of the economy of time" (the saving of working time). But even then work does not become "play," as Fourier, the utopian, believed; it is also not "asceticism," as national economist Adam Smith suggested--but in its qualitative reorganization as a rich field of activity it has become a true necessity of life both in material production and outside of it. Both inside and outside the production activity freedom is realized in an entirely new way: Freedom in the area of production consists of the fact "that the collective human being and his associated producers regulate this materials exchange with nature in a rational manner and bring it under their joint control, instead of being controlled by it as by a blind power, and that they carry this out with the least amount of force and under the most dignified and most adequate conditions of their human nature. But this will always remain a realm of necessity. Beyond this begins the development of the human strength which serves as a goal in itself, the true

realm of freedom, which, however, can only blossom on the basis of this realm of necessity." (Kapital, III, MEW, Vol 25, p 828.)

Therefore one must always take into account in what connection of overall social strategy Marx brought up the question of shaping the economic process, --a circumstance which does not always receive sufficient attention in the propaganda work. But this Marxian hypothesis is so highly important to us for yet another reason: The inadmissible conclusion is sometimes drawn--and also used as propaganda by bourgeois mass media and publications--that the Marxian prognoses are a utopia, which it is not possible to realize under our conditions (particularly since Marx emphasizes the necessary shortening of the production work day). Bourgeois theoreticians and politicians expend a great deal of effort in order to oppose Marx's "humanistic utopia" with an anticommunist-slanted picture of real socialism. In so doing they completely ignore that Marx in no way describes a distant ideal goal, but the fundamental tendency of the historical development process of forming the communist society in a world-historical dimension and moreover as being a "lengthy and painful" process, as he himself sometimes put it, although he could not foresee the complication of this process under the conditions of confrontation with imperialism.

In this world-historical process of humanistic formation of a new society internal conflicts also occur, which can only be solved by the wealth of ideas, the initiatives, discipline and creativity of the working people. For example, the secretary-general of the CPSU, comrade Yuri Andropov, recently referred to such a conflict in an interesting article (see NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 25 January, 1983). He showed that with the achievement of social ownership of the means of production, all the processes of transforming "mine" into "ours" in the actions and minds of the people have not been completed by far. Furthermore, in his manuscripts on economic policy written in 1844, the young Marx already noted that in a communist society the bourgeois category of "wanting to have" and the happiness concept based on it and on individual enjoyment must be replaced by a new form of enjoyment: the enjoyment of a rich development of strength and rich social relationships while utilizing the social and historical potentials of the labor process.

Many other problems of giving humanistic meaning to our society are justly under discussion today, and it is extraordinarily important deliberately to promote such discussions. For historical processes do not take place in a fatalistic reality but are actively shaped by us, by the way we establish our values and norms. To be sure, freedom depends on insight into the necessity --but this should not be understood so that activity, creativity and freedom of decision in assorted variants are excluded.

Such an important problem is the one of the relationship between personality ideals, the development of capacity and using the achievement principle as a distribution principle and as a social recognition of individual achievement. Therefore, we know how important consistent implementation of the achievement principle is in order to stimulate the willingness to achieve and to increase work productivity. Each infraction of this principle would in the end be unjust and inhuman. But it is based on certain preconditions of humanistic

treatment, as for example on the unity of economic and social policy, in order to reduce undeserved differences and hardships, and above all on the further expansion of conditions for the individuals, in order to develop their various talents and abilities. This plays a role in the choice of profession, but also in cultivating collective relationships, so that the strengths and weaknesses of each human being are properly evaluated and can be sensibly used.

Personality ideals and achievement standards are not abstract principles and may not be dealt with as such--on the contrary, it is a matter of promoting and demanding of each human being according to his abilities, capabilities and his conscious efforts to exhaust his potentials. As we know, the principles of our socialist society are as follows: "From each according to his capabilities, to each according to his accomplishments." In this way alone can that be realized, to which on the one hand we are assigned in mastering our major tasks, but which on the other hand also constitutes the major strength of our humanism: making it possible for people to learn that they are the actual creators of the historical process, and that they will find the true enjoyment of their lives in this, their collective work, which simultaneously requires the individual, practicing that which demands activity and creativity but also the capability of self-examination and self-correction.

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CSO: 2300/190

NOVEL POINTING TO 'SERIES OF SOCIAL PROBLEMS' REVIEWED

East Berlin FORUM in German Vol 37 No 6, Mar 83 p 14

["Time of Decision"--'Critique' by Christa Schuenke of novel "Gleisverwerfung" [Track Distortion] by Juergen Hoepfner, published by Mitteldeutscher Verlag, Halle, 1982]

[Text] What Eberhard Panitz recently wrote about "really new books," namely that they emanate an uneasiness which we should face without prejudice, applies to Juergen Hoepfner's first novel.

"Gleisverwerfung" [Track Distortion] is not a book about someone upset and swept to the edge of society. Neither is it the story of a haughty individual who proudly rejects the good and safe track bed thoughtfully prepared for him by the previous generation to search for his fortune on an untried path. Rather it tells of one for whom the ground is shaking under his feet, under whose probing step the tracks are being distorted, the worn and the new--the seams are still fresh--and who has to learn to lay the tracks for his own life.

The time: the years from 1957 to 1961. The place: Lankenhagen, a small town, a stone's throw from the center of Berlin. The protagonist: Volker Brahm, son of an NVA [National People's Army] officer, pupil--first in elementary and then in an expanded high school, pioneer, member of the FDJ, 13 at the beginning of the book, 17 at the end.

I vividly remember the time in which the story takes place, the time of the "cold war," the new beginning under the difficult circumstances of a past, overcome, it is true, in basic social relations, but not yet in every head. The atmosphere of awakening, optimism, trust in our own strength, but also of latent fear of a new war, of sabotage, of treason within our own ranks that often created suspicion where trust and patience would have been more appropriate. To find one's way then was not easy for a teenager.

It was especially difficult for one who was not born into the circumstances typical of the capital and its suburbs with their proximity to the open border with West Berlin. Having moved from the idyllic Naumburg, he has to orient himself more than other youths; that sharpens his view and predestines him to be a precise observer of his surroundings. Still flexible and unhardened, he stands at the very beginning of his wrestle with a reality whose problematic nature proved too difficult for people much better equipped, adults with their education completed and proven social connections, politically trained people.

Brahm sees how teachers, who only the day before had been preparing their pupils for the vow of the initiation ceremony, cross the border at night and in fog. He meets two-faced adults who demand clearcut commitments from the young. His parents lack understanding. His father, who has not yet fully gotten over the taint of his outdated military career, and his forever politically indifferent mother are the very model of petit bourgeoisie. Always concerned not to give offense and not to attract attention, they are unable to guide their son who is looking for a support in the confusion of that time.

Equally unable are teachers like the principal, Ziegler, the representative of the "hard line," who suspects an attack on the foundations of the new order behind a harmless magnesium flash set off in the school. His pedagogical methods stem from the repertoire of the Prussian crammers who above everything else drilled fatal blind obedience into their pupils.

On the other hand, there are figures like the artist, Senfleben, who would like to use art lessons to urge his pupils to critical thinking and honesty. Or Kolberg, the principal of the expanded secondary school. A smart, true communist who fought for his convictions and who knows: "To form young people and show them the way, it takes first of all trust, love and patience. And also the young teacher, Peters, and the party secretary of the EOS [expanded secondary school], Ehrentraut, are among those whom the boy respects and trusts.

But these characters, except Ehrentraut, always disappear from his sight again in no time at all: Senfleben has to leave the school after differences with Ziegler, Kolberg dies, and Peters gives up teaching for research. With Oettel, Kolberg's successor, a second Ziegler becomes principal, and Suemnich, Volker's new homeroom teacher, is a parochial flatterer whose power the students fear just as much as they despise him for his slick arguments in civics classes.

Thus, abandoned to a large extent by adults, Volker falls in with friends of his own age who, similarly disoriented as he is, work off their disappointment with rock'n roll and in aggressive actions. Volker feels drawn to the "clique" that accepts him and in the atmosphere of which everything seems uncomplicated. But when the others plan a real criminal action, he excludes himself, initially rather instinctively. And when he becomes aware how thin the veneer of his resistance was, and how little it would have taken to make himself guilty, he decides to break out of the tricky structure of his relationships. He leaves the purported track and goes to a brickyard as a tracklayer.

For his novel, Hoepfner selects a style that somewhat resembles Doebelin's "Berlin Alexanderplatz." He makes a montage of segments of reality, strong emotionally colored reflections, thought associations, catchwords and commercial slogans typical of the time, thickens the language to a high degree and gives it cogent gestures. In this way, he approximates what Thomas Mann called "rhapsodic reportage."

This grasp proves advantageous where Volker's awareness of life, his doubts and longings are the objects of consideration. And it enables a convincing reflection of the aura of the late fifties and early sixties.

However, what matters more to the author is: How this aura came into being is to be explored. His book is an attempt to uncover structures and to examine the

repercussions of the social and political climate on the people living in it. And it is a testimony of his own strong involvement in the events described as well as in the complex processes of the present.

In this case, "Track Distortion" reminds us of works like Neutsch's "Spur der Steine" [Vestige of Stones] or Brigitte Reimann's "Franziska Linkerhand," although Hoepfner's protagonist is of a kind different from Balla or Franziska, and has to be because of his youth. These two are strong, distinct personalities able to move beyond their private sphere somewhat. Brahm is still a completely unshaped human being, the unsteady type of protagonist who is found time and again in our recent modern literature, especially in works by authors in the postwar generation. This fact points to a number of social problems we have to deal with.

I have heard and read opinions in which Hoepfner is reproached for fishing, figuratively speaking, in troubled waters and illuminating primarily the problematic aspects of our more recent history. It is said that a multitude of negative characters confront barely a handful of positive figures and these always quickly drop out of sight again.

Undeniably, Hoepfner's first novel has weaknesses. First, these have the nature of form and craft. There are too many characters. And minor characters are introduced at great length without essentially influencing the course of action. The book thereby loses on the whole some of its fullness and suspense, especially in the second part. Second, a number of important figures, first among the adults, were sketched rather roughly and others simplified to caricatures. That occasionally detracts from their credibility. It seems to me, however, this is due to the author's relationship, unresolved in some ways, to his own experiences on which the novel is based. And here one has to consider that the assimilation of this period in our history is not yet complete. Hoepfner's book is a contribution to this, one that is important and successful in many aspects, an impetus for discussion which we should take up because it is useful to us.

8545

CSO: 2300/197

## TRADE UNION OFFICIAL SPEAKS ON PRICES, WAGES, EMPLOYMENT POLICY

Budapest NEPSZAVA in Hungarian 26 Mar 83 p 7

/Interview with Laszlo Bukta, department head of the National Council of Trade Unions, by correspondent Laszlo Dankovits: "Our Living Standard Policy and the Trade Unions"; date and place of interview not given/

/Text It is known that during the past years, the external conditions of Hungarian economic development were fundamentally modified by world economic and political changes. To improve our foreign economic situation and to maintain and stabilize our ability to pay became the most important requirements of our economic policy. To reach this goal, in addition to the investment decreases over a period of several years, a modest decrease in consumption by the population was also unavoidable in 1983. How do the workers and trade unions judge the current and prospective state of our economy? This was the topic discussed with Laszlo Bukta, department head of SZOT /National Council of Trade Unions/.

Laszlo Bukta: To evaluate the current situation, I do not think I have to analyze in detail the effect of foreign economic changes on the Hungarian economy since the mid-1970's. The majority of workers know well and understand our problems and the losses derived from the deteriorated exchange ratio, the narrowed selling markets and the changes in the international monetary system. But they feel and criticize even more the deficiencies of our internal labors which are causing otherwise avoidable losses. I am referring here to losses on a scale of billions due to faulty quality, lack of organization, delayed investments and inappropriate use of the legal work-period.

/Question These coupled views are the stressful and, at the same time, contradictory manifestations of our current situation. Unfortunately, to date the Hungarian economy has been able to adapt only in part to these world economic "challenges."

/Answer It is a fact that, as a result of our efforts and conscious endeavors, the trend toward insolvency, involving unforeseeable consequences,

was successfully halted and the road to an improved balance constituting the condition of future development was entered. During the past years, our economy was unfavorably affected by the changes in the international monetary situation and the maintenance of our solvency was in danger. But we did find the answer also to this problem.

It is the definite stand of the trade unions that increasing the income-producing capacity of the economy is the basic and lasting solution to our trade balance situation. It is our opinion that any further opportunities for withholding resources by budgetary means are minimal. Such reserves have been exhausted or are at the point of being exhausted. Additional restrictions on investments would limit our future development and a more dynamic economic growth. A prolonged reduction of public consumption would make it more difficult to provide incentives and would further aggravate present tensions currently related to the living standard. Therefore, we consider it necessary that economic guidance should find those means and methods which promote effective production, insure the conditions for steady and well-organized work--their absence is often voiced by workers--and provide material and moral acknowledgement to high-standard work. It is our duty to represent these justified demands of the workers and to endorse them while cooperating with the state organs, whether it involves income regulation, trade policy, saving of materials, leadership requirements or cadre policy.

Therefore, we look upon a more systematic use of collective thinking not only as a social goal but also as an indispensable method for a more complete exploitation of economic reserves and a modernization of both products and production. In our opinion it is not sufficient either on the part of the economic leadership or of the trade unions that they occasionally simply acknowledge and register the wise and progressive observations and opinions voiced at meetings at the workplace or in the course of work. At any time, but especially these days, we cannot do without the initiatives of the workers to improve planning and economy.

#### Disputes--Toward Common Goals

Question The demands formulated by the trade unions--in addition to production--unquestionably relate also to reconsideration of the distribution system. The duties of trade unions to protect and represent interests demand that they themselves also formulate the responses to the complex societal and social problems of our day. Do the trade unions assume any kind of point of view regarding our policy on the standard of living and the path or method of its future development?

Answer I could give a concise reply by saying that work on developing a conception on living standard policy is in progress. Its particular features are defined by the place occupied by the trade union movement in the policy mechanism. But this reply is oversimplified. Naturally, changes in the main societal processes and in the efforts of economic development must necessarily be reflected in the conditions of the distribution of goods.



The socioeconomic processes of the latest period pose quite a few questions by themselves. Not a small fraction of these also touches on our distribution conditions. Such are, for instance, the principle of differentiation according to production which we proclaim in theory but which we often apply completely differently in practice. What active forces move the aspirations for equality? Can the earlier proclaimed principles of our allotment system indeed be preserved under the current situation? What is the reason, in our distribution system, that those with increasing wealth and those with multiple disadvantages can be found simultaneously?

It is the task of trade unions to examine and answer these questions. We are in a period of searching for directions and are in dispute with regard to many questions. The unique feature of our work is provided by the method of our approach and by the source of our information. Our standpoint is always defined by a consideration of whether the goal and the intent meet with the interests of the worker masses, or just of certain strata. In weighing individual decisions, in addition to economic rationality, the sociopolitical effect is a determinant for us. Our disputes with and differences in viewpoint from the state organs often stem from this.

Question Public opinion is seldom informed about such disputes. Would you mention a few examples?

Answer To avoid misunderstanding, I should like to stress that in our socialist system, with respect to social advancement, the state and trade unions have a common goal. At the same time, in addition to the fundamental identity of interests, the state and the trade unions fulfill a well-defined and perceptibly different role in the division of labor in our social and political mechanisms. For instance, living standard policy is a key area where the unity and contradiction of interests represented by the state and the trade unions have fully emerged. For instance, it happens that the state--with a view primarily to the monetary goals of a budget--wants to introduce measures to limit or decrease income. But the trade union--while acknowledging the necessity to improve the budget--weighs the monetary advantages of the measure but will first of all examine how the measure will affect the situation of those strata touched by it and what tensions the decision will evoke. Such debate arises in the preparation of certain price decisions, when various allotments are reexamined or precisely when the central wage policy measures are ranked. This is understandable, for the trade unions study not only the economic effect of the measure but first of all the consequences affecting social policy and the social strata.

To Preserve and Increase the Values

Question The debates mentioned can be resolved by accepting compromises. In comparing the various standpoints, what are those values and goals to the trade union which must determine the character of our social development and living standard policies in the future?

Answer In their living standard policy activities, the trade unions, now as well as in the future, strive to preserve and evolve the basic values and

achievements originating from the essential features and legitimacy of our socialist social system and to enrich the socialist mode of living with new elements. The essential side of the matter is that the daily work of preserving interests is unthinkable today without a "compass." This is what can give us direction in our changing world. The compass represents a system of goals and values which must be formulated by the trade union movement in the interest of its own work and decisions. But this cannot be an overgrown collection of views "engraved in stone." The social processes place certain values into new perspective, they reevaluate them. This is natural in our changing world.

At the same time, it is our firm conviction that we have certain values and achievements which must not be given up even under the most difficult economic circumstances. These are the essential features of socialism. We declare the security of employment but accept the reasonable regrouping of the work force, support the more forceful incentives and the greater differentiation according to achievements, etc. We welcome and support every change and proposal which serves to increase our economic power and thereby creates a more favorable living standard. At the same time, we contest every proposal which questions our basic achievements and values. In formulating values, we start with the view that the basic features of our living standard policy are connected with the security of existence and its reenforcement. To the millions living on wages and salaries--and therefore also to us--full employment attained at a high level is not a questionable value of our society. We think that this is not only a sociopolitical achievement expressing the wish of the people but also the expression of the functional legitimacy of the socialist economy.

Why must this be emphasized? Because both in professional circles and in the public there are views--fortunately rather limited in number--that to improve the effectiveness of employment, unemployment is unavoidable. Those who expect that unemployment will provide for more solid work discipline, the discontinuation of overemployment "inside of the gates" and a spectacular improvement in productivity are entertaining false illusions. It is our conviction that unemployment does not solve anything; rather it breeds serious social tensions.

The superiority of the socialist social system must be expressed precisely by finding the means and methods necessary for realizing full and effective employment simultaneously. The trade unions support the principle that we guarantee not a given workplace but sensible work. This is not contradicted by the wish that--as far as possible--the work which could be effectively performed should be brought to the workers rather than by regrouping the workers. But, if the latter becomes unavoidable, we expect the state organs to work out the organizational and institutional system of regrouping. We consider as suitable means the expansion of the institutional system for education, retraining and advanced training, the learning of a second trade and the wider use of more flexible forms of employment. Reenforcement of regional support capacity and accentuated development of the infrastructure can play an important role.

## Our Wage Policy and Allotment System

Among basic values, we must mention income security as a factor closely tied to employment security. To shape the income of the population is a decisive factor in our living standard policy which reenforces socialist distribution conditions. Among others, it becomes possible to develop individual abilities which in turn serve the emergence of a more complete life. Of course, income security does not mean security detached from economic or even individual production or security independent from it. In our income policy, we must more consistently apply distribution according to work and, parallel with it, differentiation according to work achievement. At the same time, we consider as faulty the assumption that meeting the demands of income policy and social policy can only be accomplished at the expense of one or the other. We believe that the sources of income policy and social policy are created by the genuine enforcement of the income policy. And a more forceful differentiation, to be asserted in the income policy, will be made possible precisely by an active social policy.

Through this consideration we demand the advancement of our allotment system and, within it, primarily an increase in the social support extended to child rearing. The main tool of this advancement is the advancement of the family allowance. In addition to the cash allowances toward the raising of children, the broad range of social allotments in kind, which serve the same purpose, must be retained in the future.

Beyond insuring free education and health care, the trade unions consider the various free or subsidized services indispensable. These provide both for children and adults. The mission of meals at the workplace, vacations and child care institutions is not merely to make these services available to everyone but also, by reinforcing the identifying features of the socialist mode of living, to arouse demands in this direction. The operation and advancement of these institutions are doubtlessly accompanied by budgetary burdens. And, because there is not enough of them, the use of these institutions does not always reflect social justice and the original goals of the trade unions. The trade unions support every proposition which promotes the more effective and just distribution of social allotments but they oppose those efforts which, because of narrow monetary considerations, would question the very existence of these social institutions.

The advancement of the retirement system, as a social security factor, has an important place in our value system. One of the great social cares of our future, which is ripe for solution, is to preserve the real value of retirement benefits. In spite of the stressful problems, it is our opinion that the current principles of our retirement system are basically correct. That is, retirement benefits must continue to be tied to work in the future.

In the interest of preserving the real value of earnings and allotments and to avoid unjustified differentiation in income, price stability--the goal-oriented, planned shaping of consumer prices based on the evaluation of sociopolitical goals--is considered important. Our view, proclaimed in the past, will not be changing in the future: the increase in consumer prices must be kept within strict limits based on the joint evaluation of economic and social effects.

The population continues to react sensitively to price increases. They know clearly that fixing prices is economically unacceptable and is accompanied by severe stresses. At the same time, they justly object if the price regulation is merely a means of income reduction, if the uncertainty around free prices increases. The attitude of the trade unions toward price policy is guided by a wish to prevent inflation. We should modify--and if necessary limit--those pursuits which search for a way out of increasing the consumer price level instead of stemming the price increase by increased production, better utilization of capital and more economical use of materials and energy. In conclusion, I am going to mention one more thing without claiming completeness: we consider the supply of goods and the level of allotments important political factors.

#### To Mitigate the Disadvantages

Question In the changing system of sociopolitical processes, changes in the socialist mode of living are an oft-debated topic. What do the trade unions see as the sharply definable features of the socialist mode of living?

Answer In our opinion, the endeavors of our long-range living standard policy must be directed toward the development of social equality. We consider it decisively important to reinforce democratism, to maintain the openness of society, to modify the sharp differences between the population segments living under the most unfavorable and most favorable conditions, to provide the possibilities for cultural advancement, health care, sports and recreation. These days these questions are sharply raised in relation to small businesses: can free time be the source of earning additional income? Where do we stand with overtime, the classical demand of trade unions, the "three times eight," asked by the workers. The trade unions must reply in a creative fashion to every such new question and to the development of appropriate behavior.

We have supported the initiatives associated with small businesses because the goals and intentions represented correct aspirations. But their mechanism of action has to be clarified as soon as possible. This much is certain: with respect to free time, our "classical" value judgment is not changing. Free time in the future must be set aside for culture, entertainment and rest. Moreover, we would like it if there were an increase in time that could be spent on learning, child raising, sports and creative or even entertaining hobbies. At the same time, this also means that unless in the case of necessary conditions, the general decrease in work time and a parallel, sensible restriction of income-producing activities performed during the free time must be continued in the long run. The basic goal is that everyone should utilize his intellectual and physical abilities during activities in his principal occupation, within the legal time period and as far as possible. And that this should represent to him the road toward self-fulfillment and toward earning and possibly increasing the needed income.

2473

CSO: 2500/200

## LITERATI COFFEE HOUSE REVIVED

Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 16 Mar 83 p 6

[Article by Anna Valachi: "Revived Traditions"]

[Text] For four years, I was wrong.

I had thought myself in exile in Ujpest because since I moved there, it was as though I had been living in a vacuum: only adventure-films were shown at the movies, while the repertory theater was closed every year under some excuse, heating repairs or more recently remodeling; we were always shown to the door of the restaurant or espresso just as the conversation began to warm up; after ten at night, policemen always looked suspiciously at a female, wondering what she could be doing at the streetcar stop of the deserted thoroughfare; for years, it was only at the playground while swinging children that I was able to meet new friends, mommies in circumstances similar to my own, in need of adult words and human companionship; and I could go on and on about the negative cultural and social experiences that came with our location.

## Congenial Table Society

My attitude did not change automatically. When I first saw the advertisement on the street for the Friday night open literati coffee house I was just surprised: this typical downtown activity seemed out of place with my impression of Ujpest. When I finally joined the first coffee house at the Endre Ady Cultural and Worker Education Center, I stared: what congenial groups surrounded the tables with tobacco-brown tablecloths, candles and flowers, standing separately or pushed together over and over again, in a genuine coffee house atmosphere. I could not believe my eyes. I thought that these must be just socialist brigades called out for the evening, celebrating the night in a half business, half-family atmosphere. It also struck me that here were obviously many married couples, chatting and laughing with each other and among themselves. In this atmosphere of general merry-making, I felt like Crusoe left on the desert island without Friday.

The organizers did not let me sit alone for long, however, if only because by all signs, I was the only stranger. They were at least as curious about me as I about them. Thus we soon began to talk.

Judit Balint, director of the cultural center, informed me that these forty-five people or their friends--among them lawyers and artists, doctors and engineers, cosmeticians and teachers, typists and students--were all from Ujpest, and isolated existence was not to their liking. The majority were members of the literati or public clubs what were active in the sixties and seventies but since had been disbanded. The literati coffee house can be considered primarily as their new meeting place, but the door is naturally open to others too.

"But why literati, and why coffee houses?" I asked at a loss, after listening to the diverse program suggestions of these samovar tappers. Some proposed high-level debates for all occasions; others preferred dining, dancing, and gossip. Except for agreeing to hear one or two authors at times, and not being unfavorable to theater productions either, these people did not seem to show any special interest in literature.

"The literati coffee house is a catch-name, but not without meaning," Miklos Gyorffy enlightened me. He is the host and constant spokesman for this group and knows more of the history of Budapest's district than anyone else among the coffee house regulars. He outlined for me those old cultural traditions which--although much transformed by time--could still bring Ujpest residents interested in the world and in each other together into a unique gathering.

#### Memories of the Inspiring Public Life

"We want to revive the old social life of Ujpest, and precisely here, in the rooms of what used to be the Arpad cafe. This used to be the haunt of average men, bookies, gamblers and artists, and the conversation could fall to literature as well as to anything else in the world. We want to bring over this coffee house openness and variety from the past. It would be ideal if everyone could find his favorite subject, an understanding partner or merely a little pleasant diversion here."

So let us look at those fruitful local traditions. While Ujpest was considered a separate town--until 1950--it could boast a multi-level cultural life that went back to the middle of the last century. The bourgeois culture--clubs, boxes at the theatre, associations, circles--and the forums of worker education--seminars, courses, lectures, reading circles and amateur cultural groups--also gained strength. At the coffeehouses the bourgeois gathered, writers worked and artists made friends--and until 1909, the coffeehouses as well as the restaurants were meeting places for union members. (After that year, the newly dedicated Ujpest workers' home became the center for public education.)

The news of the vibrant intellectual life of the city, the independent, locally-oriented patriotic press and the artistically stimulating environment reached Pest too and aroused interest. Attila Jozsef took the streetcar out to Ujpest regularly, for the sake of his intellectual and literary companions there; Jozsef Berda did not move from his poorish one-room efficiency, even when the rousing public life of Ujpest became only a memory.

The unique culture of the city with its financial and intellectual independence is gone today. Through the effects of the population, the frequent economic reorganization and population transfer, it has been replaced. Whoever moves into this culturally rather sterile district from another will feel himself particularly rootless and foreign at first. Even if he is successful at making new connections, he will never feel the pride at being from Ujpest that swelled the chests of previous generations. For him, this part of town is at most home of the famous soccer team, and merely a residence for him.

But the traditions, it seems, found their way through secret ways, invisible arteries, into the life of the new population. It cannot be accidental that the successors to the voluntarily established cultural fellowships arise, apparently from nowhere, when they are most needed. In the sixties, Ujpest residents assembled to "search for truth." Then, as they resolved their internal needs and no longer needed to meet for sincere discussion, they withdrew to build up their private happiness. A few years later the same people--grown in family and finances--met again as a free group of adults seeking open opinions and thought on public affairs. Thus those wanting carefree diversion incited the intellectual camp temporarily. Now, for who knows what reason or how long, some unnamed restlessness has once again brought them together.

No one can express exactly the cohesive force that repeatedly creates a magnetic field--not necessarily intellectual in direction--between the old and new residents of Ujpest. This is no longer the legendary "spirit of Ujpest"; that disappeared without a trace along with the city that created it. Its heir--however we may call it--must however be accepted with appropriate respect; according to our sociologists, it is precisely these traditional and spontaneous groupings that can, in the long run, develop into small democratic communities. In the February issue of VALOSAG, Ivan Vitanyi expects that these rare, "revived" communities will ease the overly-bureaucratized cultural educational institutions back into their original function, so that they can become active sources of "living culture."

#### An Exception to the Rule

"The socio-economic development of the past decades has truly favored individuation in the sphere of daily life, rather than the strengthening of immediate communities," writes Vitanyi. But whoever spends a surprisingly pleasant and meaningful evening in the newly-opened special coffee house at Ujpest--where lately the literati argued with Miklos Hernadi, author of "Felesleges apak" in ES magazine, disagreeing and interrupting with all the familiarity of a solidified group--can find the exception which may someday replace the rule.

And those who found their residence in Ujpest an isolating exile, like myself, can now be richer by admitting one mistake.

9890  
CSO: 2500/184

## ACTIVITY OF NEW LITERARY ASSOCIATION DESCRIBED

Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 7 Mar 83 p 5

[Article by Franciszek Bernas, secretary general of the Association of Polish Authors: "A New Organization: The Association of Polish Authors"]

[Text] The activity of the Association of Polish Authors is prompting various commentaries. They are not always based on knowledge of the facts. To bring the goals and program assumptions of this new organization closer to our readers, today we are publishing extensive excerpts from material sent to us by Franciszek Bernas, secretary general of the Association.

On 29 July 1982 in the Office of the Capital City of Warsaw, the Association of Polish Authors was registered as a creative professional organization associating authors of scientific works, popular scientific works, school and academic textbooks, and broadly conceived literature of fact. Until now, prose writers, poets, playwrights, and literary critics belonging to the ZLP [Union of Polish Writers] and journalists who are members of the SDP [Association of Polish Journalists] (at present the SD PRL [Association of Journalists of the Polish People's Republic]) have had this representation. But those enjoying general recognition as leading men of learning, and science's talented popularizers, jointly creating a broad front of Polish scientific and popular scientific literature, simply were deprived of this representation.

Their attempts to form their own creative association, attempts made repeatedly by various national centers, were the best evidence of how painfully the lack of their own organizational representation, capable of defending their rights and interests effectively, was felt by this very group of writers. After fruitless endeavors by a group of Krakow professors at the end of the 1940's, attempts made twice at the forum of the scientific literature section of the ZAIKS [Union of Actors and Theatrical Composers] ended in a similar fiasco. The present opportunity appeared only at the end of the 1970's and the beginning of the 1980's, when two independently operating Warsaw centers, a group of well-known science popularizers and a group of scientific workers from the Polish Institute for International Affairs, combined their efforts and endeavors. The first attempt to register the organization under the name of the Union of Writers of the PRL, made in the summer of 1981, failed. The efforts were renewed in the summer of 1982, this time being crowned with complete success.



On 9 December 1982, members of the Association of Polish Authors began their deliberations in Warsaw in the halls of the Teacher's House of Culture in the old part of the city--the First General Assembly of the Delegates of the Boleslaw Prus Association of Authors, with the participation of several scores of delegates from the whole country. Following an accounts report by the outgoing Interim Main Council of the Association, a discussion developed which lasted many hours.

The final accent of the deliberations of the Assembly was the adoption of a program resolution and the elections of new permanent authorities to a 4-year term. Prof Dr Habilitatus Jerzy Prokopczuk was elected president, editor Franciszek Bernas was elected secretary general, Jan Adamczewski, Prof Dr Habilitatus Andrzej Krawczewski, and editor Stanislaw Lewicki were elected vice-presidents.

We have informed the ministerial political and state authorities about the intentions and plans of the Association. Members of the presidium of the Main Council of the Association held meetings in January 1983 with Chairman of the TRK PRON [Provisional National Committee of the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth] Jan Dobraczynski, Secretary of the PZPR Central Committee Waldemar Swirgon, and Minister of Culture and Art Kazimierz Zygulski, among others. The atmosphere of these meetings, full of good will and mutual understanding, augurs well for the prospects for future collaboration and cooperation on such an important matter for us all as the issue of the development of national culture, and especially further prospects for the development of scientific and popular scientific literature.

The Association introduced the establishment of contact with appropriate ministerial political and state authorities into the structure of the social life of the PRL. But after all--and we are perfectly well aware of this--this is only the beginning of a difficult and long road which we have embarked upon spontaneously in the conviction that only in action are there real opportunities for serving one's own environment and all of society at the same time.

We rose up in the name of a common issue, convinced that the interests of our creative environment will be fully compatible with general social interests, and that the skilled use of the potential for learning and talent inherent in this very environment can bring only enormous benefit, difficult to overestimate, to the entire nation, the people's state.

Perhaps there still will be people in Poland who will try to question the validity of the existence of our Association, despite all the obviousness of our arguments. We will reply briefly to them--we are the authentic representation, appointed by the Association's very community. What is more, we are the representation of a creative environment of many thousands of people, an environment which is unusually important from the standpoint of the interests of the entire people, an environment whose publishing achievements comprise more than 50 percent of Poland's annual book production, and whose traditions go back to the glorious pages of Polish literature, written by the pens of Frycz Modrzewski, Kollataj, Staszic, Lelewel, Mochmacki, Konopczynski, Tokarz, and Korzon.

For our own part, we are not promulgating and have no intention of promulgating anyone's dispensability or any ideas of environmental conflicts. Quite the contrary, we hold out our hand to collaborate with all other creative associations, societies, and unions operating at present or intending to operate in the future. We took this position, moreover, from the very outset of our existence, as expressed in the words of our Ideoprogrammatic Declaration, among other places.

We wish to use our pens--we read in the Declaration--to shape a humanistic world view, to rouse the patriotic awareness of the vast throngs of readers. Heeding the high intellectual level of our works, we shall strive at the same time to restore the various fields and directions--this literature's due rank--to the widely circulating sociopolitical and popular science literature. We desire a broader perception of this type of literature, which is not always duly appreciated by publishers. We also long for support and recognition in the cultural policy of the state, so that authors of these kinds of books will find the aid due them. We look forward to friendly and constructive inspiration from all writers who support our programmatic assumptions. The ranks of our Association are open to any writer.

Several months have passed since these words of our declaration were put down on paper, but their sense has continued to remain timely. And probably no one can blame us for wanting to gain possession of areas that are no one else's so far.

8729

CSO: 2600/589

## BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES OF NEW OFFICIALS PUBLISHED

## PZPR Provincial Secretaries

Warsaw ZYCIE PARTIII in Polish No 5, 2 Mar 83 p 21

Text Chelm: Stanislaw Adamiak was born 13 November 1949 in Fajslawice in Chelm province of peasant origin, university graduate, agricultural engineer, and party member since 1968. From 1972-1975 he served as chairman of the ZP ZMW County Board of the Rural Youth Union in Opole Lubelskie. From 1975-1977 he served as vice-chairman of the ZW ZSMP Provincial Board of the Union of Socialist Polish Youth in Chelm. From 1977-1978 he was deputy director of the ZG ZSMP Main Board of the Union of Socialist Polish Youth Department of Science and Education. From 1978-1982, he was the deputy director of the Chelm KW PZPR PZPR Province Committee Agriculture and Food Management Department. Between 1982-1983 he was the director of the KW PZPR Socioagricultural Department in Chelm. In January 1983, he was appointed Chelm KW PZPR secretary.

Olsztyn: Wladyslaw Dragun was born 22 May 1926 in Sielatki, USSR, of peasant origin, a university graduate, agricultural engineer, and party member since 1956. From 1941-1944 he was an agricultural worker in the USSR. From 1944-1946 he served as a soldier in the Red Army. From 1946-1947 he was an accountant at Wagrodka PGR State Farms. Between 1947-1949 he received basic military training in the Polish People's Army. From 1949-1950, he was a teacher at the Worliny primary school. From 1950-1952 he was chairman of the Gorowo Ilawecki ZP ZMP Polish Youth Union, and chairman of the ZP ZMP in Lidzbark Warminski in 1952. In 1953 he was chairman of the ZW ZMP Organizational Department in Olsztyn. From 1953-1958 he served as director of the PGR group in Gorowo Ilaweckie. From 1958-1962 he was the director of the PGR Inspectorate in Gorowo Ilaweckie, and between 1962-1963 he served as director of the PGR Inspectorate in Bartoszyce. From 1963-1964 he was chairman of the PPRN Presidium of the People's District Council in Bartoszyce. From 1964-1972 he was the director of the PGR Inspectorate in Morag. From 1973-1982 he served as director of the WPGR in Morag.

He was appointed Olsztyn KW PZPR secretary in December 1982.

## New Rural Youth Leader

Warsaw SZTANDAR MŁODYCH in Polish 8 Feb 83 p 2

[Text] Leszek Lesniak was born 1 January 1950 in Krzywaczka in Krakow province of peasant family. He studied at the Krakow Teachers College, upon graduating in 1970 he obtained employment at the Myslenice university preparatory secondary school. In 1973, he completed an independent study masters program in the Philosophy-History Department of the Jagiellonian University.

Since 1963 he has been an activist for the rural youth organizations, and in 1980 he participated in the creation of the Rural Youth Union. Until his appointment as chairman of the National Board, he served as ZMW National Board secretary.

He has been a PZPR member since 1969.

## Transportation Ministry Undersecretaries

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 16 Mar 83 p 2

[Text] In accordance with a proposal submitted by the Minister of Transportation, the premier replaced the transportation ministry undersecretaries. Following Gen Div Jan Raczkowski's transfer to a foreign post, as reported earlier, Czeslaw Goscilowicz and Kazimierz Jacukowicz, both engineers, were recalled, and Dr. Andrzej Golaszewski, Zbigniew Palczewski and Dr. Franciszek Adam Wieladek were appointed at Transportation Ministry undersecretaries of state.

Andrzej Golaszewski was born in 1937 in Golymin in Ciechanow province of an intellegentsia family. He completed university studies at the Warsaw Polytechnic and graduated with a masters degree in transportation engineering, subsequently he obtained a doctorate of technical studies from the Poznan Polytechnic. Since 1961 he has been employed at the PKP [Polish State Railroad], initially in the PKP Highways Department in Poznan, serving among other things as its director. Subsequently, since 1968 he served as director of the Regional Highway Administration. In 1970 he was transferred to the Ministry of Transportation as deputy director, since 1973 he has served as director of the Central Administration for Railroad Management.

He is a PZPR member.

Zbigniew Palczewski was born in 1940 in Warsaw of an intelligentsia family. He completed university studies at the Warsaw Polytechnic and obtained a masters degree in transportation engineering. Between 1963-1967 he was employed at the Warsaw Central Rail Station, then until 1972 he was employed at the Association of Railroad Rolling Stock Repair Facilities as a senior inspector. In 1972 he transferred to the Stargard Szczecinski Railroad Rolling Stock Repair Facilities as chief engineer, and was transferred from there in 1977 again to the Association of Railroad Rolling Repair Facilities,

where he served as chief deputy director of the association. Since July 1982 he has served as chief deputy director of the Railroad Rolling Stock Facilities of the PKP general administration in Warsaw.

He is a PZPR member.

Franciszek Adam Wieladek was born in 1936 in Wieladki in Siedlce province of a peasant family. He completed university studies at Warsaw University, and graduated with a masters degree in mathematics. Subsequently, he obtained a doctorate in economics at the Main School of Planning and Statistics. He has been employed professionally since 1959, initially as a metrologist at the Main Measurements Bureau, later from 1961 he was employed in the Central Office for Transportation Information in Warsaw, and occupying successively higher positions as programmer, director of the laboratory, and office. In 1972 he became deputy director and remained in this position until his appointment as undersecretary of state.

He is a PZPR member.

#### Mining Ministry Undersecretary

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 9 Mar 83 p 2

Text Acting upon the advice of the Minister of the Mining and Energy, the premier appointed Eugeniusz Ciszak, an engineer, as Mining Ministry undersecretary of state. Eugeniusz Ciszak was born in 1929 in Wrzesnia of a working intelligentsia family. He completed his university studies at the mining faculty of Silesian Polytechnic in Gliwice, and received a masters degree in mining engineering. Between the years 1953 and 1963 he worked in the mining faculty at Silesian Polytechnic as assistant, and later as lecturer. Together with his work at the Polytechnic, he worked from 1956-1968 as a general draftsman in the Mining Projects Bureau in Gliwice. Subsequently, until 1971 he was employed as chief engineer at the Katowice Bureau of Research and Classification. In 1971 he transferred to the Main Bureau for Mining Projects and Research, occupying among others the position of technical director, and from 1980 chief director. In addition since 1982 he has served as chairman of the Coal Committee of the UN European Economic Commission in Geneva.

He is a PZPR member.

#### Chemical Industry Ministry Undersecretary

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 23 Feb 83 p 5

Text The premier recalled Wieslaw Szymczak, an engineer, from his post as Chemical and Light Industry Ministry undersecretary of state pursuant to his transfer to the Foreign Trade Ministry, Stanislaw Klos, an engineer was appointed in his place.

Stanislaw Klos was born in 1937 in Kazimierowka in Zamosc province, of peasant parentage. He completed his education at the Lodz Polytechnic and obtained a masters degree in chemical engineering. He began his professional career in 1959 at a provincial wholesale food enterprise in Lodz as the chief of the laboratory. Then until 1963 he was in charge of production at the HERBAPOL Herbal firm. From 1964-1974 he was employed in a research lab at the Synthetic Fibers firm in Lodz, and recently as manager of the Aniline Manufacturing Company. Between the years 1974-1981, he was chief of the production division, and later deputy director for production matters at the Lodz Synthetic Fibers Industry Association. In January 1981, he was appointed director of the Rubber Industry Association. From July 1982, he served as director of the Lodz Stomil Plants of the Rubber Industry Association. He is the inventor of many currently implemented projects, as well as the author of research work and publications in the synthetic fibers field.

He is a PZPR member.

#### Justice Ministry Undersecretaries

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 22 Feb 83 p 2

Text The premier, in accordance with a proposal made by the Minister of Justice, appointed Jan Brol and Jozef Musiol to posts as Justice Ministry undersecretaries of state.

Jan Brol was born in 1933 in Kielcze in Opole province into a peasant family. He graduated with a masters degree in law and also a doctorate in law from Wroclaw University. He began his professional career in 1956 at the Opole Provincial Court, where he served as a law clerk until 1957. Between 1958 and 1970, he initially served as a judge, as vice-president, and then as president of the Kedzierzyn-Kozle District Court. From 1970 to 1972 he was an Opole Provincial Court judge. In 1972, he was transferred to the Ministry of Justice where he in turn occupied the following positions: inspector, section chief, deputy director, and director of the Department for Civic Matters. Since 1980 he has served as the director of the Legal Department.

He is a PZPR member.

Jozef Musiol was born in 1933 in Polomia in Katowice province into a peasant family. He received his masters degree in law from the Jagiellonian University. He then obtained his doctorate of law from Silesian University. Since 1957 he has been employed in the judicial sector. Between 1957 and 1959 he served as a law clerk on the Katowice Provincial Court, then as associate judge until 1961, and later as District Court judge in Rybnik until 1967. During this period, from 1963-1965, he also served in his elected post as a deputy chairman of the Presidium of the Municipal People's Council in Rybnik. In 1967, he became a judge on the Katowice Provincial Court, and in 1977 a judge on the Supreme Court. As a Supreme Court judge since 1978, he was delegated to serve as deputy director of the Main Commission for the Investigation of Nazi War Crimes in Poland. He is an SD Democratic Party member.

#### Education Ministry Undersecretary

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 12-13 Mar 83 p 2

Text In accordance with a proposal submitted by the Minister of Education and Upbringing, the premier appointed Janina Wieslawa Krol as Ministry of Education and Upbringing undersecretary of state.

Janina Wieslawa Krol was born in 1933 in Wodzislaw in Kielce province of a working class family. She completed her university studies at the Moscow Pedagogical Institute and received a masters degree in education. During the years 1956-1967 she was employed in Warsaw as a teacher, initially in primary schools numbers 91 and 211, and later at the Pedagogical High School (1960-1964), and then at the Fourth Teachers College (1964-1967). From 1967 to 1972, she served in an elected post as secretary of the Main Board of the Polish Teachers Union. Then until 1982 she served as secretary-general of the Society for the Advancement of Secular Culture. Since February 1982 she has held the office of vice-chairman of the Main Board of the Polish Red Cross. For several terms, she was the chairman of the Education and Science Commission of the Warsaw Capital People's Council. Since 1981 she has also been a member of the Ministry of Education and Upbringing Collegium.

She is a PZPR member.

#### Metallurgy Ministry Undersecretary

Warsaw WIADOMOSCI ELEKTROTECHNICZNE in Polish 1 Oct 83 p 355

Text In accordance with a proposal submitted by the Minister of Metallurgy and Machine Industry, the premier appointed Professor Krzysztof Badzmirowski, doctor habilitatus, as undersecretary of state in the Ministry of Metallurgy and Machine Industry.

Krzysztof Badzmirowski was born in 1928. He graduated from Warsaw Polytechnic. In 1955 he commenced work at the Communications Institute. During the years 1957-1970, he was employed at the Association of Electronic Measuring Apparatus Firms and recently as the technical deputy director. From 1970 he served as manager of the institute at the Tele- and Radiotechnical Institute, later as deputy director for research matters at the Industrial Electronics Institute. Between the years 1973-1979, he worked at the Ministry of Engineering Industry as director of the Electronics Department, from which in 1979 he transferred to the Optical and Medical Industry Association OMEL as chief director, and then as ministerial plenipotentiary for optical and medical equipment industry matters, as well as for matters pertaining to automatics and monitoring-measuring equipment. He is a specialist in the area of electronics, a researcher-educator at the Institute for Electronics Fundamentals of the electronics faculty at the Warsaw Polytechnic. He is also a member of the Warsaw Polytechnic Electronics and Telecommunications Committee, as well as being a member of the PAN Polish Academy of Sciences Electronics and Telecommunications Committee.

Professor Krzysztof Badzmirowski, director habilitatus, has been a member of the Warsaw Association of Polish Electrical Engineers ~~[SEP]~~ Electronics and Telecommunications Branch. From 1978-1981 he was a member of the Central Council of Automatics and Measurements. He is a member of the Polish chapter of the IEEE. He has been awarded the SEP Silver Honorary Award.

New Wloclawek Governor

Warsaw RADA NARODOWA GOSPODARKA ADMINISTRACJA in Polish No 3, 7 Feb 83 p 7

~~[Text]~~ Following an opinion poll of the Voivodship People's Council in Wloclawek, the premier appointed Tadeusz Gembicki as Wloclawek Governor.

Tadeusz Gembicki was born in 1929 in Wielgie in Wloclawek province into a peasant family. He completed the PZPR Central Committee Higher School of Social Studies, and graduated with a masters degree in political economics. For 37 years he has worked in state administration regional organs. He began his professional career in 1946 at the Gmina Board in Stare Pole, then in 1950 he moved to the PRN ~~[County People's Council]~~ Presidium in Lipno initially as department director and then as chairman of the County Economic Planning Commission (1953-1956), and PRN Presidium deputy director (1955-1960). Between 1961-1965 he served as chairman of the PRN Presidium in Sepolno Krajskie, then until 1975 as PRN Presidium chairman of the Swecie on the Wisla. In 1975 he was appointed as director of the Voivodship Office Fiscal Section in Wloclawek. Since April 1983, he has been Wloclawek vice governor. He is a PZPR member.

12229

CSO: 2600/631



## CAUSES OF ANTISOCIAL ACTS OF MINORS DISCUSSED

Bucharest INFORMATIA BUCURESTIULUI in Romanian 17 Mar 83 p 2

/Interview with Dr Gheorghe Diaconescu, chief prosecutor of Bucharest Municipality, by Sorin Holban; date and place not specified/

/Text/ /Question/ The special attention which our society pays to the protection of minors, to the upbringing of a physically and morally healthy youth, educated in a spirit of love of work and revolutionary patriotism, is well-known. It is within this framework that the activity of preventing violations of any type in the ranks of minors becomes an essential aspect of education in general. What is being done, what means are being used to this end?

/Answer/ The education of the younger generation in a revolutionary spirit, through work and for work, is a social command, an inexorable demand of socialist construction. It is not by chance that the Secretary-General of the Party, comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, has emphasized, repeatedly, that the work of creating the new man, especially the youth, is a fundamental constituent of the construction of the multilaterally developed socialist society, a duty of high responsibility of all those concerned with education, of all the educational institutions. That is why it is imperative that school, family, youth organizations as well as mass and public organizations, organs of the militia, the public prosecutor, and the organs of justice should, under the leadership of party bodies and organizations, carry out these desiderata consistently and in perfect cooperation with one another. Thus, the organs of the public prosecutor in Bucharest municipality, under the guidance of the Municipal Party Committee, have expanded and diversified the actions to prevent minors and youths' antisocial acts, especially in schools. Numerous meetings with minors and their parents were organized, and attention was focused mostly on those youngsters whose way of life was more likely to generate offenses and other deviations from the norms of behavior in society. Many other steps which I would call "crime prevention" were also taken, through the intensification of juridical propaganda and the judgment of cases on the spot or with increased publicity. Lately, we have tried bringing some cases to the attention of the socialist enterprises where the respective youths or their parents work, and we asked that the delinquents be discussed publicly by their fellow workers--and their offenses be exposed and talked about--, or, that their parents be criticized for the poor way in which they

had fulfilled their educational duties. This method has been validated by its results, proving itself effective. Consequently, we are now considering extending or even generalizing it.

/Question/ What effects have these actions had?

/Answer/ To the extent that they were corroborated by the educational activities of the other responsible factors that I mentioned above, it can be said, with very good reason, that these actions have been effective. They contributed to the education of the young, to the creation of a wave of public opinion against those who, in one form or another, violate the laws of our state, the norms of social behavior. In fact, I am not saying anything new when I say that we have a healthy and reliable youth, whose participation in the social and economic life of our country is well known. From this standpoint, violations and antisocial attitudes are insignificant if we relate them to the whole of the younger generation, who behave in a civilized way, honorably, both at work and at home and in society. But that is exactly why each case and each deviation must constitute a problem for all those who are concerned with education. If we do not tolerate rejects in production--the Secretary-General of the party said--even less can we tolerate educational rejects, especially when it comes to our youth.

/Question/ What are the most frequent causes that induce minors to commit antisocial acts or even highly dangerous actions?

/Answer/ The studies and analyses we made at the beginning of this year revealed the existence of several such causes, usually common to all violations. One of them is the lack of supervision of children by their parents, or, more seriously, the negative influence of some parents on their children.

For example, Gh. S., a minor improperly brought up and totally neglected by his parents, committed 28 thefts of public or personal property in the period December 1981-February 1982. He operated within the limits of the municipalities of Bucharest and Rimnicu Vilcea. In another instance, C. N., a minor, following the "example" of her own corrupt parents, notorious offenders, committed a theft of private property and was, consequently, brought to justice. I must mention that both in these cases and in others, the school's influence was too shallow. I am referring, in the first place, to various, apparently minor, acts of indiscipline which go on in schools but are not dealt with rigorously and severely from the very beginning so that they eventually degenerate into transgressions or even more serious offenses which are punished by the criminal law.

/Question/ In fact, it results from your presentation that there are no "pure" causes, but rather combinations and series of causes.

/Answer/ Exactly. Lack of supervision of children by parents is often combined with passivity on the part of the schools which the respective minors attend and on the part of other responsible educational bodies. The leaderships of schools accuse parents of passivity and indifference, but they are--excuse me for saying so--on the same level themselves. Why, for instance, do they

not address themselves to the management of the units where these parents work, or to the party organizations where they belong, requesting that the matter be brought to the attention of or even discussed publicly by their fellow workers in open meetings? I am positive that such attitudes would bring back to reality many of the parents who much too easily use the excuse of lack of time or lack of skill in educating their children. As a matter of fact, there are penalties in our legislation for those parents who neglect to do their first-priority duty, which is to look after and educate their children. The penalties range from fines to deprivation of parental rights. Unfortunately, such measures as a rule, are left to the initiative of the penal prosecution organs. Very seldom are such measures suggested by schools or other factors that have educational obligations. But it must be well understood that education, given its complexity and importance, cannot be the obligation of one or another of the factors which are responsible for it. All the factors involved must cooperate continuously. They must inform each other and take appropriate measures.

Question Many parents and teaching cadres lay the blame on the harmful influence exerted upon minors by so-called "entourages", that is, dubious "friendships" of minors with adults, sometimes adults with criminal records.

Answer It is true that juvenile delinquency is also due to such factors. For instance, a group of adult offenders lured four minors to steal goods repeatedly from railroad freight cars between June 1981 and March 1982. The harmful influence of such corrupt, parasitic individuals can also lead to very serious offenses. There is, for example, the case of some minors, schoolboys, who, together with such declassé elements, participated in the perpetration of an abominable act--rape. As in all the other cases, the question that must be asked is why and how could these things come about. Who should have supervised those children's "entourages" if not their parents, first, and then, along with them, the school, youth organizations and all the other educational bodies? For, it must be said, in extreme cases, like those mentioned above, the respective minors had actually left school without the necessary measures being taken against them. Obviously, these measures should have been taken in time, before the perpetration of crimes with irreversible consequences, when, unfortunately, justice must be done. So, here is how causes indeed overlap. From this viewpoint I must emphasize once again the idea that it is absolutely necessary that there be harmonious cooperation of all factors involved in education. Each organization must increase its efforts and its requirements in the execution of its tasks in accordance with the provisions of the law and with the imperative social demand which the upbringing of the younger generation represents. I want to say frankly that the work of our organs has had shortcomings, too, especially in the failure to discover, investigate and judge the antisocial acts of some minors with enough promptitude, and, in regard to the development of activities, to prevent such acts.

Question What conclusion can we draw?

Answer The conclusion is, I hope, what has already resulted from our discussion. It is necessary that all educational bodies unite their efforts

in order to increase, intensify and perfect their work of preventing delinquency with authority and effectiveness. For that purpose it is imperative that order and discipline be strengthened in schools, at work and elsewhere. I would also suggest, as a last idea in our discussion, that youths should be more permanently involved in the execution of the educational process which is directed towards them.

12240

CSO: 2700/162

MEMBERS OF COUNCIL FOR SILVICULTURE APPROVED BY DECREE

Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 12, 2 Mar 83 pp 3-7

[Text] Presidential Decree

On the membership of the Council for Silviculture, its leadership committee and executive bureau.

The President of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees:

Sole Article: The membership of the Council for Silviculture is approved as is that of the leadership committee of the council and that of the executive bureau, as set forth in the annex which is an integral part of the presidential decree.

Nicolae Ceausescu, President of the Socialist Republic of Romania

Bucharest 2 March 1983

Nr. 68

Annex

Membership of the Council of Silviculture, its leadership committee and the executive bureau.

I. Council for Silviculture

Chairman

1. Gheorghe Stoica

secretary C.C. R.C.P.

First Vice Chairman

2. Ion Cioara

minister of Silviculture

Vice Chairmen

3. Ion Petrescu deputy minister of silviculture
4. Ion Ceausescu vice chairman of the State Planning Committee
5. Eugen Tarhon state secretary at the Ministry of Silviculture

Members

6. Aurel Anca deputy chief inspector of state in the Ministry of Silviculture
7. Virgil Anca chief inspector of the county forestry inspectorate, Bistrita-Nasaud
8. Costica Arhip chief inspector of the county forestry inspectorate, Bacau
9. Alexandru Balsoi deputy chief inspector of state in the Ministry of Silviculture
10. Ion Badea vice chairman of the National Council for Water Resources
11. Irimie Badila chief inspector of the county forestry inspectorate, Sibiu
12. Constanta Balint state secretary in the Ministry of Agriculture and the Food Industry
13. Nicolae Barbulescu deputy minister of the chemical industry
14. Vasile Bozintan chief inspector of the county forestry inspectorate, Cluj
15. Mariana Bonchis district chief, forestry district, Oradea
16. George Bumbu director of the Institute of Forestry Studies, Research and Planning
17. Petru Brega deputy chief inspector of the county forestry inspectorate, Suceava
18. Vasile Cardasol director of the Institute for Research and Production of Turf Farming, Brasov
19. Speranta Calugaru engineer, forestry district, Tirgu Jiu

20. Ion Catrina deputy scientific director, Institute of Forestry Studies, Research and Planning
21. Florentin Craciun director general of the "Plafar" Trust
22. Gheorghe Craciun chief inspector of the county forestry inspectorate, Alba
23. Gheorghe Constantinescu deputy minister of the Wood Industry and Construction Materials
24. Bela Cseresnyes vice chairman of the National Union of Agricultural Production Cooperatives
25. Toma Cuca secretary of the Committee of Trade Unions in Forestry Economy and Construction Materials
26. Virgil Dunareanu director general of the Central for Wood Exploitation
27. Florian Dudu department chief in the Ministry of Silviculture
28. Traian Dumitrescu department chief and secretary of the party organization in the Ministry of Silviculture
29. Stefan Dumitrescu chief inspector of the county forestry inspectorate, Mures
30. Mihail Florescu vice chairman of the National Council for Science and Technology, minister state secretary
31. Nicolae Florica chief inspector of the county forestry inspectorate, Olt
32. Constantin Gheorghita sector chief in the Central Council of Workers' Control of Economic and Social Activity
33. Alexandru Gindu chief inspector of the county forestry inspectorate, Vaslui
34. Cristian-Ion Hera director of the Institute for Research in Cereals and Plant Technics, Fundulea
35. Gheorghe Ion vice chairman of the Committee for Problems of Peoples' Councils

36. Nicolae Ionita department chief in the Ministry of Silviculture
37. Natalia Jipa secretary for the problems of party work in agriculture at the Neamt County Committee of the RCP
38. Nicolae Krainik chief of the forestry district Tautii-Magheraus, Maramures county
39. Gheorghe Lazar chief inspector of the county forestry inspectorate, Dolj
40. Ion Logofetici director of the Central Station for Production and Research for Sericulture, Bucharest
41. Dumitru Lupse chief inspector of the county forestry inspectorate, Maramures
42. Emil Maiorescu chief inspector of the county forestry inspectorate, Hunedoara
43. Ion Marin department chief in the Ministry of Silviculture
44. Gheorghe Marinescu secretary of the Vintileasca commune committee of the RCP, Vrancea county
45. Ioan Micu chief inspector of the county forestry inspectorate, Harghita
46. Nicolae Mihaiu instructor in the Central Committee Section for Problems of Party Work in Agriculture
47. Ion Milescu inspector general of the Ministry of Silviculture
48. Ion Motorga secretary for problems of party work in agriculture in the Mehedinti County Committee of the RCP
49. Aurelian Neacsu deputy state inspector in the Ministry of Silviculture
50. Maria Nicolaescu chief of the Sinaia Forestry District, Prahova County
51. Constantin Nitescu inspector general in the Ministry of Silviculture



52. Marin Nitu director general of the "Delta Dunarii" Central, Tulcea
53. Ilie Odorescu chief inspector of the county forestry inspectorate, Caras-Severin
54. Silviu Panaite inspector general in the Ministry of Silviculture
55. Emil Petrache deputy minister of agriculture and the food industry
56. Ion Popescu forester in the forestry wildlife management section, Bucharest
57. Ionel Pop chief inspector of the county forestry inspectorate, Satu Mare
58. Gheorghe Puscau secretary for problems of party work in agriculture in Arad County Committee of the RCP
59. Vasile Sava director of I.F.E.T. Suceava
60. Stefan Savulescu director of the Apiarian Combine, Bucharest
61. Victor-Vasile-Teodor Stanescu dean of the silviculture and wood industry faculty, Brasov
62. Gheorghe Stanciu director of the Fruit Growing Research and Production Station Voinesti, Dimbovita county
63. Wolfgang Stuibler district chief of the Valiug forestry district, Caras-Severin county
64. Iosif Arpad Sarkany chief inspector of the county forestry inspectorate, Covasna
65. Teodor Serb chief inspector of the county forestry inspectorate, Arges
66. Gheorghe Sisman chief inspector of the county forestry inspectorate, Constanta
67. Maria Stefan secretary for problems of party work in agriculture in the Prahova County Committee of the RCP

68. Vasile Suta inspector general in the Ministry of Silviculture
69. Dumitru Sutu brigade leader in the Tirgoviste forestry district, Dimbovita county
70. Traian Todor chief inspector of the county forestry inspectorate, Timis
71. Vasile-Andrei Zoldi district chief of the Sovata forestry district, Mures county

## II. Leadership Committee of the Council for Silviculture

### Chairman

1. Gheorghe Stoica Central Committee Secretary of the RCP

### First Vice Chairman

2. Ion Cioara minister of silviculture

### Vice Chairmen

3. Ion Petrescu deputy minister of silviculture
4. Ion Ceausescu vice chairman of the State Planning Committee
5. Eugen Tarhon state secretary at the Ministry of Silviculture

### Members

6. Aurel Anca deputy chief inspector of state in the Ministry of Agriculture
7. Ion Badea vice chairman of the National Council for Water Resources
8. Constanta Balint state secretary in the Ministry of Agriculture and the Food Industry
9. Alexandru Balsoi deputy chief inspector of state in the Ministry of Silviculture
10. Nicolae Barbulescu deputy minister of the chemical industry
11. Petru Brega deputy chief inspector of the county forestry inspectorate, Suceava

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|-----|-------------------------|--|
| 12. | George Bumbu            | director of the Institute for Forestry Studies, Research and Planning                      |
| 13. | Gheorghe Constantinescu | deputy minister of the wood industry and construction materials                            |
| 14. | Bela Cseresnyes         | vice chairman of the National Union of Agricultural Production Cooperatives                |
| 15. | Toma Cuca               | secretary of the Committee of Trade Unions in Forestry Economy and Construction Materials  |
| 16. | Floriant Dudu           | department chief in the Ministry of Silviculture   |
| 17. | Traian Dumitrescu       | department chief and secretary of the party organization in the Ministry of Silviculture   |
| 18. | Mihail Florescu         | vice chairman of the National Council for Science and Technology, minister state secretary |
| 19. | Constantin Gheorghita   | sector chief in the Central Council of Workers' Control of Economic and Social Activity    |
| 20. | Cristian-Ion Hera       | director of the Institute for Research in Cereals and Plant Technics, Fundulea             |
| 21. | Gheorghe Ion            | vice chairman of the Committee for Problems of Peoples' Councils                           |
| 22. | Dumitru Lupse           | chief inspector of the county forestry inspectorate, Maramures                             |
| 23. | Maria Nicolaescu        | chief of the Sinaia Forestry District, Prahova county                                      |
| 24. | Aurelian Neacsu         | deputy state inspector in the Ministry of Silviculture                                     |
| 25. | Marin Nitu              | director general of the "Delta Dunarii" Central, Tulcea                                    |
| 26. | Ilie Odorescu           | chief inspector of the county forestry inspectorate, Caras-Severin                         |
| 27. | Silviu Panaite          | inspector general in the Ministry of Silviculture  |

- 28. Emil Petrache                                 deputy minister of agriculture and the food industry
- 29. Victor-Vasile-Teodor Stanescu           dean of the silviculture and wood industry faculty, Brasov
- 30. Gheorghe Stanciu                           director of the Fruit Growing Research and Production Station Voinesti, Dimbovita county
- 31. Vasile Suta                                 inspector general in the Ministry of Silviculture

Executive Bureau of the Council for Silviculture

Chairman

- 1. Ion Cioara                                    minister of silviculture

Members

- 2. Ion Petrescu                                deputy minister of silviculture
- 3. Eugen Tarhon                               state secretary at the Ministry of Silviculture
- 4. Aurel Anca                                 deputy chief inspector of state in the Ministry of Agriculture
- 5. Alexandru Balsoi                          deputy chief inspector of state in the Ministry of Silviculture
- 6. George Bumbu                               director of the Institute of Forestry Studies, Research and Planning
- 7. Toma Cuca                                  secretary of the Committee of Trade Unions in Forestry Economy and Construction Materials
- 8. Florian Dudu                                department chief in the Ministry of Silviculture
- 9. Traian Dumitrescu                         department chief and secretary of the party organization in the Ministry of Silviculture
- 10. Nicolae Ionita                             department chief in the Ministry of Silviculture

11. Ion Marin department chief in the Ministry of  
Silviculture
12. Ion Milescu inspector general in the Ministry of  
Silviculture
13. Aurelian Neacsu deputy state inspector in the Ministry  
of Silviculture
14. Maria Nicolaescu chief of the Sinaia Forestry District,  
Prahova county
15. Constantin Nitescu inspector general in the Ministry of  
Silviculture
16. Silviu Panaite inspector general in the Ministry of  
Silviculture
17. Vasile Suta inspector general in the Ministry of  
Silviculture

12280

CSO: 2700/164

## WESTERN COMMENT ON BELGRADE MEETING ON 'YUGOSLAVISM'

Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 25 Apr 83 p 10

[Article by Viktor Meier: "What Does Yugoslavism Mean?"]

[Text] Belgrade, in April--The hall in the student house is filled to more than capacity. About 1,000 people--both young and old--are there, some of them spilling out into the corridors. Predrag Matvejevic from Zagreb, the president of the Croatian PEN club, is chairing a panel discussion with audience participation on his book "Yugoslavism Today," recently published by the Zagreb house of Globus. It is an extremely topical subject to tell by the electrified atmosphere inside the hall. Open forums of this type seem to be a part of what is beginning to be called "public opinion" in Yugoslavia--in addition to a more free press.

There is an old maxim that says that democracy needs to be learned. After such a long period of time during which all political comment was strictly controlled there is no reason to expect nothing but considered, balanced judgments today. One can immediately tell that there is no uniform view in Yugoslavia today on what constitutes Yugoslavism in a governmental, national and cultural sense. Blackhaired Macedonian students, wearing glasses with narrow rims like the revolutionaries at the turn of the century, are the first to state their own particular interests. Why is it, they ask, that the Yugoslav community is unable to provide for a unified state for the Macedonian people which is now divided up between three different countries and is threatened by "genocide" particularly in Greece? The Slovenes, too, are divided up between three different countries. These statements draw a mollifying response from the rostrum. One has to be realistic, the students are told; the borders have been firmly drawn. The Slovenian spokesman turns thumbs down on any type of irredentism. This brings on a more general expression of Yugoslav grievances. Why is it that years ago when "Yugoslavia was still shooting down American aircraft and saying 'no' to Italy on the Trieste issue in no uncertain terms" she was more respected throughout the world than she is today? What other purpose does the Yugoslav state have than to secure a place in the sun for all its peoples? The audience wants to know why things went wrong. There are shouts of "name names." An outside observer cannot help but be surprised. Not a word about Tito--and whenever political figures are in fact mentioned, it is in a more or less disparaging way. Suddenly something is said that breaks the ice: "It is the communist party that is solely responsible for the sad state we are in today." There is applause all around. But of course no one wants to bring

down the regime; they are calling on the party to find a way out; they are asking the party to change and to clean house.

Since we are in Belgrade, all this is accompanied by a nostalgia for centralist or even unitarist solutions—almost the way things were before the war, tied to the Serbian state philosophy and the hegemony idea. All those in attendance seem agreed that it is the republics and their political leaders who covet positions of power who are primarily responsible for the economic and political difficulties. But whenever the terms "the republics and their political leaders" are used, the impression is that those who use them are speaking about the others. With regard to the Albanians, the audience simply will not listen. It does not even want to see the term "Albanians" used but rather "Shquiptars" which is what the Albanians living in Yugoslavia were called in the Rankovic era to differentiate them from the ones living in Albania itself and thereby to prevent anything like a pan-Albanian nationalism to emerge. When professor Matvejevic says that he does not think that sending minors to prison for 8 or 10 years for asking that a separate Kosovo republic be set up is any way of resolving the issue, he draws no applause at all.

#### Divided on State and Nation

Those chairing the discussion keep trying to return to the "Yugoslavism" today theme. There is agreement on the fact that it means belonging to a common state. It is clear to see that the majority of those in attendance are in favor of this state—but there are certain warnings and uncertainties impossible to overhear. The Macedonians are enjoined not to toy with the idea of "going a separate way." One of the professors on the rostrum admits that he does not really know what the Croats think—on the question of the state and the nation, at any rate, they are badly divided. But what about Yugoslavism in terms of the state as well as the nation? In the most recent census, more than 1.2 million (out of roughly 22 million) called themselves ethnic Yugoslavs. A widely discussed interview by professor Dusan Bilandzic, a Croat, was published in VJESNIK in Zagreb in which he said in effect that ethnic Yugoslavism was either an expression of a specific personal situation, of minority fears or, for that matter, a kind of fiction. In the course of the debate, this thesis was strongly supported. "I was born in Belgrade," one woman said, however, "my father was a Croat; my mother came from Montenegro. I was raised in Split and fought in the Kosovo—now tell me, does that make me a fiction?" There are about 1.5 million people like her, she said—the practical result of a multinational community.

Some of the debaters try to find the answer in the history of the communist party and its views on the national issue. To the great dismay of many participants—particularly the younger ones among them—it quickly turns out, however, that the party vacillated on the national issue throughout its history. Prevailing doctrine went all the way from unitarism to the stated goal of breaking up Yugoslavia. Comintern views played a part in it, competing with genuine patriotic sentiments. There is a surprising openness to the admission

that the communists during the first few years of their reign were not really serious about federalism. But there are quite a few in the audience, too, who are unhappy about the fact that the republics later became the pillars of the state and that the federation itself wound up with what was left after that, as Bakaric even went so far as to say at one time. The Slovene panelist feels called upon to state that Slovenia may be unhappy about the current state of economic and administrative-political affairs in the country as a whole but that that neither implies enmity toward Yugoslavia or the Serbs. The Slovenes share their dissatisfaction with the rest of the Yugoslavs.

But if there is--aside from a few exceptions--nothing like national Yugoslavism, is there such a thing as state or cultural Yugoslavism? In this regard, too, the party has been responsible for some confusion because of its vacillation in the past. Roughly in the mid-sixties, even Tito had at one stage called for an integrated "Yugoslav socialist culture" to replace the cultures of the diverse peoples. In his interview, professor Bilandzic spoke of attempts even aimed at eliminating federalism altogether.

#### Weak Leadership at Top

The audience cannot agree on what constitutes cultural Yugoslavism, either. What remains is a great deal of confusion and discomfort--apparently also directed against weak leadership at the top at present. What state the party is in, one participant said, is evidenced by the fact that former Kosovo party secretary Bakali was expelled from the party not in punishment for his political activities but for poaching.

Professor Matvejevic attempts to sum up: there seems to be no great enthusiasm for the present leadership or for present conditions. But, all participants had freely expressed their opinions and "paid no attention to whether the person sitting next to them was drawing up a report." In all honesty--as a foreign observer, one really is struck with the openness with which some rather heretical views were voiced. Even "self-administration" was not spared. To many functionaries, a discussion of this kind must seem quite scandalous; in many parts of Yugoslavia, in fact, it would be unthinkable. But in a traditionally liberal city like Belgrade, such public debates can apparently be held.

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CSO: 2300/224



## HISTORY OF 'YOUNG MUSLIMS' OUTLINED

Sarajevo OSLOBODJENJE in Serbo-Croatian 13 Apr 83 p 12

[Article consisting of excerpts from the book "Parergon"\* by Dervis Susic:  
"Who Are the 'Young Muslims'?" ]

[Text] The editors of OSLOBODJENJE decided to publish excerpts from "Parergon" by Dervis Susic mainly in order to present to readers once again the genesis of certain hostile tendencies operating from positions of Muslim nationalism and chauvinism so as to expose more thoroughly their platform and essence. We are aware that the fragmentary publication of this book cannot fully reflect the full depth of the author's thought and intention, but it seems to us that even excerpts from "Parergon" given in this way can be precious reading matter for our reader.

A group of schoolchildren of the Muslim faith, caught up with religious fanaticism and under the influence of a few Bosnian El-Azharites, decided to organize and impose their radical and fascistized panislamic ideology on Muslim youth. Anticommunism was set down as one of its central reference points in theory and practice.

In the offices of the Muslim society "Trezvenost" [Temperance] the founding assembly of an organization bearing that name was held in March 1941. It was even attended by a representative of the government, as was the custom. The program of the organization "MM" ["Mladi Muslimani"--Young Muslims] was veiled over with rhetoric about cultural and educational work among Muslim youth and about strengthening religious sentiments. The members of "MM" were required by the bylaws to spread education as much as possible, primarily pertaining to the knowledge of Islam. Implacable chauvinism showed through the screen which those obligations represented.

The "MM" welcomed the country's occupation as the opening of a door to a great opportunity. They expected the war to further their concept of an autonomous

\* Published by the publishing division of the "Oslobodjenje" NISRO [Newspaper, Publishing and Printing Work Organization], Sarajevo, 1980. Headlines, headings and footnotes supplied by OSLOBODJENJE editors.

and Islamic Bosnia-Hercegovina. The "MM" would take advantage of this to establish their organization as a force for Islamic statehood which would carry on the fight for establishment of a world Islamic state--"Islamabad"--and for Bosnia-Hercegovina's inclusion in it. They expected that with the victory of the Axis powers their attitude toward panislamism would culminate in the actual establishment of "Islamabad."

However, two obstacles prevented the organization from assuming the dimensions imagined for it. First, the Ustasha government at first refused to approve the rules of the "MM," since it felt that the only place for all Muslim youth was in the "Ustasha youth." No separatistic movements were allowed at all. Second, the cautious old hands at political maneuvering belonging to the "leading and ruling class and religious and secular intelligentsia" did not want to take any risk by supporting an extremist and aggressive organization. Aside from that, the "MM" propaganda struck notes which were rather insulting to the conservative khojas, to the sterility of their cautious political maneuvering and persistence in the archaic practice of theological rumination of quotations, and to the looseness of the organizational forms used in binding the believers together.

#### Paranoic Militants

Because of these obstacles the leading members of the "MM" parted company for a time, and most of them attended the university in Zagreb. They lived ascetically, but after the manner of fanatical conspirators, they studied--but in order to prepare themselves as well as possible for the ruling elite by the number of facts assimilated and by the foreign languages they mastered, they urged one another on in exaltations of military panislamism, and they found their greatest source of hope in the stream of news reports on the ever faster penetration of the depths of Soviet territory by the German armies. They were preoccupied without interruption in searching for the best solutions--how to organize the strongest, most up-to-date and most monolithic organization to follow them. There is every sign that someone astute and experienced in these matters was shepherding them and goading their fierce chauvinistic passions and megalomaniac ambitions, which even the most immature adolescents would condemn as paranoia, much less take it for normal political thinking. They were still a conspiratorial sect. They were preparing themselves to be an extremist and dominant movement.

In the spring of 1942 there was an agreement with the leadership of El Hidaja\* that it enter El Hidaja as its youth section. There was soon a parting of

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\* El Hidaja was the organization of the Muslim clergy of Bosnia-Hercegovina and it issued a monthly periodical by the same name.

Two lines were predominant in the leadership of El Hidaja: the one which remained loyal to Pavelic to the end and the other which advocated supremacy of Muslims in Bosnia-Hercegovina and direct collaboration, without intermediaries, with Hitler Germany. A certain number of members of this organization, especially those in the provinces, collaborated with the NOP [National Liberation Movement] confirming in that way its resistance to the policy of that segment of the El Hidaja leadership which was in cahoots with the occupier.

ways. El Hidaja was unable to fit into their own style and tactics these fervent extremists who took a very rude and contemptuous attitude toward the older priests, whom they regarded as sclerotics too feeble for the great mission of panislamism. Nor were the members of the "MM" able to find in El Hidaja a sufficiently devoted and representative old guard that would protect it in its breaking off from the Ustasha movement, which by making Croats of the Muslims and by making the Drina River the border was keeping jealously to itself the territory which the "MM" was to include in its obsessive "Islamabad." The more sagacious elders were working on the same task, but quietly, patiently, without doing anything rash, mindful that the fortunes of war could take a sudden turn and that they should preserve the forces rallied around them for another version of the outcome of the war.

#### The Marriage With El Hidaja

Soon the leadership of both the "MM" and El Hidaja realized that the split had been harmful and that the course of events (as evaluated by the two leaderships) meant that they would lose if they were disunited, but if united they might derive at least some advantage from the final sharing of the spoils.

Since the mufti from Jerusalem El Husein\* had already ended his visit to Bosnia-Hercegovina, and the preparations for establishing the domestic SS divisions had been stepped up even by the German mobilization machinery, an agreement had come about. On 5 May 1943 the "MM" received even the official status of the youth section of El Hidaja. The old men let the promising conspirators infiltrate the other Muslim associations, to organize meetings in mosques and reading rooms, in the Muslim quarters of town and in courtyards. That portion of Muslim young people still vacillating between neutrality and some kind of yielding to the occupier suddenly began to come to the mosques. Mevluds [celebrations of Muhammad's birthday], teravis [lengthy prayers recited during the nights of Ramadan], choral ilahijas [?], lectures, dances, a wave of religious fanaticization never before recorded among young people, went side by side with propaganda favoring enrollment as volunteers in the SS troops, although that religious movement on the surface was exclusively concerned with theological education and rallying people together through sentiment and organization, without any visible ties with propaganda for the SS. However, nevertheless--someone astute and experienced in these matters was nurturing and branching out a mobile religious fanaticism, and that in turn was a fertile field in terms of both ideology and personnel for this latter parallel action.

At the end of the war the leadership of the "MM" was to some extent split up because of squabbles arising out of failures for which they had fiercely blamed one another. Nevertheless, there did remain a compact core of an underground leadership group. It called itself Group A.

Group A had a meeting the very day Sarajevo was liberated. They were to prepare for carrying on the effort under the new conditions, they were unable to

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\* El Husein, grand mufti of Palestine. He operated on a platform of firm collaboration with Hitler's Germany and Mussolini's Italy. As a consistent lackey of Nazi fascism, he advocated formation of SS divisions with young Muslim men in Bosnia-Hercegovina, which is why he came to Sarajevo in 1943.

reconcile themselves to the triumph of the National Liberation Movement. They believed that some miracle would occur that would suddenly turn the situation around to their advantage.

#### Preparation for Terrorism

The USAOBiH [United Federation of Antifascist Youth of Bosnia-Hercegovina] Congress in May 1945 shattered the last illusions that they could count on the support of young people.

But someone was once again slowly pulling the strings. The "MM," or better, Group A itself, began once again to patch together the scattered remnants of its followers.

In late 1945 and early 1946 the society called "Rebirth" [Preporod] was created; it unified all the previous Muslim public cultural and educational societies. The "MM" infiltrated the youth section of "Rebirth" and attempted to turn it to their own ends. In its clandestine meetings the group fiercely debated everything being done to prevent the influence of the CP and SKOJ [Communist Youth League of Yugoslavia] on Muslim young people.

Even by 1947 the "MM" had pretty much consolidated their ranks. In 1949 they had several hundred members in Bosnia-Hercegovina. It is true that many followers did not know everything about the real intentions of Group A, but they joined with them out of religious fanaticism. The underground newspaper of the organization known as "Mujahid" (Fighter), three issues of which came out in 1945, was revived and several more issues were printed.

In late January 1948 a plenum was held and the "VV" (Vrhovno vodstvo [supreme leadership]) was elected. Those who were the most devoted took an oath. The next plenum was held 20-21 February 1949. At that time decisions were made concerning new and more effective forms of underground organization, stricter rules of clandestine operation were established, and plans were made for more systematic ideological education of followers and the giving of courses (parachute jumping, gliders, radio and telegraph, driving, etc.).

The "MM" became a modern conspiratorial terrorist organization whose primary tasks were anticommunism, the most sinister chauvinistic shattering of the brotherhood and unity of our nationalities, and preparations for the moment of the intervention from outside which they were waiting for. In one cache they had even a heavy machine gun, two automatic rifles, six rifles, and dynamite, and they were making long knives and brass knuckles for "silent execution" of individuals who have been marked. In theoretical terms the aim remains the same: annexation of Bosnia-Hercegovina to the future panislamic state "Islamistan." But since Hitler's Germany no longer existed, other forces were taking over that right-wing current of panislamism on a world scale. Even in Bosnia-Hercegovina someone experienced and patient was slowly weaving on the new platform of panislamism this nebulosity which somehow never would take hold.

When the blow fell, the organization could not survive it. After serving sentences some members fled abroad and joined the militant anti-Yugoslav emigre community.

What else is there to say about the "MM"?

It would be a great error to exaggerate the importance of this clericalistic and fascist little group. Yet it would not be wise to lose sight of the experience as to the way enemies of Yugoslavia, as to the kind of little groups, as to the mentality, and as to the more politically experienced through whom they should any sort of pillar of support among young people in every one of our nationalities in order to throw down an anchor and continue to spread destruction. The present-day world abounds in such efforts, some of which are even successful. With us neither those nor certain similar attempts made later were successful.

The enemy has not given up. It is up to us to do everything so that we are not surprised. Even small extremes can today cause large damage.

There is one astounding fact about the "MM," as indeed about all the similar and now long-forgotten "cases": the way in which the conservative provincial treasury of ideology is able all of a sudden to rise to an incomprehensible bloodthirstiness and paranoid ambition! I think that Hitler was the most important figure to spring up from this narrow street in Europe over the last several centuries. But every back alley gives birth to at least one potential Hitler who is not to be. No nation and no religion is spared these maniacal ambitions.

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CSO: 2800/259

UNREDRESSED GRIEVANCES IN KLINA OPSTINA

Pristina JEDINSTVO in Serbo-Croatian 16 Feb 83 p 7

[Article by D. Jankovic: "Who Is Hiding the Truth?"]

[Excerpts] Information regarding the migration of Serbs and Montenegrins from the opstina of Klina.

The basic reasons for the migration of Serbs and Montenegrins from this opstina can be attributed to the disagreeable events of the seventies. - Petitions filled with economic social reasons. - Understated or neglected cases. [In boldface]

The Commission to Establish the Motives for the Migration of Serbs and Montenegrins within the executive council of the Klina Opstina Assembly without the assistance of all socio-political organizations, particularly of certain individuals, is unable to establish the true reasons for this phenomenon. With the cooperation of all organs and organizations, steps and actions are being taken to suppress all incidents which contribute to this phenomenon, but to date, the basic reasons for this migration have not been conclusively established.

Last year, 223 individual applications were submitted to the department of internal affairs of the Klina Opstina Assembly requesting a change of residence. Based on the reasons given in the applications, the commission of the Assembly executive council stated the following: 89 people moved in earlier years but the notice of their departure was received in 1982; 45 left for reasons of employment; 41 left to live with parents or relatives; 33 left because of marriage, and 15 for reasons of education.

The Case of Bogosav Basic

According to the opinion of the commission, the list of the families that moved in 1982 is not complete, since it is believed that there are those who moved without prior notification. The committee, however, kept a file on and categorized all the cases of people who moved. Consent is given all persons who wish to leave, provided it can be established that they are not leaving under direct pressure. However, many who applied to move did not give the right reasons for doing so. For this reason the commission could not

establish whether individual families moved due to pressures, although last year alone 48 complaints were filed with the Magistrate's court against persons who were instigating inter-nationality excesses.

Presently, in Klina, there is a great deal of talk about the complaints of Bogosav Bacic, a farmer from the village of Dolac, who has been planning to move for a long time. Why? Back on 16 July 1981 the commission discussed with Bogosav Bacic the reasons and motives which caused him to decide to sell his land and home. Bacic refused to talk since he considered such questions unnecessary in view of the fact that it is common knowledge that his decision to leave was based on the cruel killing of his brother, Boza, and the serious injuries he sustained from his neighbors, Toma Djon, Toma and Cunaj Nua Djordje. (This happened 12-13 years ago. The persons involved were penalized and served their sentences.)

The committee members (Dejan Kovacevic, Djon Seljmanaj, and Boza Garic) again insisted that he spell out the concrete details and motives past or present. "Bogosav refused to give any further explanation saying, that in the past he sent 16 petitions and complaints to the appropriate opstina, provincial and republic bodies and socio-political organizations and that there was never an answer from any of them, nor any steps undertaken." (Extracted from the minutes of the commission meeting of 16 July 1981.)

With reference to the case of Borosav Bacic, we spoke with the president of the Klina opstina committee, Hilmi Tacij: "Bogosav used to come and complain, but ignored all our suggestions and the actions we were undertaking. His last complaint was against the intervention by police who came to his village because his son was driving a tractor without a permit. He believes that this was another way of applying pressure on him and his family.

#### A Neglected Petition

The commission estimated that in the opstina there was and still is developing an intensive activity of organized socialist forces headed by the League of Communists, carrying out direct duties, and watching and assessing the reasons for this exodus, not only this year and last year but for the past 10 years. It established that there are no clear cases of migration this year, except for those who started the process of moving last year or in earlier years. This shows that the process of migration from this opstina started much earlier and that there are basic reasons for this phenomenon. An indication of this is the petition submitted in 1968 by the inhabitants of Dolac, Drsnik, Klina, Koinovac, Vidanje and other villages to the highest organ of the CP [Communist Party] of Serbia. This petition states, among other things: "In the name of some ten thousand inhabitants of Klina Opstina we wish to point out to you the terror and pressure exerted by some Albanians on the Serbian population. This pressure is exerted even through killings which are viewed mildly by the authorities who consider them routine happenings. A month ago, one night, in the village of Dolac, a group of over 15 people armed with hoes, axes and other implements, attacked the Bacic brothers. (This incident is the reason of Bogosav Bacic's 14-year-long complaint). One man was killed, one seriously wounded, and the third escaped with minor

injuries. In the same village, two years before, the Pesic brothers were attacked and seriously wounded by gunfire. In the village of Klina, likewise, a murder of a Serb took place right in his home. Three and a half years before, Mark Sadrija with his son Nua and members of his household attacked a 70-year-old man, in the village of Drsnik, who soon died from his wounds. Because of pressures and threats, Pura Arsic, Bogdan Popadic and others, moved from the village of Dolac; and due to murder threats, Savo Goranac left the village of Drsnik. One should ask why did Rado Ribac, Roda Laovic, Vlado Cekrljic, all from the village of Drsnik, and other families from neighboring hamlets leave?"

At the end of the petition (which is typed in 'small' print on four pages) it is requested "that one or two representatives be sent to talk to the people, but without participation by the opstina administrators. We say this because the people from the opstina are prone to distort the events, to threaten us, and people are fearful. There have been instances where pardon was granted in certain cases, where comrades from the opstina showed favoritism toward the guilty and placed the blame on those who were beaten and injured because they resisted the assailants. We ask that the situation be investigated and that our constitutional and legal rights be secured. If this cannot be accomplished, we will be forced to leave en masse, wherever..." (Signatures of thirty farmers follow).

These particulars point out the reasons for the migration of Serbs and Montenegrins from this opstina, which many don't wish to discuss until they move. This means that individuals, who, due to different kinds of pressures, submitted a request to move, are hiding the truth regarding past incidents and concealing the attitudes of the opstina organizations toward these happenings, which supports the Albanian nationalists and irredentists in their endeavor to create a Kosovo which is free from other ethnic groups.

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CSO: 2800/228



NATIONALISM AT DJURAKOVAC SCHOOL

Pristina JEDINSTVO in Serbo-Croatian 24 Feb 83 p 4

Article by A. Lukic: "Nationalists Cannot Educate the Younger Generation"

Text Meeting of the Basic Organization of the Trade Union Federation in the Elementary School of "Vasilija Djurovic" in Djurakovac in boldface

Political-Security Situation is Steadily Improving. Decisively Against Enemies of all Views and Colors. in boldface

Djurakovac, 23 Feb--Last night the Basic Organization of the Trade Union in the Elementary School of "Vasilije Djurovic" in Djurakovac, evaluated the political-security situation in this collective. Before a working group of the Committee for Nation-wide Defense and Social Self-Protection in the school, Director Krist Gegaj submitted an introductory report. Among other things, he said that the situation is improving daily, due to the efforts of organized social forces, however, he said, there is no room for relaxation and satisfaction since the enemy is not completely beaten.

Defeated Enemy Influence

From the outbreak of the demonstrations on the part of Albanian nationalists, there were several recorded cases of enemy activity, however, due to quick actions undertaken by the League of Communists, it was defeated.

In the process of ideo-political differentiation, Adem Coesi, a teacher, was excluded from the League of Communists and suspended from his job because he participated in the demonstration, 30 Apr 1981, in Istok, while Ahmet Satri was excluded from the LC and the Trade Union and suspended from his job because his son was writing slogans and enemy slogans were found in his car. Tafir Satri was excluded from the LC and suspended from his job for disseminating disinformation; Ramadan Pljakaj was suspended from his job for his 1968 participation in demonstrations and enemy support, for which he spent some time in jail. Appropriate ideo-political measures were directed to a number of teachers, according to the work group. There are several reported cases of students' writing slogans. Those that are discovered are dismissed from school. Some return to school after a certain period. Most of the slogans were written while the Eighth Congress of the Albanian Workers Party was being held.

A few days ago, a pamphlet entitled, "Marksist-Leninist Group for the Formation of the Albanian Republic," was received by this institution [Trade union of the school]. A letter was also addressed to the staff of the school stating the time at which to watch Albanian television programs in which the Albanian Workers Party and its secretary, Enver Hoxha, are extolled.

#### The Sins of Ali Zeca

At yesterday's meeting there was mention of Ali Zeca, a teacher at this school who is publicly known to speak with the reporters of "DUGA" and to be a "protector" of the Albanian people. Zeca said, among other things: "I am an Albanian, greater than he. I love my people. May I be damned if I think otherwise." He added, "Here we are speaking Enver's language, not our Siptar..." One day an inspector came to school and said: "You, Ali, are speaking peasant's language." "I will always speak thus," said I. "This Enver's language is killing our children, it has nothing to do with our language." Who, in fact, is Ali Zeca?

According to the judgment of the working group of this school, Ali Zeca is hardly a good worker, a falsifier and a phony, an instigator of hate among the workers--everything but a teacher. His behavior is extremely irresponsible. In the period between 1972 and 1978 he committed 23 criminal acts. He was once suspended, but through a court decision he was returned to his job again. In nine years he did not work even nine months. He is continually on sick leave. He seldom attends school meetings. His statement in the issue before last of "DUGA" allegedly about the use of Enver's language in our country, was directed tendentiously, above all, against the Albanian people. Ali Zeca's colleagues, have said the worst things about him.

It was decided that the working group should propose measures to be taken regarding Ali Zeca.

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