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INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

BRIEFS

GDR-USSR JOURNALISTS' UNIONS--The journalists' unions in the GDR and the Soviet Union today signed the working plan for 1977 in Berlin. It contains specific measures for the organizations in preparing for the 60th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution, for the further improvement of journalistic relations, and for the development of the democratic journalists movement in the struggle for peace and social progress. The activities of the two unions will center around the journalists' contribution implementing the decisions of the 25th CPSU Congress and the Ninth SED Congress. [East Berlin Voice of the GDR Domestic Service in German 2000 GMT 3 Dec 76 LD]

CSO: 2300

BULGARIA

BCP CENTRAL COMMITTEE GREETES AGRARIAN UNION CONGRESS

Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 30 Nov 76 pp 1, 3 AU

[BCP Central Committee message of greeting to the 33d Congress of the Bulgarian People's Agrarian Union, read by Aleksandur Lilov, Politburo member and secretary of the BCP Central Committee, at the opening of the congress on 29 November 1976 at the Aleksandur Stamboliyski Memorial Building in Sofia]

[Text] Dear comrades, the BCP Central Committee greets you, the delegates and guests to the 33d congress and through you, all members of our loyal comrades in arms, the Bulgarian People's Agrarian Union [BNAU], wishing you with all our hearts a businesslike and useful work.

The 33d BNAU Congress is an important political event not only for the united agrarians, but also for us communists and for all Bulgarian people. We are deeply convinced that this congress will accomplish a comprehensive analysis of the period under review in our country's development, and that it will outline new tasks for the union so that BNAU participation in the joint work and struggle of our two fraternal parties to build a developed socialist society in the Bulgarian People's Republic for the happiness and well-being of the Bulgarian people may expand on even larger scales, and so that BNAU activities may be raised to an even higher level.

Your congress is taking place at a remarkable time. Among all strata and generations of the people, throughout the socialist construction front--in factories and in agro-industrial complexes, on building projects, in offices and scientific research institutes--everywhere an unprecedented political upsurge reigns and inspired creative labor is expanding--labor devoted to implementing the 11th BCP Congress decisions, labor devoted to the practical implementation of the strategic slogan launched by the Seventh Five-Year Plan: "efficiency and quality, quality and efficiency!"

A powerful new impetus was given to the nationwide struggle to implement the congress decisions by the July BCP Central Committee plenum. With

its innovative approach to solving problems, with its higher criterion for evaluating work results, with its spirit of exactingness, criticism and self-criticism, with its militant irreconcilability toward weaknesses and shortcomings, the July plenum inspired and mobilized all socialist toilers for an even more accelerated socialist building of the Bulgarian People's Republic.

We note with great satisfaction the fact that the 11th BCP Congress decision also found an ardent response in the fraternal ranks of the BNAU. As always in the past, today too the united agrarians stand side by side with the communists in the first ranks of the struggle for the further, comprehensive progress of our socialist motherland.

The 33d congress is taking place in an international atmosphere of steady changes in the balance of forces to the advantage of peace, democracy and socialism. Today the main trend of mankind's social progress is determined by just these forces, and above all by the worldwide socialist system, by the development of the socialist countries, by the consolidation of their unity, by an increase in their economic, political and military power, by the beneficial influence of their peace-loving foreign policy-- a policy of peace, understanding and cooperation with all peoples.

The consolidation of the Leninist principles of peaceful coexistence with different social systems has become a predominating trend in international relations. The spirit and the principles of Helsinki encountered a vast response and support among all democratic and progressive forces in Europe and throughout the world. Mankind has moved away from thermonuclear war, and peace has become more solid and more reliable.

The socialist countries, above all the Soviet Union, the CPSU and the Soviet Government, as well as Leonid Ilich Brezhnev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, have earned the main credit for the change from "cold war" to detente in the international atmosphere.

The program on the further struggle for peace and international cooperation, for freedom and independence of the peoples adopted by the 25th CPSU Congress has opened new horizons to detente and to the development of cooperation among the peoples in Europe and throughout the world. It inspires new strength and confidence among millions of fighters for peace and friendship among the peoples, for social and national liberation, for democracy and socialism.

Comrades, the BCP Central Committee once more expresses the party's deep gratitude to the BNAU for the great role it plays and for its contribution to consolidating the workers and peasants union, to the socio-political cohesion of the people in the development and flourishing of our socialist motherland.

Being loyal to the democratic behests of its immortal leader, Aleksandur Stamboliyski, having adopted the theory and practice of socialism as the essence and meaning of its activities, as its own destiny, the BNAU, one of the oldest democratic peasants parties in Europe, has developed as an active builder of socialist society, as an ardent defender of the consolidation of Bulgarian-Soviet friendship, which is sacred to us.

You, dear united agrarians, have every reason to be proud of the fact that your union has always and still is worthily contributing to the implementation of deep revolutionary changes in all fields of life--changes that have radically transformed the outlook of old Bulgaria, changes that have transformed our country into an advanced socialist state with a powerful, modern industry, a large-scale mechanized agriculture and an ascending intellectual culture.

It is a pleasure for us to note that during the period under review the unity of action between the two fraternal parties has become even more fruitful. We are justified in stating that this period had been one of the richest with regard to its form and content in the joint work between communists and united agrarians. We would like once more to stress the lasting importance of the historic April 1956 BCP Central Committee plenum for the comprehensive upsurge of our motherland, as well as for the constant development and enrichment of the communist-agrarian alliance. The period that elapsed since the April plenum represents a new, higher stage in the development of the alliance and fraternal cooperation between the BCP and the BNAU. As Comrade Todor Zhivkov stated when he was awarded the International Dimitrov Prize for Peace, Democracy and Social Progress: "The friendship and cooperation between the BCP and the BNAU today can serve as an example for the unity and unity of action of progressive forces in building socialism in a country and in the struggle for peace and cooperation throughout the world."

At its 32d congress the BNAU outlined the tasks and future prospects for its activities in the stage of building a developed socialist society. Now that your congress is analyzing and evaluating the BNAU activities during the period under review, we the Bulgarian communists sincerely rejoice at the fact that the united agrarians have worked with selfless devotion and have worthily contributed to the people's joint efforts in the further socialist upsurge of our motherland. This contribution is embodied in the remarkable deeds of our people in fulfilling the Sixth Five-Year Plan period--the first vast step in implementing the program to construct developed socialism.

The united agrarians have marched side by side with the communists in the first ranks of the struggle to comprehensively intensify the economy and to accelerate technical progress, particularly in the agricultural sector, to build and consolidate the agro-industrial complexes as a high and efficient form of economic and social organization in the rural areas, to concentrate and specialize agricultural production, as well as to raise the cultural standard of our socialist agriculture.

The BCP Central Committee is pleased to note the increased efforts of the united agrarians in the struggle to perfect the social administration system, to expand and develop socialist democracy, to enhance the role of the People's Councils and of the Fatherland Front in our society and to implement a national program to raise the people's material and cultural prosperity.

We highly appreciate the active and purposeful work of the BNAU in educating united agrarians in a spirit of socialist patriotism and internationalism, in a spirit of infinite devotion to our progressive and revolutionary traditions. By its work the BNAU contributes to improving even further the people's political and labor activities, to consolidating their unity and to educating a new socialist toiler as the representative of lofty moral and political virtues, and to further consolidating the socialist way of life.

Particularly great successes have been achieved in your union's international activities--activities which increasingly contribute toward implementing the peace-loving foreign policy conducted by the Bulgarian People's Republic, toward intensifying comprehensive cooperation with the Soviet Union and with the other socialist countries, toward developing friendly relations and mutually advantageous cooperation with the neighbor states, and peace and friendship among the peoples in Europe and throughout the world.

The expansion of the BNAU's relations and contacts with more than 80 peasant and affiliated organizations throughout the world, which is also demonstrated by the presence of so many delegations at your congress, plays an important role in your indefatigable work to consolidate the unity of democratic and progressive forces in the anti-imperialist struggle, for international security, democracy and social progress.

A vivid illustration of the BNAU's international prestige was its 75th jubilee at which the tremendous importance, not only national, but also international, of the 50-year-old experience of fraternal unity of action between communists and united agrarians in Bulgaria was manifested.

From the rostrum of your congress, we the Bulgarian communists once more pay tribute and our respect to the memory and work of Georgi Traykov, the long-time first leader of the BNAU, who was one of the most outstanding builders of the Bulgarian People's Republic and a distinguished figure in the international democratic peasants movement. We would like once more to stress his historic contribution in transforming the BNAU into a consistently progressive organization and his contribution to the ideological-political development of the BNAU as an unshakable, loyal ally of the BCP in socialist construction.

Comrades, the 11th BCP Congress decisions outlined the main path for the further accelerated construction of a developed socialist society in the Bulgarian People's Republic. The Seventh Five-Year Plan period will represent a new step forward along this path.

The main socioeconomic task of the five-year plan period is the unrelenting implementation of the line for an increasingly full satisfaction of the people's material and intellectual needs by insuring a dynamic, well-balanced development of the national economy, a rapid increase in labor productivity, efficiency and quality through modernization, reorganization and the accelerated introduction of scientific-technical progress and through improving the working people's socialist consciousness, as well as through asserting the socialist way of life.

In order to accomplish such a task it is necessary to fully mobilize the people's efforts and creative energies. Discipline and strict organization, a creative spirit and initiative, a lofty feeling of responsibility--these are of particular importance today for the solution of these complicated and important problems.

We are glad that our two fraternal parties are fully unanimous in defining the main socioeconomic task during the Seventh Five-Year Plan period, as well as the roads leading toward the implementation of this task. The BCP Central Committee is convinced that the BNAU and its leadership, headed by Comrade Petur Tanchev, will even better organize and guide the efforts, knowledge and experience of the united agrarians in the nationwide struggle and labor to fulfill and overfulfill the Seventh Five-Year Plan in all sectors of our development.

There is no doubt that the union and the united agrarians will find an even wider field of action in implementing the country's economic policy. There is no doubt that they will continue also in the future to stand in the front ranks of the struggle for the further consolidation and development of agro-industrial and industrial-agrarian complexes, for the large-scale introduction of science and culture in the daily lives of the agricultural workers, for the constant expansion of socialist democracy, for the solution of the country's important social problems.

We are convinced that, side by side with the communists, the BNAU, its organs, organizations and leaders will devote even more care to the improvement of socialist consciousness, to the patriotic and international education of the working people, and that they will actively participate in the struggle against negative manifestations in our life, against the bourgeois influence and ideological diversion of imperialism, for the further consolidation of the Bulgarian people's ideological-political unity.

We are deeply convinced that the struggle to implement the exceptionally important tasks facing us during the forthcoming period will make the cooperation and unity of action between our two parties even closer. We are convinced that this struggle will intensify, expand and enrich their joint work in its form and meaning as a constantly acting factor in the shaping and practical implementation of the country's foreign and domestic policy. In this connection the expansion of the joint work of the basic BCP and BNAU links on the lowest level--the basic party organizations and

the BNAU groups--as well as the enhancement of their role in the workers collectives assumes an ever-increasing importance.

Our comprehensive joint work is logically leading toward a further, even closer drawing together between the two fraternal organizations in the struggle to implement our common goals and tasks--the triumph of socialism in Bulgaria.

As for many decades past, also in the future the BCP and BNAU, the communists and agrarians in our country will march side by side, heart to heart, in the same strong and indestructible ranks so that we may achieve even greater success in building socialism for the benefit of our wonderful industrious people. The communist-agrarian unity and fraternity born and tempered in long years of joint struggle and creative construction are pure like the waters of our lakes; they are strong like the granite rocks of our native Balkan mountains.

Ardent greetings to the BNAU--our loyal ally and comrade in arms in our progress forward along the sunny road of socialism!

Long live the heroic and industrious Bulgarian people!

May the indestructible communist-agrarian alliance strengthen and develop!

Long live the Bulgarian People's Republic.

CSO: 2200

ALOIS INDRA DISCUSSES CONCEPT OF SOCIALIST ELECTIONS

Prague TRIBUNA in Czech No 43, 20 Oct 76 pp 1, 3

[Article by Alois Indra, member of the Executive Council of the CPCZ Central Committee and the chairman of the CSSR Federal Assembly: "To Carry on the Good Work"]

At the moment when the readers receive this issue of their TRIBUNA we shall be counting the hours to the time before the beginning of general elections. On Friday the polling places will open to give CSSR citizens, in this country and in many parts of the world, an opportunity to exercise one of their rights and to fulfill one of their most honorable civic duties. Moreover, this single act gives us an opportunity to express our attitude toward socialism, the policy of the CPCZ and the National Front, and to demonstrate the political and ethical unity of our society. At the same time the meaning of our elections stems from the fact that we determine the composition of national committees as well as of the legislative bodies and thus, their activity and the level of effectiveness of their work for the next 5-year period.

The masses of citizens who, aware of the significance of this occasion, will participate in the elections and the votes for the candidates of the National Front will climax the devoted work of roughly 1 million propagandists and members of election commissions on all levels. For many weeks, at scores of consultations, the election commissions prepared all that was necessary for a smooth process of the pre-election campaign as well as of the elections proper and ensured the correct application of pertinent laws. The propagandists visited their fellow citizens and invited them to attend the meetings and to participate in the elections. They discussed with them our internal and foreign policies, the meaning of the results of the 15th Congress and the method of their realization; also, they paid attention to the local situation and shared with them their joys and concerns. This exactly is one of the characteristic traits of the socialist democracy that in our country the preparation for the elections--just as all decisive political events--is exclusively the working people's affair. Hand in hand,

the Communists, members of other political parties and citizens with no party affiliation took care of all the matters connected with the elections: of the political content and forms of the pre-election campaign and of administrative and technical details. The best reward for all the propagandists and members of the election commissions will come when the vote count confirms the victory of the candidates of the National Front; that will be a testimonial to their conscientious work.

However, even the most conscientious preparations over several months by themselves would not be enough to assure a success. Most of all the elections are a harvest of endeavors made over 5 years by the CPCZ, all the organs and organizations of the National Front in their activity of political education and in ensuring the development of the national economy, and in the international policy. In short: on Friday and Saturday we shall reap the fruits of a successful implementation of the results of the 14th Congress and of the election program based thereon; we shall reap the results of the activity of about 200,000 deputies of all representative bodies. If our memories serve us primarily as a lesson, then it may be proper to recall the conditions in 1971 when we began. At that time we had behind us 2 uneasy years of complex political struggles and of a remarkable organizational effort--2 years during which the communists, with the understanding and support of the majority of the working people, had dealt with the greatest political and economic damages inflicted by our rightists acting in close accord with the domestic and foreign enemies of socialism. For that reason the 14th CPCZ Congress already sounded as a triumph of the Marx-Leninist CPCZ; it appreciated the political course and the work of the new CPCZ leadership headed by Comrade Husak and convincingly expressed to him the confidence of the entire party. This was precisely the basic condition for the all-around successful development, the good accounts of which we were able to present to the 15th Congress and also now in the pre-election campaign. Life has best tested our internal and foreign policies and confirmed their progressive and realistic character--it is evident that it has profited the republic and benefited millions of the working people. And our people do respect and properly appreciate this; with understanding they even accept the fact that the leadership of the party and of the state openly points out the existing deficiencies and organizes actions to overcome them.

The atmosphere of the pre-election meetings in all parts of the state justifies optimism as concerns the expected results of the elections. The number of such meetings, their attendance and the lively discussion were a testimony of the citizens' growing interest in public affairs. No less important is the fact that this is not an isolated phenomenon but another degree of systematically growing socialist consciousness of the citizens, their patriotic and internationalist feelings, their attitude toward the policy of the CPCZ and the National Front and their devotion to the ties with our allies, particularly with the Soviet Union. From this year's solution of serious problems of the entire society it is quite evident that this does not

concern just resolutions "in the spirit of the official policy" and that we are not building on mere words. Is not the best proof of the socialist consciousness to be seen in the devotion and initiative with which the people are fulfilling this year's demanding economic tasks? Have not thousands of people from factories, offices, schools and military units displayed their understanding for the needs of the society by helping the agricultural workers so effectively in order to overcome the consequences of unfavorable weather? Where, if not exactly in this category, should one classify the work in the value of 56 billion Kcs created in the past 5 years by the citizens' voluntary labor? And those who have not shut themselves off from the society, those who are sharing the life of their nation could offer numerous similar specific, superbly convincing examples of civic consciousness.

The organs of the party and of the entire National Front and the officials on every level accepted with due earnestness even the critical comments voiced at the pre-election meetings. Well, not even life under socialism can be free of difficulties and shortcomings. It is beneficial that the people understand the importance of criticism and self-criticism for the development of our society, that they stand up for the implementation of our party's policy--that they carry on the tone sounded by the Central Committee in November 1974, by the 15th congress as well as by the third session of the CPCZ Central Committee in September of this year. Some of our difficulties are caused by objective conditions, but the people are criticizing most of all the deficiencies characterized by a lack of responsibility, by insufficient devotion and indecision or incapability of individuals or some groups of the working people. The critical voices are exactly the ones that show the degree of earnestness with which most of the citizens accept the program of the CPCZ and the National Front; they demonstrate that they are not indifferent about who realizes that program and how it is done. They spoke of their concerns and submitted suggestions for their solutions at the meetings with their candidates for the office of deputies because they trust them, regard them correctly as their authorized representatives and demand that they lead the fight against the deficiencies that are hampering us needlessly.

From the pre-election meetings it clearly appeared that free citizens of a free country freely expressed their views. They did not miss any political opposition (whose "usefulness" was so strongly recommended to us by the rightists), they did not hanker after dissension; they regarded the preparation for the elections as a process of further intensification of the alliance of the working class and other working people and as a consolidation of the unity of our nations and nationalities. Without any reservations whatsoever they acknowledged socialism and expressed their readiness to actively support the newly elected representative bodies and to cooperate with their deputies. These very circumstances confirmed the truth of the words spoken by Comrade Husak before the 15th congress in his report on the

activity of the party--namely, that after the 15th congress the general elections will be our most important intra-party event of this year.

It so happens that nothing of political significance remains confined within the borders of our country--every positive step, each of our successful achievements always enhances the authority of CSSR on the international scene and proves to the international communist and workers' movements that the policies of the CPCZ are correct. This, too, will be the case with our elections. Our opponents will mask their disappointment by propagandistic prestidigitation; our friends will be once again reassured that in us they have dependable allies; this will serve as an encouragement to the progressive forces of the whole world in their complex struggle for peace, democracy and social justice. It was in this sense that the citizens discussed this matter at their pre-election meetings and this is what they will bear in mind when casting their vote for the candidates of the National Front.

We regarded the preparation for the elections primarily as a serious work; to us it means presenting accounts of the completed work as well as thinking of the future tasks. The newly elected deputies are not coming to an "unploughed field"; they can proceed smoothly on the basis of previous results. It will be essential for the representative bodies not to pause for an "inventory" and to continue their activity, even though--of course, it is up to each deputy to prove his mettle and his devotion--each individual must contribute his talent to the common work. The deputy must regard the voters' trust expressed at the pre-election meetings and by the vote not as "flattery" but as an obligation. It urges everyone to be aware of the responsibility of the working people's elected representative and of the importance of the mission based thereon.

To represent and assert consistently the people's interests--that means most of all to follow the documents of the 15th CPCZ Congress, to apply them, always and everywhere, as a standard of one's own work and to become involved in their realization. It is a fact that by its program and by the decisions of its organs only CPCZ expressed in the most comprehensive way the interests of the working class and other working people and that only CPCZ is able to organize successfully the endeavors of the entire society for the benefit of its further advantageous development. It is not enough for the deputies to approve the principles of our policy in general; they cannot limit themselves to mere interpretation, be it ever so correct, of the so-called "great policy," although that, too, is legitimately expected from them. No less important for them is--and the voters will judge them on this basis--to prove their political awareness and their responsibility for the entire society when actually implementing the policies of the party and of the National Front in their electoral districts, communities, counties and regions, when solving the so-called current problems, when harmonizing the all-social, local and group interests, while also always demonstrating the necessary measures of patience and understanding for the citizens' personal concerns.

In the spirit of the conclusions of the 15th congress the concern for the development and improvement of socialist democracy will be among the foremost tasks for the representative bodies. A national committee acting in isolation from the citizens never could achieve anything--the deputies who rely on their own strength only would not be able to prove their worth. Therefore, the necessity of the closest possible contact with the voters is being stressed as one of the basic attributes of the socialist democracy. The contact with the voters enables the deputies to inform the citizens about their work and plans of the pertinent representative body and to enlist them for the participation in the realization of such plans. For the deputies this democratic form is also an irreplaceable source of information; it is a method of testing the accuracy of the action of the national committee; usually it is also a source of many a fruitful initiative. It is one of the innumerable forms of the working people's involvement in the creation and realization not only of the local but of the all-state policy, provided that the obtained information is applied with adequate responsibility and that it gets where it belongs according to its importance. Already while completing the election programs the national committees must demonstrate their attitude toward the citizens and indicate how they expect to cooperate with them and what kind of conditions will they create for the application of every sound idea.

However, it will do not harm, in my opinion, to drop a word addressed to some of our citizens who would like to follow the principle: "We have elected you, so now show us what you know." No so! Our representative bodies are organs of the people; they are an expression of the government of the people and therefore, they deserve the people's support. Criticism has its merit; it is a cure necessary for many complaints, nevertheless it is so much more useful if joined by willingness to lend one's hand to the work. It is highly undemocratic for some people to contribute their devoted work to the solution of social problems while others are content to just "orate"; it is immoral if some people are "pulling" while others are just "riding." We should be much more consistent in making it everywhere an obligation to apply the advantages of socialism and to assert one's rights by consistently fulfilling one's civic duties.

National committees are sure to try to adapt the methods of their activity to their increasingly more demanding tasks. For the elected organs it means to actually lead the life within the sphere of their activity, to proceed systematically in the solution of all problems and to increase the effectiveness of their organizational action. One single concrete act has a far greater impact than long hours of unproductive discussions at meetings or scores of resolutions that would not change a thing. If the representative bodies are to perform work of quality it is imperative to purposefully render assistance to the deputies who are beginners, particularly the young ones. Young deputies may grow into true managers of their country; they may become successful successors of their fathers only if we help them from the very beginning and if we create for them conditions enabling them to apply their knowledge, energy and the critical views of their youth. Just as now,

the communist deputies, party groups and competent party organs will bear an extraordinary responsibility for the work of the representative bodies over the next 5 years. The communists must be the guarantee of the proper operation of the representative bodies; there they must enlist other deputies for the implementation of the policy of the CPCZ and the National Front; they must serve as an example of devotion. Most of all, they must attend to it that nobody would harm socialism anywhere by covering up the defects or by being indifferent to their elimination.

The level and intensity of this year's election campaign justify the conviction that the results of the elections will be a hopeful beginning for a new period of the function of the representative bodies. On them and on the citizens' support it will depend whether in 5 years the accounts will credit the pages of socialism with further outstanding successful achievements.

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CZECHOSLOVAKIA

FRG PAPER ON BLACK MARKET CURRENCY DEALS IN CSSR

Frankfurt FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 30 Nov 76 p 15

[Article by Heinz Brestel: "The State Hasn't Got a Chance With Schweik--Old and Ever-New Deals in Prague's Mobile Private Currency Exchange Offices"]

[Text] Prague, November--The Schweiks do not die out; these very days, in the dreary fall in Prague, you come across them--a Prague which again finds itself in substantial economic difficulties. It is a "classic" time for people with innate cunning, for the especially crafty ones who know how to cheat their way through without giving the appearance of doing so.

The bus with Western tourists on a weekend excursion at Prague Airport miraculously has a crew of four: in addition to the driver and an official employee of the state tourist bureau organization, two "guides" can be seen cowering on seats up front. Our tourist bureau official beams: "Ladies and gentlemen, you are in luck today; our dear driver makes big detour for you and takes you through most wonderful streets of golden Prague." The tourists are touched. The drive, which is truly beautiful, ends abruptly in a deserted small street. Our tourist bureau official excuses himself, saying he has "little errand." Quickly the door slams shut.

There is a few seconds' quiet. Then the two "guides" who have remained behind get up, asking in flawless German, "Who wants to change money?" It happens that quite a few do. It is very tempting to reduce one's expenses during a couple of nice days in Prague to well below the level which the Czechoslovak National Bank has in mind.

Our bus starts up again. It becomes a mobile currency exchange office, where 1 deutsche mark yields 8 korunas, about double the official rate. We are finding ourselves in a tiny oasis of the market economy--in the center of socialist Prague.

The man behind the hotel reception desk talks to us in worried tones: "You are coming from Zurich? What is this I hear about the Swiss wanting to change their banknotes? Shall we lose perhaps our good money?" Well, we quickly reassured him, telling him that despite the change that had begun the banknotes

of the Swiss National Bank would remain valid for years. But we are wondering: How did this man, cut off from all Western currency news, get the news so quickly about the change of banknotes? Not before the very morning when he started the conversation with us was the embargo lifted of the news that the Swiss National Bank planned a new issue of banknotes. In the West the information had come over only on the early morning news that day.

In Prague it is the drums of the bush that announce the foreign currency exchange rates! If you start a conversation with Prague's "foreign exchange dealers" you are amazed how prompt and quick their information is about what is happening on the foreign currency markets abroad. One might think there was a foreign exchange ticker up in Prague Castle. The lists of exchange rates carried in the dealers' notebooks are almost as good as those in the Western foreign exchange offices. They listen to the foreign exchange report from Frankfurt broadcast by the Bavarian Radio at noon. Thus they are well informed about the latest "battle of the pound" and the most recent drop of the lira in Milan. They know exactly by how many per mills the guilder dropped in Amsterdam yesterday, and the rate of the deutsche mark on the Bahnhofstrasse in Zurich.

While in Prague at night (because the government, owing to lack of foreign currency, must save power) lights, on official instructions, must be put out earlier and altogether may now burn but sparsely, the people in Prague privately see the light. In such dark times, one has to be bright--but not in such a way as to draw attention to oneself. Officially, individuals are prohibited from trading in Western currency in Czechoslovakia the same as they are in other countries of the Eastern bloc. If police catch people in Prague while they are exercising their "private initiative," the penalties are harsh. The Good Soldier Schweik has found a way out; the cleverest dealers have transferred at least the "purchase" from the street to wheels. That way you know who is inside and who remains outside.

There are a dozen taxis waiting at the station, and no driver to be seen anywhere. A long queue of people are tearing their hair out. In Prague, too, taxi drivers have something like a duty to provide transportation. But Schweik can always claim that he simply had to absent himself for a few minutes. Certainly Schweik cannot be blamed if many taxi drivers happen to do so all at the same time.

The train from Vienna is approaching the platform. One can recognize a Westerner without any difficulty. "Please, do you wish a taxi?" Whoever does gets prompt service from the Prague taxi drivers. Again a mobile foreign exchange office is set in motion. The new visitor from the West is supplied with korunas. This way the Czechoslovaks get the foreign currency which the National Bank does not want to make available to them for trips and for purchases in the foreign exchange store. I ask you: Doesn't everyone get what he wants? The state hasn't got a chance with Schweik.

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EAST GERMANY

NOVEMBER 1976 ISSUE OF SED THEORETICAL JOURNAL REVIEWED

East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 9 Nov 76 p 4

[Helmut Caspar review of East Berlin EINHEIT in German Vol 31 No 11, Nov 76, signed to press 18 Oct 76 pp 1187-1295. Translations and/or summaries of the articles by the four authors referred to below and by others are published in pages following this review]

[Text] "Socialist Patriotism and Proletarian Internationalism" -- this is the title of "The Topic" section in the November issue of EINHEIT. Walter Wimmer, among other things, goes into the question of what role proletarian internationalism is playing in the struggle between socialism and capitalism. Proletarian internationalism is one of the strongest guarantees for securing and defending the rights of the peoples who have liberated themselves from the yoke of imperialism or are about to shake it off. "Proletarian internationalism is not indifferent to national problems," writes the author, "rather, it encompasses the historical experience that the workers class of any country which lets itself be guided by the common international goals of the workers class is promoting this goal primarily by the revolutionary struggle and the socialist construction in its own country."

Joachim Boehm and Siegmur Quilitzsch also explain with the help of historical and topical examples that the main prerequisite for further successes in the struggle against imperialism, for peace, freedom and social progress has been and will continue to be the comprehensive strengthening of socialism and the firm cooperation of the communist and workers parties in all parts of the world.

Other articles in EINHEIT deal with questions of intensification, of the economical use of materials and basic assets, the polytechnical education and new tasks for the artistic activities of the people. Also analyzed are the attempts of the monopolist bourgeoisie to shift the burdens of the crisis on the working people. In the "Consultations" section Eberhard Prager answers the question of why and how scientific-technical progress must be accelerated.

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EAST GERMANY

PROLETARIAN INTERNATIONALISM NOT TO ELIMINATE NATIONAL DIFFERENCES

East Berlin EINHEIT in German Vol 31 No 11, Nov 76, signed to press 18 Oct 76
pp 1193-1200

[Article by Dr Joachim Boehm, sector head in SED Central Committee:
"Proletarian Internationalism--Basic Principle of Workers Class' Revolutionary
Struggle"]

[Text] The importance of proletarian internationalism as the basic principle of the revolutionary workers movement is being explained and its expansion is shown through the development of the communist world movement. The socialist action community of the communist parties does not mean an elimination of diversity, while every party is seeking the best means in concretely approaching the task to be solved, unified as it is in its goal. At the same time the bourgeoisie, by offering "advice," seeks to undermine internationalist unity. The article shows the need for collaboration among the communist parties.

Active support for the progressive and revolutionary forces in the world in the spirit of proletarian internationalism¹ is a basic feature of the policy of the socialist countries and of all communist parties. This was once again confirmed by Comrade Erich Honecker when he said at the Ninth SED Congress: "It has been and will continue to be the sacred right of the nations to defend themselves against imperialist aggression, to struggle in every way for national and social liberation and to determine their destiny themselves. Our support goes out to all peoples struggling for their national independence, their position of equality in international relations, their economic development and social progress. Thus our foreign policy aims at consolidating and expanding the anti-imperialist alliance."²

What internationalist solidarity can do also was demonstrated by the historic victory of the Vietnamese people. Worldwide support for its just struggle against imperialist aggression helped force the imperialist aggressor to stop his war operations and to respect the Vietnamese people's sovereign will for liberty. The solidary help provided by the socialist countries, especially by the USSR, for the liberation struggle in Guinea-Bissau, Mozambique and Angola significantly helped the peoples in those countries liberate themselves from colonial bondage of centuries.

Proletarian internationalism does not terminate in solidary support for revolutionary movements in situations of intensified liberation struggles. It also proves itself, and particularly so, through the collaboration of the fraternal parties in the construction of socialism, in the struggle for peace and social progress. That was also given symbolic expression in the slogan our party issued after the victory in Vietnam: "Solidarity -- now more than ever!"

For the SED and our republic the internationalist policy and fraternal help from the Soviet Union were decisive factors for our own development. The GDR -- a firm component of the socialist community of states -- has received the solidary support by all progressive forces and thus is always aware of its obligation to demonstrate proletarian internationalism by its deeds and to exercise solidarity.

Proletarian Internationalism in Further Development

Proletarian internationalism is a basic principle of the struggle of the international workers movement. Its genesis and development are inseparably connected with the formation and development of the workers class itself. Its source lies in the international character of the workers class, in the fundamental identity of the situation and of the conditions of struggle, in the basic objective interests and final goal of the workers class in all countries, the establishment of a socialist society. In the basic issues the interests of the workers class in all nations coincide.

Proletarian internationalism is no abstract article of faith, nor is it self-serving. Generated in the early phases of its development as an expression of the solidarity for the struggles seeking to enforce the workers' most elemental rights, proletarian internationalism, with the founding of the first political workers class party, became the basic political principle of the revolutionary workers movement in all countries. Proving itself in the struggle against social chauvinism and "national defense" during the imperialist World War I, proletarian internationalism gained great importance after the Great Socialist October Revolution and the emergence of the first socialist state, the Soviet Union, which initiated the epoch of the worldwide transition from capitalism to socialism.

With the founding of the Comintern proletarian internationalism became the basic principle of the communist movement. Anti-imperialist struggle gained in breadth, and as early as at the Second Comintern Congress Lenin emphasized the need of alliance also with all national and colonial liberation movements.³ Generations of communists were brought up in this spirit while the communist parties developed all over the world and carried on their struggle on the basis of proletarian internationalism.

While originally the communists were but a small host, today the communist movement has become a truly global force. Influential and battle-tested communist and workers parties are today heading the construction of socialism and communism in the socialist countries of Europe, Asia and Latin America,

directing the struggle of the workers class and its allies for democracy and social progress in highly developed capitalist countries and fighting for national and social liberation in the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America.

With the emergence and consolidation of the socialist world system, the relations among the socialist states also are developing on the basis of working class internationalism. That finds its expression in particular in the ever closer collaboration among the fraternal parties and governments and in the intensification of friendly relations among the peoples. The process of socialist economic integration brings out more and more effectively the advantages of socialism. The ever closer rapprochement among the peoples in the socialist states at the same time increases the radiating strength of the victorious workers class, lending wings to all democratic forces and movements.

From our experience of long years of collaboration we know of the outstanding role played by the CPSU in the revolutionary struggle of our time. As the most experienced party in the communist world movement and as the leading force of the strongest socialist state, it bears a great responsibility for peace and is making the main contribution to the changes in the international power ratio in favor of peace, freedom, democracy and socialism. True to the Leninist principles, the CPSU, time and again, is proving itself as the rigorous proponent of internationalism. It is demonstrating sacrificial solidarity with the worldwide struggle of the revolutionary forces and plays a decisive role in the internationalist collaboration among the communist and workers parties. For the SED, further progress in the construction of socialism and in the struggle for peace, democracy and social progress is inconceivable without an internationalist, communist relationship with the CPSU and the USSR.

The struggle for renewing the world under the aegis of peace, democracy and social progress has broadened significantly in recent decades. It not only embraces all continents today, but the social forces themselves which are advocating a fundamental transformation of our world have become broader and more diverse. In all phases of this struggle great successes have been achieved. The involvement of more and more millions of working people in the capitalist countries and of the Asian and African peoples in the world revolutionary process expands the sphere of international action. On the basis of objectively common interests in the struggle for peace, democracy, national independence and socialism, it is becoming more and more the decisive principle in the relations between the forces of the three revolutionary main trends.

In this sense then the 1969 international conference of communist and workers parties has expanded the slogan of Marx and Engels, "Proletarians of all countries, unite!" by issuing this appeal: "Peoples of the socialist countries, proletarians, democratic forces in the capitalist countries, liberated and suppressed peoples -- unite in joint struggle against imperialism, for peace, national independence, social progress, democracy and socialism!"⁴

Increasing Internationalization

All communist parties are struggling for identical fundamental goals -- the elimination of any kind of imperialist exploitation and suppression and the establishment of socialist society. Every communist party has emerged from its country's workers movement and is responsible in its policy, primarily, to the working people of its country the interests of which it represents and defends.⁵ Representing those interests most effectively at once also means taking into account the high and constantly growing degree of internationalization in all development processes, including that of the class struggle in our time. Not only that an accelerated process of internationalization is taking place in the productive forces, there is no domain left in national public life today that is not partly determined, or at least affected, by international factors. New demands, at the same time, also arise from the fact that the workers class is facing a more internationally organized, devious adversary who more and more coordinates his counterrevolutionary activities.

Along with the fundamental conformity in interests among the communist parties, the current conditions of the class struggle also present us with more and more practical requirements on a continuing basis. "Evidently," Comrade Erich Honecker said at the Berlin Conference, "from the growing influence by the communist parties in the various countries and their increasing responsibility for the destiny of their peoples, higher demands at once result regarding their international policy, their internationalist contribution to the common cause of all revolutionary forces. As to our own party, we may say that the reciprocal contacts between our party and the fraternal parties serve our common cause in every situation. In view of the advancing internationalization of the class struggle the need for mutual internationalist solidarity is growing steadily."⁶

The burning questions such as the safeguarding of permanent peace, the further enforcement of the principles of peaceful coexistence between states with differing social systems, and an end to the arms race, virtually require a close cooperation among all communist parties and all progressive forces. That fact was well taken into account by Europe's fraternal parties when they unanimously agreed on the document of the Berlin Conference, "For Peace, Security, Cooperation and Social Progress in Europe." Other factors also, like the increasing multinational state monopoly interlinking among capitalist countries, compel the workers class and its vanguard in each and every country, more strongly than ever, to subject the strategy and tactics of their struggle to international coordination. Thus, objectively speaking, a policy confining itself to national matters is even less possible today than in the past.

Unity of National and International

Communist party policy starts out from Lenin's explanation that a theoretical avowal of proletarian internationalism is not enough and that we are concerned here with an internationalism of deeds that must stand up to the revolutionary

struggle and always also take into account the interests of the movement at large. Its internationalist policy is not only confined to representing the national interest but at the same time aims at doing all it can, whatever is possible to do in one country for the development of the revolution in all countries.⁷

At present also one can see how greatly important proletarian internationalism is to the working class struggle in all countries. There is an inseparable dialectical unity between the international and the national, with the international, that is, the general class interests and goals of the workers of all nations, having extraordinary importance in this dialectical reciprocity in that, ultimately, upon the attention to it also depends the success of the struggle in the national framework.

Saying that has nothing to do with surrendering national interests. Rather, it is prerequisite to truly representing and enforcing the national interests in the working class struggle. Characteristic of the basic Marxist-Leninist position with respect to the relationship between the national and the international in the communists' struggle is not, as is sometimes incorrectly claimed, that the national is underrated, but the inseparable unity between the national and the international in working class development. This unity must today, in the interest of the movement at large as well as the movement in each individual country, be taken into account all the more, as the influence of the external factors of the class struggle, principally of the great confrontation between socialism and imperialism at a world scale, more and more emphatically affect each country's internal conditions of struggle.

All these are reasons why, rather than becoming smaller, the importance of proletarian internationalism is still growing today, growing to the extent that mankind approaches the fulfillment of its century-old dream of establishing a just society without any suppression and exploitation. In the national framework too, fundamental political decisions are permanent only when they conform to the international situation and the general exigencies of an epoch. "The fact that socialism has triumphed in more than half of Europe and reached a high state of development," Comrade Knud Jespersen said at the Berlin Conference, "also means that new possibilities have been created for solving the problems of the European peoples, with regard to interstate relations as well as to safeguarding the right of each nation to make its own decisions on its social conditions."⁸

Marx, Engels and Lenin always proceeded from the objective fact that the fundamental principles of communism are the same for all communist parties and that the communist movement is devoted to common goals in its struggle. This then also calls for common strategy and tactics. And here Lenin made the point that the uniformity of international tactics by the communist workers movement did not require the elimination of diversity, the abolition of national differences, but that it was a matter, rather, "to explore, study, determine, guess at and comprehend the national particulars, national specifics, in the manner in which every country concretely approaches the solution of the uniform international task."⁹ By that he once more underlined

the unity of goal, the need to carry into effect the fundamental principles of the socialist revolution, that is, the elimination of bourgeois rule and the establishing of the power of the workers class and its allies. At the same time Lenin regarded it as the task of the communist party in each country "to explore, study, determine, guess at and comprehend" the best ways and means, methods and forms for it.

It is perfectly clear that that is a task that is not always easy to solve. It requires a thorough penetration into the real processes of the revolutionary struggle in the national and international framework. The communist parties are dealing with the solution of that task always anew, in accordance with prevailing conditions. Especially in recent years, in a number of communist and workers parties in capitalist countries, where the material conditions have long ripened for replacing the state monopoly system, due to the ever more intense contradiction between the advancing socialization of production and the private forms of appropriating the production output, complex discussions on matters of strategy and tactics have set in aiming at determining concrete ways for the social transformation of those countries under today's conditions.

While seeking new ways and means, forms and methods in their countries' transition to socialism, representatives of some parties, confronted with bourgeois attacks and certain prejudices by some alliance partners, along with some general features of the desired socialist transformation, mainly emphasize the national particulars of their countries. While the fraternal parties keep reiterating that they are concerned with a creative application of the basic ideas of Marx, Engels and Lenin, bourgeois journalists try to interfere in this discussion and offer "advice" to the communist parties.

The Bourgeoisie Seeks To Undermine Internationalist Unity

It would be completely wrong to assume that imperialism, by recognizing peaceful coexistence as the basic principle for the relations among states with differing social orders, has changed its nature, that that had suspended the chief contradiction of our epoch, the contradiction between socialism and imperialism. This historically conditioned antagonistic contradiction will and can as little be eliminated through peaceful coexistence as can the class struggle between workers class and bourgeoisie. Peaceful coexistence determines the principles of the relations between states with differing social orders. Its main task is to prevent war and assure the noninterference in the internal affairs of other states. Thus peaceful coexistence by no means amounts to a guarantee for maintaining the social and political status quo, as some bourgeois ideologists demand it should in order to "get rid of" the objectively existing close connection between the safeguarding of peace and social progress.¹⁰

While having suffered serious defeats, imperialism still has a potential that should not be underrated. It not only tries to accommodate itself and to operate from a defensive position, it also tries to undertake counter-attacks in various areas. Certain imperialist circles therefore are demanding,

as a precondition for peaceful coexistence that one should above all give up the class struggle, the ideological confrontation, the principles of proletarian internationalism, the solidary support of the national and social liberation struggle, and they are calling on the communist parties in the capitalist countries to distance themselves from the achievements of socialism, and from the experiences of development the communist and workers parties in socialist countries have gained. These attempts go hand in hand with an enormous escalation of anticommunism and, above all, anti-Sovietism, that aims at separating the communist parties in the capitalist countries and the national liberation movements from the communist parties in socialist countries, mainly from the CPSU. In this manner imperialism is seeking to undermine the unity of the communist movement and the unity of the struggle of the three main revolutionary trends of our time -- of the socialist countries, the workers class of the capitalist countries and the national liberation movement -- and thereby to counteract the progress of the world revolutionary process.

While bourgeois, and partly also social democratic, newspapers are reporting, with gratification, about coordinated operations by NATO or the EEC states or the Socialist International, with respect to developments in Portugal and in the "third world" countries, as well as with respect to a deliberately one-sided interpretation of the outcome of the Helsinki Conference, they at the same time are trying to reduce the effectiveness of the revolutionary forces. Bourgeois propaganda seeks to dismiss or denigrate whatever the communist parties have in common, or anything the communist parties undertake through coordination, as a result of some "hegemonism," as it were, or as acts of tutelage by one or several parties. An ideological battle is going on against anyone who defends the ideas of internationalism, the common objectives, the joint ideology, Marxism-Leninism, and the communist parties' acting in concert.

Proletarian internationalism implies the equality and independence of every communist party. It has nothing to do with any kind of hegemonism whatever its form. Sometimes one also runs into the opinion that the concept of proletarian internationalism should be renounced today because the expression might be interpreted to signal the desire for another center of the communist movement. That has already been disposed of by the 1969 Moscow international conference of the communist and workers parties and by the top echelons of many fraternal parties. Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, for example, stated at the Berlin Conference: "Those are strange anxieties. No one, as one knows, has expressed the idea anywhere that such a center should be created."¹¹

In preparation and implementation of the Berlin Conference, communist party representatives repeatedly underscored that this was not merely or mainly a matter of holding on to a traditional concept but a matter of defending the essence and substance of this basic principle of the communist movement. They are taking it for granted, as does our own party, that nothing has changed in the nature of proletarian internationalism and in the solidarity of the socialist action community of the working class in all countries.

Internationalist Collaboration -- Principal Prerequisite for Success in the Struggle for Peace and Social Progress

Throughout the tempestuous class struggles, the communist movement from its very start has managed better and better to learn from its triumphs and reversals and, based on the theory of scientific socialism and always in accordance with any given concrete conditions, to work out the proper tasks and objectives of common struggle, whereby to insure unified action in basic matters. There was nothing ever static in the unity of the communist movement. It has always been the outcome of a process of jointly voting on assessments and tasks. The unity of our movement always has taken effect through a coordinated policy directed at concrete and clearly delineated goals.

Uneven concrete socioeconomic and political conditions in the various countries, where problems may follow one historic turn or another, can indeed lead to differences of opinion on specific questions among the fraternal parties. What counts, however, is their identity of basic positions, their constant striving for internationalist collaboration. That is as true today as it has been in previous years. Today too, proletarian internationalism finds its expression in internationalist solidarity, the common goals, the defense of the common ideology, Marxism-Leninism, and the joint activities of the communist parties.

The class struggles in our time have become more powerful and complex yet more varied and complicated as well. The struggle against imperialism and for peace, freedom and social progress proceeds on several levels and in various forms today. It calls for great rigidity of principle and flexibility. International development does not run in a straight line; it brings up new questions every day. The intensification of the worldwide class conflict increases the importance of internationalist cooperation, not only for the workers movement but for all progressive forces today.

The enforcement of the principles of peaceful coexistence has today become the main trend of international events. The recognition, even by the imperialist states, of these principles for shaping the relations among states with differing social orders reduces the opportunities for imperialism to meet that conflict with progress by military means. This is persuasive proof demonstrating that a close reciprocity exists between the struggle for safeguarding peace and the struggle for social progress.

More than ever today common efforts by all revolutionary forces are needed in order to oppose by united action an adversary who acts on the various fronts of the class struggle by diverse means and methods, to lead powerfully the struggle for peace and social progress, properly to utilize the contradictions in the enemy's camp and avoid a splintering of our own ranks and forces. Comrade Franz Muhri said at the Berlin Conference: "But we also know capitalism has not changed its nature and the danger of a World War III has not been banned. Especially in recent times reactionary forces have unleashed an

intensified campaign for torpedoing the process of detente and frustrate real steps toward disarmament. That situation calls for a stronger and united stand by the communist parties and all progressive forces on the European continent."¹²

Thus it is only natural that at the 25th CPSU Congress, the party congresses of other fraternal parties as well as at the Ninth SED Congress, representatives of numerous communist and national-revolutionary parties have explicitly pointed out the need for anti-imperialist unity, for close cooperation with the USSR and the other socialist countries, which will enable them to advance on the way of their social liberation. That is not the least of the reasons why they are regarding the defense of the achievements of socialism as an internationalist obligation of all communists and of all consistently anti-imperialist forces.

No organizational center of the communist movement exists today, yet still, the communist parties today do need "a common operational plan," a plan which, "though it freely accommodates itself to the various conditions in any nation and any place, is yet identical everywhere in its basic features and thus insures uniform intentions and general agreements on the means to be used for attaining the common goal, the emancipation of the workers class by the workers class itself."¹³

The 1975 Havana Conference of the Communist and Workers Parties of Latin America and the Caribbean Area, the June 1976 Berlin Conference of the Communist and Workers Parties of Europe, and the party congresses of many fraternal parties have confirmed the relevance and need of the inseparable unity between national and international responsibility in practical contemporary political affairs. The Berlin Conference document, for example, states: "The struggle for socialism in one's own country and each party's responsibility toward its own workers class and own people are connected with the reciprocal solidarity of the working people in all countries, all progressive movements and peoples in the struggle for freedom and the consolidation of independence, for democracy, socialism and world peace."¹⁴

The chief prerequisite for further success in the struggle against imperialism, and for peace, freedom and social progress is the firm collaboration among the communist and workers parties in all parts of the world. The forms, the ways and means, in which the coordination of common objectives and tasks proceeds, have further developed, always in accordance with any given conditions, throughout the development of the communist movement. Decisive, however, has always been and is the joint approach to all fundamental problems, that being effective training in political struggle for the communist and workers parties, insuring the organic connection between Marxist-Leninist theory and revolutionary practice and averting national narrowness. That makes the communists of our time live up to the responsibility "of being the decisive, propelling part of the workers parties in all countries, who emphasize and bring to bear on the various national struggles of the proletarians the common interests of the entire proletariat, irrespective of nationality, and always represent the interest of the entire movement in the various developmental phases through which the struggle between proletariat and bourgeoisie passes."¹⁵

FOOTNOTES

1. Cf. Comrade Erich Honecker, "Bericht des Zentralkomitees der Sozialistischen Einheitspartei Deutschlands an den IX. Parteitag der SED" (SED Central Committee Report to the Ninth SED Congress), Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1976, p 27.
2. Ibid., p 20.
3. Cf. V. I. Lenin, "Original Draft Theses on the National and the International Question," "Werke" (Works), Vol 31, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1959, p 134.
4. "Internationale Beratung der kommunistischen und Arbeiterparteien, Moskau 1969" (Moscow 1969 International Conference of Communist and Workers Parties), Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1969, p 46.
5. Cf. speech by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, "Konferenz der kommunistischen und Arbeiterparteien Europas, Berlin, 29. und 30. Juni 1976" (Conference of the Communist and Workers Parties of Europe, Berlin, 29-30 June 1976), Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1976, p 86.
6. Speech by Comrade Erich Honecker, *ibid.*, p 220.
7. V. I. Lenin, "The Proletarian Revolution and Renegade Kautsky," "Werke," Vol 28, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1959, p 293.
8. Speech by Comrade Knud Jespersen, "Konferenz der kommunistischen und Arbeiterparteien Europas . . .," *loc. cit.*, pp 90 f.
9. V. I. Lenin, "The 'Leftist Radicalism,' the Infantile Disorder in Communism," "Werke," Vol 31, p 79.
10. Cf. Yu. Krasin, "Detente and Class Struggle," PRAVDA, 24 September ;976.
11. Speech by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, *op. cit.*, p 86.
12. Speech by Comrade Franz Muhri, *ibid.*, p 56.
13. Friedrich Engels, "The European Workers in 1877," Marx/Engels, "Werke," Vol 19, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1962, p 124.
14. "Konferenz der kommunistischen und Arbeiterparteien Europas . . .," *loc. cit.*, p 25.
15. Karl Marx/Friedrich Engels, "The Communist Manifesto," "Werke," Vol 4, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1969, p 474.

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EAST GERMANY

SOCIALIST PATRIOTISM'S ESSENCE AND DEVELOPMENT DISCUSSED

East Berlin EINHEIT in German Vol 31 No 11, Nov 76, signed to press 18 Oct 76
pp 1212-1220

[Article by Prof Dr Walter Wimmer, deputy department chief in SED Central Committee's Institute for Marxism-Leninism: "The GDR--Our Socialist Fatherland"]

[Text] The GDR is a true fatherland, a home to all classes and strata of our people. The struggle of the German workers movement against capitalist exploitation, which lasted more than a century, was at the same time a struggle for a true fatherland for the working people. Under SED leadership our people has created a true fatherland for itself in which the ideals of the great humanistic thinkers which for centuries inspired the broad masses in their struggles are carried into effect and are advanced on a higher level of the socialist order, and which, in its fraternal alliance with the Soviet Union, is an inseparable component of the community of the socialist countries.

"We will also in the future live up to the demands our times are placing on us communists. We shall continue to act as patriots of our socialist fatherland, the GDR, and as proletarian internationalists."¹ These are the words by which the General Secretary of the Central Committee of our party, Comrade Erich Honecker, sketched the basic orientation of our thoughts and actions at his concluding speech at the Ninth SED Congress. And indeed, socialist patriotism and proletarian internationalism, inseparably united, shape more and more strongly the consciousness of our people. They do have solid social foundations in the GDR. The slogan one could hear and read a thousand times in recent weeks and months -- "The balance is sound, the direction is right" -- expresses an exceedingly important experience of millions of working people: The GDR, our socialist workers and farmers state, fraternally allied with the Soviet Union and firmly rooted in the socialist community of states, is a home for all classes and strata of our people, the fatherland of the working people in our country, a fatherland for the

workers as for the farmers, the intellectuals and the tradespeople, for the communists as for the adherents to friendly parties and the unaffiliated, for Christians and non-Christians -- a socialist fatherland. Here, men's conditions of life have been formed, consciously and systematically in the interest of the people. Here the people, led by the triumphant revolutionary workers class, determines, by its own will, its conditions of life itself.

The Fruit of Struggle Lasting Over a Century

The revolutionary German workers movement has always been fighting for this kind of fatherland for the working people, for having "the millions that thus far were exploited in Germany by small numbers, and who were sought to be kept in suppression for good, obtain their right and the kind of power that is rightly theirs as the producers of all wealth."² That way Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels explained the "Demands of the Communist Party in Germany" even in 1848.

At that time, the revolutionary party of the workers class advocated the most humane of all concerns -- acquiring and safeguarding peace, well-being and happiness for the people. It was always committed to the most humanistic ideas -- to work and peace, liberty, equality and fraternity. Its efforts have been directed at "replacing the old bourgeois society with its classes and class contradictions by an association in which the free development of each becomes the condition for the free development of all."³

The struggle for surmounting the capitalist exploiter system, for liberating the working classes and strata, at once has been and is a struggle for a fatherland for the working people. With full success we have been fighting for having the country in which the working people live and work while they are disfranchised and cheated out of the fruits of their efforts become their true fatherland in which they are free and decide their destiny themselves, and where they themselves can enjoy the fruit of their labor. "The supreme precept of our policy, the meaning and purpose of all our efforts," Comrade Erich Honecker has said, "is the well-being of the workers class, the happiness of the people in socialism and peace."⁴

The history of all peoples contains outstanding examples demonstrating that the communists have been and are the most consistent and reliable fighters for the people's cause. The most magnificent example demonstrating the strength of the socialist patriotism of the workers class and of all the working people has been the heroic dedication by the Soviet people, under CPSU leadership, to the defense of the first socialist fatherland against the fascist aggressors and to the liberation of numerous other peoples in Europe and Asia from their fascist occupiers. This at once represents convincingly the inseparable combination between working class patriotism and internationalism.

The history of the revolutionary German workers movement also is a history of consistent patriotism, which could most amply develop on the basis of proletarian internationalism, a history of struggle for the working people's

right to their fatherland. The members of the Communist League were accused of wanting to abolish the fatherland, nationality -- while they actually were the ones to have raised the demand for turning Germany into a democratic republic that would carry popular rights into effect. The revolutionary social democrats were abused as unpatriotic scoundrels, when they precisely were the ones to protest, through the courageous deeds of August Bebel's and Wilhelm Liebknecht's, against the reactionary, militaristic, rapacious policy of the German Empire that had been set up by means of blood and iron. Karl Liebknecht was thrown into the penitentiary on trumped-up charges of "high treason," yet it was his contempt for the predatory war that saved the honor of the German workers movement and the dignity of the working people. The KPD under Ernst Thaelmann was slandered as "Moscow's tool," yet precisely its struggle for the national and social liberation of the German people, for friendship with the Soviet land, its efforts against the revival of German imperialism and on behalf of a united front of all democratic forces to avert the fascist danger, that was what served the interests of the German working people.

The most barbarous form of the drive for world domination by German imperialism disguised by the slogan of "Greater Germany" and the nationalistic appeal to a falsified national consciousness triumphed during the years of the fascist dictatorship. The real patriots languished in the concentration camps and penitentiaries or had been expelled from the country. Tens of thousands of German antifascists sacrificed their lives in the struggle for liberating the German people from the terrorist yoke of German imperialism, seeking to prevent the criminal war against the peoples of the world and the worst crime of German fascism, the attack on the socialist Soviet Union. In that great struggle the German communists took their stand alongside the peoples under attack, alongside the Soviet Union and the anti-Hitler coalition. That conformed to the true interests of the German people, and only that way could the German people be saved and its future be salvaged. Then as today being a German patriot meant fulfilling also at the same time one's international obligation and defending social progress in the world against the threat from German imperialism.

A historically new social essence arose from the struggle of the German workers class. The GDR is the inevitable outcome of centuries of struggle by the best representatives of the German people against suppression and bondage, of the struggle of the revolutionary German workers movement against capitalist exploitation, imperialist reaction, fascism and war, and for socialism, democracy, freedom and peoples' friendship. "Through the socialist revolution and the shaping of socialist society, the foundations, substance and forms of national life in the GDR were also changed in quality," our party program states.⁵ "Led by the workers class," Erich Honecker explained in the Central Committee report to the Ninth Party Congress, "the GDR people, in conformity with the course of history, has brought to realization, through the construction of socialism, its right to socioeconomic, state and national self-determination."⁶

The Fatherland of the Exploiters Is Not the Fatherland of the People

It belongs to the struggle for liberating the working people from the suppression by capital and on behalf of a fatherland for the toiling men to rip up the web of lies in which the bourgeoisie has entangled the concept of fatherland. The capitalist class, in passing off its limited class interests as if they were the interests of the whole nation, exploits the naturally grown patriotic sentiments of the masses in seeking to produce the fiction of common national interests existing as between the exploiters and the exploited, turning its bourgeois nationalism into the main instrument for the ideological manipulation of the people. That precisely is always the case when imperialist ideologues and politicians keep mouthing the words nation and fatherland. More than ever in the recent election campaign in the FRG, concepts like fatherland, nation and patriotism were bandied about by the election managers, mainly those of the CDU/CSU.

The concept of fatherland is socially conditioned, in terms of class. It was liberated by Marxism from the mystification in which bourgeois ideology -- opportunism included -- had wrapped it. The revolutionary workers movement, as Lenin has said, respects patriotism "as one of the deepest sentiments that has taken root through the separate existence, throughout centuries and millenia, of the various fatherlands,"⁷ the natural bond men feel with the history of their people.

Even in the Communist Manifesto Marx and Engels explicitly protested against the reproach directed at the communists that they "wanted to abolish the fatherland, or nationality." The founders of scientific communism made this point: "The workers have no fatherland. One cannot take from them what they do not have," and they completed that remark by saying: "The proletariat, since it must first of all acquire political supremacy, must rise to be the leading class of the nation, must constitute itself the nation, is, so far, itself national, though not in the bourgeois sense of the word."⁸ It is being rendered in these sentences that the workers class cannot recognize the fatherland of the bourgeoisie as its own but that it does not, by that token, renounce its claim to a fatherland yet will struggle for one. Only that this fatherland is different in nature from that of the bourgeoisie: a fatherland of the working people.

In the confrontation with bourgeois chauvinism and with the bourgeois nationalism taken over by rightist opportunism, the truth in the fundamental statement in the Communist Manifesto has been tested time and again. Already in 1907 Clara Zetkin wrote: "How then do things look for anyone who wants to be neither deceived nor a deceiver? Tribal or national communities are not a force in modern social organisms that could abolish class differentiations or even counteract their increasing intensification, so as to fuse together the poor and the rich, the exploited and exploiters, the serfs and masters, into 'a united people of brothers.' Class differentiation turns out to be more powerful than they are. . . . Unburdened by patriotic considerations, the enormously rich entrepreneur condemns laborers, male and female, through

wage reductions and tricks of capitalist exploitation, to want and starvation. He blithely kicks his fellows out into the street. . . . No foreign conqueror can more unfeelingly, more unconscionably, make claims on the time, the health, even the life of the subjugated than the exploiting classes do. . . . And what share of national revenue do the laborers, male and female, then get? Of that which would not exist without the creative labor of the masses? . . . Where is the claim the exploited have to their native soil? . . . Where has the fatherland set a place for them at the table of spiritual culture?"⁹

The truth content of those sentences has not faded in the last 70 years. They apply to the capitalist countries today with as little reservation as then, despite all the excuses offered by bourgeois "democracy." They describe exactly the position of the laborers and of the other working people under the supremacy of the bourgeoisie which -- regardless of the ever changing euphemisms by which that supremacy is being referred to -- deprives them of the right to a real fatherland and sees in them only manpower, objects of exploitation and cannon fodder.

In 1923 Clara Zetkin once again tackled the problem: "'Fatherland' and 'national state' have fundamentally opposite substance and meaning as between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat. The bourgeois national state, the political form of the bourgeois 'fatherland,' what else is it, when you come right down to it, but the ideologically embroidered and embellished large national market which the bourgeoisie was in need of for fulfilling its historic mission? The national state of the bourgeoisie is its political, legal and, principally also, militarily secured economic supremacy and exploitation area. . . . It would be downright stupidity or sheer deception to refer to the bourgeois national state as the national state per se, as the national people's state. For this state is not the homeland of free workers and creative people with equal duties and equal rights, it is the external political frame that holds the two nations together . . .: the tiny nation of the rich, the exploiters, the rulers on the sunny side of this state, and the nation counted in millions, of the poor, the little people, the exploited and suppressed, in its shadows."¹⁰

And in contrast: "The 'fatherland' of the creative people will become vital, vivid and vibrant reality only where the proletariat has broken down the strongholds of bourgeois class rule and proudly hoists the banner of its own power."¹¹ On one-sixth of the earth that was already the case in 1923. The Soviet land brought into effect what Marx and Engels had proclaimed in the Communist Manifesto. When the workers class seized the political power, that country changed from a fatherland for the bourgeoisie into a fatherland for the working people, from a domain of a small, suppressive and exploiting minority into the homeland of the working majority, of all the working people. By constituting itself the nation, the workers class frees the fatherland from the function of being a tool of despotism (however much such despotism is under democratic disguise), of an ideological embellishment of exploitation, of the poor house for the people, and turns it into the condition for the freedom of the people.

"We have now been, since 25 October 1917, defenders of the fatherland," Lenin wrote, explaining it by the political and social transformation in the interest of the vast majority of the people that had been brought about by the Great Socialist October Revolution: the breaking of the imperialist yoke, the overthrow of the bourgeoisie, the liberation of the peoples of the former Czarist Empire, the surrender of the soil into the hand of the people, the control of industry and banks by the workers class. "We are for the defense of the Russian Socialist Soviet Republic,"¹² he said in explicitly emphasizing the political and social type of fatherland so to be defended. In precisely the same sense are the citizens of the GDR socialist patriots, that is, patriots of our Workers and Farmers' State, the socialist GDR.

Our Fatherland -- Embodiment of the Best Traditions of German History

Ernst Thaelmann, whose 90th birthday we celebrated this year, reiterated the thought of the Communist Manifesto in many of his speeches, most impressively probably on 3 March 1932: "Germany of today does not belong to the poor but to the rich. The Germany of today is the Germany of hunger but also the Germany of the millionaires. We want a new Germany, a Germany of the workers class and the working people."¹³

The legacy of the great pioneers of the German workers class, of the undaunted fighters for the freedom of the working people, has now been fulfilled in the GDR. Thanks to the establishment of the political power of the workers class, the construction of socialism and our firm fraternal alliance with the Soviet Union and the other countries of the socialist community, those ideals of the great humanistic thinkers have here been brought into effect and have been advanced further on a higher level of socialist order that had inspired the broad popular masses in their struggles throughout centuries. Under SED leadership the people of the GDR have created a true fatherland for themselves.

This socialist fatherland, the GDR, today is "the state embodying the best traditions in German history such as the peasant insurrections in the Middle Ages, the struggle of the revolutionary democrats in 1848, the German labor movement founded by Marx, Engels, Bebel and Liebknecht, the heroic deeds of the antifascist resistance struggle. In the GDR a socialist nation is developing under the leadership of the working class. All the cultural treasures that were created in the past are preserved in the socialist national culture of our republic and are experiencing a new flowering period. As far as history, culture and language are concerned we shall not abandon anything positive that deserves to be preserved and cultivated, that corresponds to humanistic and revolutionary traditions."¹⁴

It is among the essentials and the greatest advantages of our socialist fatherland, it has strongly fostered its development and is one of the most powerful sources of our socialist patriotism that this fatherland does not stand -- as the old imperialist national state of the Germans had done -- in opposition to other nations, does not appear as an enemy or a permanent threat to its neighbors, but proceeds from the principles of proletarian internationalism,

of collaboration on equal terms and peoples' friendship. Our socialist fatherland represents a new type of relationship with other peoples and states, that new relationship that is most strongly expressed in the GDR's membership in the socialist community of states, in its solidarity with the anti-imperialist struggle of the peoples, and in a GDR policy that rigorously conforms to the CPSU's peace program.

Our party could successfully initiate and lead the great renaissance of national life because it consistently proceeded from the interests of the working people and has always been fully aware of its responsibility to the people in our country and to the international workers class. It has known how properly to apply the general inevitabilities of the class struggle as confirmed by the experiences of the international as well as the German workers movement, and of the socialist revolution and the construction of socialism under prevailing conditions. Our party could lead the people to victory because it was able to make the workers, farmers, intellectuals and other working people aware of the great historic lesson that only under the leadership of the workers class and its Marxist-Leninist party, only when monopoly capital is deprived of power, and only in a socialist fatherland allied in friendship with the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, peace, democracy, well-being and happiness can be assured for all working people.

"In the last three decades our people, under SED leadership, has successfully taken the road into a new future which opened up through the victory of the Soviet Union over fascism," this is the way Comrade Erich Honecker summarized it at the 30th anniversary of the founding of the SED. "Through a unified revolutionary process and through harsh conflict with imperialist reaction and its accomplices, it was possible to bring about the antifascist-democratic transformation and to lead the socialist revolution to victory. Human existence in our country was transformed completely."¹⁵

Firmly Rooted in the Socialist Community of States

Extremely much depended on the Marxist-Leninist party's consistently proceeding from the unity between the people's national interests and the international interests of socialism. That way alone could it, on a part of the territory of what once had been the German Empire, lead the people to freedom, to socialism, while along with it, help strengthen socialism and peace in the world.

The consistently patriotic and internationalist orientation of our party has proven itself in the development and all round strengthening of our socialist state. That makes it possible for us today properly to determine the tasks in the construction of the workers and farmers power, the development of the production relations and of economic and social policy, the cultural revolution and the spread of our socialist national culture as well as the military protection of socialism, and find successful solutions for it all. This orientation made it possible for us to make use of the experiences and help of the Soviet Union and of the other socialist countries, and of the support

from the fraternal parties in the capitalist states and other democratic forces. On this basis there arose in the heart of Europe a strong socialist state with a capable economy and important social achievements.

The importance of the unity between socialist patriotism and proletarian internationalism for the sound path our people has taken, for the flowering of its socialist fatherland, for the work of the GDR as a respected member of the socialist community, is demonstrated by every step forward taken by our country. Our living up to this principle, in particular, provided us with the help and utilization of the enormous possibilities offered by the first, strongest and farthest developed socialist country, the Soviet Union, and with the experiences of the CPSU, and the principle helped forge our indestructible fraternal alliance with the USSR, the socialist action community between the SED and the CPSU.

The GDR's socialist economy, the material foundation of our party's purposeful social policy, as of all of social policy, is proceeding smoothly and powerfully. Because of the close economic and scientific-technical cooperation within CEMA, and because of the interlinking between our economy with that of the USSR and those of the other fraternal countries, we can plan and produce on assured foundations.

Our country commands a blossoming agriculture, and the life of the farmers, after centuries of bondage and existential anxiety, has changed fundamentally because even while we were getting over the results of the war we enjoyed the help of the Soviet Union, and because the industrious efforts of the working people, their aspirations for a better and more meaningful life, were based on the well tested Leninist cooperative plan on the socialist transformation of agriculture.

Our country is under reliable military protection. Our NVA is making an effective contribution to the military protection of socialism and peace -- thanks to the assistance by the Soviet comrades in the build-up of socialist armed forces, thanks to the GDR's membership in the Warsaw Pact defense alliance and the close comradeship in arms alining the NVA with the fraternal armies, thanks, mainly, to the strength and efforts of the Soviet people in taming the aggressiveness of imperialism.

The socialist German national state has become the fatherland of the working people as an inseparable component of the community of the socialist countries -- of that historically new international community in which the common features of social development are forming ever more prominently. These common features in our countries "are based on the objective inevitabilities of socialist construction and are opening up further possibilities for the collaboration among the socialist states and nations."¹⁶ Those were the words by which Comrade Erich Honecker, in the Central Committee report to the Ninth SED Congress, underscored that we are up against an objective process here, one which life itself has produced, which is being used and fostered by the Marxist-Leninist parties of the countries in the socialist community of states in the peoples' interest.

Each of the fraternally alined socialist countries in this community carries into effect the general inevitabilities in the development of the new socio-economic form of society that was first tried out by the Soviet Union. In each country this occurs in a distinct manner conforming to the country's concrete historic development conditions. Each socialist country thereby enriches the treasure of international experience, the source for the further development of our revolutionary theory.

The General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, Comrade Leonid Ilyich Brezhnev, has described in impressive words the connection between the blossoming of each single socialist country and that of the socialist community of states in its entirety: "The fraternal solidarity of the socialist countries augments the power of each of them. The economic collaboration on equal terms expands the resources of each by new gigantic possibilities. The close, organic and incessantly growing friendly relations between the party and state organs, the industrial cooperatives and science collectives, the social organizations, and between millions and millions of citizens, justify us in speaking of a fundamentally new phenomenon: the genuine fraternal alliance of peoples forged together by unity of conviction and unity of goals. Its sure foundation, the strength cementing it, is the socialist action community of the Marxist-Leninist parties."¹⁷

Patriotism and Internationalism

The reciprocity between the development of socialism in any one country and the development of the socialist world system is ideologically reflected in the unity between socialist patriotism and proletarian internationalism. The fundamental interests and goals of the workers class and of the working masses are international. The history of the struggle of the revolutionary workers movement confirms this: Proletarian internationalism is a powerful element in the struggle for the people's sovereignty that comes through the liberation from the yoke of domestic or alien imperialism. Proletarian internationalism is not indifferent to national problems. Rather, it lets itself be guided by the historic experience that the workers class in every country that pursues the common international goals of the workers class promotes those goals mainly through the revolutionary struggle and socialist construction in its own country. Proletarian internationalism thus constitutes the dialectical unity between the responsibility of the workers class in each country to the destiny of its own country and its responsibility for the common tasks in the peoples' liberation struggle.

In this sense the GDR citizens' allegiance to the GDR, their socialist fatherland, at once is an allegiance to the socialist community and its main force, the Soviet Union, for our socialist republic is the result of our party policy as it takes effect through the work of the working people and a fruit of proletarian internationalism. Without the Soviet Army's act of liberation, without the constant assistance and protection by the Soviet Union and the other socialist fraternal countries, and without the strength of international solidarity, the GDR could not have been established and could not have grown.

The pride in what has been achieved in the formation of the socialist society stems from the awareness that everything represented by our stable socialist society today is the result of the achievements of the people, mobilized by the Marxist-Leninist party and freed from exploitation and suppression, and carrying through its socialist construction alongside the Soviet Union, supported by the Soviet Union and all other fraternally affiliated socialist countries, through international solidarity. This pride at the same time is based on the realization that our own successes and experiences contribute to strengthening the community of the socialist countries in that they enrich the image of socialism and promote progress in the world. It terminates in the consciousness of our own responsibility as active coshapers of the revolutionary world process, the consciousness of our obligation to the community of the socialist countries and the workers class in the whole world, which we are fulfilling through the further shaping of the developed socialist society and, hence, by creating the fundamental preconditions for the gradual transition to communism in the GDR.

The creation of the socialist fatherland produced a broad and genuine patriotism that captured the masses, as a foundation for the creative work by the people for strengthening this fatherland. This simultaneously turned the principles of proletarian internationalism into a basic feature of social awareness, into a cause for all the people. Under the conditions of socialism patriotic and internationalist actions merge into firm and inseparable unity. Experience has taught us that socialist patriotism nowhere becomes a characteristic feature of the working people's socialist consciousness by itself. For it does, of course, not grow in a vacuum but must enforce itself as conscious content in opposition to the ideology of bourgeois nationalism, national myopia and arrogance, that the exploiter classes had imposed upon the popular masses for generations. That is why the SED always regards it as an ideological priority task to impress the ideas of socialist patriotism and proletarian internationalism on the hearts and minds of the people and in its program obligates every communist to continue acting in that spirit.

"Only when we have socialism in Germany," Ernst Thaelmann said in one of his last speeches, "will the needy and oppressed have a fatherland, a fatherland that belongs to us."¹⁸ Today, those who once were in need and were oppressed do have a fatherland -- the GDR. The fundamental alteration of subsistence conditions for the people in our country has at once produced a new relationship between men and their fatherland. Social reality in our republic confirms what Erich Honecker said about socialism as a whole: "Socialism is the truly human order. Here, human creativity can freely unfold. Youth has a sure perspective, culture and education are available to all citizens. The general atmosphere of life is marked by optimism, security and safety. Prerequisite to such life is the political power of the workers class, the interests of which conform to those of all citizens. Socialism offers a safe present and a bright future to people. It alone can solve the vital questions of our time in the interest of humanity."¹⁹

FOOTNOTES

1. NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 24 May 1976.
2. Karl Marx/Friedrich Engels, "Demands of the Communist Party in Germany," "Werke" (Works), Vol 5, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1959, pp 4-5.
3. Karl Marx/Friedrich Engels, "Communist Manifesto," "Werke," Vol 4, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1959, p 482.
4. "Concluding Speech by SED Central Committee General Secretary Comrade Erich Honecker," NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 24 May 1976.
5. "Programm der Sozialistischen Einheitspartei Deutschlands" (SED Program), Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1976, p 56.
6. Comrade Erich Honecker, "Bericht des Zentralkomitees der Sozialistischen Einheitspartei Deutschlands an den IX. Parteitag der SED" (SED Central Committee Report to the Ninth SED Congress), Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1976, p 18.
7. V. I. Lenin, "Valuable Admissions by Pitrim Sorokin," "Werke," Vol 28, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1959, p 182-
8. Karl Marx/Friedrich Engels, "Communist Manifesto," loc. cit., p 479.
9. Clara Zetkin, "Unser Patriotismus, Ausgewaehlte Reden und Schriften" (Our Patriotism, Selected Speeches and Writings), Vol 1, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1957, pp 317 ff.
10. Clara Zetkin, "Um Deutschlands nationales Lebensrecht, Ausgewaehlte Reden und Schriften" (On Germany's Right to National Existence, Selected Speeches and Writings), Vol 2, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1960, pp 657 ff.
11. Ibid., p 658.
12. V. I. Lenin, "A Harsh But Needed Lesson," "Werke," Vol 27, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1959, p 48.
13. ARBEITER-ZEITUNG, Frankfurt/Main, 5 March 1932.
14. Comrade Erich Honecker, "Zuegig voran bei der weiteren Verwirklichung der Beschlusse des VIII. Parteitages der SED. Aus dem Bericht des Politbueros an die 9. Tagung des ZK der SED" (We Are Successfully Implementing the Program of the Eighth SED Congress. From the Report of the Politburo to the Ninth Session of the SED Central Committee), Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1973, p 21.

15. Erich Honecker, "On a Sure Course," EINHEIT, No 4, 1976, p 407.
16. Comrade Erich Honecker, "Bericht des Zentralkomitees . . .," loc. cit., p 14.
17. Speech by Comrade Leonid Ilyich Brezhnev, "Konferenz der kommunistischen und Arbeiterparteien Europas, Berlin, 29. und 30. Juni 1976" (Conference of the Communist and Workers Parties of Europe, Berlin, 29-30 June 1976), Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1976, pp 84-85.
18. IML/ZPA 32/336.
19. Comrade Erich Honecker, "Bericht des Zentralkomitees . . .," loc. cit., pp 22-23.

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EAST GERMANY

POLYTECHNIC EDUCATION NEEDED TO DEVELOP SOCIALIST PERSONALITY

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[Article by Dr Lothar Oppermann and Rudi Oelschlaegel, graduate social scientist, department and sector head, respectively, in SED Central Committee: "Ideological-Theoretical Problems in the Growing Emergence of the Polytechnical Character of Our Secondary Schools"]

[Text] The consistent application of the principle of polytechnic culture and education leads to an ever closer connection between school and life, theory and practice, instruction and productive work, and creates significant preconditions for the all round development of personality. The demands of the Ninth Party Congress for further developing the polytechnical character of our schools pervades the entire process of culture and education. It makes higher demands on teachers and guardians and on school and industrial functionaries with respect to the communist education of youth and presupposes the all round support by the party organizations.

Among the impressive balance sheet drawn up at the Ninth SED Congress also belongs the historically important fact that the ten-year general education polytechnical secondary school is set up as the mandatory school for all children. That created favorable conditions for high-grade culture for the workers class and for all the people. Logically one has derived from the scientifically established orientation toward a continued shaping of the developed socialist society in the GDR and thus creating the fundamental preconditions for the gradual transition to communism the task for the educational system further to develop the secondary schools in the future, in substance and with the aim of steadily raising the level of secondary school education while paying special attention here to the communist education of the young generation and further developing the polytechnical character of the secondary schools.¹

This strategy in school policy is by no means of interest only to the teachers, educators and public education functionaries. But it is of interest to all citizens in that it will make them understand our overall policy and how it benefits the people. "Our educational system," SED Central Committee General Secretary Comrade Erich Honecker has said, "is one of the great irrefutable proofs that only socialism can produce true freedom of thought for the working people and create the preconditions under which all talents and abilities can fully unfold."²

A steadily improving material and cultural standard of living virtually requires a higher education on the part of the working people and the further development of their socialist consciousness and conduct. Through a purposeful realization of the school policy program of the Ninth Party Congress public education significantly contributes to the fulfillment of the main task. The school more and more actively affects the shaping of the developed socialist society whereby it influences the profound political, economic, social and spiritual-cultural changes occurring in that process.

In the program of the Russian Communist Party which was ratified by the Eighth CPR(B) Congress in March 1919, V. I. Lenin characterized the place of the school within the socialist revolution as follows: "In the field of public education, the CPR poses the task to complete the work begun by the 1917 October Revolution of transforming the school from being an instrument of bourgeois class domination into an instrument for the complete elimination of the class division in society, an instrument of the communist transformation of society. In the period of the dictatorship of the proletariat . . . the school must not be merely a conveyer of the principles of communism in general, but it must also become the channel for the ideological, organizational and educational influence the proletariat exercises on the semiproletarian and nonproletarian strata of the working masses, in order to educate a generation capable of establishing communism for good."³

The documents passed on at our Ninth Party Congress present, through a creative application of Marxism-Leninism, our school and educational policy line precisely from the vantage point of its place and importance within the overall strategy of social development. It should therefore be of concern to the political-ideological work of the SED basic organizations also to deal, in studying and making full use of the Ninth Party Congress and in the implementations of its decisions, with the educational and school policy, in the framework of the party's overall policy.

Polytechnical Culture and Education -- Characteristic of the Socialist School

The years since the Eighth Party Congress have most visibly demonstrated that the successful development of our socialist secondary school and its political and social effectiveness are most closely tied up with the further development of its polytechnical character, that is, with the creative application of the thoughts of Marx, Engels and Lenin on polytechnical culture and education.

Marx and Engels, as one knows, called for the kind of education "that would combine, for all children at a certain age, productive work with instruction and gymnastics, not only as a method for increasing social production, but as the only method for the production of fully developed human beings."⁴ Entirely in that sense V. I. Lenin emphasized that only a polytechnical school could prepare the young generation for the construction of socialism and communism. And when he made that point he would emphasize time and again that the questions of culture and education should not be treated in an abstract manner. They should rather be solved in close conjunction with the concrete tasks facing the party in the various phases of socialist and communist construction. Remarkable remains, for example, that combination which Lenin brought about between the successful fulfillment of the state electrification plan and the first steps in the implementation of the polytechnical principle in the Soviet school, that is, the significant connection, in the '20's, between scientific-technical progress and school education.

In its policy our party always proceeded from the realization that the shaping of the developed socialist society required developing all advantages and impulses in this society, the perfecting of the material-technical base, and the formation of all round developed socialist personalities who would be in the position, due to their deep understanding of the laws of nature, society and human thought, to act and work creatively and with political awareness. The importance, for that, of polytechnical culture and education of the students and youths can hardly be overrated.

The consistent application of the principle of polytechnical culture and education in our republic contributes to an ever closer connection between school and life, theory and practice, instruction and productive work, whereby it creates essential conditions for the all round development of socialist personalities. That is why the role of polytechnical culture and education must be stressed especially in the formation of the scientific world-outlook of the workers class and and for instilling a communist attitude toward work in the students through education.

Marxism-Leninism attributes the greatest importance to work as the fundamental sphere of human activity for human development, for the formation of all creative potentials and abilities of man. V. I. Lenin has emphasized that the sphere of labor is decisive to becoming a true communist. That is all the more true today when we have learned more and more to combine the achievements of the scientific-technical revolution with the advantages of socialism. Our party program makes clear that work is the most important sphere of public life.⁵

Under our socialist production relations physical and mental work fuse more and more within the labor process, the share of heavy physical labor is being reduced step by step, the personality demands are increasing, and the worker himself is being challenged more and more in his function as a socialist proprietor and in his coresponsibility for the planning and management of production and society.⁶ As scientific-technical progress advances in our socialist society, the sphere of creative work broadens, and it calls for

ever higher knowledge, for the ability to work mentally as well as physically, it demands conscious discipline, tenacity, and the will to overcome hardships and to keep working with great efforts even under partly complicated conditions. For this kind of creative and effective, productive labor, youth is being prepared by the school in close cooperation with all other agencies of education. That is why the polytechnical character of our secondary schools must be further deepened and the solution of this task occupies such an important place within the development of our school policy.

Polytechnical education and training have proven themselves in our school system. The progress made in this in recent years largely depended on the success we have had in further intensifying the cooperation between schools and many social forces and in tapping important potentials, in ideas and materials, for further developing the polytechnical character of the socialist school, for improving the quality of polytechnical education and training.

In the Central Committee report to the Ninth Party Congress, Comrade Erich Honecker has said: "High marks should be given to the efforts of our teachers and to tens of thousands of workers in the socialist enterprises of industry and agriculture, who used great initiatives for further improving the quality of polytechnical training. The fact that the workers class directly participates in the education and training of the young generation, and that our youth while still in school becomes familiar through direct experience with the struggle of the working people, performing productive work together with the socialist brigades -- all that is of inestimable value for personality development, for instilling communist work ethics."⁷

Right now almost one million pupils from 7th to 10th grade are receiving polytechnical instruction in more than 4,000 socialist enterprises of industry, construction, agriculture and other fields. They are working alongside and under the direction of more experienced working people. Through them the pupils become familiar with basic knowledge and skills in socialist production and with the political and ordinary life experiences of the workers and cooperative farmers. More than 30,000 working people, mainly specialists, master-workers, people experienced in work and struggle, are involved in this great training and education effort on behalf of youth. One might mention as merely one example the construction workers of the housing and public construction combine in Frankfurt/Oder. They realized that their responsibility for the young members of the working class could not wait for the apprenticeship contract. In studying the Ninth Party Congress documents they gave thought to how they might improve the quality of polytechnical education and training through a suitable selection of jobs, demanding practical and theoretical projects in line with the apprenticeship plan, and a careful choice of guardians.

The state-owned "Karl Liebknecht" Transformer Works in Berlin actively involves the students who get polytechnical instruction in the innovator movement. Right now, 145 students are working on 17 innovator projects. Three students developed a cutting device for the production of switch insulators

that saves 500 working hours annually. The office for innovator matters in the enterprise could recognize and award 11 students' projects as innovator proposals. In recent years, tens of thousands of new jobs were created, re-organized or further developed in the socialist enterprises, new workshops, polytechnical centers and other training facilities. With this, the comradesly cooperation has deepened between the teachers and school functionaries and the custodians and foremen, and between the school boards and the schools, enterprises and cooperatives. Party organizations in schools and enterprises have exchanged experiences and recommendations to insure good conditions and prerequisites for the polytechnical education and training of youth.

It is of great importance that bezirk and kreis headquarters and many basic organizations of the SED as well as trade union executive boards regularly deal with these matters of polytechnical education and training for school youths and give special attention to providing ever more favorable conditions for high-grade polytechnical instruction.

Of great effectiveness in the further development of the polytechnical character of our secondary school, in the further development of our educational system, is also, above all, the deepening of our collaboration with the fraternal socialist countries. This collaboration has found a concrete expression in conferences held by the ministers of public education, pedagogic scientists, public education functionaries and, primarily, at the Fourth International Polytechnical Seminar in Moscow in 1975. Here one has found that, with all the diversity in the conditions and forms of polytechnical education and training in the various socialist countries, the demands and insights of Marx, Engels and Lenin have consistently been made the basis of these efforts and are being regularly exchanged and applied for the benefit of the very best experiences for the fraternal countries. The rich experiences of the Soviet Union and of the other socialist countries keep underscoring the general validity of polytechnical education and training as an essential characteristic of the socialist school.

A Task of Great Political and Social Importance

"In view of the requirements for social and economic development in years to come, and of the scientific-technical revolution under the conditions of socialism, which are calling for the further development of all the creative capacities of the working people, for a higher degree of awareness and versatility, the further shaping of the polytechnical character of our schools is a task of great political and social importance. Youth is to be prepared for scientific-technical progress by means of sound natural science, social science and polytechnical education. All school education must arouse and deepen the love for science and the interest in technology and production."⁸

Combining the scientific-technical revolution with the advantages of socialism calls for further developing the polytechnical character of the secondary school. Without providing youth with a fine general education of a polytechnical character, and without the connection between school and life, the scientific-technical revolution is not feasible.

The further shaping of the polytechnical character of our secondary schools is a complex task that can be solved only on the basis of a deep understanding of what it contains and means. And we always start from the position that the socialist character of our secondary school is being shaped, for all intents and purposes, by polytechnical education and training. The polytechnical character of our secondary school decisively depends on the polytechnical character of the educational and training content of socialist general education which is furnished by scientific, party-minded and close-to-life instruction in the mathematics and natural science and social science disciplines and in polytechnical instruction; the concrete implementation of the Marxist-Leninist principles of school policy such as the close connection between theory and practice, study and work, instruction and productive labor; instilling a communist attitude to work in the students, in particular by their direct involvement in productive labor and by the influence the workers class exercises on their education, and by the use made of socialist enterprises as training and education facilities; and the ideological and practical preparation and orientation given to youth in learning and engaging in socially necessary occupations and activities.

In this way our secondary school fulfills its class task of supplying the young people with a fine general education, providing them with a sound Marxist-Leninist world-outlook and enabling them, as socialist patriots and proletarian internationalists, to solve the demanding and complicated tasks they will have to face in public life. Thus there exists a fundamental connection between the overall social target of the Ninth Party Congress and the task of further shaping the polytechnical character of the secondary school: The further shaping of the developed socialist society, and the creation of fundamental preconditions for the gradual transition to communism implied in it, do call for a steadily increasing degree of socialist awareness, knowledge and skill, creative applicability of knowledge, ideas and constructive imagination, social activity, initiative and responsibility, moral qualities and the willingness to learn a socially necessary occupation and, through that, do the best one can for socialism and communism.

The Further Shaping of the Polytechnical Character of Our Schools

Experienced rectors, teachers and guardians keep pointing out that durable progress in polytechnical education and training cannot be attained by means of one single measure or another. The main point is that a steadily improving quality of all the polytechnical education and training for the students must be assured and that the education and training process must be shaped, refined and further developed in accordance with the dynamics and demands of social progress and in the interest of forming socialist personalities.

In her discussion paper at the Ninth Party Congress, Comrade Margot Honecker made the point that polytechnical education and training was not only recognized, in theory, as the decisive criterion of the socialist school but had long become everyday school routine in practice. Further perfecting it would demand a further development of theoretical, applicable knowledge in

mathematics and the natural sciences; deepening, and more comprehensively applying, the students' polytechnical knowledge gained from theoretical instruction in industrial work and through solving practical production and technological tasks; making greater use of the students' knowledge and experience gained in their industrial work in natural science and social science instruction; improving the effectiveness of the students' productive labor; and finally, strengthening the school's function in vocational guidance and job preparation.⁹

Deepening the polytechnical character of the school thus, first and foremost, calls for high-level scientific, party-minded and close-to-life instruction that enables the students to penetrate the development processes of nature and society. Accurate and applicable mathematics, natural science and social science knowledge is the decisive foundation for all polytechnical education and training. It is the basis and precondition for awakening and deepening the students' love for science and the interest in technology and production. It enables the students always to live up to the dynamics of scientific-technical progress through continuing their studies on their own and through the creative application of what they know. It makes them capable of consciously shaping social development.

Further deepening the polytechnical character calls for great efforts so that the level of polytechnical instruction in all its disciplines, that is, in the work subjects, school gardening, technical drawing, introduction to socialist production, in the productive work in the scientific-practical students efforts at the expanded secondary school, can be further developed and all experiences can be used in order further to develop the polytechnical principle in instruction in the various subjects in school.

In polytechnical instruction also the important matter is the precise fulfillment of the state teaching plans at a high level by the enterprises and schools and the supplying of solid and basic knowledge and skills as the decisive prerequisite for understanding the essence of the manifestations in society, production and nature.

It goes without saying that the discipline dealing with the students' productive labor enjoys a high rank in polytechnical instruction and is in a particular way under public scrutiny. Its great importance stems from the role of labor in communist education.

Rigidly organized polytechnical instruction in the socialist production enterprises offers the students rich opportunities for becoming familiar with the political, economic, technical and social processes and problems of the enterprise. They can find out, for example, how the working people manage production intensification, that decisive long-range political-economic task. They become exposed to the workers' thoughts on how better use can be made of basic capital, how labor time and material can be saved, how the quality of products can be improved. And they also get involved in issues and become acquainted with the problems of labor, the hard struggle for

greater efficiency and with the workers' comradely cooperation in overcoming difficulties. All that is of extraordinary importance for developing the students' work attitude and for forming their character and world-outlook.

These educational potentials are more effective, however, when the older students themselves are involved in the production process and struggle along with the other working people, sharing their joys, efforts, reversals and forward thrusts, and when they are made aware of industrial and social interconnections by participating in the discussions of the work collectives or through intimate personal conversations. That doubtless makes high demands on guardians, teachers, state managers, and party and trade union functionaries in the enterprises.

All those initiatives will continue to be of special importance which aim at further perfecting the conditions for the students' high-level productive labor and, to that end, tap still more possibilities in the production process itself. Thereby the leading class of socialist society has a direct part in the education and training of youth. And here the workers class has the great responsibility to supply not only technical and production experience but also, with it, the class experiences, its political and ethical features.

Instilling a communist attitude toward labor comes of course not only through polytechnical instruction and industrial production in the enterprise. That great task is being coped with in many different ways by the pedagogs together with other educational forces, mainly with the parents and the children's and youth organizations, during instruction as well as through extracurricular activities, at leisure time and so forth.

Important to further deepening the polytechnical character of the secondary school are all the teachers' and guardians' projects that have the students solve still more practical production tasks through a targeted application of what they learned in class, and that should demand all their mental and physical capacities.

It must also be pointed out in this connection that the new insights gained during the work in the enterprises, the students' political and social experiences, ought to be used still more strongly by the pedagogs in their education and training instruction. That requires that the pedagogs collectives should familiarize themselves in a suitable manner with the experiences and problems of polytechnical instruction in the enterprises and sensibly refer to them when they instruct. Excursions into enterprises and discussions with party, state and economic functionaries about the political, economic and scientific-technical and social development within the territory and in the enterprises have been found to have been of great help to the teachers in this regard.

For further developing the polytechnical character of the secondary school, its vocational guidance and job preparation function must be enhanced. The decisive task the secondary school has today in preparing for jobs lies in

providing a sound general science education. The job preparation function of basic science knowledge and insights, however, increases to the extent that it is brought home to the student how much, for solving the practical production problems he has, learning must go together with labor.

Polytechnical education and training familiarizes the students theoretically and practically with the main production trends and qualifies them in basic general labor skills and capabilities. That prepares the young man for becoming the "executive and master of production at once."¹⁰

Parents, teachers, and industrial and agricultural workers are pointing out that the job preparation and vocational counseling side of polytechnical instruction is growing to the extent that its quality improves and that it is more and more turned into a testing ground for the students and that direct contact with experienced workers and cooperative farmers is assured. That confirms the important realization that what the general education secondary schools have to offer is not occupational specialization and must not be understood as anticipating vocational training. Polytechnical instruction, rather, in combination with all the other disciplines of instruction, creates the essential bases for the subsequent vocational training. To that extent then, skilled polytechnical training and education has a job preparation character. Not only is it a firm and decisive element of general education, it also forms the tie between general and specialized education.

Furthermore, it is absolutely necessary that the subsequent vocational training and other advanced education routes pick up what the young people acquired in knowledge and skills while they went to school and make still better use of all that. For among the greatest reserves our society has, which must ever better be tapped for mastering the future tasks, are the knowledge and skills, the consciousness and ethics of the young people, their work attitude and work qualifications.

The further shaping of the polytechnical character of the socialist school thus is a many-sided and complex problem, a basic element and criterion of communist youth education. It places responsible tasks on the teachers, the guardians in industry and agriculture, the school and enterprise functionaries, pedagogic science and, in particular, the party, state and trade union organs as well as the FDJ and the pioneer organization.

All experience indicates that good progress is being made wherever management activity aims at deepening the understanding for the school policy of the Ninth Party Congress and thus, for the further shaping of the polytechnical character of the secondary school. That releases new initiatives for perfecting the pedagogic, material and personal prerequisites for polytechnical education and training and new efforts by the various educational forces.

While the teachers, educators and public education functionaries are ever better living up to their responsibilities in this process, the secondary school can make an increasingly greater contribution to the reproduction

of the social conditions at an ever higher level, that is, to social progress in the direction pointed to in the party program.

While deepening its educational influence on school youth in the socialist enterprises, the workers class, under party leadership, fulfills more and more consciously and comprehensively its responsibility as a class. This is of special importance in so far as this takes place in an area where the present and future of our society are directly connected and fuse into each other.

All round education for youth, familiarizing it with the communist ideals and preparing it, consciously and purposefully, for life and labor -- that is a great undertaking which most deeply conforms with the essential humanity of socialism. The Ninth Party Congress resolutions offer the guarantee for our continuing successful advances on this road.

FOOTNOTES

1. Comrade Erich Honecker, "Bericht des Zentralkomitees der Sozialistischen Einheitspartei Deutschlands an den IX. Parteitag der SED" (SED Central Committee Report to the Ninth SED Congress), Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1976, pp 96 ff.
2. Ibid., p 101.
3. "The Communist Party of the Soviet Union in Resolutions and Decisions by the Party Congresses, Party Conferences and Plenary Sessions of the Central Committee, Part 1, 7th edition, Moscow, 1953, pp 419-420 (Russian).
4. Karl Marx, "Das Kapital," Vol 1, Marx/Engels, "Werke" (Works), Vol 23, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1962, p 508.
5. Cf. "Programm der Sozialistischen Einheitspartei Deutschlands" (SED Program), Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1976, pp 23-24.
6. Lothar Oppermann, Egon Freyer and Rudi Oelschlaegel, "The Role of Work in the Education of Youth," EINHEIT, No 10, 1975, pp 1130 ff, presents the consequences resulting therefrom for the education of school youth.
7. Comrade Erich Honecker, op. cit., p 97.
8. Ibid.
9. Cf. Margot Honecker, "Educating our Youths To Become Good Communists," NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 21 May 1976.
10. Nadezhda Konstantinovna Krupskaya, "Sozialistische Paedagogik" (Socialist Pedagogics), Vol 2, Volk und Wissen publishing house, Berlin, 1966, p 234.

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EAST GERMANY

AMATEUR THEATER'S IDEOLOGICAL IMPORTANCE DISCUSSED

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[Article by Prof Dr Wilfried Adling, director, Department of Theater Studies, Hans Otto College of Theater, Leipzig: "People's Artistic Endeavor Facing New Tasks--Experiences of Our Workers' Theater"]

[Text] Proceeding from an analysis of the performances of the "Workers' Theater Week" at the 16th Workers Festival, the author emphasizes the particularly close relationship between the workers' theater and our overall social practical affairs (which is neither naturalistic nor filtered through primarily artistic activity). He deals with artistic-creative problems of amateur creativity, questions of the further development of its social effectiveness and the relations between professional art and amateur artistic creativity.

The first cultural climax subsequent to the Ninth SED Congress was the 16th GDR Workers Festival held in Dresden Bezirk from 25 to 27 June 1976. Together with the Fifth Cultural Festival of Socialist Agriculture, there were sponsored more than 900 events that attracted 2.8 million visitors. Over 18,000 amateurs and professional artists from all the bezirks in our republic and from the fraternal countries performed. Impressive achievements were presented by 220 collectives of the various genres of amateur creativity. Compared with previous workers' festivals the new emphasis found lay in the broad resonance the festival preparation and implementation enjoyed in the cultural mass activities of socialist enterprises.

The first performance exhibit of our professional theater was held within the framework of workers' festival, under the theme "the figure of the worker in socialist drama." This became an interesting forum for important experiences in socialist dramaturgy, not last because of the active part the visiting workers took in the discussions. An innovation were the central performance comparisons through which our workers' cabarets and workers' theaters prepared themselves for the Festival and the special "Workers' Theater Week" that was held from 19 to 27 June in Goerlitz.

The 16th Workers' Festival was of special importance in that it represented a broadly displayed practical balance sheet on the leadership activity our party has performed since the Eighth Party Congress for promoting the cultural-creative initiatives of the workers class and all other working people. An analysis of this balance sheet provides favorable opportunities for more deeply understanding and productively applying the conclusions contained in the Ninth Party Congress documents, in their theoretical and practical importance, with respect to the further development in this field.

The starting point for that ought to be the definition given in our new party program of the spiritual culture of the developed socialist society, to the effect that the working people's "personal need for artistic and esthetic enjoyment combines more and more with the creative development of their own artistic abilities."¹ That is quite in line with the following point made in the Ninth Party Congress report: "Hundreds of thousands of people participating in the manifold forms of artistic amateur creativity give joy to themselves and to others. With it, artistic amateur creativity brings into all our lives new beautiful colors and sounds and besides, furnishes new impulses to professional art."²

The program as well as the report thus find in artistic amateur creativity a rich field for "providing an ever closer and more diverse connection between the workers class and the further development of socialist culture."³ This ties in directly with the Sixth Central Committee session after the Eighth Party Congress, which found the "main meaning" of the development and activity of cultural-artistic talents among the people in "enriching the personality, expanding its spiritual world, raising its cultural level and leading to all round development" so that from this "development of the individual, repercussions to his place within the work collective could be garnered, to his creative participation, the cultural atmosphere in the enterprise and in the family, and the whole socialist way of life."⁴ That is why any analysis of the 16th Workers' Festival must start from the premise that in our party documents the growing cultural responsibility of the workers class in power, the shaping of socialist personalities and the way of life appropriate to them and the rich blossoming of artistic talents and achievements form an inseparable unity which is intimately connected with the solution of the main task formulated by the party.

The main reasons for proceeding in such an analysis from the achievements and development problems of the socialist workers' theater are the following: Our workers' theaters are already developed collectives of artistic amateur creativity representing at a relatively high artistic and political level the cultural-creative demand made by the workers class in power. This they also are through their direct tie-in with socialist enterprises, through the decisive influence the workers class exercises on the party and trade union and, directly, through experienced and class conscious members of ensembles, on the political and artistic activities of the workers' theater, through the collective manner in which these ensembles work and the social-ideological importance inherent in their artistic subject matters, and through the public character of their work, shaped by the active participation of the workers' audience in having the work produced.

For more than 15 years our workers class and its largest mass organization, the FDGB, have made intensive efforts and gathered relatively extensive experiences in promoting the workers' theater. They are reflected in the decision by the presidium of the FDGB Executive Committee of 1971 on the "development of a close relationship between the working people and theater art" as well as in the fact that on the occasion of the 16th Workers Festival not only a preparatory central performance comparison was held for the workers' theaters but, at the same time, a special workshop week in Goerlitz. This "Workers' Theater Week" was an event sponsored in addition to the productions of delegated workers' theaters that have proven themselves for years in the whole festival area, not last in Dresden itself. In no way was it meant or did it intend to replace those productions which, by the way, had still more of an audience appeal this year than at previous festivals. And then also, these days were organized as a live forum for general lessons and wide dissemination of the production experiences of our workers' theaters under the aegis of the Ninth Party Congress, thus offering good possibilities for useful conclusions for future artistic amateur creativity.

Results of the Artistic Work

The achievements by the workers' theaters delegated to the 16th Workers' Festival demonstrated the desire on the part of the ensembles to live up to higher conceptual, ethical and esthetic demands. That was indicated, for one thing, by the internationalist content of several productions reflected above all in a whole number of beautiful performances of Soviet plays. The rediscovery of Arkanov's and Gorin's "Small Comedies From a Large House" for GDR theater (Schwarza Chemical Fibre Combine) and the interpretations of plays already well known such as "Colleagues" by Braginski and Ryasanov (Gatersleben Machine Construction Works) or Rostshin's "Valentin and Valentina" (Berlin Upper Spree Cable Works) revealed: Our workers' theaters turning toward Soviet drama means turning to our own problems, conflicts and pleasures while shaping socialist work and living conditions. Only when we reveal all that we have in common can we adequately cope with the specifics of Soviet drama and with the differentiated psychological characterization of its casts of characters and the rich palette for comic nuances.

Then also, numerous productions conveyed a more intimate relationship to our own history, starting from the active search for the pioneers for today's struggle and from a conscious comprehension of historic processes in their dialectics of continuity and discontinuity. For example, the performance of Brecht's adaptation of Sophocles' "Antigone" (Planeta, Radebeul) conveyed a novel interpretation of the chorus, successful in the way in which it showed social differentiations, which provided a greater perimeter to the heroine of the drama. The production of Hauser's "At the End of the Night" (Hildburghausen Kreis Office of the People's Police) was successful in emphasizing the activities of the Soviet engineer Strogov seen in contrast to the political vacillations of the central figure, the German engineer Jenssen of a Soviet Stock Company, a shift in emphasis that gave a convincing account of the transformation process that has taken place in our citizens' social consciousness since the play was written over 20 years ago. Also the new Schoenberg play "Doerpgeschicht" (Village Story) as a specific Low German contribution to the social and human transformation processes in the socialist village clearly expressed such a deepened sense of history.

Finally, what became evident was the purposeful attempt by the productions to provide a partnership between actors and spectators, since both have a basic socialist motivation in common which, in the workers' theater, has the additional dimension of an identical relationship between the actors and spectators among the workers and the practical social responsibilities they all have. That could be seen not only where one had done away with the proscenium stage and direct contact with the audience was obtained through a theater-in-the-round, and a performance, of Weicker's "Die Ausgezeichneten" (The Distinguished), by the Soemmerda Office Machinery Plant, aimed at a discussion with the audience after the performance. It expressed itself, altogether, in the confidence the members of the ensembles placed in their viewing audience, which by no means was merely a comfortable and casual reliance on spectator reaction. Rather, it combined the creative challenge to the spectators' judging and associating ability with the strict obligation the actors had placed on themselves to present to their viewing colleagues a party-minded and artistically accurate performance. Otherwise, for example, that atmosphere of party-minded confrontation with a nonsocialist attitude could not have been brought about which distinguished the gay and critical and still extremely precise performance of Bartsch's "Bauch" (Belly) of NARVA, Berlin.

All this, no doubt, reflects the very tendencies that are being stressed in the Ninth Party Congress documents as being essential for a further upswing in the production of socialist realist art in the GDR and which also -- with special reference to theater -- were discussed before and at the Third Congress of the GDR Theater Producers Association and played an important role in the performance exhibit of our professional theaters in Dresden. Yet even though at the performances of the workers' theaters discoveries were made and solutions were found which certainly could also prove stimulating to professional socialist theater, it would be a mistake to compare in a mechanical way, let alone equate, those achievements with our professional theater. Unmistakably those performances still remained performances by socialist lay artists.

Now, there exists perfect agreement -- albeit yet insufficiently explained theoretically -- about the strong sides of good amateur theater which, looked at in an overall sense, conveys a specific esthetic pleasure of commitment, immediacy and freshness: The natural joy in playing with others and for others; the direct, unambiguous, clear and intensive relationship with the other actors and the spectators; and the awareness of the collective effort by the ensemble, which can balance out the weak against the strong acting talent within the performance as a whole. And that was exactly what the performances of the workers' theaters demonstrated at the Festival. And furthermore, more clearly than in the past, one could detect a stronger effort on the part of the working actors in using their own direct involvement in socialist practice for providing the characters they represented and the plots in which they were engaged with richer and more realistic content. This not only in the sense of naturalistic detail but also in

terms of the compression of character, its realistic quality. The enrichment coming through building up and directing characters that way could be seen not only in the production of new GDR plays with subjects that, as it were, come right out of the actors' own work and life environment, as for instance in Matthies' "Plaedoyer fuer Julia" (Summation on Behalf of Julia) by the Teltow Gear and Regulator Works, or in "Die Ausgezeichneten." The same tendency was evident in all performances, that is, also of traditional works.

All this is important in two respects. For one thing it shows that the working actors' working and living environment also has become richer, through our overall social development, in knowing about historical processes and interconnections and richer in experiences and in the ability to judge and associate in the esthetic field.

And secondly, this enrichment of artistic processes with real substance adds something to the quality of amateur productions, where closeness to real life and creative artistic experience, the living experience and the creative selectivity of the working actors become inseparably integrated. It seems an admissible conclusion to say that the amateur actor does indeed test the substance of realism needed for purposes of characterization in accordance with artistic demands (the directions of the play), choosing his mode of presentation in accordance with his own experiences as an artist (from parts played previously), while he yet reaches a "pure" way of presentation, that is to say, one that does not derive from the mediate relationship between the professional artist and nonartistic practice, but from the direct relationship between the nonartist, as far as his main occupation is concerned, and nonartistic practice.

This also gave productions during the 16th Workers' Festival such as "Antigone," "Colleagues," and "Small Comedies," in which actors and actresses with relatively great artistic experiences and clearly developed talent starred, a specifically intimate relationship (not a naturalistic one, nor one that had primarily been filtered through artistic activity) with our overall social practice. It pervaded the concern for having the production conform to the conditions of here and now as well as the relationships the various actors developed to their roles, their partners on the stage and the spectators. In his article "Popularity and Realism," which he published as long ago as 1938, Brecht wrote: "The workers judged everything in terms of its truth content, they welcomed any innovation that helped the presentation of the truth, of what was really going on socially. . . . If esthetics is what one needed, here one could find it. I will never forget the way one worker looked at me when on his suggestion that something about the Soviet Union still should have to be inserted in a choral passage ("That still has to get into in -- otherwise, what is the point?") I replied that that would explode the form of art: he turned his head sideways and smiled. A whole treatise on esthetics collapsed after this courteous smile."⁵

Problems of Creativity

Gratifying as the progress has been in the reception of the immediate precursors of GDR drama and of early GDR drama that has already established its place in history, the workers' theaters have had trouble with the reception of the classical-bourgeois and the early bourgeois legacy. Even the performance comparison indicated difficulties in the appropriation of one-act plays by Hans Sachs, the early Lessing, Goethe and Chekhov. The staging of Lessing's "Minna von Barnhelm," for instance, (by the Weimar Works) showed a lack of consistency in presenting the historic-social nature of events and characters.

Our workers' theaters still have to mobilize reserves for the reception of precisely those plays which are not in every way (unlike the more mature plays by Brecht) pervaded by the Marxist consciousness of history. This is not to say that this large field had thus far been underrated. For one thing, an amateur actor will find access to the presocialist legacy only through coping with the immediate present and the recent past. That way alone can one most easily make artistically productive the actors' intimate relation to practical affairs and can the foundation be laid, in social-historic and esthetic discrimination and acting experience, that is required for a genuine appropriation of the presocialist legacy. On the other hand, when historical consciousness and esthetic discrimination grow, higher demands are made on the reception for the legacy. From this the ensembles should not shrink, nor should they be left to their own devices. They must get more guidance and support from persons experienced in practice and theory.

There are similar problems with premieres and adaptations of contemporary plays in the workers' theater. Here too, the collectives are confronted with greater demands -- and so are the professional theaters and the dramatists themselves.

In view of the criteria now established, not last thanks to the reception new Soviet plays have enjoyed, it was found through the performance comparison that one way of handling it in the past sometimes, of providing performance opportunities for weak attempts by inexperienced authors "at least" in the workers' theater, is now definitely obsolete. In fact, that is actually detrimental to amateur theater.

Also for amateur theater, the experience was confirmed in all debates that the socialist-realist art principles "must be constantly worked out anew during the process of creativity."⁶ That calls, not last, for work with concrete examples and concrete tasks. Party-mindedness, solidarity with the people and socialist ideas, underscored in the party program as inviolable principles for our production of art, cannot be implemented "in general," but they must be implemented, in view of our requirements, through the dynamics of social practice, always concretely related to the developing cultural needs of our working people, to the dimensions shaping up in on-going spiritual exchange, and to the level reached in convincing artistic form and discoveries by the best performances and experiences in any given sphere of art.

The workshop discussions that went with it in the workers' theaters at the performance comparisons and in Goerlitz were fruitful, for they remained neither abstract-theoretical nor too much concerned with practical aspects but derived theoretical-methodological experiences from concrete practice, using it to test and confirm matters. They quite logically combined the question of "what" with the question of "how," the clarification of the criteria for artistic quality conforming to our stage of development with an exchange of experience about productive working methods. They demonstrated that the expansion and deepening of knowledge needed for it must relate to art and esthetics as much as to sociopolitical knowledge and to the Marxist awareness of history.

Greater Social Effectiveness

Such desire for artistic quality was articulated prior to and at the 16th Workers' Festival as a need of the members of our workers' theaters themselves. The willingness by the working actors to aim at high achievements, their critical frankness toward themselves and others, their pleasure in successful performance and their modesty -- this class-bound attitude in the best sense -- conformed intimately to what other good workers do in socialist production enterprises when they, building on achievements already attained, will pose higher demands for themselves -- demands which are realistic in the sense of what is feasible but can again only be coped with through the tapping of reserves.

That to a large extent results from the efforts the ensembles are making for greater social effectiveness. And this is an effort that becomes all the more intensive, the greater the social response is to the workers' theaters in the enterprise and in the territory, the more clearly the members of the ensembles sense that their artistic efforts in practice have productive effects on their audience of colleagues (be it a matter of operational-practical changes or a more open-minded attitude toward art, or praise, or objective-critical debate). That is why it was right, at the performance comparison and during the week in Goerlitz, to assure the closest and most diverse contacts between the performing workers' theaters and the audience of working people -- through attending the performances and through having the enterprises and industrial trade unions take care of the ensembles, and through the post-performance discussions with the spectators.

At the same time it could be confirmed that the burden of time needed for that kind of ambition and the psychological stress that goes with it are still compatible with adequate meaningful leisure time for the working actors. As long as the achievements can be felt to be a confirmation and enrichment of one's own personality and its communal relations, the efforts needed for them are "fun" in the best sense of the word.

Multilayered as the motivation is for amateur activities (testing and developing of artistic talent, pleasure in working for others and with others, assuming responsibility, carrying out initiatives and so forth), equally complex are the effects on the overall personality and its relationships,

especially since in our amateur art what an individual does depends more than in professional art on smoothly flowing collective preparation (in working teams, clubs and so forth). Granted that in amateur creativity the desire for artistic achievement and the skill of performance (in contrast to professional art) are less prerequisite to, and rather more a result of, artistic practice, yet for the socialist amateur it is only in the effect he has on his social partners that the "hobby" he practices finds fulfillment. That of necessity creates and stimulates aspirations for higher artistic performance and quality, the realization of which once again, in being socially communicative, promotes personality and brings joy.

There is an immediate responsibility the socialist enterprises and mass organizations have, along with the competent state institutions, for making amateur creativity socially effective. That makes the operational factor that affects what goes on in the enterprise, the organization, or the territory stand out prominently in the function it has in amateur creativity. That not only encourages the discovery and handling of the appropriate means and forms of production, it altogether turns into an important problem of management the proper reciprocity between the operational-cultural needs of concrete social carriers and the comprehensive esthetic requirements.

In order to avoid both pragmatic narrowness and esthetic theory irrelevant to life, both aspects must proceed from the complexity of our working people's cultural needs as well as from the objective connection existing between operational needs and basic social issues and development processes. As through operational artistic events the audience and the actors can be prepared for comprehensive artistic projects, and vice versa, so one can also in the operational realm illuminate the pertinence it has to general concerns, and in general concerns that to the operational realm. That calls for smooth consistency and long-range planning in any concrete ensemble activities, of course. That unity is jeopardized from the start wherever the work proceeds on an irregular basis.

Already many hundreds of thousands of working people are involved in amateur creativity as members of ensembles, circles, clubs, working consistently. And on the periphery, hard to assess in terms of numbers, there are probably more than a million people who now and then engage in artistic work during their leisure. In that kind of a broad foundation of our artistic culture lies its strength. For it is this breadth that gives rise to the fine achievements that have always distinguished our workers' festivals. That is why the Ninth Party Congress has made so much of the "promotion of all talents"⁷ in urging that "cultural amateur creativity has to be developed in its full scope."⁸ (And let us be reminded that this demand by our party would be inadmissibly restricted, were we to relate it only to the artistic aspect of the people's creativity and ignore the actually existing variety of creative activity, of which the Fair of the Masters of Tomorrow is an example.)

The systematically planned and close cooperation among all social agencies (the state institutions and the social organizations and the enterprises) on all levels is prerequisite to insuring continuity in a mass movement as much as in amateur creativity. In the future, increasing importance will be assigned to involving FDJ and pioneer organizations and to close cooperation with the institutions and associations of professional art. A purposeful recruitment, promotion and training of talents,⁹ a long-range planning of our work, coordinated with the development of the various social domains and making possible a meaningful concentration of forces and means on aspects of major emphasis, providing broad performance and work possibilities for our amateurs, a rapid and thorough dissemination of the best experiences throughout the entire movement, and organizing the mutual support among the amateurs -- all this makes up the web of concerted action and continuity and can only be insured through an effective cooperation among the social agencies. Much remains to be done here. The 16th Workers' Festival has demonstrated how important the bezirk level is for disseminating experiences, how favorable it is to have a clear definition for the responsibility the various cooperating partners carry (including the main responsibility of a social agency for any specific set of tasks), and that cooperation itself must be practiced on a regular basis.

Ultimately, any improvement of management work in our amateur creativity is intimately connected with the further shaping of democratic character. The more consistently the amateurs are drawn into discussions of management matters, the more they get involved in setting the standards and drawing general rules in working methods, the more one can talk with them about the successes and shortcomings of the work, the greater are the reserves that can be mobilized for better management work. The performance comparison and the workshop week of the workers' theaters were fruitful, not last because of the public and collective work done by the jury and by the extensive involvement of the members of the ensembles and of the spectators in the discussions.

Amateur Art and Professional Art

In taking all this into account, the 16th Workers' Festival, not last, also contributed to becoming clearer about the relationship between amateur creativity and professional art in our socialist society. It underscored, entirely in the spirit of the Ninth Party Congress documents, that our amateur creativity was neither an alternative to socialist professional art nor an insignificant "offshoot" of it, but a necessary supplement of it.

It is certain that under socialism both professional and amateur art can for the first time develop on the same social, political and ideological-esthetic premises and that both here -- thanks to the elimination of the contrast between dominating exploiters' culture and suppressed democratic culture, which is characteristic of the antagonistic class society -- become genuine popular art.

This still does not do away with what is specific to either side. Amateur art -- in contrast to professional art -- remains for those engaged in it meaningful leisure time activity. This is the alpha and omega: Cultural amateur activity contributes to personality development, is fun and gives pleasure to the ones engaged in it and takes place outside the major productive activity in which the personalities are engaged, during leisure time. The development of artistic skills and abilities in amateur art normally coincides with the actual production of such art and is not provided prior to it in special training facilities. And the relationship between nonartistic practical experience and mastery over the arts has a different place from what it has in professional art, for the benefit, that is to say, of the permanent and direct connection the amateur maintains with nonartistic practical matters.

Beyond that, however, amateur creativity importantly supplements our professional art. It significantly broadens and improves the social-spiritual soil for its further growth in that it develops and refines the working people's appreciation for art and their esthetic receptivity and thus brings into professional art other skilled persons, and also in that it constitutes a significant reservoir for cultivating a new generation in the professional arts and in being able to supply professional art with direct impulses for tapping new fields of reality, modes of presentation and working methods. At the same time it enriches our artistic life by the very achievements of specifically esthetic charm which it alone is capable of providing.

Needed for the further development thus is a productive juxtaposition in our socialist art based on an accurate determination of what the two sides have in common and what not.

AS a matter of fact, the artistic quality of our amateur productivity, and hence its social effectiveness, significantly depend on the quality of artistic direction. Especially qualified professional artists are mainly capable of, and assigned to provide, such instruction. The outcome of the 16th Workers' Festival has clearly shown this: Wherever leaders in the arts provide for a productive, democratic partnership with the amateurs which relies on their substance in personality and practical experience and follows the methods of artistic production, where a responsibility to forming personality as well as collectives goes hand in hand with efforts on behalf of accurate work in artistic method and pedagogy, a gratifying political and artistic level is reached. In some instructors tendencies still survive of being too authoritative and often dealing too routinely with amateurs. They are fruitless and are running into understandable resistance from the amateurs and their collectives.

Thus it is not sufficient -- important as the personal commitment is and remains especially in this field -- to leave the artistic direction of amateurs exclusively to the discretion of the personal interest and initiative of any professional artist. The responsibility for the selection, control and promotion of cadres

directing the artistic efforts of amateurs, and for the quality of the work they do, has to become, rather, a true leadership criterion in the management activities of our professional art institutions and associations.

Important as the direct artistic direction given to amateurs by professionals is and will continue to be, our professional artists still cannot fulfill the demands that arise here in their full scope. That requires training experienced amateurs in giving high-level artistic direction, in order to raise the artistic quality of our amateur productivity. Our professional art institutions and associations, not last the art academies, will find an important field of influence on the quality of our amateur productivity by participating in this kind of training. It involves their taking part in the training programs as much as in the training activities themselves. It includes their expert participation in considering new ideas in this field arising from the need, for instance, of better preparing new teachers in art instruction in the various circles and working teams at schools.

The 16th Workers' Festival has shown that an increasing number of professional artists and managements of professional art institutions and associations have realized more deeply, and been fulfilling their responsibilities toward, amateur creativity. The performance comparison and the workshop week of the workers' theaters, for example, could build on the insights of the colloquium which the Theater Association held in October 1975, and which dealt with the responsibility the professional theater has for amateur and workers' theater, and on similar initiatives of the working teams of the Third Congress of the Theater Producers Association. The counsel and participation by experienced theater producers and theater scientists like Manfred Wekwerth, Karl von Appen, Armin-Gerd Kuckhoff, as well as the active support by the "Bert Brecht" drama production institute and by the "Hans Otto" theater college, were obtained for the productions and events and the jury activity and turned out to be worthwhile. In this sense, the exchange of welcoming addresses between the participants at the performance exhibit in our professional theaters in Dresden and the participants of the "Workers' Theater Week" in Goerlitz were of a constitutive importance. Solving the problems and tasks outlined for amateur creativity in our socialist society calls for high-grade party leadership activity in this area too. The Ninth Party Congress decisions offer us a sure orientation, confirmed by practice itself. The experiences of the 16th Workers' Festival have underscored that their consistent realization by the party organizations, party groups and party aktivs in amateur creativity greatly depends on properly understanding the basic ideological questions in the political, esthetic and organizational leadership for amateur productivity, on carefully and smoothly working with the cadres, and on close cooperation with the party organizations of the social agencies.

FOOTNOTES

1. "Programm der Sozialistischen Einheitspartei Deutschlands" (SED Program), Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1976, p 51.

2. Comrade Erich Honecker, "Bericht des Zentralkomitees der Sozialistischen Einheitspartei Deutschlands an den IX. Parteitag der SED" (SED Central Committee Report to the Ninth SED Congress), Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1976, p 103.
3. Ibid., p 102.
4. Kurt Hager, "Zu Fragen der Kulturpolitik der SED" (On Matters of SED Cultural Policy), Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1972, p 25.
5. Bertold Brecht, "Schriften zur Literatur und Kunst" (Essays on Literature and Art), Vbl 2, Aufbau publishing house, Berlin/Weimar, 1966, pp 64-65.
6. Comrade Erich Honecker, op. cit., p 105.
7. "Programm der Sozialistischen Einheitspartei Deutschlands," op. cit., p 52.
8. Comrade Erich Honecker, op. cit., p 103.
9. Cf. Werner Kuehn, "On Challenging and Promoting Artistic Talent," EINHEIT, No 8, 1976, pp 917 ff.

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EAST GERMANY

IMPLEMENTATION OF HELSINKI AGREEMENTS ANALYZED

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[Article by Dietrich Guhl, graduate political scientist, GDR Ministry for Foreign Affairs: "Helsinki and Peaceful Coexistence in Europe"]

[Text] Starting from the importance and limits of the Helsinki Conference, the author analyzes the struggle of the forces of socialism, peace and democracy for carrying the Final Act into effect, the struggle for military detente and the possibilities and advances in the field of interstate collaboration. Despite the actions directed against detente by imperialist circles -- which include an enforced arms race as much as the campaign, filled with antisovietism, for corrupting the Final Act --, developments on the whole are marked by the materialization of the Helsinki agreements.

The changes in the international power ratio in favor of the forces of peace and of socialism, mainly the increased all round economic, political and military strength of the Soviet Union and of the other states of the socialist community, and their growing influence on the course of world affairs, have produced new possibilities for enforcing the relations of peaceful coexistence and mutual advantageous cooperation among states with differing social systems. Comrade L. I. Brezhnev has said: "We are living at a time in which the preconditions have been created for a fundamental transformation of international relations, mainly here in Europe."¹ While these words were being said, the delegations of 33 European states and of the United States and Canada were still in the midst of their work in Geneva of completing their final CSCE document.

It has now been 15 months that the top representatives of the 35 participating states in Helsinki have put their signatures under the Final Act of the conference. Through this successful conclusion of the largest collective action taken in Europe since the time of the anti-Hitler coalition, essential

foundations were created for a stable order of peace in Europe, as Comrade Erich Honecker remarked at the Ninth Party Congress. The conference multilaterally corroborated the settlement of postwar problems that had been initiated and advanced by the previously concluded bilateral accords.²

The Final Act of Helsinki is not an annual program, nor has it been elaborated for a short-term period. It outlines -- mainly through the 10 principles of interstate relations agreed upon -- the contours of a permanent system of security and peaceful collaboration on our continent. In view of this long-range goal, the Final Act explicitly includes the obligation, proposed by the socialist states, of "expanding, deepening and progressively making permanent the process of detente"³ in implementing the conference results. This marks the creation of permanent peace as a joint international task of the peoples and states. The importance and limits of the Helsinki Conference are marked by the fact that it has laid sound foundations for peace and security and for reducing the danger of war yet that it has not, by that token, eliminated that danger. The conference has corroborated the possibility and real benefits of discussing and solving the most complicated international problems through the participation by all interested countries on the basis of their complete equality. It has opened new perspectives waiting to be translated into action by means of the principles and accords agreed upon.⁴

The conference and its outcome constitute the starting point for a new stage in shaping the relations between socialist and capitalist states. The extent to which this orientation is translated into practical action, however, greatly depends on how consistently and accurately all participating states abide by the principles agreed upon and carry into effect all parts of the entire Final Act. That is an indispensable prerequisite for turning detente into a smoothly flowing and ever more vital and comprehensive process.⁵ The forces which enforced the conference, constantly gaining in strength and influence, after having done immeasurably much for the successful conclusion of the conference, rigorously advocate that what has been agreed upon in Helsinki should be given full reality. We are referring here mainly to the Soviet Union and the other socialist states in Europe, the communist and workers parties in the capitalist countries, to the broad democratic public sectors and the organizations and movements representing them, and to influential forces within the governments of Western countries that are taking a realistic approach to the political world situation. Outside of our continent, however, there are also such forces working in the same direction, such as the non-affiliated states that welcomed the course taken in Helsinki, are ready to promote it and strive for its being extended to other continents as well.

Struggle for Military Detente

The participating states placed at the beginning of their Final Act their endorsement of "fostering better relations among one another and insuring conditions under which their peoples can live in genuine and permanent peace, free from any threats or any restraints of their security."⁶ The states of the socialist community, principally the Soviet Union, have undertaken

manifold and significant initiatives in pursuit of that goal. The program issued by the 25th CPSU Congress on the continuing struggle for peace and international collaboration, freedom and the peoples' independence, in particular, emphasizes the necessary steps for stopping the arms race, for limiting the stocks of arms accumulated, disarmament and military detente in Central Europe.⁷ This program as well as the concrete proposals developed on its basis for ending the arms race and banning violence from the relations among the states, as submitted by the Soviet Union to the 31st UN General Assembly, have found worldwide response and broad support. They once again have demonstrated that the socialist states are not letting matters ride simply by signing the Helsinki documents but are propelling developments forward toward peace and international security by means of new initiatives.

The Berlin Conference of Communist and Workers Parties also left no doubt that for the realization of the Helsinki principles effective measures are urgently needed for halting the arms race and for disarmament. Without military detente, the point was made, no political detente can be assured on the long run either.

At the same time, the Berlin Conference exposed imperialism to public scorn for its enforcing the arms race. Comrade L. I. Brezhnev declared: "The success of international detente has given wings to, and consolidated, the forces of peace and progress and enhanced their respect among, and influence on, the masses. It has demonstrated that the positions taken by realistic representatives of ruling circles in bourgeois countries are well called for. Yet it also has roused and activated the forces of reaction and of militarism, those that would want to turn the whole world back into the times of the cold war and into balancing acts at the edge of a nuclear catastrophe."⁸

The most reactionary forces of imperialism, the most militant anticommunists, the bosses of the large armament syndicates and the NATO generals unabashedly are revealing their intention to put a stop to detente, further force the arms race and reignite the international atmosphere, for any effective step toward arms limitation and disarmament directly affects the profit and power interests of armament capital. After the failure of their hopes to be able to make a breach in the socialist world, even representatives of the moderate wing in the monopoly bourgeoisie have been expressing their "disappointment" and are now trying to apply a brake to the implementation of the Helsinki agreements. After all it must not be ignored that even realistic circles that continue to favor detente are subject to economic instabilities and at times yield to the pressures from the enemies of detente and then take steps "that lead away from the policy of peaceful coexistence and mutual advantageous collaboration."⁹

The most diverse steps are taken by those who oppose peace and international security. They are principally reflected in all the measures that contradict any kind of military detente and that give expression to the gigantic dimensions of the intensified arms race undertaken by the imperialist states. This substantive war preparation, which since Helsinki has undergone an alarming

intensification in the NATO states, is being camouflaged by the grossest distortion of the policy of the Soviet Union, by the tasteless fiction of the notorious "Soviet danger." Under that pretext, the June 1976 NATO session in Brussels announced the intention of the European NATO states to raise their annual military budget by at least 5 percent. The U.S. Secretary of Defense Rumsfeld announced annual increase rates of at least 7 to 9 percent for his budget, which already lies in excess of 100 billion dollars. The development and construction of new weapons and the formation of further units go hand in hand with an increase in maneuvers. In 1974, NATO held approximately 10 maneuvers and in 1975, approximately 17. For 1976, a series of 27 separate maneuvers were scheduled.

Increased rearmaments come together with rejecting constructive and effective disarmament steps under an antisoviet signature. The NATO states keep refusing, as they had before, any serious examination of the proposals from the Soviet Union and other socialist countries on stopping the arms race and on disarmament, even starting a discussion of them. That finds its expression in the rejection of the Soviet proposals for a comprehensive and general ban of nuclear weapons tests, for the convocation of a world disarmament conference, the prohibition of new mass destruction weapons and new systems for such weapons, and the reduction of the military budgets.

Through the stubborn refusal by the NATO states to assume equal reduction obligations at the Vienna negotiations, all measures have thus far been systematically undermined that could reduce the high concentration of military forces in Central Europe. In order to get beyond this situation, the Soviet Union and the other participating socialist countries have been making greater efforts at reaching effective results in the Vienna negotiations. In this sense one must understand the appeal at the UN General Assembly, by the Soviet Foreign Minister to the NATO countries, to give up the search for unilateral advantages so as to make possible a successful development of the Vienna negotiations on military detente in Central Europe.¹⁰ That there are real possibilities for accords in this by no means uncomplicated field of halting the arms race and of disarmament, is demonstrated by the Soviet-U.S. treaty concluded on 28 May 1976 on carrying out underground nuclear explosions for peaceful purposes, which certainly represents another step on the road toward a general and complete stop to nuclear weapons tests.

Possibilities and Advances in Interstate Collaboration

It is entirely in line with the Helsinki agreements that the socialist states are paying the greatest attention to the development of interstate collaboration in order to give concrete substance to that general framework which was staked out for the relations among the 35 states in the Final Act. That is served by a great variety of consultations on the high and highest levels and by concluding appropriate accords. The states of the socialist community have actively helped intensify and render more substantive the political contacts, on all levels including the parliamentary level, between states with differing social systems. This turns out to be extremely useful for advancing the process of detente.

It is no different with the development of the treaty system. The GDR alone has been negotiating more than 65 treaties and agreements with approximately 20 capitalist states that participated in the conference, since Helsinki. More than 34 treaties and accords of them have by now been signed. The cooperation extends to areas such as consular affairs, legal aid, questions of culture, economic and scientific-technical collaboration, industrial cooperation, environmental protection, customs, navigation, posts and telecommunications. The 10 principles -- the centerpiece for interstate relations -- are as concretely expressed in the treaties the GDR has concluded since Helsinki as they are in the treaties by other socialist states with capitalist states that participated in the conference.

Relations of a friendly nature, along with the concept of relations of peaceful coexistence, were included in the declarations the Soviet Union signed with France and Italy. That, no doubt, is something that CSCE has greatly helped in establishing. Also a number of other political accords between socialist and capitalist states in Europe reflect this development, which also includes the final settlement of the border issue between Yugoslavia and Italy.

The stipulations of the Final Act can be carried into effect only through cooperation and mutual understanding of the states. Entirely in those terms one must interpret the numerous bilateral agreements made, after Helsinki, also in the economic and scientific-technical areas between socialist and capitalist states, with novel elements also coming into purview, especially in the field of industrial cooperation. The GDR, for example, has concluded such agreements with Sweden, on scientific-technical cooperation, with Great Britain, in the field of roads, with Denmark, Portugal and the Netherlands, on aviation, and with Finland, on customs matters. Conferences of mixed commissions were held, among others, with Great Britain, Norway, Portugal, the Netherlands and Finland. It was their task to orchestrate the economic, industrial and technical cooperation in conformity to the Final Act. The same end was served by visits of capitalist states undertaken by GDR economic delegations. Numerous agreements, among them the conclusion of industrial cooperation agreements and credit agreements between GDR foreign trade enterprises and corporations or large banks of West European states, the United States and Canada, as well as the agreement between the foreign trade banks of the GDR and France on setting up branches in Paris and Berlin, are the results of these manifold efforts.

New possibilities for expanding economic and scientific-technical collaboration arise from the Soviet proposals at summoning all-European conferences on matters of energy, transportation and environmental protection. The draft proposal CEMA submitted to the EEC serves the purpose of stimulating economic cooperation between the two largest economic groupings in Europe and among their member states and of placing them -- in conformity with the Final Act -- on the basis of complete equality and of the most-favored-nation status. The EEC, however, has failed to respond to this proposal to this day.

The socialist states are engaged in extensive activities within the framework of international organizations like ECE and UNESCO, in order to render concrete and include in their work programs tasks resulting for those organizations from the Final Act. In a letter to the Executive Secretary of ECE, for instance, the GDR has submitted concrete recommendations. It is a coauthor of a recommendation on involving UNESCO in the implementation of the Final Act, among other things, by means of developing further already existing European centers of that organization, by means of interstate conferences and through preparing a UNESCO calendar for cultural activities.

As to the recommendations made in the Final Act pertaining to the areas of culture, education, information and contacts, no one need tell us about the benefit of such cooperation. The positive position taken on that, by the ruling as well as the other communist and workers parties in Europe, is found in the concluding document of the Berlin Conference, which calls for a commitment "to the development of cooperation in the fields of culture, science and technology, education, information and human contacts among all peoples for better mutual acquaintance and the strengthening of trust, the further rapprochement among the European countries and peoples and the spiritual enrichment of human life, while maintaining full respect for the equality of each people and each human being and observing the sovereignty and the principle of noninterference in the internal affairs of any country."¹¹ This orientation is in full harmony with the Final Act which unequivocally proceeds from the proposition that culture and information exchange and contacts are meaningful when they serve peace, understanding among peoples and the spiritual enrichment of people and proceed strictly on the foundation of the code of principles agreed upon.

The observation continues to be valid that in the areas mentioned it is not the socialist states, but the capitalist states that are in need of catching up. The peoples of the socialist countries are, on the whole, better informed about living conditions in the capitalist countries than the working people in those countries are, about the reality of socialism. In most recent times Western journalists themselves had the opportunity to convince themselves that the citizens in our republic are among the best informed in the world. In contrast to what happened in the capitalist countries, for instance, the GDR as well as the other socialist states reported in detail about the events in Helsinki, and the Final Act was published in millions of copies and thus made available to everyone. Another matter concerns the exchange of television programs. Still after CSCE, television stations in the GDR were showing twice as much of the television production of capitalist states as those states presented to their audiences of our television production. The ratio is similar in the fields of radio, the exchange of book licenses, feature films and so forth.¹²

The socialist states' approach to the recommendations of the Final Act on tourist traffic and contacts is equally constructive. While already in 1975, more than 58 million foreign citizens visited the CEMA states and 35 million citizens of these states went abroad in the same period, the trend of this

kind of traffic is on the upswing, after Helsinki. Interstate cooperation in this field takes its clues from our countries' interests and from the peoples' common interests in a peaceful and trusting juxtaposition. Entry and exit provisions are everywhere subject therefore to sovereign state decisions. The UN human rights declaration as well as the Final Act of Helsinki proceed from that consideration. As a result of UN surveys about this problem one research team concluded that there existed the general view everywhere that "the supreme interest of the state, its national security, came before all other rights, privileges and duties."

It therefore totally contradicts the spirit and letter of the Final Act when the attempt is made to misuse the issues of tourist traffic and contacts as a field of struggle against socialism, and that some circles in Western countries, especially in the FRG, still are not willing to proceed, without reservation, from the reality and existence of the GDR as a sovereign state, a member of the United Nations, by denying GDR citizenship and the rights and duties resulting therefrom, and in interfering, in violation of international law, in the domestic affairs of the GDR.

Bourgeois Distortions of the Final Act

While developments since the conclusion of CSCE "are altogether indicative that the Helsinki agreements are being implemented," there are yet, along with "the positive processes in the world, characteristic of most recent times, still manifestations of a different kind in evidence -- actions directed against detente."¹³ Among such actions, as already dealt with, is the NATO states' enforced arms race. But they also include the campaign by imperialist circles, imbued with anticommunism and antisovietism, which is seeking to distort or interpret in a one-sided fashion the decisive ten principles of the Final Act of Helsinki, so that their implementation be subverted. Those principles are referred to in a deprecatory manner as if they were merely embellishments of the other sections in the Final Act, which one might blithely forget about. Yet they involve such fundamental principles as the inviolability of the borders. Yet, as Comrade Erich Honecker unmistakably explained at the second plenary session, we consider the attitude toward the security of the borders an acid test for the attitude toward detente.¹⁴ The history of our continent contains sufficient proofs to demonstrate the correctness of that statement.

Among the distortions of the Final Act by imperialist politicians is, not last, the claim that CSCE had settled the political and social status quo for good. Actually, however, they want to apply that to the capitalist states only, for they have by no means abandoned their strategic goal of restoring capitalism in the socialist states. That claim, in other words, comes down to the absurd demand for the socialist states to issue a kind of guarantee for the continued existence of the capitalist system. However, as under the conditions of detente and peaceful coexistence the capitalist exploiters are not likely to become proponents of the socialist revolution, the communists, in turn, will certainly not rise in defense of the capitalist

exploitation. Peaceful coexistence cannot suspend the laws of the class struggle, for they are based on the economic foundations and contradictions of capitalism.

If within the process of detente and through the enforcement of peaceful coexistence the internal development of the socialist states is favored and, through the successful formation of the new society, the attractiveness of the socialist ideals are enhanced, and when under such conditions new possibilities arise for the struggle of all progressive and democratic forces in the capitalist countries, that only demonstrates the intimate connection between peaceful coexistence and social progress and confirms the inseparable unity between socialism, democracy and peace.

Nor could the Helsinki Conference assign to itself the task of settling definitively the political and social status quo. While the recognition of the territorial status quo in Europe was an indispensable premise for the negotiations on elaborating the Final Act, the relations between classes, groups and persons within the states were recognized as internal affairs and thus never were subject to negotiation. It was in this sense that the conference participants assumed the obligation to respect, on the principle of sovereign equality, "the right of every other participating state freely to choose and develop its political, social, economic and cultural system and its right to determine its own laws and regulations."¹⁵ The same was said about the principle of equality and self-determination for the peoples and, above and beyond that, the principle of nonintervention explicitly forbids any interference in the internal and external affairs of other states.

Thus the Final Act has no relevance at all to settling for good the political and social status quo, while it surely recognizes the free political and social development within the states free of interference from without. That places the doctrines proclaimed by imperialist politicians, on dividing the world into spheres of influence and on interference with the internal affairs of the peoples and states -- as demonstrated, for example, by the blackmail maneuvers against communist participation in governments of West European states -- in crass opposition to the Final Act. They endanger the peace.

With respect to the future course of the process of detente, it may be stated: "The objective preconditions for detente continue to exist; in fact, they become broader every day through successful socialist development."¹⁶ The growing political, economic and military power of socialism, mainly that of the Soviet Union, the continuing consolidation of the unity of the communist world movement, and the increasing influence all progressive forces have on the course of international development are the decisive impulses that are deepening that process. The forces and conditions are now extant that can further stabilize and, ultimately, make irreversible the process of political detente, in spite of all resistance from aggressive imperialist circles. The Berlin Conference of the Communist and Workers Parties pointed out the way to it by these words: "In order to insure permanence for detente

and to deepen it further and to expand it, the decisions made in Helsinki have to be supported and undergirded through the struggle by the broad popular masses for their total implementation, for taming and restraining the reactionary forces that reject the results of CSCE and seek to frustrate the course of detente and of security for the peoples."¹⁷ That implies that one must use all political and diplomatic opportunities arising for producing the material matrix for peaceful cooperation.

The struggle for carrying on the process of detente combines more and more with the preparations for the next conference which, as agreed on in the Final Act, is to be held in Belgrade in 1977. The participating states have announced their determination in Helsinki to continue "the multilateral process introduced by the conference."¹⁸ To this end they have agreed to organize meetings among their representatives and to start in Belgrade with a meeting on the level of representatives delegated by the foreign ministers. The mandate for this meeting likewise follows from the Final Act. It provides for engaging in an exchange of views on the implementation of the Final Act and on the tasks defined by the conference, as well as on the deepening of the relations among the states, the strengthening of security, the development of cooperation in Europe and, thus, the continuation of the process of detente. These unequivocal stipulations were enforced as a component of the Final Act against the resistance from imperialist circles.

The coming Belgrade conference expresses the continuity of the multilateral process of detente among the 35 participating states. The socialist states, the GDR among them, regard that conference as another opportunity for exchanging in a constructive manner experiences and opinions about the thus far attained positive results in the implementation of the Final Act. Such an approach offers the guarantee for smoothly continuing in Belgrade the course of detente pointed to at the Helsinki summit and for rebuking those enemies of detente who would prefer to erase Helsinki, who are longing for the times of the cold war and who are thus trying to torpedo the subsequent meeting as well. It is important to hold on to the Final Act rigorously, neither to deviate from it, nor to revise it. What is at stake is the continuation of that process for which Helsinki has set the switches and by which Europe is meant to be turned into a zone of permanent peace.

FOOTNOTES

1. L. I. Brezhnev, "Fester Bruderbund eint unsere Voelker" (A Firm Fraternal Alliance Unites Our Peoples), Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1974, p 12.
2. Cf. Comrade Erich Honecker, "Bericht des Zentralkomitees der Sozialistischen Einheitspartei Deutschlands an den IX. Parteitag der SED" (SED Central Committee Report to the Ninth SED Congress), Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1976, p 17; cf. also "Zu den Ergebnissen der Konferenz ueber Sicherheit und Zusammenarbeit in Europa--Aus der Rede des Genossen Hermann Axen auf der 15. Tagung des ZK der SED" (On the Outcome of CSCE--From the Speech by Comrade Hermann Axen to the 15th SED Central Committee Session), Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1975, pp 100 ff.

3. "Final Act of CSCE," NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 2/3 August 1975.
4. Cf. L. I. Brezhnev, "25th CPSU Congress--CPSU Status Report and the Next Party Tasks in Domestic and Foreign Policy," Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1976, p 24.
5. Cf. "For Peace, Security, Cooperation and Social Progress in Europe," "Konferenz der kommunistischen und Arbeiterparteien Europas, Berlin, 29. und 30. Juni 1976" (Conference of Communist and Workers Parties of Europe, 29-30 June 1976), Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1976, pp 19-20.
6. "Final Act of CSCE, loc. cit.
7. Cf. Joachim Krueger, "The Program for the Further Struggle for Peace and International Cooperation, for the Peoples' Freedom and Independence," EINHEIT, No 10, 1976, pp 1120 ff.
8. Speech by Comrade Leonid Ilyich Brezhnev, "Konferenz der kommunistischen und Arbeiterparteien Europas," loc. cit., pp 73-74.
9. Boris Ponomaryov, "The International Importance of the Berlin Conference," NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 4 August 1976.
10. Cf. Andrei Gromyko, "Peace in the World Must Be Made Permanent," NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 29 September 1976.
11. "For Peace, Security, Cooperation and Social Progress in Europe," loc. cit., p 34.
12. Cf. Siegfried Bock, "One Year After Helsinki," IPW-BERICHTE, No 8, 1976, p 12.
13. Andrei Gromyko, op. cit.
14. Cf. Erich Honecker, "Zu aktuellen Fragen unserer Innen- und Aussenpolitik nach dem IX. Parteitag" (On Topical Questions of Our Domestic and Foreign Policy After the Ninth Party Congress), Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1976, p 10.
15. "Final Act of CSCE," loc. cit.
16. Oskar Fischer, "Clear and Firm Course of Our Party's Foreign Policy," NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 4/5 September 1976.
17. "For Peace, Security, Cooperation and Social Progress in Europe," loc. cit., p 28.
18. "Final Act of CSCE," loc. cit.

EAST GERMANY

BOOK ON DEVELOPMENT OF NATION CONCEPT PUBLISHED

East Berlin EINHEIT in German Vol 31 No 11, Nov 76, signed to press
18 Oct 76 pp 1290-1292

[Review by Prof Dr Erwin Stueber, Marxism-Leninism Section, Humboldt University, East Berlin: "Nation in Geschichte und Gegenwart" (The Nation in History and At Present) by Prof Dr Alfred Kosing, SED Central Committee's Institute for Social Sciences, member of GDR Academy of Sciences, president of GDR Association of Philosophy Institutions, published by Dietz Verlag, East Berlin, 1976]

The book entitled "Nation in Geschichte und Gegenwart," recently published by the Dietz publishing house, is the thus far most comprehensive work written by Alfred Kosing about these problems. The author aims with this publication at presenting the Marxist-Leninist theory of the nation as a component of historical materialism, the social theory and concept of history of Marxism-Leninism, by explaining a number of problems of the nation theory, especially for the benefit of a deeper understanding of the development of the socialist German nation in the GDR and its contrast to the capitalist German nation that continues its existence in the FRG, and of documenting, in as much detail as possible, what Marx, Engels and Lenin thought about the nation (cf. page 6). The author may well be assured: By his extensive presentation of the place of the nation on the basis of historical materialism, and of its specific function and historical role within the inevitable process of social development, he has done full justice to the task he assigned to himself.

This work, which explains the problems on a high theoretical level, fulfills important social needs in our contemporary development. It serves the theoretical comprehension of the role of what is national, and of the nation, within the, essentially, internationalist struggle for socialism and in the shaping of the developed socialist society in the GDR. It helps in the confrontation with the nationalism of FRG imperialism and supplies important theoretical insights that form an indispensable foundation for raising the level of patriotic and internationalist education, as called for by the Ninth SED Congress.

This work has the distinction of familiarizing the reader with the state of knowledge in the Soviet social sciences engaged in exploring what is national, and the nation concept, and of presenting the questions that are currently under discussion about these problems in the Soviet Union. Yet the author does not only supply information and does not only utilize those insights for his own study; he himself offers a sound contribution to the discussion.

In examining the nation concept, Comrade Kosing does not confine himself to defining its criteria. He is primarily concerned "with the historical place of the nation within the social development process" (page 115). He makes a point of the fact that the nation is "principally an inevitable developmental form of society in both economic forms of society, in capitalism and communism" (page 116). And here he shows that what determines its nature is the relation between the economic form of society and the nation, demonstrating that the nations are "derived, secondary structural forms" of the economic forms of society (page 128). These explanations amount to an important theoretical handle for the proof that the nation in its essence is above all socially determined. As it is a developmental and structural form of a given economic form of society, its substance is thus determined by the economic, social, political and ideological processes of the given form of society as well as by the interests of the ruling class. The nation, having emerged, along with bourgeois society, as a capitalist nation, fundamentally changes in its social character through the socialist revolution. There is, and can be, no nation per se, a developmental form of capitalism and of socialism, as it were, a neutral nation (cf. page 99).

The author supplies extensive material to explain those insights. This he gains from an analysis of the relation between the nation, on the one hand, and of the economic forms of society, the classes and the state, on the other, from an analysis of the relationship between the social and ethnic factors in the development of the nations and from an historical analysis of the foundations of the emergence and development of the capitalist nations, and of the formation and development of the socialist nations. And here he deals in particular with the history of national development on German soil.

He exposes to public scorn the great historic offense committed by German imperialism and its accomplices, who split Germany apart in order to prevent social progress from taking over in all of Germany and, taking issue with nationalist theses of FRG imperialism, shows this: The formation of the socialist nation in the GDR through the revolutionary transformation in its territory is an inevitable process that is inseparably connected with the establishing of the socialist society. The socialist nation in the GDR and the capitalist nation in the FRG are diametrically opposed in character and incompatible because they are developmental forms of opposing economic forms of society, of socialism and capitalism (cf. pages 95 ff). The author also explains the positive role of the nation within the process of history, especially for the development of socialism and for the rapprochement among the socialist nations. This leads to the persuasive point that any kind of nationalism is as alien to Marxist-Leninist theory and politics as any form of national nihilism.

The author's statements to the effect that the decisive social processes in any given form of economic society determine the essential nature of national life, and of the nation, are of such special importance because they are placed on an analysis of the relationship between social and ethnic factors in the development and transformation of nations. In this regard Kosing's work -- probably induced by Soviet research on this matter -- differs positively from many other publications, which often merely mention the ethnic factors without actually examining their effect on, and connection with, the social factors.

That, of course, may largely be so because the development and substance of the nation are decisively determined by social, and not by ethnic, factors. The social factors must logically be the focal point in investigations of the nation concept as well as in the ideological work for deepening the realization of the development of the socialist nation in the GDR. This is all the more true in as much as the nation, to be sure, "gains a qualitatively new content in the GDR as compared with the capitalist nation in the FRG," and two nations different in type, the socialist nation in the GDR and the capitalist nation in the FRG, are encountered, yet "with respect to ethnic components, no significant changes have thus far taken place" (page 146). In terms of ethnic characteristics, both nations are German nations. "The nation in the GDR is the socialist German nation, and the nation in the FRG is the capitalist German nation," the author writes (page 179).

Kosing therefore is quite right when he warns against overrating the ethnic factors and against identifying the nation with nationality. The exposition of the relationship between social and ethnic factors also makes visible, however, that this is a relationship that still has to be more thoroughly explored by the social sciences in the GDR. That also becomes clear from the author's remarks to the effect that the ethnic factors in the GDR have combined with the qualitatively new social content of the nation (cf. page 152) and that certain ethnic characteristics also begin to change with the further shaping of the developed socialist society.

The book also examines such elements of consciousness as bourgeois nationalism, socialist patriotism and proletarian internationalism as they reflect the national and international relations. That has all the more merit in as much as the relationship of these elements and its role and place in consciousness still have to be more thoroughly explored. The author clearly provides an epistemological definition of these elements as components of consciousness, he analyzes their class content and examines their rational and socio-psychological substance. He thereby points to important handles for further research on these problems.

A reader can find valuable suggestions in this book also with respect to patriotic and internationalist education. One may refer here, for example, to the treatment of the principles of proletarian internationalism. It has the distinction, among other things, that it is not a matter of contrasting one principle of proletarian internationalism with another one, but instead

they are treated in their unity and inseparable connection, proceeding from the basic thought of proletarian internationalism, the "merging of all workers in all countries, peoples and nations and their revolutionary solidarity in the struggle against capitalist exploitation and suppression, and for the construction of socialist and communist society" (page 240).

The work also indicates the attitudes through which proletarian internationalism manifests itself and how they are to be explained theoretically. These explanations would still be more convincing if the author, in the context of presenting these principles, had made more strongly visible still the whole wealth of insights elaborated in recent times by Marxist-Leninist science, especially in the Soviet Union and in other socialist countries, for the theoretic explanation of these principles. That pertains, for example, to the presentation of the dialectics between the national and the international, the role of the socialist community of states, especially of the Soviet Union, within the revolutionary world process, and the rapprochement among the socialist nations.

What the author says about the principles of proletarian internationalism also makes visible that an important task is to render more concrete the requirements resulting therefrom for acting under our specific conditions. That applies particularly to our liaison with the CPSU and the Soviet Union, a criterion of the top rank for proletarian internationalism, a criterion from which the author proceeds, to be sure, but one that could still have been given more attention in the interest of the internationalist education in our work.

What the author says about patriotism and its objective foundation, the fatherland, also is suggestive and supplies important data for patriotic and internationalist education. He cites the Soviet author M. S. Dzhunusov, who defines the fatherland as a complicated entity in which the following structural elements can be discerned: "(1) The ethnic territory with which a people is connected through its history, 'the home of the ancestors,' 'the land of the forefathers'; (2) a given people with its language, its national culture and its traditions; and (3) the socioeconomic and socio-political order" (page 251). These elements of the fatherland, in need still of closer definitions, in their own terms as well as with regard to how they are reflected in patriotism, and the specific importance they have for the attitude toward the fatherland and for the way they interrelate, make clear that in the center of the further development of socialist patriotism must stand the bond with the socialist state and social order. These presentations at the same time also reveal that patriotic education must also take account of how the other elements of patriotism are being reflected and are co-determining patriotism in its totality. These presentations furthermore are an important approach to more comprehensive work on the character and objective foundations of the patriotism of the working class in capitalism and, hence, for a deeper understanding of important working class traditions in this area. The author's own treatment of these traditions, for instance of the German labor movement, unfortunately is a bit perfunctory. Such explanations are

moreover of great importance for understanding the internationalist character of the socialist fatherland which, after all, derives from the social order as the most important element of the socialist fatherland. That element, its internationalist nature and its special importance, remains the decisive objective foundation for the inseparable connection between socialist patriotism and proletarian internationalism.

Alfred Kosing's book has, since it was published, affected the discussion of the nation concept among the GDR social scientists. It induces more concrete research on the development process of the socialist nation in the GDR and, furthermore, provides propagandists, teachers and educators with valuable hints for their ideological work.

5885

CSO: 2300

EAST GERMANY

SUMMARIES OF OTHER MAJOR 'EINHEIT' ARTICLES

East Berlin EINHEIT in German Vol 31 No 11, Nov 76, signed to press
18 Oct 76, "For Documentation" addendum

The Soviet Union in the Revolutionary World Process

[Summary of article by Prof Dr Sigmar Quilitzsch, Institute for International Relations, GDR Academy of Political Science and Jurisprudence; pp 1201-1211]

[Text] Ever since Lenin's party was founded, the Russian communists have understood the struggle in their country as part of the revolutionary world process. The article, in particular, analyzes the international importance of the achievements by the Soviet Union, the pioneer of the new epoch, and of the effects its historic victory over Hitler-fascism had, which created the preconditions for the fundamental changes in the world. The importance of the achievements by the USSR for the progress of mankind at present is shown in concrete terms. It all comes down to demonstrating the role of the Soviet Union as the bastion of peace and of the revolutionary revitalization of the world.

Intensification and Materials Economy

[Summary of article by Prof Dr Wolfgang Heinrichs, director, Institute for Economic Sciences, GDR Academy of Sciences; pp 1221-1228]

[Text] Within the framework of the intensification of the reproduction process the importance of the materials economy increases. Enforcing it successfully leads to higher economic efficiency. In this, a strict and purposeful management of labor with norms for the materials economy is crucial for lowering the specific consumption of energy, raw materials and materials. With it, in the materials economy there is an increasing importance in the reutilization of secondary raw materials and by-products, and also in the sphere of circulation greater effects can be gained for the materials economy.

In the Struggle for Increased Economy of Basic Assets

[Summary of article by Dr Hans-Joachim Beyer, lecturer in Political Economy of Socialism, SED Central Committee's Institute for Social Sciences; pp 1229-1235]

[Text] More and more, intensification can be gaged against how we manage with what we have. The scope and quality of basic assets and the degree of their utilization play a decisive role in production efficiency. The assets to a high degree affect the working people's output in labor and the development of their creativity, and they significantly help make working and living conditions more favorable. Special attention is called for the proper combination between the various forms of basic asset reproduction, reconstruction and investment decisions.

Good Designing of Products and Working Environment

[Summary of article by Dr Martin Kelm, state secretary and chief of Industrial Designing Office; pp 1236-1240]

[Text] An important aspect in the further implementation of the main task lies in continuing with the successes achieved in the improvement in the quality of product designs and in always gaging that quality, with all its parameters, against the dynamic growth of needs and the most progressive international level. Design concepts for consumer goods with their high quality targets set down are meant to help in reaching that goal. Managers and designers bear a great responsibility for it. Further efforts also are called for in the systematic designing of the working environment, as a contribution to the further shaping of the socialist character of labor.

Monopolies Shift Burdens of Crisis on Workers

[Summary of article by Dr Joachim Nitsche, Institute for International Politics and Economics; pp 1266-1272]

[Text] While the big monopolies, under the conditions of the new upward trend, are making fast profits, the trend toward stagnation and the dwindling of real wage and salary income has become worse. Permanent massive unemployment and inflation, greater pressures by the syndicates and imperialist governments on wage and price demands, and the intensification of exploitation and the reduction in social benefits are intensifying the social insecurity of the workers and employees. The economic and social contrasts are sharpening further in the capitalist countries.

EAST GERMANY

GDR'S LAMBERZ MEETS IRAQI CP DELEGATION

East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 20-21 Nov 76 p 2

[Text] East Berlin, ADN--Werner Lamberz, Politburo member and secretary of the SED Central Committee, received on Friday a delegation of the Iraqi Communist Party Central Committee led by Dr Rahim Ajina, Iraqi Communist Party Central Committee member. During its stay in the GDR the delegation acquainted itself with theoretical and practical aspects of the further formation of the developed socialist society in the GDR.

During the cordial meeting at the SED Central Committee building, Werner Lamberz informed the guests about the successful implementation of the Ninth SED Congress conclusions and about experiences in political-ideological work. On his part, Rahim Ajina spoke about the struggle of the Iraqi Communist Party for the further social development of Iraq. He expressed his happiness and satisfaction over the existing fraternal relations between the two parties, which are based on Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. Consultations were conducted on how to further develop cooperation in the area of ideology.

CSO: 2300

EAST GERMANY

JOINT DECISION ISSUED ON VOCATIONAL EDUCATION

East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0300 GMT 13 Dec 76 LD

[Text] Berlin--Apprentices in the GDR are expected to learn well and strive for vocational mastery and to take an active part in shaping the life of their state, thus preparing themselves for their communist future, and it is a priority task of all society to help them do this. This emerges from a decision published in Berlin Monday by the SED Politburo, the Council of Ministers, the Free German Trade Union Federation and the Free German Youth. The decision states that by 1980, 1 million boys and girls are to be trained as skilled workers. "This is a task of high social importance, and its implementation will determine the character of the working class in the coming decades."

One is able to proceed from good results in vocational training in the GDR, and it is pointed out in this context that the right of youth to work, education and recuperation has long been fully implemented. "Our socialist society furthers every young person in training and on the job, and guarantees their social security. Our youth know neither exploitation, nor unemployment, nor fear for livelihood."

The revision of teaching plans is being described as a decisive contribution toward raising the level of training. Theoretical teaching is to be linked more closely with social, vocational and industrial practice. Vocational practical teaching should mainly impart abilities and proficiencies which make possible high-quality work.

Even more attention must be paid to the high-quality shaping of leisure time. In this area "the demand of the apprentices for socially useful activities, intellectual and physical improvement, as well as pleasure and recuperation through culture, sport and tourism, is to be fulfilled to an ever-increasing extent." At present every fourth apprentice is living in an apprentice hostel.

The girls and boys are to be helped even more by vocational training to make a decision in choosing their vocation in such a way that social needs can be brought into harmony as much as possible with personal interests, tastes and abilities.

The decision points out that vocational training is being guided by the socialist state and carried out directly in enterprises and institutions and their vocational schools, and in municipal vocational schools, and that the enterprises, therefore, bear a full share of the responsibility for training.

CSO: 2300

BRIEFS

GDR AMBASSADOR TO TANZANIA--Dar Es Salaam--Hans-Juergen Weitz, Ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the GDR to the United Republic of Tanzania, presented his credentials on Thursday to Julius K. Nyerere, president of the United Republic of Tanzania. Ambassador Weitz passed on cordial greetings from Erich Honecker, SED Central Committee general secretary and GDR State Council Chairman. President Nyerere responded with equally cordial greetings. Current political questions, the traditional GDR solidarity with the African freedom struggle as well as the development of bilateral relations were discussed in the friendly talk that followed. [Text] [East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 26 Nov 76 p 2]

RED CROSS AID TO TURKEY--On 8 December 1976 the GDR DRK [German Red Cross] sent another aid shipment for the victims in the Turkish earthquake area via rail to Ankara. This shipment consisted of urgently needed winter clothing for children, and was financed by the solidarity fund of the GDR DRK and the evangelical church's "Bread for the World" campaign. In compliance with an appeal of the League of Red Cross Societies, the GDR DRK first rendered aid to the Turkish earthquake victims on 3 December 1976 with a shipment of large tents, blankets and outer clothing. [Text] [East Berlin BERLINER ZEITUNG in German 9 Dec 76 p 1]

CSO: 2300

YOUTH ASSOCIATION ADVOCATES BROADENING OF DISCUSSION

Ljubljana MLADINA in Slovenian 21 Oct 76 p 3

[Text] When leadership is changed, or rather when a new program is being adopted in any and particularly a sociopolitical organization and new goals are set, we traditionally review how well the agreed upon objectives for the previous period have been achieved. We review the planned objectives on one hand and the accomplishments and failures on the other. And the new goals are set on the basis of past performance.

And if we decide, as did the presidency of the ZSMS [League of Socialist Youth of Slovenia] Republic Committee at its 15 October 1976 session, that our review shall encompass the broadest possible domain in which young people live and work then this is certainly a matter where "clear accounts make good friends."

In brief, the first post-congress mandate of the ZSMS is about to expire. The drafts of the report and action program for the second mandate (published in a special supplement of our paper) are currently the subject of public debate. The procedure for establishing a list of candidates for the new leadership of the ZSMS Republic Committee--the presidency and secretariat is under way. There is none too much time available for the debate which is just beginning to take place since the ZSMS Republic Committee's session is only 1 month away. There is certainly time, however, for the proposals to reach the young in the basic organizations in accordance with the ZSMS Republic Committee's decision at its session last Friday. Enough time to receive a "grass roots" evaluation of the accomplishments and failures of the first 2 years after the congress.

This, of course, may not be possible if the action is approached in the same way as seems to be the usage in some organizations at the opstina level, or in the way we described in the draft evaluation.

The point is, that many agreements were not fulfilled in the past. At conferences in opstinas our most frequent excuse used to be the proliferating number of activities, poor staffing, and supposed difficulty for the action to reach the basic organizations. All too infrequently were

we ready to admit that our own faults, including the subjective ones, and our own ineptitude or even carelessness and lack of systematic approach in the organization of work were the real culprit.

This is probably one of the basic thoughts by which we should be guided in the coming period of the second mandate all the way to the 10th congress. That is to say: it is impossible to expect that we shall attain our goals if we do not act in a more responsible manner and if we do not clearly delineate our own responsibilities as well as those of each member of our organization.

The best evidence that these are truly our thoughts and convictions and that we indeed intend to deal effectively and get rid of some of our weaknesses will, we trust, become apparent in mid-November when our debate on conference documents is consolidated. When we establish that young people in schools, working organizations, local communities, social organizations and clubs, that were so seldom involved in the past, will indeed have participated in formulating the report and program for the coming period.

12070
CSO: 2800

SUPPORT OF PRIVATE INITIATIVE EXPLAINED

Ljubljana MLADINA in Slovenian 21 Oct 76 p 4

[Article by Vinko Blatnik]

[Text] In principle there is no doubt left that we need small scale enterprises. In practice and in the monetary credit, taxes, and investment policy, however, we are treating it as all other activities, despite its numerous specifics. First of all, its nature is supplementary in character, it has some minor drawbacks, demands a portion of the citizen's individual contributions, which as a rule are not adequate unless they are supplemented by loans. The technology, too, is different. However, instead of fostering the development of crafts and services so that prices could become normalized and the small business could become an important part of planned development, some officials of the opstina communities consider them to be only a means of uncontrolled enrichment of individual artisans, to be repressed by audits and fines.

At one of the meetings of the SZDLJ [Socialist Alliance of the Working People--SAWP] Federal Conference on Socioeconomic Movements and Development Policy it was emphasized that small business amounts to a mere 4 percent of the total economic activity, in contrast with other countries where this percentage is several times greater. There are entire regions without crafts, services or similar organizations. This situation is either to a large extent exploited by numerous craftsmen, who often lack qualifications, or requires that we import numerous small household products and other items which we could manufacture at home without having to make larger investments.

All estimates indicate that employment opportunities in this area are good both in the city as well as in the village. In spite of this the number of working organizations is decreasing both in the public and the private sector alike. Most often this is a consequence of poor taxation policy and other measures, from which comes more harm than good to the citizens and opstinas promulgating such measures. In evaluating these negative occurrences the federal conference points out how was this problem solved in our republic.

The social agreement on encouraging the development of small business adopted last year defines uniform procedures and documentary requirements for approving credit to small businesses. Private persons in the field of crafts and small industrial enterprises, service organizations of merchant and industrial organizations, crafts cooperatives employing up to 100 persons, independent operators of tourist and transportation enterprises, citizens renting rooms, craftsmen participating in organizations of associated labor, and so on, can expect to get a loan for the purchase of used domestic or foreign made equipment. This agreement means a thorough change in the small business policy. Small business is treated as part of the development program of each opstina, region, or republic. Through different forms of interaction between individual and associated labor a way of shaping new socioeconomic relationships in this domain is opening up and with it new opportunities for achieving greater efficiencies and developing specific forms of self-management. Still needed, however, are new republic regulations that would, in accordance with the provisions of the new constitution, control the independent individual work performed by citizens with their own resources.

In the recent debate in the federal conference of the SZDL it was also emphasized that SZDL organizations at all levels must advocate better conditions for development of small business and for different treatment than it has hitherto received. By this is meant such treatment as has been established in Slovenia by adoption of the above-mentioned agreement.

12070
CSO: 2800

PROPRIETY OF ANONYMOUS COMPLAINTS ARGUED

Anonymity Recondemned

Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 24 Oct 76 p 9

[Editorial by Slavoljub Djukic: "One More Answer"]

[Text] Judging by earlier experiences, we could have expected negative responses to our editorial "Answer to an Unknown Person" (10 October), in which we spoke out explicitly against anonymous letters. What is surprising is that absolutely all the readers who took the trouble to respond expressed disagreement with our condemnation of anonymity. The undersigned has been described as insincere--the possibility that he might be unaware of "our conditions" is excluded.

The considerable mail on this subject, principally from unknown writers, includes an ironic recommendation for our newspaper "not to hold back in the name of some principles" but rather "to publish an occasional 'interesting' letter from some anonymous person in the name of our day-to-day journalism." A column headed "From the Anonymous Corner" could be started, along with an introductory caveat to the effect that the editors are not responsible for these missives, do not agree with them, or something on that order. "In any case," asks the unknown reader, "is it not entirely irrelevant whether my name is Peca Petrovic, Paja Pavlovic or Anonymous Anonimovski?"

When anonymity is being justified, prevention of freedom of expression and the arbitrariness of individuals are mentioned first of all. The substance of this reproach is that we often make a judgment about the freedom of expression on the basis of our nominal social and political rights while forgetting the actual state of affairs in considerably undeveloped surroundings, in which both self-management and democracy are endangered. People are sometimes pushed "onto the other side of the wall," to a place that is not theirs, to where they do not wish to be on the basis of their profound ideological commitment, just because they dared to raise their voices or because their opinions were off the beaten track.

How can we explain, the question has been asked by readers, the almost complete absence of public reproach against certain institutions and influential individuals? Is it possible that absolutely everything is functioning so perfectly? We know, our readers add, that there are collectives in which the position of a person is almost the same today as 20 years ago. The form has changed, not the content.

Forcible banishment--firing from a factory or expulsion from the party--is avoided. Blatant brutalities are superfluous, and dangerous as well. A way devoid of risks has been found, in which "external force has been supplanted by internal compulsion." This is force without violence, as our readers say, in which the collective expression of opinion is a democratic illusion and pure formality. This is done with a delicate weave--all things are put in their rightful places, all principles formally respected, no one formally bypassed, the opinion publicly confirmed. Nonetheless, much of that is what influential cliques want according to their own taste and group interest. Self-management is usually violated by legalized means. It is violated, yet there are no violators, or else it is a collective violation, since the personal will of individuals has become collective, adopted at meetings, recorded in minutes, certified and confirmed by all signatures.

In such a situation, what is a person to do if he or she is concerned with the truth but lacks the opportunity to express it? Should one speak out bravely in the name of honorable principles without regard for the consequences, respecting the familiar principle that democracy is an act of courage and something that can be acquired only if conquered? Or should one simply keep quiet, minding one's own business? Is silence more moral than anonymous letter-writing?

The situation would be different, of course, if the person expressing his opinion could count on objectivity and local support. Unfortunately, one may be exposed to all sorts of unpleasantness due to severe cases of opportunism in quite a few collectives, in which people have learned from experience and keep quiet when they are supposed to, talk when they are supposed to, and groundlessly support the person "that they are supposed to"--usually the most influential and the most powerful. They have had occasion to be persuaded by examples in their vicinity that adaptation in life can be more decisive than ability on the job and that advancement is often easier through resourcefulness and support of the influential than through diligence, sincerity and creativeness.

What is a person to do if impelled by personal need and some sort of concept of honesty to resist injustice yet pushed by circumstances in the direction of refraining from a public expression of opinion? He or she may opt for anonymous protest, convinced that the powerful will be bothered in this way and that persons who have been silent under the influence of all sorts of forces will be encouraged.

This is the basic sense of the argument by which anonymity is explained and justified.

With all due respect to this way of thinking, we fear a severe misunderstanding. We are not saying that there are no reasons for anonymity but that nothing can be achieved by anonymity and that anonymity is of no use in the struggle for truth and democracy. We might even be able to prove that anonymity solidifies the position of the powerful and stimulates non-freedom. On what basis, in any case, does one believe that we shall achieve with a secret letter what we did not achieve with a "public letter?" Unless secrecy is a safety valve, in which case a serious conversation is out.

Another big mistake is the idea that everything anonymous is honest, truthful, yearning for justice, objective. Research shows that only a small proportion of unsigned missives are truthful, while the others are semi-truthful or ill-intentioned.

From the dark, a voice is speaking that may be telling the whole truth or perhaps half the truth or may be after revenge. We do not see the person, do not know his intentions, cannot enter into conversation with him. One person is allowed to accuse his or her neighbor without any responsibility, while it remains for the neighbor to demonstrate his rectitude. What kind of justice or democracy is that? This is contrary not only to legal principle but also to democratic and moral principle, on behalf of which the voice is presumably being raised.

Tragedies have occurred because of false complaints, a fact that ought to be kept in mind by honest people who--with the best of intentions--approve this type of criticism.

These are the reasons, aside from those which we cited in our editorial "Answer to an Unknown Person," why we do not believe that anonymity can serve truth and democracy, although we are not closing our eyes to the arguments in favor of anonymity.

One Who Spoke Out

Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 18, 19 Nov 76

[Article by Vasko Ivanovic and Bosko Pusionjic: "Gloomy Years of an Engineer"]

[18 Nov 76, p 13]

[Text] Given name and surname: Blazo Kecojevic.

Day, month, and year of birth: 25 August 1941.

Educational background: electrical engineer.

Data on schooling: completed elementary school in his native village on Pivska mountain (achievement excellent, conduct exemplary), secondary school at Niksic (achievement excellent, first in his class), Faculty of Electrical Engineering in Belgrade (achievement excellent).

Political affiliation: admitted to the League of Communists as a third-year pupil in the secondary school at Niksic.

Knowledge of languages: English, Russian and German (spoken and written).

Origin: from a peasant family, a partisan family. Kecojevic's father and two uncles were 1941 partisans in the Piva region. His uncle Mitar perished on the Sinjajevina mountain range in April of 1942 as deputy commander of the 2d shock battalion, Durmitor detachment.

Our note: we ask you to remember these facts about Engr Kecojevic's family. Why we cite these facts, why we mention the living and the dead, we shall explain when the time comes.

Data on employment: he accepted a position under an open competition 27 December 1967 with the Kotor division of Montenegro Electric Power Distribution as designer and chief of distribution.

No Complaints

Engr Kecojevic performed his specialized job conscientiously and expertly. There were no complaints.

He was notably active in sociopolitical organizations. In 1969, he was elected secretary of the LCY activist group at his place of employment. In 1970, he was elected to the Kotor opstina trade-union council. Between 1973 and 1975, he was deputy chairman of the assembly of working people at his place of employment.

Remarks: no remarks.

Along with the aforementioned duties, Engr Kecojevic spent a certain amount of time as a member of the disciplinary commission. During that interval, the disciplinary commission--Kecojevic included--made a risky move. The commission rejected as unfounded some disciplinary complaints filed by the director. For example, the chief accountant had made an official telephone call to the director, who was in Titograd on official business. The director felt that he had been unreasonably disturbed, that his valuable time had been wasted, so he reported the chief accountant to the disciplinary commission. The commission found that the call had been justified and rejected the director's complaint. The director, when so informed, promised that the disciplinary commission would be looking different and that his "blacklist" would be growing longer by five names (the number of commission members). The chief accountant apologized to the director for having telephoned him. He stayed in his job.

How It Began

In 1972, the Letter from the Executive Bureau and Comrade Tito was published.

Once the Letter had been published, Kecojevic called a party meeting in his capacity as secretary of his activist group. Of 35 LCY members, 11 came. Secretary Kecojevic gave the introductory speech, citing no specific examples. The ensuing discussion was like his speech: full of generalities, with frequent references to the fact that it is in the nature of human beings to err but that this should not be held against them. The meeting was not a success.

Up to that moment, Engr Kecojevic had had no troubles with the director (unless we count the incident with the disciplinary commission), or on the job in general, or in the party organization.

Kecojevic, alone this time, made another risky move. He drafted a written report for a party meeting. Encouraged by the Letter and by the climate created by the Letter, he depicted the situation in his enterprise as he saw it. Some of his judgments were quite severe. Some related to the director.

His friends told him "you are crazy" for the first time on that occasion. They were well-intentioned.

Kecojevic submitted his report to the Kotor opstina LCY committee prior to the meeting, which was the second following the Letter. Apparently a journalist came upon the material and published an article containing some of its judgments.

Up to the beginning of the second meeting, Kecojevic continued to be secretary of the activist group, and there were no complaints about his sociopolitical work. Nor about his work in the enterprise. This state of affairs lasted until he began to read his report.

Kecojevic Replaced

Our next observation: we are not in a position, nor is it our intention, to assess the extent to which judgments in the secretary's report may have been justified, if at all. We only point out the fact that the report was read out in the open, at a party meeting. The secretary was thus providing party activists with his view of circumstances in the collective. A discussion about these judgments and this state of affairs could have begun. But it did not begin!

A discussion about the state of affairs, about conditions, about the judgments embodied in the report did not begin. On the other hand, a discussion about Kecojevic did begin. It lasted several hours. Participants in the discussion ascertained that Kecojevic was an intriguer,

irresponsible, had always been, was a person who thought that only he was after the truth. The opinion was unanimous that not a single reproach in Kecojevic's "tract" against the director was valid. Quite the contrary, quite the contrary!

Such a person cannot be secretary of an activist group. Kecojevic was replaced right away, on the spot, at that very meeting.

One of his suddenly-discovered mistakes was said to have been his supplying information and judgments to a newspaperman without the knowledge of the basic LCY organization. Kecojevic declared that he had given the material to the opstina committee, not the newspaperman, but they did not believe a word of it. Nor did they in the next few years. Not a single word.

Decision With Annex

Under a new secretary, a new meeting was held on the same subject but with new material. The latter, which rejected all of Kecojevic's criticisms and reproaches, was adopted, along with a decision to seek strict party accountability for former secretary Kecojevic, who had so long misled the members as to his true nature, intentions and ambitions.

The decision had an annex, as it were. The complaint against Kecojevic was not going to be filed with his basic organization (until that time, communists in this enterprise were operative in basic LCY organizations in their places of residence). Instead, it would be sent to the basic LCY organization in the enterprise. There was no such organization at that time, of course, but it was going to be established.

Indeed, a basic LCY organization at the enterprise was eventually established. At its first meeting, the decision to establish it was read out. At the second meeting, Kecojevic was expelled from the LCY.

Kecojevic appealed his expulsion to the opstina LCY committee's commission for statutory matters. On 24 October 1973, the commission voted unanimously to revoke the penalty and return Kecojevic to LCY membership.

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In the meantime, between the expulsion and Kecojevic's return to LCY membership, the following events had been occurring.

1. An employee of the opstina administration called in Kecojevic and advised him to leave the director in peace, to accept his expulsion, otherwise.... Otherwise, this employee possessed material in the form of a witness' statement that Kecojevic had spoken pejoratively about the Letter. The employee had written the statement in person, since Kecojevic had spoken that way in front of him. Kecojevic told him to do whatever he wanted with the statement, which was pure fiction. The employee then filed his complaint with the secretariat for internal affairs of Montenegro, which rejected it as unfounded, unproven and of no merit.

2. At approximately the same time, certain individuals began making inquiries in Kecojevic's native region as to his family's bearing during the war. As we have already noted, they found that Kecojevic's father and uncles were partisans in 1941, and so forth.

3. Next, the local revenue administration fined Kecojevic 1,500 dinars for renting rooms to tourists without registering. The decision was revoked by the secretariat for the economy of Montenegro and by the republic-level magistrate as unfounded. The unregistered tourists had been relatives who stayed in his apartment overnight.

The statutory commission of the opstina committee, as we have already noted, revoked the basic organization's expulsion of Kecojevic 24 October 1973. Kecojevic obtained a decree to this effect in April of 1974.

Basic LCY Organizations Fails To Respect Decision

The meeting of the basic LCY organization at which the statutory commission's decision to return Kecojevic to membership was read took place 2 April 1974. The chairman and one member of the statutory commission attended part of the meeting.

The basic organization then took a decision to the effect that the statutory commission's decision was invalid and forbade Kecojevic to attend meetings of the basic organization. Actually, decisions of an opstina committee's statutory commission are binding on the entire LCY.

Prison for Kecojevic

At that point, some of Kecojevic's friends spoke to him for the second time: "You see what they can do! Didn't we tell you that you were crazy?"

The basic organization, besides forbidding Kecojevic to attend meetings, appealed the decision of the Kotor opstina committee's statutory commission--which it had never respected--to the statutory commission of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Montenegro. Kecojevic also appealed to the Central Committee and to the president of the Central Committee personally.

The answer soon came back: the statutory commission's decision stood. No one was allowed to forbid Kecojevic to attend meetings. The Central Committee's statutory commission would promptly consider both appeals.

In early 1975, in the meantime, Kecojevic was brought before the opstina court in Kotor to answer four criminal charges, three filed by the director of his enterprise in Kotor and one by the local public prosecutor. The director accused Kecojevic of having slandered him at a meeting of the LCY activist group in the enterprise, in Kecojevic's written appeal against expulsion, and in the criminal complaint filed with the public prosecutor's office. The public prosecutor accused Kecojevic of a false complaint

against the director. In the latter instance, Kecojevic had stated that the director had given 5,000 dinars to help a worker with an illness in his household, without the approval of an organ of self-management, and had justified the gift with an official order. Kecojevic has continued to regard this as a demagogic move by the director, holding that the worker could have been helped in an entirely legal way, for example via the trade union.

Kecojevic was tried and judged. He was sentenced, 10 September 1975, to 4 months in jail. The verdict of the opstina court was mimeographed at the expense of the enterprise in 150 copies and handed out to the members of the collective. So that they could study it thoroughly. Kecojevic appealed to the circuit court. The case is still before that court.

For the third time, Kecojevic's friends spoke to him: "Didn't we tell you that they can do everything and how powerful they are. You are certainly crazy if you could rebel against them alone."

Central Committee Returns Kecojevic to LCY

In early July of 1975, the Central Committee's statutory commission decided the appeal before it by revoking Kecojevic's penalty and returning him to membership in the LCY with a reprimand for having provided the newspaperman with information on the situation in the enterprise without consulting the party organization.

Somewhere around here, if not before, if it had to happen at all, this sorrowful tale ought to be coming to an end. But it is not! The end is not even in sight.

This history, like real history, has several currents. While the party and judicial charges and the tourist transgressions were being handled, disciplinary proceedings were also under way. In 1973, the basic LCY organization had decided that Kecojevic ought to bear disciplinary consequences as well as party consequences. In September of that year, accordingly, the director of the enterprise filed a complaint with the disciplinary commission alleging a violation of job discipline by Kecojevic under Article 9. After a 4-day discussion, the disciplinary commission decided to penalize Kecojevic with a final reprimand. The assembly of the working people, to which Kecojevic appealed, decided in April of 1974 not to consider the appeal and to cancel the director's complaint as outdated.

In late 1974, at meetings which Kecojevic was not allowed to attend even though the statutory commission had returned him to LCY membership, the basic organization decided four times to expel him from the working organization. On that basis, the director renewed his complaint at the beginning of 1975. Proceedings before the disciplinary commission started anew.

Back to Beginning

At that time, Kecojevic was still deputy president of the assembly of the working people. He was removed 6 March 1975, a month after the director had renewed his complaint, by 56 votes out of a total of 116 persons employed. Kecojevic claimed that three more votes were needed for expulsion. The workers' control commission responded that it could not determine how many votes were needed for expulsion.

Acting on the director's renewed complaint, the disciplinary commission decided 3 to 1 to suggest expulsion from the working organization. Kecojevic next appealed to the opstina inspectorate, which refused to act on the grounds that it lacked inspectors for such serious cases. The chief labor inspector of Montenegro, acting on Kecojevic's complaint, disallowed the expulsion as unfounded pending a valid judicial decree.

Friends, whose ranks had thinned considerably, came to Kecojevic for the fourth time and told him: "Why did you need all of this, man? You had a good position, fine pay, a nice apartment. You're really crazy!" Indeed, Kecojevic did possess a good salary, a nice apartment, and a good position. He was satisfied so far as that was concerned.

On the basis of a ruling by Luka Kaludjerovic, the chief inspector, Kecojevic was returned to his job as of 2 July 1976.

There is seemingly no end to the story. By now, Kecojevic's apartment resembles an archive, full of shelves, files, copies, appeals, decrees, the most modern technical devices. After all that he has experienced, he reflects carefully before opening his mouth--even at a party gathering--as to what might be used against him for a new accusation along whatever lines: party, job, disciplinary commission, tourism, whatever.

An Insignificant Case

In Kotor, we sought out the secretary of Kecojevic's basic LCY organization, electrical engineer Djordje Djurovic. We found him. The effort was necessary but futile. To our suggestion that he present his own opinion and that of his basic organization concerning this case, secretary Djurovic responded that such opinions exist and that he is naturally aware of them. However, he feels that the case is overblown and almost completely lacking in significance. Absolutely lacking, so far as the public is concerned! Yes, in his opinion, Kecojevic does not know what he is doing. Would a wise man start a whole uproar, bringing troubles down upon himself and others, without any need, a man who had everything settled from job to housing? No, the secretary does not wish to say. He does not regard that as useful, quite the opposite.

Our final observation, for the moment: without going into an appraisal of the views and criticisms pronounced by Kecojevic, without judging their

correctness, we wish only to recollect two matters, the opinions and criticisms in question. Kecojevic spoke out publicly, at a meeting of communist activists. At the same meeting, by the same procedure, any inaccurate opinions and criticisms could have been rebutted. Until that meeting, there had been no complaints about Engr Kecojevic's work either on the job or within the party. Since then, this sorrowful tale has been unwinding--for years. And the end is not yet in sight.

CSO: 2800

END