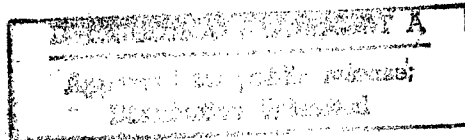


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East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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12 March 1984

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POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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[Excerpts from address by Kurt Hager, SED Politburo member and Central Committee secretary, to SED Central Committee Social Sciences Conference held 15-16 December 1983 in East Berlin. A translation of additional excerpts from the address, published in the East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, is published in this JPRS report]

[Text] The Developed Socialist Society

Next year we are going to celebrate the 35th anniversary of the founding of the GDR. The SED Central Committee theses for the Karl Marx Year assert: "When the workers and farmers state was born and the socialist revolution took place in the GDR, socialism found a solid footing in the land of Karl Marx. In the center of Europe, at the frontier between two antagonistic social systems, the GDR is fulfilling its internationalist duty in close alliance with the Soviet Union and the other countries in the socialist community of states."*

The GDR, as one knows, after the antifascist-democratic transformation, started with a planned construction of socialism. In the 1960's the transition from capitalism to socialism was completed. Socialist production relations had won, the political rule of the workers class in alliance with the other working people had been consolidated, and profound changes had taken place in social consciousness.

The Eighth SED Congress drew the inference from the development since the start of socialist construction and resolved to shape the developed socialist society.

The SED Party Program, unanimously adopted in 1976 by the Ninth SED Congress, affirms that our party always lets itself be guided by "doing everything for

*"SED Central Committee Theses for the Karl Marx Year 1983," EINHEIT, No 1, 1983, p 16.

the good of the people and the interests of the workers class and all other working people. It finds its task in further shaping the developed socialist society. Its goal is to establish the communist society."*

The scientific prescience by Marx, Engels and Lenin, that communist society forms in two qualitatively different phases of development, has turned out to be perfectly correct. Marxism-Leninism has explained as a matter of principle that first it is necessary to establish the lower developmental phase of communist society, socialism, before the transition can later be made to the higher developmental phase, communism. For explicable reasons, however, Marx, Engels and Lenin did not say how long the lower developmental phase would last. Least of all did they claim socialism would be only a brief transitional stage in the formation of the new society. They referred only to the crucial criterion of economic maturity that would have to be met before society could move on to the higher phase and bring communism to realization. They found that criterion in that developmental stage of the productive forces and, hence, of social wealth, that would make possible truly moving into the communist distribution principle, "From each according to his abilities--to each according to his needs."

Over what time frames the new society could achieve this degree of economic maturity, that obviously depends on a large number of objective and subjective conditions which are themselves changing in the course of historic development, so that Marx, Engels and Lenin could not have intended to say anything specific about it. The concrete ways, the suitable forms and means and the historic terms for the construction of communist society, based on that theoretical foundation and on practical experiences, have to be determined, worked out and constantly made more specific by the Marxist-Leninist parties. This precisely amounts to the great creative achievement by the CPSU and the other Marxist-Leninist parties in the socialist countries, including our own party.

In the outcome of the careful analysis and generalization of historic experiences in the construction of socialism, the collective theoretical efforts of the fraternal Marxist-Leninist parties brought out the conception of the developed socialist society. It is a creative extension of the views of Marx, Engels and Lenin about the construction of communist society and fully conforms with their basic realizations.

The shaping of the developed socialist society is an inevitable and lengthy process in the development of communist society and forms the main substance of its first phase. This process embraces penetrating qualitative and quantitative changes in the political, economic, social and intellectual-cultural fields. In this long period of its historic development, the advantages and driving forces of socialism will fully come into their own. Step by step the demand raised by Lenin will be fulfilled, to achieve a higher labor productivity than capitalism. That is ultimately decisive for the world historic triumph of the new social order.

*"Programm der Sozialistischen Einheitspartei Deutschlands," Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1976, p 5.

Basic criteria and tasks in the shaping of the developed socialist society aimed at elevating the people's material and cultural standard of living are the unity of economic and social policy, the all-inclusive transition to an intensively expanded reproduction and the organic combination between the scientific-technical revolution and the advantages of socialism. Essential prerequisites, to the perfection of which we have to contribute through our everyday efforts, are the growing leadership role of our party in all sectors and the working people's increasing social activity, collectivity and awareness.

The conception of the developed socialist society forms the solid theoretical foundation of our social strategy. Yet it is by no means all complete but requires further creative development in conformity with newly gained experiences and a changed social reality. This is a complicated and lengthy historic process of experiences and insights which steadily provides us with new ideas that have to be tried out, tested and, if need be, even revised in practical politics if they prove inadequate.

As the SED Party Program pointed out, it is important to shape the developed socialist society as an organic whole: For a high and steady economic performance development, for ensuring our defense capacity and for maintaining and gradually raising the people's standard of living, it is imperative always to take into account the interactions between politics, economics and ideology, and between the economic sectors of society and the sectors of science, culture, public education and health, national defense and the social sector. And we always proceed from that on the economic performance development depend the tempo of our overall social progress and the political stability of our society. They determine which tasks we can undertake in the cultural, social and other fields. Among the historic specifics in the developed socialist society also is, however, that the tempo, scope and level of economic development are more affected, and more directly than before, by the achievements in noneconomic sectors.

We deliberately use the term "shaping" of the developed socialist society. For one reason, to express that what matters is to shape, mold, bring into full development all characteristics, all aspects of socialist society. And then also, to make clear that socialist society is a constantly further developing society, a vivid, changing organism in motion. This was excellently expressed in Erich Honecker's remark, "the attained is not the attainable."

Lenin, who after the triumph of the October Revolution drafted the guideline for the construction of socialism in the Soviet Union, also pointed to the variety of forms the dictatorship of the proletariat would assume, socialism would assume. In his book, "'Left-Wing' Communism, an Infantile Disorder," he wrote that as long as national and governmental differences existed among the nations and countries, which would very very long survive even the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat on the world scale, that sort of applying the fundamental principles of communism was needed "in which these principles are properly modified in detail and correctly adapted to the differences in nations and nation states, properly applied to them."*

*V. I. Lenin, "Werke" (Works), Vol 31, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1959, p 79.

Universal inevitabilities are in effect in the construction of socialism--in whichever country it takes place--that are also the criteria, the yardstick, for analyzing a socialist country's state of development. They include: The political rule of the workers class led by its Marxist-Leninist party and in alliance with the other working people, the public ownership in the means of production, the planned development of the economy, the creation of a material-technical base in line with the most advanced status of science and technology, socialist democracy as the broadest form of the working people's actually sharing in the running of all public affairs, a developed national defense planned on a high level, the shaping of a socialist ideology and culture and the development of socialist personality, international relations of friendship, cooperation and mutual assistance with other socialist states, solidarity with the peoples' struggle for national independence and social progress, and a policy of peace, detente and peaceful coexistence, which includes the protection of the socialist accomplishments.

It is imperative to control this dialectics between the general and the particular at all times. We must neither ignore nor overemphasize national particulars. We must neither deny the universal inevitabilities in socialist construction nor turn them into a scheme applicable everywhere in the same way.

A crucial precondition for the growing might of socialism is the further consolidation of the unity and cohesiveness of the community of socialist states. The collaboration with the USSR and the other countries in the socialist community is the foundation for our security and the essential guarantee for the successful implementation of our social strategy.

As the joint declaration pointed out on the occasion of the visit of our party and state delegation, headed by Comrade Erich Honecker, in the USSR in May 1983, what matters is to deepen the economic and scientific-technical cooperation between the GDR and the Soviet Union and strengthen the reciprocal cooperation and exchange of products at top international standards. The basic direction is determined by the GDR-USSR economic specialization and cooperation program up to 1990. It envisages for both states, on a mutually advantageous basis, to combine their resources and potentials for jointly solving great tasks pointing to the far distant future.

With the other CEMA member countries as well, the GDR is going to deepen and render still more effective in the future its economic and scientific-technical cooperation. Special importance attaches there to generalizing the rich positive experiences the CEMA member countries have gathered.

This process leads to further rapprochement among the socialist countries which, as the 26th CPSU Congress pointed out, does not cancel the national specifics and historical particulars in the socialist countries. From this results the task the communist parties in the socialist countries have to take into account in their strategy the dialectic of the universal inevitabilities in socialist construction and their creative application in accordance with the specifics in any given country while making use of all the advantages and accomplishments that result from the already achieved developmental level of socialism. "The manifold experience of the fraternal socialist countries,

not coinciding in all points, supplies rich material for being theoretically processed."*

Each socialist country has a share in the enrichment from the great store of experiences. At the same time we know that the many different approaches to the solution of problems are themselves subject to practical tests and do not all stand up to such tests. And that precisely confirms our realization that socialism is a vivid, young, developing organism. In that we find the strength, vitality and development capability of socialist society.

The social strategy our party has elaborated does well in practical life, as the results of our policy show. Yet the successes achieved under difficult conditions do not blind us to the tasks still ahead of us, the complicated developmental problems and the difficulties we have to cope with. There is much that still does not satisfy us because it satisfies neither our needs nor our possibilities.

This confronts the Marxist-Leninist social sciences with the great and responsible task to explore still more deeply, thoroughly and all-inclusively this socialist society of ours as a unified social organism with its functioning mode, developmental tendencies, inevitabilities, contradictions and driving forces, so as to perfect the theoretical foundation and sets of instruments for our social strategy.

The 10th SED Congress could take as an accepted fact that the GDR is successfully developing along the path charted by our party program. Our program stands up well in life. Because of that, those tasks could be issued at the 10th party congress that conform with the requirements for the 1980's. By that we mainly mean all that which follows from the advances in our socialist society. We also take into account those requirements and conditions that are arising from the intensification of the international class struggle situation.

An outstanding example for how our party has analyzed all experiences gathered thus far in the implementation of our program and drawn basic inferences from it for the path ahead is its orientation to all-inclusive intensification. The 10th SED Congress was able to derive appropriate implications even on the basis of results thus far in boosting labor productivity and reducing energy and material consumption and making better use of installations. The consistent orientation to economic development by way of intensification goes hand in hand with the elaboration of the 10 key points in the economic strategy for the 1980's. That this economic strategy could be so formulated in its uniformity and cohesion was the outcome of the party's theoretical work and practical efforts. The seventh Central Committee session has now set down the new criteria arising for intensifying the struggle for the implementation of the economic strategy. The important conclusion was drawn that the GDR, with its mental potential and material resources, was in the position to bring about the needed performance improvement so as to pursue successfully the main task course in the future as well. The intensification process has to become all-inclusive; a stable foundation has to be ensured for its long-term development.

*Yuri Andropov, "The Doctrine of Karl Marx and Some Matters of Socialist Construction in the USSR," "Ausgewahlte Reden und Schriften" (Selected Speeches and Essays), Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1983, pp 280-281.

So our party, proceeding from the theoretical insights of Marxism-Leninism, constantly analyzes the social and especially the economic developmental processes and draws from it new theoretical and practical conclusions for its further work.

The successful development of the GDR as a socialist workers and farmers state was the result of tough political, economic and ideological class struggles. To the extent that we successfully implement our social strategy, the enemy's ideological attacks on the accomplishments, essential features and driving forces of socialism are increasing. Imperialist forces and also representatives of a more bourgeois-liberal course and ideologues of social reformism, right-wing revisionism and left-wing radicalism more and more indulge the role not only of critics of socialism, but also as "advisors."

In that sense, there are those forces appearing today which proceed from the assessment that socialism can no longer simply be "eliminated" or be pushed back through open confrontation. Therefore they are designing such concepts and proposals placed under the sign of a presumed "improvement" of socialism and meant to effect a counterrevolutionary "evolution" within socialism over the long run. More frequently than ever the claim of an alleged crisis in socialism shows up, which should have to be overcome through reforms--in the economy or in political life.

Understandable it is that bourgeois thought under the pressure from capitalist social relations only revolves around the crisis now. Thus even developmental problems of socialism, looked at through the glasses of a bourgeois sense of crisis, become crisis symptoms. But when they then offer means and ways of the capitalist economy or bourgeois democracy as "improvements" of socialism, those "advisors" are quickly disclosed as enemies of socialism and contenders for the capitalist exploiter society.

As we are living under conditions kept open to the world, we shall of course aggressively oppose the constant influence of enemy propaganda and incessant slander of socialism. The 35th GDR anniversary gives us an opportunity to refute the enemy's babbling about a presumed crisis in socialism effectively. Risen from the ruins, the GDR has a glorious path behind it, thanks to working class unity, our Marxist-Leninist party leadership, the firm alliance among all classes and strata, and the bonds with the land of Lenin and all progressive forces in the world. It has become a stable, internationally respected, socialist state with an important economy, science and technology, education and culture and a reliable national defense. Our ideology is marked by the optimism of the builders of a new social order and by the certitude that the great goal charted by our party program is sure to be achieved.

The pervasive political, economic, social and intellectual-cultural changes in the life of our people and of each individual attest to the magnitude of the historic accomplishments, of which we sometimes lose sight in our working day because still inadequately resolved problems and deficiencies still exist but also because by now they are taken for granted.

We have every reason for being proud of what has been accomplished in the 35 years since the founding of the GDR. There is no other period in German history where such fundamental historic changes were made in so brief a time. What the GDR working people achieved in a few decades under our party's leadership, especially thanks to the implementation of the eighth, ninth and tenth party congress resolutions, is unique.

Our accomplishments strengthen the love for our socialist fatherland and the citizens' bonds with the workers and farmers state. Socialist patriotism, expressing itself in countless deeds in strengthening and defending the GDR, is at once inseparable from proletarian and socialist internationalism, from the friendship with the Soviet Union and the other socialist states, and from anti-imperialist solidarity.

Driving Forces of Socialism

Socialism in the brief historic period of its existence has achieved enormous accomplishments expressive of qualitatively new social impulses in action. They arose and developed on the basis of the socialist production relations and their dialectical interaction with the productive forces.

Instead of profit, of capitalist competition, social insecurity and fear for one's subsistence, socialism produces such impulses as the planned and solidary cooperation among producers within the social reproduction process, socialist competition, socialist ideology and awareness of action, social security, the conformity of basic interests in all classes and strata with the social, collective and individual interests, and the materialization of humanistic goals. to mention but a few. These impulses, marked by the socialist production relations, are superior in their social quality to the impulses of capitalism.

The new quality of its impulses exhibits the deeply humane character of socialism. The impulses of capitalism, such as profit and competition, ultimately work against the working people because they lead to an intensification of exploitation and mass unemployment, the destruction of men's basis of subsistence, and to deformation and alienation in human relations. The impulses of socialism, in contrast, demand and nurture the personality development of the citizens in socialist society, their social security and their equal, comradely cooperation.

The impulses and values of socialism cannot be separated from each other. Out of the unfolding of impulses material and intellectual values arise which, once they become solid socialist value concepts, again become motives for human action, lending further effectiveness to those impulses.

Among the historic peculiarities of the socialist impulses is that they must be tapped and brought to effect consciously. Understanding and deliberately using the impulses of socialist society is a crucial Marxist-Leninist party task.

Our party, which as a fighting league of equalminded freely chosen unites the progressive members of the working class, the cooperative farmers, the intelligentsia and the other working people, nourishes the unfolding of impulses in that it (1) works out a correct social and economic strategy, through the

creative application of Marxism-Leninism, based on the objective laws of social development and the internal and external conditions for its effect, and mobilizes the masses for implementing it; (2) directs the entire policy at realizing the purpose of socialism, the well-being of the people, and the enforcing of the interests of the workers class and of all working people; and (3) this way constantly reinforces the relationship of trust between the party and the people as the most important political driving force, turning that into the basis for the effectiveness of all other political and ideological impulses.

The party offers the working people a clear orientation; it awakens trust in one's own strength and in the optimism needed for coping with many a task that initially appeared indissoluble. The experience of our country, of the Soviet Union and of other socialist states is this: Socialist society is possible only under Marxist-Leninist party leadership. That is why the enemy directs his main assaults against that leading force. The social scientists have the important task to help further develop the Leninist doctrine on the party and aggressively refute our enemies' slanderous "arguments" against the party.

The socialist state also engages in the unfolding of the socialist impulses. Through its constitution, its elected organs and its efficient apparatus, it embodies the unification of all political and social working people's forces under the leadership of the working class and its party toward an exemplary and organized realization, according to plan, of their common basic interests. It ensures the necessary conditions for the extensive rights and duties of the citizens and, hence, for the development and unfolding of the people's creative activity. It is the major instrument for the reliable protection of the socialist social order and the peaceful life of the citizens as well as for the development, organization and safeguarding of an optimum effectiveness of the socialist impulses.

For the socialist state to be able to fulfil these tasks with success, it is necessary constantly to provide for its all-round strengthening. It is necessary to develop the management by the state of the economy and other sectors of public life, on the central and local levels, and to make it so expert that the impulses for economic and social progress can develop still more rapidly and effectively. That above all includes combining our basic political issues with territorial and communal policy concerns, a responsible activity by the people's representations and their deputies, and a confident relationship between the state organs and the citizens, which expresses itself in the promoting of their initiatives and in the careful processing of all concerns, recommendations, suggestions and criticism. Where one acts according to these principles, the success of official activity becomes apparent, as documented only recently in the reports from the communities of Fehrbellin and Wittgensdorf before the GDR State Council.

For the all-round consolidation of our socialist political and legal order and the greater social effectiveness of our socialist democracy, the proven constructive and confident cooperation between our party, as the leading political force of GDR society, and the other friendly parties and social mass organizations in the Democratic Bloc and in the National Front of the GDR is of crucial importance. This cooperation takes place while the full political and organizational sovereign responsibility of all the components of our political system

is strictly observed. It combines the political forces of the people in relying on the identity of basic interests of the classes and strata. That is an effective impulse for social progress in our country. At the same time, socialist democracy is a great accomplishment, an inalienable value of socialism.

Socialist Democracy

Socialist democracy expresses itself first and foremost in the citizens' responsible and active participation in the drafting, implementation and supervision of social and official decisions. That socialist democracy assures the GDR citizens of a great number of political, economic, social and cultural rights is an accepted fact inherent in the socialist revolution. These are human rights or, more accurately, guaranteed social facts most of which are unattainable under capitalist conditions. One only need recall here the right to work and the assurance of full employment, the right to education and the assurance of skilled vocational training, the right to adequate housing and its implementation through the comprehensive housing construction program of the eighth party congress, the right to recreation and health care, the welfare for the sick and the aged, and the extensive material efforts undertaken to bring all that about.

But first and foremost one must refer to the basic political right to being extensively involved in the shaping of the political, economic and cultural-intellectual life of society. Not only is it true that the comprehensive social and cultural rights, men's guaranteed social security, and their freedom from the fear of losing their jobs are necessary conditions for their active and unrestrained implementation of their political rights. It is equally true that the conscious and massive implementation of this fundamental constitutional political right to codetermination, mainly with regard to rapidly increasing our economic efficiency and to developing socialist modes of conduct and inter-human relations, their active participation in the protection of peace and of the socialist fatherland, constitutes a decisive guarantee for ensuring the social rights and their material foundations on a permanent basis.

In the theory and practice of contemporary capitalism, democracy primarily is a system of legal rules to keep the masses away from running the state and any significant influence on official policy. What we see precisely at this time is how in the FRG and other West European states the protest by millions against deploying new U.S. missiles is being dismissed by the formal argument that they do not want to "yield to the pressure from the street." In the bourgeois U.S. "democracy" it is being regarded as normal that only 26 percent of the electorate elected Reagan president and many millions of citizens kept from voting out of antipathy to the prevailing parties and the manipulation of public opinion. In the FRG, whose politicians keep talking about their "libertarian constitutional state," it is considered normal that the 5-percent clause leaves many voters unrepresented in the Bundestag.

Bourgeois democracy is being abused for maintaining the power of the ruling imperialist monopolies and carrying out an inhuman policy. Every true democratic sentiment is constantly watched with suspicion and skepticism. Democracy is curtailed, narrowed down or fully eliminated when the working classes insert their own social interests and demands into the rights they themselves have won, making a claim on them for themselves and placing in doubt the prevailing power relations. Typical of the imperialist government system is that

terms like democracy and freedom are shamelessly and sophistically being misused. Even the campaign of suppression against the national liberation movements is being conducted in the name of democracy and freedom. That turns the meaning of such terms upside down. Just now we have seen a drastic example of it in the U.S. intervention in Grenada.

In contrast, socialist democracy, the entire political system of socialism in its multifaceted democratic vitality, is the means for a political and social unfolding of strength, for ensuring the freedom of the working masses. That lends a fundamental importance to confidently and constructively conferring on all basic issues and also on the concrete issues of everyday political, economic, social and cultural-intellectual life with the working people. Only remember the extensive discussions on the 1984 national economic plan or the parents' advisory council elections. This active partnership on all levels and in all sectors governs the relationship of trust between the state and the citizens, consolidates that relationship and is the way for state and society to be linked ever more closely in socialism. It also is the best way to knock down bureaucratism wherever it appears.

Socialist democracy also is economically potent because it emphatically affects dedication and the pleasure in work. It is culturally potent because it lifts the people's thoughts and actions above the horizon of their personal sphere into social responsibility. It is the major trend in which socialist state power is developing further.

The Use of the Dialectics

Marxist-Leninist theory is nothing finished or preassigned for once and for all. The social sciences develop through a constant learning process that does not preclude errors and misjudgments. Already in the "Communist Manifesto," Marx and Engels wrote: "The theoretical conclusions of the communists . . . merely express, in general terms, actual relations springing from an existing class struggle, from a historical movement going on under our very eyes."* In vivid interaction with actual relations the theory also develops, detaches itself from obsolete theses and enriches its own arsenal.

Marxist-Leninist social theory acts as a society-forming force, as the theoretical foundation for working out concrete strategies to solve complex problems, be it problems affecting all states on the globe or problems of socialist integration, or problems in rendering concrete our party's social strategy on the national, regional, local or enterprise level. The growing interlinkage among all social processes, the greater dimensions and speed in social changes, and the need to take long-term effects of decisions into account present a challenge to the social sciences. That mainly amounts to ever more effectively applying Marxism-Leninism, especially its method of dialectical materialism, as a powerful tool for an all-round and deep examination of complex and dynamic social processes while reinforcing the alliance with the representatives of the natural and technical sciences and medicine.

*Marx/Engels, "Werke," Vol 4, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1959, p 475.

Vladimir Ilyich Lenin once called the dialectics, "the doctrine on all-round and contradictory historic development," the "living soul" of Marxism,* and to Friedrich Engels, the materialist dialectics was "our best working tool and sharpest weapon."** Do the social scientists know how to handle adequately this instrument as the theoretical-methodological principle in their research? To that question attention should be given in all science councils, departments and institutions.

The materialist dialectics demands the disclosure of the interconnections and interactions of the various aspects of change and development and of the impulses basic to that development, the internal and external contradictions in social processes. That also applies to the research into the socialist society.

The shaping of the developed socialist society, as we know, does not follow a straight line. Many difficulties have to be overcome, and new problems always again have to be resolved which arise from changing internal and external conditions. This is a process in which a dialectical unity is formed by economic, social, intellectual and cultural changes.

This process has mighty impulses toward development and great dynamics; the internal development as well as the conflict with imperialism at the international scale keep asking for new solutions which make further social progress possible. Such new solutions, be it in economic planning and management, in science and technology, or in foreign policy or foreign economic relations, often call for a departure from previously used modes of work and thought, or forms and methods of organization. The dynamics of socialist development is an inevitable process. It depends on the working of objective contradictions inherent in things and phenomena and acting as impulse for social change and development.

To take an example: The introduction of microelectronics and robot technology in production makes possible a rapid increase in labor productivity. Yet it brings with it also technological changes and changes in working conditions, in labor organization. They must be adapted to the requirements of the new technology. That demands conviction from the working people and often coping with a great number of material and technical problems. At the same time it is important to use the new technology from the outset in such a way that it improves the working and living conditions and can facilitate and better organize the labor. It depends on the readiness of the work collectives, their dedication and initiative, whether and how quickly the new technology leads to maximum effectiveness. In the construction of the means of rationalization the brigades keep running into this contradiction between the demands of the new technology and customary habits and modes of working. Coping with it comes after the need for the rationalization has been thoroughly clarified through the concerted actions of the working people.

*V. I. Lenin, "Werke," Vol 17, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1962, p 23.

**Marx/Engels, "Werke," Vol 21, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1962, p 293.

As Lenin emphasized, the doctrine on contradiction is part of the dialectics "as the doctrine on development in its most complete and deepest form, rid of all one-sidedness,"* as one of its most important elements. Dialectic development, among other things, as Lenin remarked, is marked by "internal developmental impulses, triggered by the contradiction, the collision between various forces and tendencies that have an impact on a given body or are at work within the confines of a given phenomenon or within a given society."**

Socialism is not an organism free of contradiction. Its development is marked by the genesis, motion and resolution of objective contradictions. When the transition period from capitalism to socialism came to an end, when socialist production relations triumphed completely, and with the shaping of the developed socialist society, the character of the social contradictions changed. Capitalist class society depending on the exploitation of man by man is abolished, and so is the unmerciful struggle, the antagonistic contradiction between mutually hostile classes. There is a conformity of interests and close cooperation among the workers class, the cooperative farmers, the intelligentsia and the other social strata in socialism. Contradictions resulting in the developmental process, in the search for new solutions and their applications, between social and individual interests are nonantagonistic in character.

From the mere fact that contradictions in developed socialism no longer are antagonisms derives the great advantage for the party and the state to be able consciously to affect and direct these contradictions in their motion and unfolding, provide suitable forms of motion for them and use them systematically as development impulses.

Contradictions in socialism are nothing negative, are no defects. Were we to think they are, it might come about that contradictions are not spotted, or are disguised, when they arise, which might possibly exacerbate them. We are letting ourselves be guided by the Marxist-Leninist theory and method which consider objective contradictions as a developmental law of any society, and so also of the socialist society, and demand of the social sciences their thorough study, the disclosure of what these often interwoven contradictions effect, and their resolution in terms of further social progress, of further strengthening socialism.

Social contradictions arise in the active interchange between the subject and the object, the subjective and the objective. Without men's practical activity there would be no social contradictions either. But men always make their history on the basis of material conditions they have found to be there. In affecting them, in changing them by what they do and thereby causing processes of social motion, they are bound to produce social contradictions as well. Socialism resolves such contradictions the constructive way. That calls for criticism and self-criticism, hard work to do away deficiencies arising and, if need be, even for administrative measures. Wrong management decisions, lack of rapport between the manager and the working people, or lack of understanding or selfish attitudes by collectives of individuals can cause contradictions that require resolute action of the party organizations, trade unions

*V. I. Lenin, "Werke," Vol 19, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1962, p 4.

**Ibid., Vol 21, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1960, p 43.

and the youth association. Such conflicts, caused by subjective errors, can be resolved in a nonantagonistic manner, i. e. through comradely cooperation of all involved. The yardstick for settling such problems is the conformity among social, collective and individual interests.

Nonantagonistic contradictions are the predominant type of contradictions in the developed socialist society. Antagonistic contradictions find no social basis in this society. This does not preclude the need the society might face to resort to other means than convincing with regard to individuals or groups behaving in an antisocialist or asocial manner whereby they place themselves in deep and sharp conflict with socialist society. Conflict commissions cannot resolve all law violations; the organs of justice have to punish law violations appropriately.

We must of course pay constant attention to the designs by imperialist forces to stop the development of the socialist states and weaken socialism. Such attempts could however make antagonistic contradictions arise within socialist society only if counterrevolutionary activities were to break out in their wake, socialist society were to be seriously jeopardized, forms of capitalist ownership in the means of production and, hence, hostile class contradictions were to arise, and the working class party could no longer play its leading role. In spite of all attempts since 1917, however, imperialism never succeeded in eliminating socialism, nor will it ever succeed. Even so, its schemes of interference against socialism which--as has been shown--can cause temporary difficulties in the construction of socialism, and even reversals, must not be underrated.

Under the conditions of the exacerbation of the international situation, and with the ruling U.S. imperialist circles going onto their confrontation course and first-strike strategy, the conflict between socialism and imperialism, and so also the extreme contradiction, sharpens. The arms buildup, the economic boycott and ideological diversion are meant to obstruct socialist construction or make it impossible. Only remember the U.S. embargo against the construction of the natural gas pipeline to the western border of the USSR. Yet this example can also show how an intention is turned into its opposite: Extreme pressure caused a counter-reaction. In the Soviet Union and the other states in the socialist community a great initiative was triggered among the working people, especially the youth, that completed the building of the pipeline ahead of schedule.

Our party's philosophers and propagandists have done remarkable work in recent years in clarifying the character and role of the dialectical contradictions in socialism and removing the stigma of the negative from them. But we must not stop there, as even in this regard more expert efforts are still needed since there are many who still confine themselves merely to a formal acknowledgement that contradictions do in fact exist. What matters, however, is to penetrate in detail the essence, the substance, the forms of motion and the effects of crucial contradictions in socialist society and, above all, to determine how to resolve them on behalf of continuing social progress. That is imperative for being able to use them deliberately as impulses for social progress.

In social science research, the method of dialectical materialism is the crucial precondition for success. The mode of dialectical thinking and working must more strongly be developed still. That calls for accurate familiarity with the principles, laws and categories of dialectical materialism in their interaction and for applying them in one's own scientific work, calls for thoroughly and persistently practicing them in the whole training and education course that makes one a communist social scientist, indeed practicing them, because a dialectical mode of thinking and working also comes as the result of scientific and practical experience. Proceeding in terms of dialectical materialism means, instead of putting quotations through their paces, as one can still sometimes find, penetrating the true nature of the works by Marx, Engels and Lenin and the fundamental party resolutions; there the dialectics has best been coped with. Dialectic thinking is no substitute for the knowledge of facts. It presupposes them. It requires extensive historical education and the ability correctly to correlate particulars in their contexts and judge them from a historic point of view. Not last, dialectical thinking also calls for strictly logical procedures and for an optimum in scientific accuracy.

The Tasks of the Social Sciences

Our party has always paid much attention to theoretical work. Friedrich Engels once said that "only clear theoretical insight can point the way through the labyrinth of facts."^{*} In the SED Program, the documents of the eighth, ninth and tenth party congresses, the Central Committee resolutions and the speeches by Comrade Erich Honecker we find a rich treasure of theoretical insights about our party's path and goal.

The social sciences in the GDR--led by the principles of the unity of theory and practice and between scientific objectivity and communist party-mindedness--have greatly contributed in recent years to the successful development of socialism on German soil. Among their creative achievements is their share in conceptualizing the developed socialist society and our party's economic strategy. They have analyzed the social structure of socialist society and the developmental trends in the way of life in the various classes, strata and groups, the development of state and law, the matters of perfecting our national defense and the problems of education and culture. Mention must be made of the elaboration of our Marxist-Leninist concept of history and, not last, of their active participation in an analysis of contemporary imperialism and the issue-taking with the anti-humane ideology and practice of the aggressive U.S. and NATO forces.

We can point to outstanding achievements by individual social scientists and social science collectives that have received attention and appreciation domestically and abroad. From the wealth of social science publications let me pick as examples only some publications by the historians: The 5-volume "Geschichte des Alltags des deutschen Volkes" [The German People's History of

^{*}Engels to Conrad Schmidt, Marx/Engels, "Werke," Vol 37, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1976, p 291.

Ordinary Life] by Juergen Kuczynski, the noted nestor of our social sciences; the outstanding studies on primitive and ancient history; the seven volumes of "Kunst und Literatur im antifaschistischen Exil 1933-45" [Art and Literature in the Antifascist Exile, 1933-45]; and the history volumes on the GDR, the FDJ and the FDGB. The list of works and authors is too long to refer to all of them at this point.

Our social science development proceeded always in close collaboration with that of the Soviet Union and the other fraternal countries. We have dipped into the rich treasure of experiences and theoretical insights of the CPSU and the other fraternal parties. Of great significance for the further development of Marxist-Leninist theory is going to be the new CPSU program the 26th party congress decided to prepare. Comrade Yuri Andropov, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, raised theoretical problems of principle in this context at the Central Committee June plenum that lend important impulses also to social science efforts in our own country.

In talking about the increasing role of science in shaping the developed socialist society and in the peace struggle, we also always think of social science. Its data are indispensable for perfecting and implementing our social strategy. The central theme in social science research we find in its still more accurately exploring the objective inevitabilities of social development, disclosing the dynamics of their effects under current and likely future conditions, and working out the appropriate forms, mechanisms and institutions to enforce and use those inevitabilities. The main thing is to bring the advantages and impulses of socialism to full effect and anchor them firmly in the consciousness of the broadest masses.

The practical is the point of departure and goal of scientific knowledge. The unity of theory and practice, of science and politics, must always again be coped with on higher levels in social science work as a dialectical interaction. Three interconnected tasks have to be resolved in this connection:

First, the social scientists should still more resolutely and rapidly focus on newly ripening practical needs and requirements and address the problems raised by life. Social scientists will fulfil the expectations placed in them if they keep their eyes open to the new developmental tendencies at today's hot issues of life and derive their research tasks for tomorrow from them. They can live up to the dynamics of our time only if they do not dodge these issues but confront them in time, expertly and guided by the Marxist-Leninist world-ourlook.

Second, more realism is still needed. For that, we must have enough empirical data and thorough all-inclusive analyses that give us an accurate picture of what the processes actually come down to in practice, of the effects produced under specific conditions, of the interaction between objective and subjective factors, and of the effect of national and international conditions on the direction, depth and tempo of social development.

Third, social scientists ought to orient the objectives of their work still more to practical use. Our ideas about the practical utility of the social

sciences are by no means narrow. Their fields of application and influence are extremely broad. Their practical use ranges from measurable economic benefits to enriching the thinking and feeling of men, from proposing concrete solutions to drafting theoretical problems that appear to be abstract. What always matters, however, is that social science activity aims at practical benefits for socialism and the peace struggle and gauges its quality and effectiveness against that benefit. Lending practice a helping hand--that should be every socialist social scientist's guideline.

It is evident that still more social science research data are needed now for rationally structuring management processes in all public sectors that are relevant to the masses and conform to the principles of democratic centralism. More of a scientific foundation also still has to be provided for the substance of management decisions. Together with people in the practical fields and in alliance with the natural and technical scientists and medical scientists, the social scientists ought to come up with analyses, case studies, alternatives for solutions and other aids for decision-making in the planned management of society and its sectors.

We have the highest regard for the efforts of those social scientists who create the wherewithal for the party's ideological efforts and science ideas for education and the intellectual life and who prove themselves sensitive and combative teachers, propagandists for our world-outlook, and partners in debate. To quote the popular remark by Karl Marx, "theory becomes a material force when it captures the masses."^{*} It captures the masses only if correct insights, aimed at practical use, combine with persuasive presentations that motivate actions for the strengthening of socialism.

Of course, society's responsibility for the social sciences is also growing. No one can claim that practical use is everywhere already being made of the considerable wealth of social science knowledge, including the social science educational potential. The task to translate scientific data fast and broadly enough into practical use confronts social science no less than the natural and technical sciences. Party and state functionaries, managers in the economy and in other fields, and propagandists and agitators ought to take note attentively of the social science data and make productive use of them in their own work.

Our country's citizens place higher demands today on the cogency and intelligibility of the social sciences. They are educated and actively involved in the shaping of public affairs. They want to discuss and solve the problems that truly move them, and what they expect of the social scientists are not slogans and contentions but the clarification of social interconnections and logical arguments. Furthermore, the conditions, open to world influence, under which the GDR is developing make high demands on the fighting spirit of the social scientists and the cogency of their arguments and, not last, their ideological vigilance. The truth is on our side. It must only be disseminated persuasively and in good time.

^{*}Ibid., Vol 1, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1956, p 385.

The social scientists have to ask themselves self-critically whether they are applying the lessons of Marxism-Leninism with success and are examining the newly arising problems and social processes at the right time, on a high level and effectively in practical terms. In answering that question, one cannot leave unmentioned that there are deficiencies and inadequacies and that we have lagged behind in various fields. Apart from worthwhile and interesting achievements with practical effects there is still too much that is mediocre or hackneyed and does not meet the criterion for practical relevance. There still are superficial and boring publications. At times they lack depth of theoretical ideas or enough facts and, thus, the strength of evidence. It remains the social scientists' task to provide better quality and effectiveness in seeking to meet the currently valid central research plan and in drafting the 1986-1990 plan.

Often already we have emphasized the need for a complex, interdisciplinary approach to solving problems. Advances have been made in this field, yet that kind of approach has by no means yet become the natural working method of all social scientists. Let us take for granted that today all sciences fertilize one another. Science development is possible only where the data and insights of other sciences are taken account of. As to philosophy, that has been demonstrated in detail for epistemology and methodology, determinism and evolutionary theory and other problem areas. Of special importance to epistemology and methodology are psychology, biology, linguistics, to mention but a few areas.

More interdisciplinary work is needed because social reality itself is assuming an ever greater complexity. The interactions between economics, politics and ideology, between objective and subjective factors, between the national and the international, between society and nature, man and technology call for a productive, well organized cooperation among the social scientists and between them and the natural, technical and medical scientists. Experience tells us that those social scientists are best capable of interdisciplinary cooperation who are themselves doing outstanding work in their specialized fields, have as comprehensive a knowledge as possible, follow developments in related fields, and have productive rapport with literature and art. When you come right down to it, interdisciplinary work is a principle of scientific work as such, an aspect of thinking in terms of dialectical materialism, about which Vladimir Ilyich Lenin wrote: "For truly knowing a subject matter, one must comprehend and explore all its sides, connections and 'transmissions.' We shall never fully achieve that, yet the demand for all-roundedness will spare us errors and torpidity."*

Interdisciplinary work is closely tied up with the demand made on our social scientists to become familiar with the developmental trends and results in the natural sciences, medicine and technology and with the scientific methods and sets of tools made available in support of complex research processes by mathematics, cybernetics, systems analysis and modern ADP techniques. They ought to resort to these methods and procedures when through their help much knowledge can be gained and research be intensified, the all-roundedness and depth of considerations can be enhanced, and when the time scale for working out sound

*V. I. Lenin, "Werke," Vol 32, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1961, p 85.

science propositions and alternatives for problems in social, territorial or enterprise development can be significantly reduced.

We are developing the social sciences all-around, in terms of practical priorities. None must be neglected. Each should be gaged against its contribution to shaping the developed socialist society, the strengthening and protection of our state, the enrichment of the people's lives and the safeguarding of peace. Our special efforts go to the creative development and vivid propagation of Marxism-Leninism in the unity of its components, the inexhaustible and always fresh theoretical source of our party's successful policy. The Central Committee is convinced GDR social scientists will continue to contribute with great expertise and revolutionary elan, scientific accuracy and communist combativeness, with ambition in theory and solidarity to the masses, to meeting the party resolutions. I wish them great success in this in the name of the Central Committee.

Hager Address: NEUES DEUTSCHLAND Excerpts

East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 16 Dec 83 pp 3-5

[Report on address by Kurt Hager, SED Politburo member and Central Committee Secretary, to SED Central Committee Social Sciences Conference held 15-6 December 1983 in East Berlin. A translation of additional excerpts from the address, published in the East Berlin EINHEIT, is published in this JPRS report]

[Text] On all continents, Kurt Hager stated at the beginning of his address, the communist and workers parties and other progressive forces have paid tribute this year to the life and work of Karl Marx, the greatest son of the German people and the founder of scientific socialism and of the international workers movement. The GDR working people honored Karl Marx through high labor accomplishments in socialist competition and outstanding initiatives from youth, women and all other population strata in implementation of the 10th SED Congress resolutions.

The highlight of the Karl Marx Year 1983 had undoubtedly been the international science conference sponsored by the SED Central Committee under the subject "Karl Marx and Our Time--the Struggle for Peace and Social Progress." It had reflected the growth and maturity, breadth and diversity of the workers movement, the national liberation movement, and the revolutionary and progressive currents in our time. Kurt Hager referred to the unanimity in which the participants endorsed the obligation to do all for the safeguarding of peace.

By noteworthy accomplishments, the speaker underscored, GDR social scientists and propagandists had also contributed to paying tribute to Karl Marx and disseminating the Marxist-Leninist ideas. Kurt Hager pointed to the scientific results in the continued exploration of the classic authors' theoretical legacy. He pointed to the participation by social scientists in preparing the SED Central Committee theses and the article series in NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, the SED central organ, and in the journal EINHEIT on the Karl Marx Year 1983. That had also been true of many TV and radio programs and popular science contributions in the mass-market press, especially that of our youth organization. Urania activities likewise deserved to be mentioned.

It could be said with satisfaction that remarkable progress had been made in the Karl Marx Year in our country's theoretical thought and intellectual life. With the applause from the conference attendants, Kurt Hager conveyed to all social scientists and propagandists cordial thanks and the recognition of the SED Central Committee and its general secretary, Erich Honecker, for their effective contribution to the Karl Marx Year.

I. Peace--A Basic Value of Socialism

Then the speaker turned to the revolutionary processes in our epoch and the struggle for peace. This is what he said: "The 20th century is going to enter history as the century in which humanity's transition from capitalism to socialism got started. On four continents already socialism determines the way for many peoples. The birth of many national states in Asia, Africa and Latin America after the collapse of the imperialist colonial system, the social and democratic popular movements in the capitalist countries and the worldwide peace movement demonstrate humanity's desire for social changes and a world of peace, democracy, national independence, liberty and justice.

What typifies our epoch is that social development is directed, not at replacing one exploiter society by another, but at eliminating exploitation altogether and thus, ultimately, the roots of war. The revolutionary changes have enveloped all continents. The tempo of transformation is extremely rapid, compared with the bourgeois revolutions, for instance. Decisive is that the agent of the new social order and the driving force of the social and national movements is the workers class under Marxist-Leninist party leadership, acting in a solid alliance with the other working people.

Imperialism, which still ruled the world without constraint at the start of the century, has suffered heavy losses of positions. Its general crisis, starting with World War I and the triumph of the Great Socialist October Revolution in Russia, a crisis in economics, politics, culture and ethics, is deepening all the time. This does not mean, however, that imperialism is weak. It keeps disposing of a large economic, scientific-technical and military potential and of the means to manipulate the broad masses in capitalist countries politically and ideologically.

Its most aggressive wing, the U.S. and NATO military-industrial complex, closely intertwined with the large banks and the government apparatus, has adopted the goal of reversing imperialism's losses in positions through the development and use of its potential, a confrontation course and a policy of strength, and turning back the wheel of history. The United States seeks to gain military strategic superiority over the Soviet Union and the socialist community and suffocate the progressive social and national movements so as to impose its 'Pax Americana,' its supremacy, upon the world. In this it relies mainly, in Europe, on FRG imperialism, which has not abandoned its revanchist and nationalistic goals.

Our conference is being held at a time when, because of the militaristic policy and anticommunist propaganda by U.S. imperialism, the international situation has become dangerously exacerbated. Ever greater weight, though, attaches to the forces advocating peace and disarmament, detente and peaceful

coexistence. The two opposing tendencies in world politics, that of war and that of peace, are fully in evidence."

The speaker pointed out that the deployment of U.S. first-strike weapons in the FRG, Britain and Italy had further complicated the international situation and increased the danger of another war. He cited in this context the statement of 24 November 1983 from Yuri Andropov, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, to the effect that the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries could not ignore that danger. Yuri Andropov had announced the measures taken to protect the security of the socialist countries and prevent a destruction of the military strategic balance in existence. "At the same time Yuri Andropov underlined that the Soviet Union faithfully kept to the course of principle toward halting the arms race, particularly the nuclear one, and toward curbing and, eventually, eliminating totally the peril of nuclear war."

Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee, had expressed our party's full agreement with that statement in his keynote address at the seventh SED Central Committee session, the speaker asserted and continued: "We fully agree with the line set down in that announcement of the continued struggle to avert the danger of nuclear world war and support the measures introduced by the Soviet Union."

At the same time, Erich Honecker, in his address, had dealt with the high demands resulting from the new situation for all forces interested in the preservation of peace and, particularly, the strengthening of the socialist community and the continuation of its peace policy. "The remark that the struggle for safeguarding peace must 'all the more now be' conducted finds a great response and affects many people. It counteracts any possible confusion and channels the thoughts and actions of the GDR citizens in the proper direction."

In view of the dangerous confrontation policy of U.S. imperialism, based on conservative models of thought, what was now important for the Marxist-Leninist social scientists was persuasively to answer the question about the historic prospect of mankind. In this context, the speaker in detail explained the problem of war or peace and asserted: "Sliding into a nuclear inferno and, hence, into the destruction of mankind can be prevented and, indeed, it is possible to remove the danger of war from the life of mankind altogether--and this even before one has overcome the socioeconomic foundations for a policy of aggression inherent in the imperialist system. The forces needed for that are in place; in many respects they are stronger and larger than ever before."

The strongest force working against the danger of the destruction of mankind is socialism, Kurt Hager said. "Socialism is and remains an order of peace. It threatens no one and pursues no hegemonial goals. War and aggression are alien to socialism. Its supreme principle is the preservation and safeguarding of peace. Aware of their responsibility for human life and the well-being of the present and future generations, the states in the socialist community know of no more important task in international respects than protecting and defending peace by means of all political, economic and military potentials. Peace is a basic value of socialism."

Thanks to the political rule by the workers class in alliance with the other working people, the public ownership in the means of production and the socialist ideology, there were no forces, no classes or strata in socialist society that could gain any profit or benefit from war. The socialist states were pursuing that ideal and bringing it to realization, as so well expressed in the popular workers song by the words "Labor, bread and people's peace--that is our world."

The goals of socialist social policy, the speaker underlined, can only be realized in peace and through peace policy. The more the shaping of socialist society was advancing, the closer also became the identity between socialism and peace and the stronger also became the force that would make the peace mission of socialism prevail more and more.

"The Soviet Union, the GDR and the other Warsaw Pact states are convinced no world problem can be settled by war--least of all by nuclear war. Preventing a war and ensuring safe peace is the socialist foreign policy's acknowledged key problem."

It helped to safeguard world peace that the powerful military potential produced by modern science and technology was not exclusively in imperialist hands. In the hands of socialism, that potential stops the aggressive inclinations of imperialism. The approximate military strategic balance achieved by great sacrifices, especially by the accomplishments of the Soviet Union and the Soviet Army, was one of the most important historic achievements of real socialism, Kurt Hager said and went on to say:

"It would mean a capitulation to imperialist schemes directed against socialism, if the Warsaw Pact states were to refrain from maintaining the military strategic equilibrium through appropriate measures, protecting the security interests of the socialist countries, and keeping imperialism from triggering a nuclear confrontation. Socialist military might--the Soviet Union and all the armies in the Warsaw Pact states with their indissoluble class comradeship and comradeship-in-arms--bears a truly historic responsibility in our epoch in turning any aggression against socialism into a fatal risk for imperialism.

Preventing nuclear catastrophe and safeguarding world peace remains our priority goal. From that follows the need to continue the dialogue with all peace-loving forces that are willing to understand. We are convinced there is not only the need but even the chance to hinder the course of the most aggressive U.S. and NATO circles. It is possible to surmount the dangerous tendencies in international development, gradually reduce the military strategic equilibrium to a lower level, and settle conflicts peacefully. The aggressive imperialist forces must be forced to abandon their adventurist course and accept realism and reason in international relations.

There is no reasonable alternative for the policy of peaceful coexistence among states with differing social orders. With that in mind, we regard the prevailing situation as irreversible. But we must make more of and lend new impulses to the struggle for avoiding nuclear war and ending the arms race. We must more actively still disseminate the peace propositions of the Soviet

Union, the Prague Declaration of the Warsaw Pact member states, and the GDR proposals and champion their implementation."

Keeping peace is everybody's business, the speaker said. "What with all the differences of opinion as between Marxists, Social Democrats, Christians, pacifists and other groups and movements, the defense of peace is the priority concern that unites them all, that brings the most diverse forces together. With it, great efforts also are needed to protect this movement of such diverse forces from stagnation and resignation, false friends and splitters."

Then the speaker turned in great detail to the questions of an alliance with all forces interested in the preservation and safeguarding of peace. Commenting on the relations among states and their role in the peace struggle, Kurt Hager remarked: "The growth of the peace movement and the sharpening of interimperialist contradictions have brought it about that such NATO states as Greece, Denmark, the Netherlands and Belgium turn down or delay the missile deployment. The extraordinary European public mistrust of the Reagan administration's adventurous course is expressed in the demand for a peaceful Europe that must not become a U.S. hostage, a Euroshima."

Of great weight also is that the vast majority of the nonaligned states staunchly opposes the Reagan course. That has been confirmed in the United Nations and recently also in the New Delhi Commonwealth Conference.

The United States' brutal intervention in Grenada, its threats against Nicaragua and Cuba, the heating up of tensions in Lebanon and the scope and intensity of war exercises in Europe and other parts of the world demonstrate that the policy of U.S. imperialism has lately become more adventurous and unscrupulous.

The greatest vigilance is called for in view of the dangers of further military aggression by the United States and its henchmen in Central America. Our internationalist solidarity in a special way therefore goes out to socialist Cuba and the just struggle by the peoples of Grenada, Nicaragua, El Salvador and other states in that region against the aggressive policy of U.S. imperialism."

To justify its arms buildup and confrontation policy, the Reagan administration was engaged in an anticommunist and anti-Soviet crusade. "According to Reagan, all problems and conflicts are the fault of the Soviet Union, which he is maligning as the 'center of evil' in the world. In accordance with such a primitive mode of thinking, the United States then becomes the embodiment of the good and 'predestined' for the struggle against evil until it is eradicated from the earth. There is no place in this infernal 'logic' for any peaceful coexistence."

As history had proven, the speaker said, there was no way to drive the peoples into war against socialism without mass deception, lies, fraud and provocations. That is why U.S. and NATO politicians were disseminating, in countless variations, the lie of the "threat from the east," which Hitler fascism had used before.

"One of those variants is the contention that socialism is threatening the freedom of the West. Leading FRG politicians are most fond of talking about 'peace in freedom,' it remaining an open question which and whose 'freedom' they are referring to. If they are referring to the rights of the working people in the FRG, they are not being threatened by socialism, but by the measures the ruling circles have taken against trade union rights through welfare cutbacks, job restrictions and police caprice. If by 'freedom' is meant what U.S. imperialism gave to the people of Grenada while it was moving toward progress, that obviously is the 'freedom' to suppress other peoples. However you may look at that slogan, it is a misuse of the idea of peace as of freedom.

Right now imperialist propaganda is seeking to deceive the population in the FRG and in other West European countries about the implications of the situation that has arisen and put the blame for the failure of the Geneva negotiations on the Soviet Union. The U.S. and NATO representatives keep reiterating how much they are interested in negotiations with the Soviet Union. That only is meant to disguise the true state of affairs. An undeniable fact is that the United States during the Geneva negotiations turned down all concrete and constructive propositions from the Soviet Union aimed at an acceptable compromise for both sides. Those propositions were in the way to Washington's objective to be sure to deploy Pershing 2 and cruise missiles in Europe, i.e., directly in front of the Soviet Union and its allies."

All that, Kurt Hager said in summarizing that part of his address, presented the social scientists with the task to conduct a still more extensive fight against those bourgeois ideologies that supported the U.S. and NATO militaristic course. On the other hand it was a matter of thoroughly studying the views of those forces that advocated a policy of reason and peaceful coexistence. "The social scientists are called upon to live up to the ideological requirements in the struggle for peace and disarmament and against imperialist war propaganda through more cogent and sound research results. The science council for imperialism research, the philosophers and the other social scientists--who have already done a great deal in this respect--should contribute still more, through analyses and scholarly publications, to effectively explaining the basic issues in the struggle for peace," the speaker asserted and then added:

"In view of the threat to peace by imperialism, optimism, confidence, and courage on the part of the working people in the socialist countries are especially important for the peace struggle. That optimism is nourished by the fact that the strength of socialism has prevented, and will prevent, imperialism from employing its military potential.

The might of socialism must constantly be guaranteed by good work. Under the slogan, 'The stronger is socialism--the more secure is peace,' the working people in our country are making effective contributions to the continued strengthening of the GDR. Good work weighs more heavily than ever on the balance of the international power ratio, which is crucial for preserving peace. So the awareness of the value of peace is reflected in deeds, in the readiness of the individual to make his contribution to steadily strengthening, and to the inviolability of, the peace power of socialism.

Hand in hand with that goes the needed heightening of the defense capability of our republic and of the socialist community. The NVA, the border troops of the GDR and the other protective and security organs, side by side with the Soviet Army and the other armies in the Warsaw Pact states, are assuming the protection of socialism and the defense of peace. Socialism's defense capacity implies the defense willingness of its citizens.

Our country's citizens know from their own experience in life what it is that makes their socialist fatherland worth defending. Yet even that experience requires to be deepened ideologically. As any other basic socialist attitude, the defense readiness also does not develop spontaneously. It has to be aroused and reinforced for every growing generation. It is the job of all educators in our society to implement our defense education as an inseparable component of the communist education of our young generation."

Peace and Social Progress

Then the speaker addressed the fact that safeguarding peace today relates directly to social progress. For one thing, one could speak of a stronger prominence of the social content in the struggle for peace. And then also, the peace issue received an entirely new place value in the struggles for social progress today. Social progress is possible only in peace, the emphasis was. Peace is the supreme good and the natural form of life for all nations.

By using examples of imperialist countries and third world states, the speaker illuminated how all essential national problems today culminate in the peace issue.

During his address, Kurt Hager said this: "Historic experience since the Great Socialist October Revolution has fully borne out the doctrine by Marx, Engels and Lenin on the historic necessity for the new communist society. In particular, it has proven in practice that socialism can settle the great problems of humanity in our epoch: It forever eliminated the exploitation of man by man, established the currently attainable measure of social security, equality and justice, surmounted poverty and misery, ignorance and lack of culture, led the masses of the working people into historic creativeness, made science and technology serviceable to the people, and paved the way to dynamic social progress.

The accomplishments of socialism in the development of the productive forces, science, education and culture, public health and social welfare and in raising the people's material and cultural standard of living show what enormous potentials and driving forces socialist society already has available in its current phase.

Many new social and political forces and more peoples and states joined the struggle for peace and social progress in recent decades. Those forces come to the realization that the problems bothering them can be resolved only through anti-imperialist struggle in the revolutionary way and with a socialist orientation. As the frontline of the progressive forces in the world has broadened, they are found to exist on diverse social developmental levels. They differ in starting positions, experiences and traditions. The national and historic features determining their conditions of struggle differ from each other very much.

Along with the dynamic advances of world socialism, it above all is the process of national liberation, the birth and growth of young independent national states on the residues of the imperialist colonial system, that marks the revolutionary transformation of our era."

In contrast, a severe cyclical crisis had prevailed within the framework of the general crisis in the capitalist world for years. It was expressed in growing chronic unemployment, gigantic budget deficits, persistent inflation and a record number of bankruptcies--along with increasing political reaction, the subversion and elimination of the reforms and rights the popular masses had fought for, and the crisis in culture and morality. The speaker recalled that Erich Honecker had impressively substantiated that by reference to many facts in his speech at the seventh Central Committee session.

The economic realities of capitalism had refuted the theories by bourgeois ideologues, Kurt Hager said. Gone were the times when the capitalist apologists could brag about their "economic miracle" and contend economic crises were done away with for good. That stable prices, full employment, economic growth, and "prosperity for all" could be guaranteed under capitalism was a myth about which nothing much was being said anymore. The deepest economic crisis of the postwar period was not only the patent bankruptcy of the convenient capitalist lie about the "social welfare state," but the meaning behind it as well, to the effect that state monopoly regulations, instead of stabilizing the exploiter system, intensified its contradictions in a new way, the speaker said and then turned to the causes for it.

"The imperialist arms buildup policy obviously is one of the main factors deepening the crisis in the capitalist economy and lending a lengthy and complicated character to its course. The arms buildup in its current enormous dimensions deforms the capitalist economy and disturbs and destabilizes international economic relations.

The United States seeks to heap the burdens of the crisis onto its 'allies' and the developing countries and burden its own people and other peoples with the costs for the arms buildup. In various ways, U.S. imperialism is violating the national and political sovereignty of the capitalist states allied with it. The high interest policy, profiteering capitalism's grip at strangulation, not only is an instrument of exploitation, but also of arms financing and war preparation.

In summary one may say: On the one hand, despite the crisis imperialism still disposes over significant economic and material-technical potentials which it is investing in the worldwide conflict with socialism; it continues to be an economically strong and dangerous opponent.

On the other hand, however, the safety of its economic power positions and spheres of influence is purchased at the cost of an enormous increase in the inequities in the economic, social and political development among the imperialist countries and regions, between the imperialist and developing countries, and mainly due to the further rapid deepening of the contrast between a dwindling group of economically powerful monopolies and all other classes and strata in

the imperialist countries. That is bound to lead to a considerable intensification of the economic and social contradictions and forms the starting point for many conflicts within the capitalist world economy both at the national and international scale.

The imperialist arms buildup directly opposes the working people's social interests and intensifies the reactionary welfare cuts. Large social movements, mainly the workers and peace movement, but also ecological movements and civil rights movements and others in the capitalist part of the world, in diverse ways and differing in political clarity and consistency, are opposing the threats emanating from imperialism. The responsibility of all currents in the workers movement--communist, social democratic, trade union and so forth--is growing there in the struggle against massive unemployment, exploitation, environmental destruction and war danger. Not last it is up to the workers movement whether the social forces today often still acting in juxtaposition will increasingly unite in opposing the causes that give rise to current threats and perils."

The speaker then showed in detail how the qualitatively new phase in the general crisis of capitalism is reflected in a deepening crisis in bourgeois ideology and intellectual life as such.

II. The Developed Socialist Society

In the second part of his speech Kurt Hager dealt with the social development in the GDR, which will celebrate its 35th anniversary next year. First he summarized the historic development of our state: "The GDR, as one knows, after the antifascist-democratic transformation, started with a planned construction of socialism. In the 1960's, the transition from capitalism to socialism was completed. Socialist production relations had won, the political rule of the workers class in alliance with the other working people had been consolidated, and profound changes had taken place in social consciousness.

The Eighth SED Congress drew the inference from the development since the start of socialist construction and resolved to shape the developed socialist society."

Kurt Hager recalled the statement in the SED Party Program, which had been unanimously adopted in 1976 by the Ninth SED Congress, that our party always lets itself be guided by "doing everything for the good of the people and the interests of the workers class and all other working people. It finds its task in further shaping the developed socialist society. Its goal is to establish the communist society."

"The shaping of the developed socialist society," the speaker then said, "is an inevitable and lengthy process in the development of communist society and forms the main substance of its first phase. This process embraces penetrating qualitative and quantitative changes in the political, economic, social and intellectual-cultural fields. In this long period of its historic development, the advantages and driving forces of socialism will fully come into their own. Step by step the demand raised by Lenin will be fulfilled, to achieve a higher

labor productivity than capitalism. That is ultimately decisive for the world historic triumph of the new social order.

Basic criteria and tasks in the shaping of the developed socialist society aimed at elevating the people's material and cultural standard of living are the unity of economic and social policy, the all-inclusive transition to an intensively expanded reproduction and the organic combination between the scientific-technical revolution and the advantages of socialism. Essential prerequisites, to the perfection of which we have to contribute through our everyday efforts, are the growing leadership role of our party in all sectors and the working people's increasing social activity, collectivity and awareness."

The speaker further explained in this context: "We deliberately use the term 'shaping' of the developed socialist society. For one reason, to express that what matters is to shape, mold, bring into full development all characteristics, all aspects of socialist society. And then also, to make clear that socialist society is a constantly further developing society, a vivid, changing organism in motion." This was excellently expressed in Erich Honecker's remark, "the attained is not the attainable."

With reference to V. I. Lenin's remark about the variety of forms the dictatorship of the proletariat is going to assume, Kurt Hager mentioned universally valid inevitabilities which also served as criteria for analyzing the developmental phase of a socialist country, and he referred to the dialectic between the general and the particular, literally: "A crucial precondition for the growing might of socialism is the further consolidation of the unity and cohesiveness of the community of socialist states. The collaboration with the USSR and the other countries in the socialist community is the foundation for our security and the essential guarantee for the successful implementation of our social strategy.

This process leads to further rapprochement among the socialist countries which, as the 26th CPSU Congress pointed out, does not cancel the national specifics and historical particulars in the socialist countries. From this results the task the communist parties in the socialist countries have to take into account in their strategy the dialectic of the universal inevitabilities in socialist construction and their creative application in accordance with the specifics in any given country while making use of all the advantages and accomplishments that result from the already achieved developmental level of socialism."

Commenting on the conditions in the GDR, Kurt Hager made these points: "The social strategy our party has elaborated does well in practical life, as the results of our policy show. Yet the successes achieved under difficult conditions do not blind us to the tasks still ahead of us, the complicated developmental problems and the difficulties we have to cope with. There is much that still does not satisfy us because it satisfies neither our needs nor our possibilities.

This confronts the Marxist-Leninist social sciences with the great and responsible task to explore still more deeply, thoroughly and all-inclusively this socialist society of ours as a unified social organism with its functioning

mode, developmental tendencies, inevitabilities, contradictions and driving forces, so as to perfect the theoretical foundation and sets of instruments for our social strategy."

The speaker referred to the great successes achieved in implementation of the economic strategy for the 1980's which the 10th SED Congress had issued, calling them the outcome of the party's theoretical work and practical efforts.

The successful development of the GDR as a socialist workers and farmers state was the result of tough political, economic and ideological class struggles, Kurt Hager remarked and then continued: "To the extent that we successfully implement our social strategy, the enemy's ideological attacks on the accomplishments, essential features and driving forces of socialism are increasing. Imperialist forces and also representatives of a more bourgeois-liberal course and ideologues of social reformism, right-wing revisionism and left-wing radicalism more and more indulge the role not only of critics of socialism, but also as 'advisors.'

Understandable it is that bourgeois thought under the pressure from capitalist social relations only revolves around the crisis now. Thus even developmental problems of socialism, looked at through the glasses of a bourgeois sense of crisis, become crisis symptoms. But when they then offer means and ways of the capitalist economy or bourgeois democracy as 'improvements' of socialism, those 'advisors' are quickly disclosed as enemies of socialism and contenders for the capitalist exploiter society.

As we are living under conditions kept open to the world, we shall of course aggressively oppose the constant influence of enemy propaganda and incessant slander of socialism. The 35th GDR anniversary gives us an opportunity to refute the enemy's babbling about a presumed crisis in socialism effectively. Risen from the ruins, the GDR has a glorious path behind it, thanks to working class unity, our Marxist-Leninist party leadership, the firm alliance among all classes and strata, and the bonds with the land of Lenin and all progressive forces in the world. It has become a stable, internationally respected, socialist state with an important economy, science and technology, education and culture and a reliable national defense. Our ideology is marked by the optimism of the builders of a new social order and by the certitude that the great goal charted by our party program is sure to be achieved."

Driving Forces of Socialism

"Socialism in the brief historic period of its existence has achieved enormous accomplishments expressive of qualitatively new social impulses in action. They arose and developed on the basis of the socialist production relations and their dialectical interaction with the productive forces.

Instead of profit, of capitalist competition, social insecurity and fear for one's subsistence, socialism produces such impulses as the planned and solidary cooperation among producers within the social reproduction process, socialist competition, socialist ideology and awareness of action, social security, the conformity of basic interests in all classes and strata with the social, collective and individual interests, and the materialization of humanistic goals,

to mention but a few. These impulses, marked by the socialist production relations, are superior in their social quality to the impulses of capitalism."

The speaker explained that the impulses of capitalism, such as profit and competition, ultimately work against the working people because they lead to an intensification of exploitation and mass unemployment, the destruction of men's basis of subsistence, and to deformation and alienation in human relations.

"The impulses and values of socialism cannot be separated from each other. Out of the unfolding of impulses material and intellectual values arise which, once they become solid socialist value concepts, again become motives for human action, lending further effectiveness to those impulses.

Among the historic peculiarities of the socialist impulses is that they must be tapped and brought to effect consciously. Understanding and deliberately using the impulses of socialist society is a crucial Marxist-Leninist party task."

The party offered the working people a clear orientation, it awakened trust in one's own strength and in the optimism needed for coping with many a task that initially appeared indissoluble. "The experience of our country, of the Soviet Union and of other socialist states is this: Socialist society is possible only under Marxist-Leninist party leadership. That is why the enemy directs his main assault against that leading force," Kurt Hager asserted and then said:

"The socialist state also engages in the unfolding of the socialist impulses. Through its constitution, its elected organs and its efficient apparatus, it embodies the unification of all political and social working people's forces under the leadership of the working class and its party toward an exemplary and organized realization, according to plan, of their common basic interests."

For the socialist state to be able to fulfil these tasks with success, it would be necessary to provide for its all-round strengthening at all times. "It is necessary to develop and upgrade the state management of the economy and other sectors of public life, on the central and local levels, in such a way that the impulses for economic and social progress can develop still more rapidly and effectively. That includes above all connecting the basic issues of our policy with the territorial and communal political concerns, the responsible activities of the people's representations and their deputies, the confident relationship between the official organs and the citizens, which finds expression in encouraging their initiatives and carefully processing all requests, recommendations, suggestions and criticism. Where one acts according to these principles, the success of official activity becomes apparent, as documented only recently in the reports from the communities of Fehrbellin and Wittgensdorf before the GDR State Council."

Socialist Democracy

Socialist democracy was another effective impulse for social progress in our country the speaker referred to. It "expresses itself first and foremost in the citizens' responsible and active participation in the drafting, implementation and supervision of social and official decisions. That socialist democracy assures the GDR citizens of a great number of political, economic, social

and cultural rights is an accepted fact inherent in the socialist revolution. These are human rights or, more accurately, guaranteed social facts most of which are unattainable under capitalist conditions. One only need recall here the right to work and the assurance of full employment, the right to education and the assurance of skilled vocational training, the right to adequate housing and its implementation through the comprehensive housing construction program of the eighth party congress, the right to recreation and health care, the welfare for the sick and the aged, and the extensive material efforts undertaken to bring all that about.

But first and foremost one must refer to the basic political right to being extensively involved in the shaping of the political, economic and cultural-intellectual life of society. Not only is true that the comprehensive social and cultural rights, men's guaranteed social security, and their freedom from the fear of losing their jobs are necessary conditions for their active and unrestrained implementation of their political rights. It is equally true that the conscious and massive implementation of this fundamental constitutional political right of codetermination, mainly with regard to rapidly increasing our economic efficiency and to developing socialist modes of conduct and inter-human relations, their active participation in the protection of peace and of the socialist fatherland, constitutes a decisive guarantee for ensuring the social rights and their material foundations on a permanent basis.

In the theory and practice of contemporary capitalism, democracy primarily is a system of legal rules to keep the masses away from running the state and any significant influence on official policy. What we see precisely at this time is how in the FRG and other West European states the protest by millions against deploying new U.S. missiles is being dismissed by the formal argument that they do not want to 'yield to the pressure from the street.' In the bourgeois U.S. 'democracy' it is being regarded as normal that only 26 percent of the electorate elected Reagan president and many millions of citizens kept from voting out of antipathy to the prevailing parties and the manipulation of public opinion. In the FRG, whose politicians keep talking about their 'libertarian constitutional state,' it is considered normal that the 5-percent clause leaves many voters unrepresented in the Bundestag."

In contrast to bourgeois democracy, with the meaning of its concepts more and more being turned upside-down, socialist democracy, the entire political system of socialism in its multifaceted democratic vitality, was the means for a political and social unfolding of strength, for ensuring the freedom of the working masses. "That lends a fundamental importance to confidently and constructively conferring on all basic issues and also on the concrete issues of everyday political, economic, social and cultural-intellectual life with the working people. Only remember the extensive discussions on the 1984 national economic plan or the parents' advisory council elections. This active partnership on all levels and in all sectors governs the relationship of trust between the state and the citizens, consolidates that relationship and is the way for state and society to be linked ever more closely in socialism. It also is the best way to knock down bureaucratism wherever it appears."

III. Economic Growth and Scientific-Technical Progress

The speaker started his comments on the inseparable connection between socialism and economic growth by quoting Erich Honecker's remark made at the seventh Central Committee session: "Economic growth and the improvement of economic efficiency were accomplished at a time characteristic of a rapidly progressing production intensification. That right there amounts to a far-reaching process of economic growth."

Proceeding from the fact that we managed to raise the GDR national income by 171.2 percent between 1970 and 1982, Kurt Hager remarked: "If we realize that in the same period such highly developed industrial capitalist countries as Britain reached 119 percent, the FRG 130 and the United States 137 percent, the magnitude of this accomplishment becomes all the more evident. By average annual growth rates of 4.6 percent we accomplished increases of which the politicians and economists in most capitalist countries can only dream."

The speaker called the tremendous development of the scientific-technical revolution one of the penetrating social changes in the 20th century. It had led, especially since the 1960's, to revolutionary technical and technological changes in industrial production, construction, transportation and agriculture through nuclear energy, microelectronics, robot technology, information and communication techniques and biotechnology. It affected more and more the intellectual creative activities of the scientists, engineers, project planners and designers, education and health, administration, the media and other social sectors.

When made economically useable, science was a productive force. It was a humane social and cultural force and a defense force in serving the good of the people and peace, yet for the nuclear war strategists of imperialism it became a destructive force directed against mankind, even meant to be used for space warfare, Kurt Hager explained and then remarked: "The crucial way for tapping qualitatively new opportunities for a growth in labor productivity and efficiency lies in the organic connection between the scientific-technical revolution and the advantages of socialism."

In that sense the GDR's economic science conference in September 1983 had made worthwhile research and practical suggestions for the implementation of the economic strategy. Exploring all the great interconnections there also was a task for all social science disciplines, the speaker asserted.

In particular, he said this: "There are many economic, social and intellectual-cultural problems in scientific-technical progress the social sciences must thoroughly address."

Technologies such as microelectronics, optical electronics and ADP as bases of or linked with robots and flexible automation, communication and printing techniques, image processing, information, documentation and so forth are aimed at gradually getting away from heavy physical or psychologically stressful activities, at cutting down production and circulation time frames and the rationalization of communication relations to implement labor processes and aid the technization of thus far hardly accessible mental processes. By applying such technologies, man more and more steps out of the manufacturing process for material goods and becomes the creative shaper and controller of the socialist production processes.

New activity criteria arise, which also must be taken account of in the educational requirements. It amounts to conveying basic theories and skills needed to be able to make a sensible use of the data of the scientific-technical revolution.

Through biotechniques man turns from an imitator of nature into a designer of biotechnical evolution within the scope of the natural laws. Their economic significance for the future evidently must be rated very highly. There especially, socialist humanism is irreplaceable as a target function and rating criterion.

The main tendencies in the scientific-technical revolution have to be explored by the various social sciences such as economics, philosophy, psychology and sociology, the pedagogical sciences and others in their interconnections in order to spot in good time consequences for the development of creative potentials, personality development and education and training and work out solution proposals for the problems connected with that.

Bourgeois ideology is eager to burden with emotions the discussion of such matters as the role of economic growth, of scientific-technical progress, and of the relation between the society and the natural environment. It is spreading pessimistic theses on economic growth, technology and the ecology. Justified concerns by people of humanistic persuasion about endangering the environment are often misused for theses that cover up the real problems of capitalist society and their socioeconomic causes.

By still more effective and scientific arguments one should oppose the contention that technical progress meant the advance of the cold, insentient, somberly rational world of the machines, overwhelmed ethical values, human sentiments, or the aesthetic sense, or that economic growth simply was inorganic or unnatural. Practical experience, however, mainly refuted such contentions.

In socialism, modern technical developments nourish the massive scientific-technical creativity while they also directly depend on that creativity. Fears that the scientific-technical revolution might constrain the opportunities for creative activity have proven groundless. Especially modern technical developments confront the innovators with greater, if naturally more demanding, tasks because the opportunities for applying these developments are so extremely broad: their effects largely become productive not until they are combined with the existing technology, through more complex technological and organizational changes in their environment. That makes patently indispensable the partnership of those who have knowledge and experiences in the operations field of such technology.

Revolutionary technical transformations normally become fully effective economically not until they are systematically rationalized. Making still more of the scientific-technical creativeness of the working people, especially of youth, is thus an urgent requirement for our economic and political-moral, social and intellectual-cultural development.

We must of course not lose sight of the fact that the technical progress in industrial combines and enterprises and in construction, in state-owned farms and agricultural production cooperatives as well as in other sectors often brings along striking changes for individuals or collectives such as changing jobs or enterprises, necessary retraining, different working conditions and so forth. They can and must be resolved--as demonstrated by many examples--by the managements together with the working people--only recall the Schwedt Initiative--so that hardships are avoided and no material disadvantages arise for individuals. This calls for highly responsible actions by the party organizations, state management and the trade union, and for direct consultation and taking the necessary measures jointly with the working people."

The speaker pointed to the close connection between economic activity and the environment. "Socialism," he affirmed, "is the first social order where the way people relate to their natural environment is not determined by the profit interest and privilege of specific classes and strata.

Realizing the basic social mission in environmental protection is closely linked with improving our economic efficiency. Efficiency coming out of intensification is at once the best environmental protection because the more energy and raw materials are saved, the fewer of them have to be produced, the more secondary raw materials are utilized, the less waste burdens nature, and the more available machinery gets triple-shift use, the less does it become necessary to make inroads on nature by expensive new structures.

Social Security--A Great Achievement of Socialism

"It is of decisive weight that the unity of economic and social policy deeply pervades the working people's thoughts and actions as a policy that relates to the people. It is, as it were, already among our historic experiences that high dedication pays off for each individual as for the society on the whole. From that great capacity potentials arise which allow this tested course to be continued even under complicated conditions.

Social security, job safety and occupational prospects, society's care for the prosperity of the family and the health of each individual is a concrete expression of socialist society's orientation to the well-being of its members everyone can sense. Not only the GDR citizens rate that as the most visible advantage of socialism that is becoming ever more prominent in view of imperialism's growing crisis manifestations.

How abysmally those circumstances that shape society in modern capitalism differ from our socialist society! It becomes all too obvious for anyone: When there is no full employment and the fundamental human right to work is massively violated, there can be no social security for the people at all. No one any longer doubts that in the capitalist countries, even after the economic crisis bottomed out, mass unemployment will continue, will in fact rise further in the years ahead. And the situation of those who still have work is deteriorating as well."

In contradistinction to that, the speaker called social security the decisive foundation for socialist humanism. Every thought about the further shaping of social security among us should begin with the task to balance out growing requirements and additional burdens by higher economic achievements so as to ensure the standard of living attained and raise it further step by step. Literally he said:

"Social security, however, does not work automatically as an impulse seeking higher achievements for the benefit of society. Its effect as an impulse must, for one thing, come from the realization that it is not a gift and that it can be ensured under the complicated conditions of the 1980's only if the necessary prerequisites for it are created through a better quality and efficiency of labor and each individual makes his contribution to it.

On the other hand, it is of the greatest importance that the individual's right to resorting to the social accomplishments of our society be still more effectively and perceptibly linked with his conscientiously fulfilling his duties to society. This unity of rights and duties is something that the various members of society do not as yet sense and respect as an indispensable moral principle. For most of the working people, however, the desire to make their own contribution to carrying on our social policy has become an important motivation for their diligent and disciplined efforts.

We sometimes run into annoyance about manifestations of abuse of social accomplishments. Such abuse cannot be met, however, by cutting back sociopolitical measures, but only by fighting for a challenging and performance promoting atmosphere in the work collectives. Social security becomes an impulse when it is properly balanced with the enforcement of the performance principle and with education within the collective, with ideological work."

Creativeness of the Masses

As another crucial impulse of socialism, the conscious and organized creativeness of the working masses has been referred to. What efforts are made to ensure a high quality of all labor processes, that also essentially expressed the workers' honor, class consciousness and the sense of responsibility, Kurt Hager affirmed and then continued: "High-grade labor is an important condition for a smooth production process, for saving costs for make-up work and warranty services and for the world market standards of our products meeting the sharpest international competition. It is up to every person to turn high-grade work from the GDR into an efficiency trade-mark for us, globally recognized. All experience tells us that quality labor with its demands for care and conscientiousness is decisively motivated by understanding its political importance and the connection between economics and politics and the growing capability and strength of radiation by socialism."

Commenting on the performance principle, the speaker said: "In our socialist society there objectively exists a harmony of social, collective and individual interests because there no longer are any hostile classes or opposing interests. But this harmony is not any abstract identity and is nothing static; it must constantly be ensured under always changing conditions.

Of absolutely crucial importance in this context is enforcing the socialist performance principle. There is no fairer measure in socialism for the share the individual has in the national income than the work he has done for society. It would, however, be one-sided and totally inadequate, were one to confine the performance principle to its distribution function alone. Distribution is not a passive result but also always involves the question about the active incentive for personal performance, about the motivating and mobilizing factors in performance behavior.

To enforce the performance principle one must assign the working people in accordance with their qualifications. Surveys have shown that when the totality of needs, interests and values is looked at, growing weight attaches, and will attach even more so in the future, to the kind of work that demands abilities, education and skills, which all provides contentment. Labor substances and conditions, social contacts established at work, intellectual stimulation and social activities gratifying to the personality more and more set the working people's vital demands, sense of purpose and outlook on life."

IV. The Socialist Way of Life

"Great is the responsibility of the social scientists in further elaborating the theory for a socialist way of life and culture and in coshaping the social conditions conducive to strengthening the socialist way of life and culture in our midst.

We resolutely defend the ideas and values of socialism--equal rights among people, solidarity in their relations, social security and trust in the future, personal integrity and respect and dignity for each citizen--and seek to extend them constructively.

In the people's social relations and individual life style, the working class forms of life and traditions which have been historically and culturally fruitful came to prevail, even if we are far from having completely overcome all social and cultural consequences of the centuries-old rule of private property and of the ideology and culture of the exploiter classes and of petty bourgeois mentality and psychology. It is understood that doing away with these and other phenomena--which still find a feeding ground today in excessive demands or egotistical habits--will take long. Further qualitative changes and advances in material production and in our living standard are as much needed for it as are modifications in the cultural level and in the world-outlook and morality of men. Necessary also is a permanent and frank issue-taking with attitudes harmful to society and egoistic life styles.

We need more courage and aggressiveness in these confrontations, more acuity and focus in the spiritual struggles for realizing our humanistic ideals and values. Close cooperation among social scientists, journalists and artists is needed for it.

The questions of the way of life and its culture for all these reasons are important aspects of ideological work in the 1980's. The social sciences, the arts, the media, all forms of public cultural work therefore are committed to

the further exploration and active dissemination of the live ideals and values in socialism for more effectively instilling a deliberately personal conduct of life. Egoism, living at the expense of others, greed and asocial behavior are manifestations that must not be condoned. The social sciences, ethics above all, must make a greater contribution to moral education and the dispensation of socialist value concepts."

The speaker said it was necessary to pay more attention to such elemental prerequisites for conviviality as mutual respect, courtesy, tact, modesty, reliability, punctuality, self-control, discipline and a sense of order in public opinion as well as in personal life concepts. Such modes of behavior and personality traits should mainly be formed more rigorously into stable habits in the growing generation. Along with the indispensable personal example of the older generation, the parents, teachers, coaches, chiefs and their deliberate educational influence on the entire education and training process, more effectively than thus far also should contribute to it the independent activity in the FDJ and the Ernst Thaelmann pioneer organization and, not last, the drawing of girls and boys into dealing with social and domestic duties. Pedagogical sciences found a broad field for activities there.

High Education and Culture

"The real humanism of our socialist social order, among other things, also is expressed by the fact that the right to education is guaranteed to all citizens in our country. A higher qualification level is of great importance to our society's efficiency and the formation of all-round developed personalities. In 1971, some 61 percent of all employed had completed vocational training, in 1982, that figure was 82.5 percent. The number of technical school and college graduates doubled in that period.

Today every GDR citizen can take it for granted that his children will attend kindergarten and will attend school for 10 years, learn a trade and actually work in that trade in a secure job, and that the best ones find universities, colleges or technical schools open to them. That is the outcome of a more than 35-year developmental process, an important element of the revolutionary transformation of social conditions in the GDR. In a historically brief period the evil legacy was done away with that capitalism had bequeathed upon us also in the educational system: The educational privilege of the propertied, the low educational level of the bourgeois grammar school, the great backwardness in rural schools, and the ominous fascist, racist and nationalistic ideology. Nor did our enemies facilitate this renewal of ours.

In all the phases of our development, we have always realized, as an indissoluble element of our policy, directed at the people's well-being, and always in accordance with concrete historical conditions and opportunities, the Marxist-Leninist educational ideal of the all-round developed personality--a personality with high scientific and polytechnically oriented general education and sound technical knowledge, with creative abilities, a sense for community, and a sense of political responsibility, with a unique and unrepentive individuality. We place special emphasis on the unity between Marxist-Leninist and technical education."

The speaker went on to say: "If we are making so much of a concretely historical realization of the Marxist educational ideal of the all-round developed personality it also is because socialist society is deeply interested in finding out what a man is best suited for and how he can be motivated and encouraged for top achievements in his particular field." That is why the 10th party congress had oriented us toward "still better exhausting all possibilities for spotting, developing and systematically promoting in time all gifts and talents."

Aesthetic education was of great importance for forming socialist personalities and developing moral value concepts. "It is itself directly involved, in a most complex way, in the development of a socialist value consciousness. That holds true for all domains, for aesthetics in ordinary life, industrial design, architecture together with interior design, fashions, entertainment and the arts. Many efforts are being made to make aesthetic education ever more skillful in the various fields, i.e., to develop our humanistic and aesthetic ideals and truly explore the aesthetic values."

In his remarks about art and literature the speaker pointed out that the arts enjoy much elbow room in our country because in art and through the arts we encounter the world of humanity in its historic dimensions. "Progressive art and literature in the world inform us that everywhere--in Latin America, Africa, Asia and even in North America--people rise to provide the human community with more dignified human conditions. We find out about human greatness in such struggles, learn from defeats, and experience the values of socialism from new perspectives.

In our tempestuous and conflicting time, literature and art have vast opportunities to form and mold high social, ethical and aesthetic ideals, and much more must be made of them. What matters is to convey motives for personal thought and action and courage and strength, and to reinforce the sense that to advocate the best cause in the world pays off."

Systematically spreading our scientific world-outlook, dialectic and historical materialism, was a permanent task for the representatives of the Marxist-Leninist philosophy, scientific communism and other social sciences, Kurt Hager asserted. It was a great distinction of our social scientists, he said, that they were paying special attention to the massive effectiveness of their work. Expressive of that were the publication of the new youth consecration book, "Vom Sinn unseres Lebens" [On the Meaning of Our Life], the philosophy textbook for civics instruction, and the book, "Marxistisch-leninistische Philosophie--geschrieben fuer die Jugend" [Marxist-Leninist Philosophy--Written for Youth].

History and the Present

Then the speaker addressed the history and the matters of political and intellectual life of our country. There, as much as in ideological issue-taking with our enemies, the socialist consciousness of history was playing a higher role. Knowing of the why and wherefore in our course was an indispensable source of strength both for the continued shaping of the developed socialist society and the peace struggle.

"In the center of historic research and of propagating our image of history," Kurt Hager declared, "we are placing those periods in which the most penetrating social transformations in world history took place and are taking place, through which the gates have been opened to the peoples' socialist and communist future--starting with the world changing revolutionary processes of the Great Socialist October Revolution. The history of rising socialism in our era embodies the chief line of human progress through history.

GDR history is part of this revolutionary world process. The firm place our socialist state occupies in the worldwide class conflict on the side of peace and progress and our indissoluble fraternal alliance with the Soviet Union and the other states in the socialist community are great accomplishments marking the history of the GDR." Also for GDR history research and propaganda held true what Friedrich Engels once demanded in a letter to Eduard Bernstein, always "to keep aware of the great connection among world events."

"We also understand the history of the socialist GDR in the sense of a national history of the German people," Kurt Hager said. "It embodies the deepest and irreversible turn in the history of the German people and thus adds to the history of the Germans their most significant, successful and auspicious chapter. Precisely because socialism as a rising social order creates new forms of social existence this historic process is also tied up with the formation of the socialist German nation. There is nothing 'artificial' to this process, as the enemies of socialism contend, it rather is an expression of objective, universally valid givens of the socialist revolution, generated in the past and at work in the present and in the future."

Important were the effects on the shaping of socialist modes of thinking and conduct, on the consciousness of history, from local, territorial and enterprise history as well as from the armed forces' work in military history. The growing dedication of our country's citizens to regional history expressed their bonds with their socialist homeland. At this point Kurt Hager mentioned the more than 20,000 members of the Homeland History Society, the many part-time local chronicle writers, and the over 18,000 members of the SED history commissions.

We constantly add to our image of tradition. Solid research and many publications and the events in tribute to Martin Luther in the GDR had shown how much new insight and spiritual gain is obtainable that way, the speaker asserted.

"While we approach the historic traditions of our workers and farmers state without any narrow-mindedness, we are yet taking clear positions against all reactionary forces and aspirations in German history. Our present requires not to slacken in the least in our efforts at unmasking the ominous role of German imperialism, militarism and fascism, and to spare no efforts in uncovering their social foundations and various manifestations. Because we are working without restraint for the interests of the people and for social progress and peace, we are honor bound not to let any of the evil deeds and crimes be forgotten which those reactionary forces committed against our people and other peoples.

Such considerations make still more apparent how much the speculations of some people in the FRG are built on sand when they hope that an intensive study of the basic problems, events and personalities of German history in our socialist state could produce something like interlinking common ties between the GDR and the FRG. After all, it is hard to deny that in approaching any historical issues in the GDR and in the FRG, incompatible, diametrically opposed political and scientific points of departure, value concepts and objectives are the determinants in which is crystallized the historic reality of a socialist state here and an imperialist state yonder.

History knows examples where representatives of exploiter classes, without bursting out of their class-conditioned constraints in understanding, could still look reality in the face or get to it by detours. In German history that might pertain to personalities like Yorck von Wartenburg, Bismarck, Rathenau, Stauffenberg and personalities in the 20 July 1944 conspiracy, who acted under diverse historic conditions and out of a multitude of class interests and motives.

Otto von Bismarck certainly deserves no praise in our historiography as the initiator of the anti-socialist law and the one who was responsible for the culture struggle and the Germanization policy of the German Empire. We know of his ambiguous role in the process of the bourgeois transformation in Germany and in establishing the bourgeois national state. Yet the anti-human course of the U.S. confrontation politicians, abetted unconditionally by ruling circles in the FRG, challenges us to recall other sides of his policy and personality as well. He is known to have formulated this political principle: We must work with realities, not with fictions. His sense of realism--while of course pragmatically oriented to class interests--enabled him soberly to calculate important issues, especially in the foreign policy field, and to plead for good relations with Russia.

In February 1888 he emphatically opposed a preventative war, because of the 'most compelling interests of the European equilibrium and our own future,' as he said.

No one should be surprised that we recall such positions, even if dictated by entirely different class interests, at a time when much depends on that within the ruling circles of imperialist states a sense of reality and reason prevail over adventurousness and military megalomania. Therefore it is quite timely to invoke such positions of Bismarck's within the limits clearly set down here."

V. The Use of the Dialectics

"Marxist-Leninist theory is nothing finished or preassigned for once and for all," Kurt Hager explained. "The social sciences develop through a constant process of learning which does not preclude errors and misjudgments.

The growing interlinkage among all social processes, the greater dimensions and speed in social changes, and the need to take long-term effects of decisions into account present a challenge to the social sciences. That mainly amounts to ever more effectively applying Marxism-Leninism, especially its method of

dialectical materialism, as a powerful tool for an all-round and deep examination of complex and dynamic social processes while reinforcing the alliance with the natural and technical scientists.

The shaping of the developed socialist society, as we know, does not follow a straight line. Many difficulties have to be overcome, and new problems always again have to be resolved which arise from changing internal and external conditions. This is a process in which a dialectical unity is formed by economic, social, intellectual and cultural changes.

This process has mighty impulses toward development and great dynamics; the internal development as well as the conflict with imperialism at the international scale keep asking for new solutions which make further social progress possible. Such new solutions, be it in economic planning and management, in science and technology, or in foreign policy or foreign economic relations, often call for a departure from previously used modes of work and thought, or forms and methods of organization. The dynamics of socialist development is an inevitable process. It depends on the working of objective contradictions inherent in things and phenomena and acting as impulse for social change and development."

Kurt Hager recalled V. I. Lenin's observation that contradiction propels development, saying: "Socialism is not an organism free of contradiction. Its development is marked by the genesis, motion and resolution of objective contradictions. When the transition period from capitalism to socialism came to an end, when socialist production relations triumphed completely, and with the shaping of the developed socialist society, the character of the social contradictions changed. Capitalist class society depending on the exploitation of man by man is abolished, and so is the unmerciful struggle, the antagonistic contradiction between mutually hostile classes. There is a conformity of interests and close cooperation among the workers class, the cooperative farmers, the intelligentsia and the other social strata in socialism. Contradictions resulting in the developmental process, in the search for new solutions and their applications, between social and individual interests are non-antagonistic in character.

From the mere fact that contradictions in developed socialism no longer are antagonisms derives the great advantage for the party and the state to be able consciously to affect and direct these contradictions in their motion and unfolding, provide suitable forms of motion for them and use them systematically as development impulses.

Contradictions in socialism are nothing negative, are no defects. Were we to think they are, it might come about that contradictions are not spotted, or are disguised, when they arise, which might possibly exacerbate them. We are letting ourselves be guided by the Marxist-Leninist theory and method which consider objective contradictions as a developmental law of any society, and so also of the socialist society, and demand of the social sciences their thorough study, the disclosure of what these often interwoven contradictions effect, and their resolution in terms of further social progress, of further strengthening socialism."

In this context, Kurt Hager referred to the constant attempt by imperialist forces to stop the development of the socialist states and weaken socialism. "Such attempts," he said, "could however make antagonistic contradictions arise within socialist society only if counterrevolutionary activities were to break out in their wake, socialist society were to be seriously jeopardized, forms of capitalist ownership in the means of production and, hence, hostile class contradictions were to arise, and the working class party could no longer play its leading role. In spite of all attempts since 1917, however, imperialism never succeeded in eliminating socialism, nor will it ever succeed. Even so, its schemes of interference against socialism which--as has been shown--can cause temporary difficulties in the construction of socialism, and even reversals, must not be underrated.

Under the conditions of the exacerbation of the international situation, and with the ruling U.S. imperialist circles going into their confrontation course and first-strike strategy, the conflict between socialism and imperialism, and so also the extreme contradiction, sharpens. The arms buildup, the economic boycott and ideological diversion are meant to obstruct socialist construction or make it impossible. Only remember the U.S. embargo against the construction of the natural gas pipeline to the western border of the USSR. Yet this example can also show how an intention is turned into its opposite: Extreme pressure caused a counter-reaction. In the Soviet Union and the other states in the socialist community a great initiative was triggered among the working people, especially the youth, that completed the building of the pipeline ahead of schedule."

In social science research the method of dialectical materialism was the crucial precondition for success, the speaker said and called for still more strongly developing the mode of dialectical thinking and work. "That calls for accurate familiarity with the principles, laws and categories of dialectical materialism in their interaction and for applying them in one's own scientific work, calls for thoroughly and persistently practicing them in the whole training and education course that makes one a communist social scientist, indeed practicing them, because a dialectical mode of thinking and work also comes as the result of scientific and practical experience.

Proceeding in terms of dialectical materialism means, instead of putting quotations through their paces, as one can still sometimes find, penetrating the true nature of the works by Marx, Engels and Lenin and the fundamental party resolutions; there the dialectics has best been coped with. Dialectic thinking is no substitute for the knowledge of facts. It presupposes them. It requires extensive historical education and the ability correctly to correlate particulars in their contexts and judge them from a historic point of view. Not last, dialectical thinking also calls for strictly logical procedures and for an optimum in scientific accuracy."

The Tasks of the Social Sciences

"The social sciences in the GDR--led by the principles of the unity of theory and practice and between scientific objectivity and communist party-mindedness--have greatly contributed in recent years to the successful development of socialism on German soil. Among their creative achievements is their share

in conceptualizing the developed socialist society and our party's economic strategy. They have analyzed the social structure of socialist society and the developmental trends in the way of life in the various classes, strata and groups, the development of state and law, the matters of perfecting our national defense and the problems of education and culture. Mention must be made of the elaboration of our Marxist-Leninist concept of history and, not last, of their active participation in an analysis of contemporary imperialism and the issue-taking with the anti-humane ideology and practice of the aggressive U.S. and NATO forces.

We can point to outstanding achievements by individual social scientists and social science collectives that have received attention and appreciation domestically and abroad. From the wealth of social science publications let me pick as examples only some publications by the historians: The 5-volume 'Geschichte des Alltags des deutschen Volkes' [The German People's History of Ordinary Life] by Juergen Kuczynski, the noted nestor of our social sciences; the outstanding studies on primitive and ancient history; the seven volumes of 'Kunst und Literatur im antifaschistischen Exil 1933-45' [Art and Literature in the Antifascist Exile, 1933-45]; and the history volumes on the GDR, the FDJ and the FDGB. The list of works and authors is too long to refer to all of them at this point.

Our social science development proceeded always in close collaboration with that of the Soviet Union and the other fraternal countries. We have dipped into the rich treasure of experiences and theoretical insights of the CPSU and the other fraternal parties. Of great significance for the further development of Marxist-Leninist theory is going to be the new CPSU program the 26th party congress decided to prepare."

Then Kurt Hager dealt with the social effectiveness of scientific work. The practical was the point of departure and goal of scientific knowledge, he said and went on to say: "The unity of theory and practice, of science and politics, must always again be coped with on higher levels in social science work as a dialectical interaction. Three interconnected tasks have to be resolved in this connection:

First, the social scientists should still more resolutely and rapidly focus on newly ripening practical needs and requirements and address the problems raised by life. Social scientists will fulfil the expectations placed in them if they keep their eyes open to the new developmental tendencies at today's hot issues of life and derive their research tasks for tomorrow from them. They can live up to the dynamics of our time only if they do not dodge these issues but confront them in time, expertly and guided by the Marxist-Leninist world-outlook.

Second, more realism is still needed. For that, we must have enough empirical data and thorough all-inclusive analyses that give us an accurate picture of what the processes actually come down to in practice, of the effects produced under specific conditions, of the interaction between objective and subjective factors, and of the effect of national and international conditions on the direction, depth and tempo of social development.

Third, social scientists ought to orient the objectives of their work still more to practical use. Our ideas about the practical utility of the social sciences are by no means narrow. Their fields of application and influence are extremely broad. Their practical use ranges from measurable economic benefits to enriching the thinking and feeling of men, from proposing concrete solutions to drafting theoretical problems that appear to be abstract. What always matters, however, is that social science activity aims at practical benefits for socialism and the peace struggle and gauges its quality and effectiveness against that benefit. Lending practice a helping hand--that should be every socialist social scientist's guideline."

In these terms the speaker advocated a close alliance among the social scientists, people in the practical fields and natural and technical scientists. He went on to say: "Society's responsibility for the social sciences is growing also of course. No one can claim that practical use is everywhere already being made of the considerable wealth of social science knowledge, including the social science educational potential. The task to translate scientific data fast and broadly enough into practical use confronts social science no less than the natural and technical sciences. Party and state functionaries, managers in the economy and in other fields, and propagandists and agitators ought to take note attentively of the social science data and make productive use of them in their own work."

Social scientists should have to take into account that our country's citizens place higher demands today on the cogency and intelligibility of their work, their results. Apart from worthwhile and interesting achievements with practical effects there was still much that was mediocre or hackneyed and did not meet the criterion of practical significance, the speaker said and then turned to the matter of research methods.

"Often already we have emphasized the need for a complex, interdisciplinary approach to solving problems. Advances have been made in this field, yet that kind of approach has by no means yet become the natural working method of all social scientists. Let us take for granted that today all sciences fertilize one another. Science development is possible only where the data and insights of other sciences are taken account of. As to philosophy, that has been demonstrated in detail for epistemology and methodology, determinism and evolutionary theory and other problem areas. Of special importance to epistemology and methodology are psychology, biology, linguistics, to mention but a few areas.

More interdisciplinary work is needed because social reality itself is assuming an ever greater complexity. The interactions between economics, politics and ideology, between objective and subjective factors, between the national and the international, between society and nature, man and technology call for a productive, well organized cooperation among the social scientists and between them and the natural and technical scientists. Experience tells us that those social scientists are best capable of interdisciplinary cooperation who are themselves doing outstanding work in their specialized fields, have as comprehensive a knowledge as possible, follow developments in related fields, and have productive rapport with literature and art. When you come right down

to it, interdisciplinary work is a principle of scientific work as such, an aspect of thinking in terms of dialectical materialism."

Interdisciplinary work was closely tied up with the demand made on social scientists to become familiar with the developmental tendencies and results in the natural sciences, medicine and technology and with the scientific methods and sets of tools made available in support of complex research processes by mathematics, cybernetics, systems analysis and the modern ADP techniques, the speaker said. Social scientists ought to resort to those methods and procedures when through their help much knowledge can be gained and research be intensified, the universality and depth of considerations can be enhanced, and when the time scale for working out sound scientific propositions and alternatives for solving problems of social development and of territorial and enterprise development can be significantly reduced.

In conclusion, Kurt Hager made these points: "We are developing the social sciences in their whole range and in accordance with the priorities arising from practical needs. No discipline must be neglected. Each discipline should be gaged against its contribution to the shaping of the developed socialist society, the strengthening and protection of our state, the enrichment of people's lives and the safeguarding of peace. Our special efforts are devoted to the creative development and vivid propagation of Marxism-Leninism in the unity of its components, the inexhaustible and always fresh theoretical source of our party's successful policy.

The Central Committee is convinced the GDR social scientists will continue to contribute with great expertise and revolutionary elan, scientific accuracy and communist combativeness, with ambition in theory and with solidarity to the masses, to fulfilling the party resolutions. For that I wish, in the name of the Central Committee, all social scientists great success."

Conference Results Evaluated

East Berlin EINHEIT in German Vol 39 No 1, Jan 84 (signed to press 19 Dec 83)
pp 19-23

[Article by Gregor Schirmer, deputy department head of the SED Central Committee: "On the Results of the Social Sciences Conference"]

[Text] On 15 and 16 December, the SED Central Committee's social sciences conference was held at the Karl Marx party college in Berlin. Comrade Kurt Hager, Politburo member and secretary of the Central Committee, gave the keynote address under the title "Laws of Our Epoch: the Driving Forces and Values of Socialism."

The conference has great importance for the further work of the Marxist-Leninist social scientists along the road charted by the 10th party congress. It is another highlight in the theoretical-ideological work of the SED and our republic's scientific life in the Karl Marx Year.

In a letter to Comrade Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, the 850 conference attendants promised they would contribute as best they could through their specific social science means to the implementation of the party policy as issued by the 10th party congress and confirmed by the seventh Central Committee session, aimed as it is at the people's well-being and the safeguarding of peace. The GDR social scientists are standing unanimously and firmly behind the Central Committee and its general secretary. They will meet without reservation the higher demands described in the keynote address of Comrade Erich Honecker at the seventh Central Committee session.

Nineteen comrades spoke during the stimulating and constructive discussion, among them representatives of the party's science institutions, the Academy of Sciences of the GDR, and the universities. Ten comrades submitted their contributions in writing. Excerpts of Comrade Kurt Hager's address and discussion speeches edited for publication are being published in the present EINHEIT issue. The address in toto and all discussion contributions are being published by the Dietz publishing house. These materials embrace a rich arsenal of facts, arguments and theoretical statements on the most important and topical issues of the party's domestic and foreign policy. They ought to be studied thoroughly and used in vivid and persuasive political-ideological work.

What was the theoretical and propaganda yield of the conference?

First: It disclosed further facts and connections confirming as correct the assessment of the critical international situation and the orientations and conclusions for continuing the struggle to ban the danger of nuclear world war and end the arms race as contained in the statements from Comrade Yuri Andropov of 24 November and in Comrade Erich Honecker's seventh Central Committee session speech. It was proven that the danger of a nuclear inferno is solely attributable to the most aggressive U.S. and NATO circles with their confrontation policy, that peace and socialism are inseparable, and that the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries have the political, economic, military and intellectual-moral capacity to ensure, in alliance with all peace-loving forces, a peaceful future for mankind.

Second: The conference dealt with essential historic laws in our epoch. Convincing arguments proved the indissoluble connection between safeguarding peace and further social progress in the world. It was explained that there was no reasonable alternative for the peaceful coexistence between states with socialist and capitalist social orders and that the problems besetting humanity today can be resolved only while keeping the peace. The conference paid much attention to the dialectical connections between the universally valid inevitabilities of social development and their implementation in the concrete historic struggles of our time, in terms of the specific conditions in the various countries, regions and social movements.

Third: The speech and the discussion provided the evidence that the social strategy issued by the SED Program and the 10th party congress had worked well and led to much success. With it, through the changes in international conditions and the development of socialist society itself, new practical and

theoretical tasks have ripened. The concept of the developed socialist society as a holistic social organism steadily going through qualitative and quantitative upward development must further be creatively developed. For that we need still more thorough and prescient research into the inevitabilities and developmental tendencies, functioning modes, driving forces and contradictions of this society. The vital reality of the party's leadership role in all sectors of our society and of socialist democracy as it works in state organs in our kreises, towns and communities must far more deeply and concretely be comprehended.

Fourth: The conference assigned great weight to the theoretical and practical questions of our intensively expanded reproduction. The focal point went to the new tasks assigned by the seventh Central Committee session for the continued implementation of the party's sound scientific economic strategy. Through a still deeper scientific penetration of the intensification processes social scientists, not only the economists, must contribute more effectively still to solving decisive tasks, rapidly transform scientific-technical progress into economic results and thereby at the same time create the critical foundation for further social and intellectual-cultural progress.

Fifth: The conference paid much attention to complex issues in the development of democracy, the social structure, the way of life, and culture and education under the aspect of the advantages and values of socialism, and in solving matured problems and new tasks. The address and the discussion worked out important social science tasks in further elaborating the theory for the socialist way of life and culture and in taking part in shaping the social conditions for the development of the socialist way of life and culture in the working people's everyday conduct in our country. That requires effective issue-taking with the ideas of life and value systems of imperialism. We are resolutely defending the ideals and values of socialism, human equality, solidarity in human relations, social security and trust in the future, and we seek to extend them constructively. Interesting and propitious ideas also were expressed about the further elaboration of the Marxist-Leninist image of history, on coming to grips with the legacy of German history as a whole, and on cultivating all revolutionary and progressive traditions.

Sixth: The conference demonstrated the vitality of Marxism-Leninism, its historic optimism, its invincibility and its successful realization through party policy. Further elaborating our world-outlook and method of dialectical materialism and spreading it among the working people, especially among youth, using it aggressively to refute hostile ideologies and making it convincing and effective--all that remains an important social science mission.

The conference showed that, particularly during the Karl Marx Year, the social scientists came up with many creative achievements in research, teaching, propaganda and agitation, which our party appreciates highly. The address and the discussion brought out topical results in social science research, critical assessments of the state of social science work, and a wealth of suggestions for objectives, priorities and contents in future research and for a rapid and effective translation of research data into social practice. Comrade Kurt Hager's concluding remarks pointed the way in this respect:

--More resolutely than thus far, social scientists ought to concern themselves with truly practical matters. That is not merely the problem of organizing relations with the practical field but, substantively, a question of social theory development. There can be no other point of departure for the social sciences than practice, which is much richer than any theory. Social scientists must be most closely familiar with the people's ordinary life and awareness and study more thoroughly still what happens in the enterprises, communities, schools and with auspicious achievements and the levers for development. Tapping the wealth of social practice is prerequisite and fundamental to the further development of our theory--a theory that can illumine the practical way.

--The interdisciplinary cooperation involving social, natural and technical scientists and medical people must be accomplished at a new and higher level to meet the objective requirements and tendencies of integration and the intertwining of the sciences. It will accrue to the practical benefit of the social sciences and the enrichment of their theoretical substance if the social sciences make more use of the means and methods provided by the natural and technical sciences, such as mathematical methods or computer techniques, ADP or systems analysis.

--Social science work must cope with the method of dialectical materialism in its entirety. This method requires a universality of approach, as complete a consideration for the universality of relations and processes as possible. The doctrine on contradiction is the core of the dialectics yet not everything the dialectics is all about. Discussing that makes sense if it gives us concrete knowledge about the effect of different, mutually opposed, tendencies in one and the same social phenomenon as a perfectly normal process in the development of our country--this under the aspect of advancing, enforcing the new over against the old, and implementing the party policy.

--The social scientists are fighters on the ideological frontline, where conflict has sharpened immensely. The enemy is unscrupulously working by means of lies and slander, deception and confusion, stultification and disguise of true interconnections. The task of the social scientists is, rather than contemplatively noting what things are, to enter directly and aggressively into the ideological struggles so that the truth about the advantages of socialism and the ills and crimes of imperialism is revealed and our position on the basic issues of our time is, in particular, also conveyed to the people in the capitalist world.

--More than thus far, the social scientists should let facts speak for themselves and argue by means of facts. The facts of the imperialist confrontation policy must be disclosed, the facts in the peace policy by the Soviet Union and the other states in the socialist community be aggressively disseminated, and the results and accomplishments of the successful development of socialism in the GDR be brought close to all citizens. The social scientists' strength of conviction will be greater if, with hard and fast facts, they destroy all illusions about imperialism and counteract all reservations about the successes and opportunities of socialism.

--While getting set for the 35th GDR anniversary, the social scientists face the task cogently to convey the ideals and values of our socialist fatherland.

The history and present of our socialist society prove how much our country has changed and how it has blossomed under party leadership, in community with the friendly parties and social organizations in the National Front, in a grand alliance of all classes and strata. On that relies our citizens' pride which also is a strong motivation for them to overcome all inadequacies and always again resolve newly arising problems. We have the mental and material capacities it takes to advance the GDR further in line with the 7th Central Committee session guideline, within the framework of the socialist society, and in cooperation with our friends in the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries. The social scientists will do what they can in contributing to the requisite unfolding of strength.

In analyzing the conference, the social scientists ought to take note of the following chief focal points:

First, they should work out a solid, realistic and honest assessment of the state of social science development since the 10th party congress and in the implementation of the central research plan. That pertains particularly to the theoretical level and social efficacy in resolving the practical tasks in the shaping of the developed socialist society and the impact of the international class conflict. That also calls for a clear judgment on the status of personnel development, science organization, management and the scientific atmosphere. About all that, frank, critical and constructive discussions should be held in the weeks ahead in all central social science councils, the social science courses at the Academy of Sciences, the science councils in the universities and academies or their social science departments, the sectional and institutional councils and the scientists collectives.

Second, it is a matter of meeting the central research plan, proper as to qualities and schedules, in the next 2 years up to 1985. The tasks are clearly formulated there and are fully valid. Above and beyond the plan and its creative implementation, it is a matter of tackling those problems newly raised by the exacerbation of the international situation and the practical issues in the construction of socialism, as they concern the working people. We need still more sound scientific and highly concrete analyses, case studies, solution alternatives and other materials for managing all social sectors according to plan, in mass solidarity and rationally, mainly the economy. Truly new insights, aimed at practical changes, and convincing, logical and compelling arguments for political mass activity are wanted. Those are important matters of quality and efficacy which have to be resolutely answered through the analysis of the conference.

Third, conceptualizations for social science R&D for the years after 1985 have been placed on the agenda. The conference orientations and guidelines directed at the social scientists must be used to think through and render specific the profiles, chief trends and priorities of research and work out new research tasks, targets and problems, and thus lay the foundations for the central research plan for the Marxist-Leninist social sciences in the GDR from 1986 to 1990.

Scholars' Role Countering Armament

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[Article by Max Schmidt, director of the GDR Institute for International Politics and Economics: "Foiling the Imperialist Policy of Confrontation and Intensified Armament"]

[Text] The GDR social scientists working in imperialism research find the most important aspect of their work in their commitment to participate as best they can in the defense and safeguarding of peace. Specifically that means contributing concretely and convincingly to unmasking, turning back and foiling the imperialist policy of confrontation and intensified armament. Much useful work surely has been done in the last 2 years in this field in support of our ideological party work through various theoretical, popular science and propaganda studies. Yet most recent developments in the international situation call for more extensive analyses of the causes for its exacerbation, the enforced imperialist confrontation course, mainly that of the United States, and above all of the military components that are placing humanity in jeopardy, proving the chief peril to world peace and the greatest obstacle to a recovery of the international atmosphere.

The supreme goal of U.S. policy for the 1980's is not only to prevent further changes in the international power ratio to the detriment of imperialism but to bring about a fundamental turn-around for its benefit. Through a combined employment of military power, political and economic pressure, ideological warfare and intelligence operations, a process is meant to be started which would end with the liquidation of socialism as a real social system and, furthermore, of the anti-imperialist transformations in the developing countries. In his speech at Notre Dame University in May 1981, U.S. President Reagan summarized that strategic goal as follows: "We shall not settle for denouncing it (Author: communism), we shall get rid of it."*

That anticommunist crusade mentality of the incumbent U.S. administration and the conservative-reactionary forces in the U.S. ruling class on which it relies and the policy they propagate for a "total confrontation" have crystallized in an unprecedented arms buildup escalation.

The roots and impulses of this adventurous policy can be found in the penetrating changes in the conditions for the existence of imperialism, resulting from the intensification of the general crisis in capitalism, the new stage of its development, within the scope of its third phase since the 1970's. The loss of its military strategic superiority, which changed the international power ratio to its detriment, is tied up with the most severe crises in the capitalist world since the 1930's. This involves not only the effects of the serious cyclical crises of 1974/75 and from 1980 to 1983, but a severe increase

*ICA, ed., "Wireless Bulletin from Washington," Bonn-Bad Godesberg, 20 May 1981.

of the economic, social and political instability in the capitalist system-- a penetrating deformation of the foundations, principles and mechanisms of capital rule. The intensity of these crisis conditions is causally related to the arch-reactionary and most aggressive policy of today's dominant forces, mainly of U.S. monopoly capital, which policy is supposed to provide a way out for them.

The central element in this policy is the higher place value of the military factor. Through a qualitative and quantitative jump in the imperialist arms buildup, the regaining of U.S. military superiority over the USSR, and that of NATO over the Warsaw Pact states, and through the basic change connected with it in U.S. military strategy, the United States is supposed to become able to make its hegemonial policy prevail wherever and whenever, by threatening or using military force. The centerpiece in this is the strategy of the so-called nucleardecapitation, the liquidation of the political and military leadership of the Soviet Union and its allies and the destruction of the strategic weapons of the USSR through a massive nuclear strike. The nuclear strategic armaments programs put into action to realize that doctrine, including the deployment of new nuclear missiles in Western Europe, are to provide the United States with the means it deems required to increase military pressure on the socialist states so much that it presents them with the alternatives, as the former "Soviet expert" in the Reagan administration, Richard Pipes, has been speculating, either to "change their system peacefully or drag it into war."*

The currently dominant faction of the monopoly bourgeoisie in the United States--inflicted with the design to reorganize the world in terms of its own egoistical class interests--thus is engaged in a policy that risks the destruction of the human race. Relentless, brutal and unscrupulous, as proven by the aggression of the big U.S. military power against puny Grenada--and with contempt for the rules of international security and cooperation and for the vital interests of the peoples, the United States is seeking world hegemony. In his 12 December 1983 speech, U.S. President Reagan exposed the global character of this U.S. confrontation policy drawing a straight line "from Grenada via Lebanon and the demilitarized zone of Korea all the way to the NATO frontline in Europe,"** for where the U.S. armed forces are assigned.

This then is not just some ideological conception or crusade alternative as they would surface and then again disappear in the course of recent decades, but the official policy of the leading imperialist power, the United States, which manifests itself in everyday acts. And to that conception of global military, political, economic and ideological conflict with socialism the most aggressive U.S. imperialist circles intend to commit the capitalist world at large.

By agreeing to the deployment of new U.S. nuclear first-strike weapons, the FRG government has submitted to the devilish logic in this U.S. concept. That deployment lends a new dimension to the FRG's role as the NATO spearhead, mainly in that for the first time again after World War II USSR territory comes under a direct threat from German soil--from the FRG.

*Quoted from FRANKFURTER RUNDSCHAU, 20 March 1981.

**INTERNATIONAL HERALD TRIBUNE, Paris, 13 December 1983.

Well, what matters is not only to show, by arguments that get under their skin, that the rearmlers bear the blame for the deterioration of the international situation, but also, as Comrade Erich Honecker said at the most recent Central Committee session, "to point the way to how their adventurist course can be halted and the situation can greatly be changed for the benefit of safeguarding world peace."* Of central importance to that are the questions about the role of the approximate military strategic equilibrium. Let us pick out a few political and ideological sides of that problem:

--The approximate military strategic equilibrium between socialism and imperialism was accomplished after a decade of struggle in the defense and protection of the socialist achievement against an imperialist policy of intervention, threat and aggression. It had to be accomplished to ensure the new socialist order's right to exist and live. When the military equilibrium was achieved, the original military U.S. and NATO superiority in the postwar period was done for and the failure of the roll back strategy was sealed. This is a great historic achievement by the states in the socialist community, principally the Soviet Union, relying on their economic and scientific-technical potentials, their firm political order, their armed forces, and the ability and dedication of their peoples.

--Strategic parity under prevailing conditions is the practical application of Lenin's realization that a revolution is worth something only if it knows how to defend itself. It is the assumption of the obligation to secure peace which socialism, in pursuit of the historic mission of the workers class, took on while two diverse social systems existed. Maintaining the military equilibrium as an objective peace promoting factor is a service socialism renders to all humanity.

--As the experiences of the 1970's irrefutably prove, the military strategic equilibrium achieved became the crucial basis and prerequisite for the political detente process that got started at that time. It also is the basic condition for the possibility of arms limitation and disarmament negotiations based on equality and equal security.

--Seeking military superiority on the part of the United States and NATO, on the other hand, makes clear that the most aggressive imperialist forces regard the existing parity as the crucial obstacle to making their hegemonial goals prevail. "America's strategic superiority after World War II was of crucial benefit to us," the former U.S. President Nixon wrote, "it was the key to our political power, the trump card enabling us to attain political goals."** And that is a condition they would like to return to, while the current leadership group in the White House considers "genuine parity in the field of military power" as "paralyzing politics," as a "catastrophe."

*Erich Honecker, "In These Times of Struggle We Press Ahead Along the Road to Peace and Socialism Charted by the 10th Party Congress; Seventh Session of the SED Central Committee," Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1983, p 11.

**Richard Nixon, "So verlieren wir den Frieden" [So We Lose the Peace], Hamburg, 1980, p 172.

This indicates: The peace securing function of the approximate military equilibrium is not the outcome of a military power balance between neutral systems, but this equilibrium was achieved by the socialist states, principally the USSR, which then made its peace securing role effective, and this through indissoluble unity with the active detente policy and with enforcing the principles of peaceful coexistence in the relations between states with differing social orders. It is the securing of this equilibrium which has thus far made it impossible for the imperialist states to conduct a nuclear war with feasible prospects of victory and will continue to do so in the future. To recall that at present is extremely important because--after the deployment of Pershing II and cruise missiles--we are forced to call a halt to imperialism's striving for military superiority and secure the equilibrium on the appropriate level. That has become a necessity for us which we must take account of and, from the standpoint of the economic, scientific-technical development and the capabilities and readiness of our armed forces and our peoples, can take account of, too.

Even if the U.S. and NATO inclinations for military superiority are ultimately not going to be crowned with success, the belief in a possible superiority, based on breakthroughs in arms technology and new military doctrines, and combined with a policy relying on irrational considerations and all that unaccountability, yet constitutes a growing war danger. Not rational considerations, but the assumptions based on super-armament could seduce the war strategists of the incumbent U.S. administration, inclined to misassessments, into a first strike that would trigger the nuclear inferno. A multiple mutual destructive capability undoubtedly already exists. Yet we cannot do without a military balance against the new U.S. missiles because the whole point is to warn in good time against any misassessment of the situation. Such a warning cannot consist of words only but must rely on the material safety of the strategic equilibrium and thereby make the U.S. and NATO ruling circles aware that they would have no chance at all in counting on victory. Creating that awareness is not only up to our soldiers, of which our defense minister, Comrade Heinz Hoffmann, spoke at the seventh Central Committee session, but is also a task of science, part of its obligation to prevent war and ensure peace. Of course, to the socialist states the military strategic equilibrium neither is an ideal condition nor an end in itself or of static military magnitude; it is a means to an end, prerequisite to practicable political steps toward arms limitation and disarmament.

Our concept of a stage by stage reduction of the level of military confrontation on the basis of equality and equal security, the renunciation of the first use of nuclear weapons leading to their complete elimination, the renunciation of any striving for military superiority and the cutting back of the military potentials to the measure needed for defense and, finally, the gradual substitution of political for military security factors has nothing to do with NATO's deterrence concept, the notion of a balance of terror. That NATO concept places the threat and use of violence, including nuclear war, in the center of politics, and from it then comes the constant increase in military strength as a necessary condition for "credible deterrence."

Behind the deterrence capability the NATO military and theoreticians are invoking, therefore, hides a constant inclination to keep ahead in armaments and

always again new weapons systems for the sake of deterrence. The devilish pretense of it is that the concept presumes to be defensive yet practically offers the chance of "preventative" military acts. The deterrence concept regards nuclear weapons as indispensable, whereas the socialist states look at them as a means for ensuring security that was imposed upon them and should quickly again be abolished. NATO's deterrence conception stimulates the arms race because it can ultimately not accept the military equilibrium. Seeking military superiority is inherent in it--on behalf of as secure a "deterrence" as possible.

Precisely in that sense the incumbent U.S. administration seeks superiority with its planning and practical acts, with the aim of being able to conduct nuclear war and win it. Official U.S. government circles have stopped recently, to be sure, talking all too noisily of superiority because the "battle cry" from across the ocean had made even some West European politicians sit back and think. Instead, those circles, in their military strategies and building up their military potential, are all the more stubbornly in fact steering at their superiority. One authorization, production, testing, operations and deployment report on the MX missiles, the Midgetman missiles, new nuclear submarines, bombers, Pershing II, cruise missiles, neutron warheads, nerve gas and other weapons of mass destruction follows on the heel of another. "We ought to speak of parity yet, for the case of emergency, plan on victory,"* that is the motto by which they are now proceeding, as the start in the deployment of first-strike weapons in Western Europe has shown.

Undoubtedly, the conditions for enforcing our strategic tasks of securing the peace become more complicated because of the imperialist confrontation policy. At the same time, however, the peace movement has made powerful strides on all continents and especially in Europe and has attained a scope that even the rulers in the capitalist countries have to take its force and strength into account. The peace movement--without overlooking its contradictory developmental processes--has sharpened the awareness of the broad masses for the questions of securing peace. Despite the start of the deployment, the domestic policy situation in the West European countries today is not what it used to be 2 years ago. Broader circles of the people than before are caught in the discussion of the matters of security policy and the development of an alternative security policy against U.S. and NATO nuclear war strategy. Influential parties, organizations and associations not only articulated their rejection of the missile deployment and their demands for halting the arms buildup, but are beginning their considerations and actions for an active peace security policy. The realistic conception is making inroads that today there can be only one common security for east and west--a position that comes close to our practice of peaceful coexistence.

Not last, the connections between the arms buildup and the social welfare cuts are becoming more apparent, which brings the workers movement and the peace movement more closely together.

*Colin S. Gray, "The Concept of Strategic Deterrence," in translation, BLAETTER FUER DEUTSCHE UND INTERNATIONALE POLITIK, Cologne, No 1, 1982, p 1252.

To unmask and foil the imperialist confrontation course and revive the detente policy means to us in imperialism research uncovering the roots, impulses and concrete forms of imperialist aggressiveness as well as unmasking their conceptions and practical applications, more deeply examining the connections between armament, disarmament and economic and social processes in imperialism, and providing the broad peace movement with scientific arguments and theoretical equipment.

Rationalization, Intensification Doctrine

East Berlin EINHEIT in German Vol 39 No 1, Jan 84 (signed to press 19 Dec 83)
pp 39-43

[Article by Helmut Koziolk, SED Central Committee member, director of the SED Central Committee Institute for Marxism-Leninism: "Our Planned Economy on the Path of Comprehensive Intensification"]

[Text] At the international Karl Marx science conference, Comrade Erich Honecker, secretary general of our party's Central Committee, observed that many ideas of Karl Marx were all the more topical to us, the more the GDR economy was making headway on the main road of intensively expanded reproduction.

Our party has prepared--as was emphasized by Comrade Kurt Hager--through the conception of the developed socialist society a sound theoretical and more and more practically tested social strategy. The economic strategy for the 1980's, as issued by the 10th party congress, is a decisive element of that all-inclusive social strategy. It belongs among the most important scientific-theoretical achievements of our party today. We see in it a creative application of the Marxist-Leninist reproduction theory to the concrete conditions in the GDR, notably a scientific concept for focusing the entire economy on all-inclusive intensification. In this context I like to remind you once again of Comrade Erich Honecker's 1971 study, "Questions of Science and Politics in Socialist Society," which marks a crucial starting point for all our economic science work. It conveyed the most important theoretical insights and practical experiences from all the previous development of socialist society. With it, it offered basic guidelines for approaching, in principle, the solution of topical and strategic tasks in economic management. It also greatly determined the party-minded working climate of our country's social scientists, the creative debate among them, which helped us advance because we conducted it as a debate among Marxist-Leninists, i.e., on the firm basis of our scientific world-outlook.

The high criteria for the approach by the economic scientists to the implementation of the party resolutions and for their close cooperation with practical economics as for their cooperative efforts, notably with natural and technical scientists, were explained in detail in Comrade Guenter Mittag's speech at the economic science conference of the GDR.

GDR economists at this conference, in a letter to Comrade Erich Honecker, assumed the obligation to contribute more than before to solving theoretical and practical problems in implementation of the 10th party congress resolutions. That means in many ways a qualitatively higher level of work and a still more consistent orientation to implementing the party resolutions. The path for it was charted at the seventh Central Committee session. In terms of that

session, we shall have to explore still more comprehensively the insights in our Marxist-Leninist theory for resolving our economy's key issues and thereby enhance its effectiveness.

I should like to deal with three questions in need of special attention.

First, this involves the relations between economic growth and all-inclusive socialist intensification. Economic growth by way of intensively expanded socialist reproduction is the fundamental condition for the continued shaping of the developed socialist society and must be organized deliberately and according to plan. When we talk of growth today we talk of intensification. Economic growth, an increase in the produced national income and--included in that--particularly a continual augmentation of the surplus product as the basic concern of our party's economic policy are the prerequisite for ensuring, in conformity with the basic economic law of socialism, the working people's material and cultural standard of living and gradually elevating it further, extending and modernizing the material-technical base of socialism, creating the conditions for the reproduction of the natural environment, fulfilling the foreign policy and foreign economy tasks, and defending our country's socialist accomplishments. Advances by way of intensification are also advances made in the use of all impulses and advantages of socialism.

Expanded reproduction can only be intensively expanded reproduction today and in the future. There we must make sure that the national income growth exceeds the growth of the embodied production prerequisites, that output grows faster than the use of resources, that steady production growth goes hand in hand with a reduced investment of resources.

Typical of intensively expanded reproduction is a better use of all available resources. Intensification always aims at making more effective what we have, i.e. the energy, raw materials, semifabricates, machines and installations involved in the economic cycle, and at assigning labor more effectively. Intensively expanded reproduction is in principle tied up today with an enhanced refining of, especially, domestic raw materials and energy sources. This constitutes a unified process between increased use values and value growth. And these are objective processes in the reproduction process which have to be still more fully processed by the economic scientists.

Through its economic strategy, the party has oriented us in good time to these requirements. At the seventh Central Committee session and the eighth People's Chamber session it became clear that they are being implemented by unprecedented working people activities. It illuminated the unity of theory and practice and offers a new field of activity to scientific work in convincingly demonstrating that this path is possible not only today, but in the future as well. There is no room left then for theories that are alien to life.

The transition to comprehensive intensification, to a total resources-saving type of reproduction is possible and indispensable--that much has become indisputable. It stems primarily from the internal requirements in the shaping of the developed socialist society and relies on men's creativeness, especially on their ability to turn scientific-technical progress into social effectiveness.

Notably it is the end-and-means dialectics and the need to continue the main task course with success in the future as well that require of us to tap all reserves for increasing economic efficiency, and the advantages of the socialist planned economy are what allows us to use all qualitative factors for a high rate of economic growth.

If we are making a point of that there are no alternatives for the steady growth of output and of the national income, that is due mainly to the humanistic nature of our society where man marks the central point. It is not a matter of economic growth for its own sake, but of growth as the indispensable foundation for social advances in all fields.

That precisely also is the reason why we categorically reject any notions and suggestions we should settle for slower economic growth or even for a "zero growth." Socialist society has no alternative for the steady growth of output and the national income. Of increasing importance here is that the social surplus product has to grow. It was Karl Marx who established as a principle, in his "Critique of the Gotha Program," that from the GNP "an extra portion for expansion and production" is to be made available and that also that has to be covered "which is intended for the satisfaction of communal needs such as schools, health facilities and so forth." Marx pointed out explicitly that this portion "develops to the extent that the new society does."* The surplus product, one may infer from that, serves directly the further shaping of the nature of socialist society, its stability and its strength.

This gain for socialism increases when costs are reduced, mainly through the economization of the means of production. Marx already, while analyzing the capitalist reproduction process, integrated a rational, economic handling of energy sources, raw materials and semifabricates with the process that would raise the social production effectiveness as a "method to achieve a certain result through lowest expenditures."** Marx spoke of the "fanaticism of the capitalists in economizing the means of production. That nothing spoils or is squandered."*** How much more then will we need in our economy, which is being developed for the benefit of the people, a commitment, wealth of ideas and consistency in making economic processes efficient! The great efforts on behalf of the further shaping of the developed socialist society in our country, in implementation of all-inclusive intensification, as well as the conditions for international class struggle require a further deepening of the scientific-technical and economic collaboration with the USSR and further socialist integration. And we will find: The better the coordinated and joint measures of socialist economic integration conform with the internal needs of the CEMA countries for increasing comprehensive intensification and the higher its economic effectiveness is, the more interested are the participating countries in enforcing these measures and the greater also becomes their influence on economic growth in our own country.

*Marx/Engels,, "Werke" (Works), Vol 19, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1962, p 19.

** Ibid., Vol 25, 1964, p 95.

***Ibid., p 93.

Second, a few remarks about the role of live labor in comprehensive socialist intensification. The salient point of intensification lies in making full use of the educational potential the party has created.

In the capitalist industrial states, bourgeois politicians and capitalist entrepreneurs do a lot of squawking about an allegedly very high "over-qualification." In our society, a remark like that would be completely off the track. Among us, there cannot be enough education, knowledge, expertise and capability for skilled labor.

The road to a more efficient use of extant raw materials, energy sources and capital assets goes through steadily improved training and a more efficient utilization of the public labor capacity. When there is a committed and highly trained workers class and class of cooperative farmers and creative work by the socialist intelligentsia that meets high-level demands, our society has its most important wealth right there, and that has increased considerably through the implementation of the main task policy. Economics also has to contribute to mining such wealth comprehensively. There are two aspects here I should like to stress:

The full use of qualifications becomes ever more necessary, both through altering the substance of labor and making working people more highly disposable. I would like to stress that high technical demands made in the labor process depend on technology as much as on production organization. A demanding labor content promotes personality, raises the working people's motivation and is of economic benefit in that, after all, skilled work produces a higher value.

High qualification must express itself today also in making labor more disposable. Especially the needed higher economic flexibility calls for making working people more disposable, and that is the subjective side of the matter. Some fresh scientific thought has to be given to that too, and we should remember that Marx called the "change in labor, the flow of function, the all-round flexibility of the worker"* a general production law. The importance of that law is undoubtedly increasing today.

Not last it has been the Schwedt Petrochemical Combine which has confirmed our great progressive capability to transform production organization, which presupposes working people who actively engage in becoming more disposable. There, as in many other enterprises, it is persuasively being demonstrated that in the complex socialist rationalization of whole production sectors, the efficient use of microelectronics and robot technology and the modernization of available machinery and installations it is not merely a matter of job cutbacks but also of creating new opportunities for creative work for society and for satisfying individual needs. So we gain, according to plan, labor for constructing means of rationalization, for consumer goods production, for a higher capacity use of the capital assets, to give only a few examples.

*Ibid., Vol 23, 1962, p 511.

The worker's all-round flexibility is to be conceived as a "general production law" not only in the sense of recruiting workers into new tasks and of job transfer. Inversely, it is also a matter of assigning new tasks, as it were, to existing collectives and their members. This is part of the considerations for employing working hours and labor saved primarily within the same enterprise or combine.

Our social practice also demonstrates persuasively: The unlimited right to work, full employment, is one of the fundamental advantages of socialism, one of its basic accomplishments, which we never question. Precisely our intensively expanded reproduction offers immense opportunities for creative work. Our whole way of being engaged in rationalization in our country, preparing it and carrying it out together with the working people, and all results achieved thus far in recruiting labor, released through rationalization, for more effective and often more interesting and more ambitious work, all that demonstrates we are not just talking about further developing the humanistic character of our society but we are truly acting accordingly.

Third, some points about the science--technology--output--sales cycle and the intensification of the cyclical processes. When the party made its historic decision to carry out the main task policy, a greater need arose to make faster and broader headway in combining the advantages of socialism with the scientific-technical revolution. It comes down to a broader effect of science and technology and to speeding up the spread of innovations. The crucial aspect for it lies in higher efficiency. Highly rising public outlays for science and technology, especially since 1971, are to be considered the premises for the needed higher level of efficiency and productivity. The demand by the party, that labor productivity and export income must rise faster than what we spent on science and technology, set the mandatory measures for it. We are getting there through a higher creative level of scientific-technical achievements themselves.

In all fields it ultimately comes down to an optimum economic utilization of science and technology data for the benefit of the GDR. Science, therefore, cannot itself set the economic standards for scientific-technical achievements. They, rather, arise from the objective economic reproduction conditions in any given period of development, and they are themselves dynamic.

Through these, for objective reasons, dynamic economic ratings for scientific-technical achievements, the economic laws of socialism have a social impact on science and technology and on the acceleration of scientific-technical progress. From that arises the public mission for the cooperation between economic, natural and technical sciences.

From the need to accelerate the science--technology--output--sales cycle and the spread of innovator processes in society ultimately also results the requirement for a new type of socialist production organization and management, as has evolved over a long period of time in the industrial and construction combines and other economic sectors. As centers of the working class and the socialist intelligentsia, they form the crucial basis for production and technology replacement. Their contribution to an economically more effective use

of science and technology and to enhancing production flexibility in line with changing requirement and market structures is crucial for better satisfying population needs, the economy and the export. So the combines assume that new quality of economic units our society absolutely needs to cope with the conversion to all-inclusive intensification and consistently orient the whole reproduction process of a combine and its enterprises to needs while making use of the time factor.

That the socialist planned economy has a high degree of flexibility has, not last, been proven by the rapid and successful implementation of such economically significant processes as heating oil substitution, enhanced production refining, especially a better materials economy utilization of petroleum and, finally, the considerable reduction in energy and materials consumption and the increasing use made of secondary raw materials. Such processes not only demonstrate the socialist planned economy can flexibly react to altered conditions, but also its developmental capability and vitality.

The tasks now to be solved by the economists were clearly formulated at the economics conference and in the conference attendants' letter to Comrade Erich Honecker, which expressed solid confidence in our party policy and thanks to Comrade Erich Honecker, who always with great attention has encouraged our economic research--as much as social science work all around. Helping in the solution of these tasks makes a high demand on our professional ethics as socialist economists and is a public mission we shall honorably fulfil in conformity with the higher criteria.

Philosophical Analysis Problems

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pp 50-54

[Article by Erich Hahn, SED Central Committee member, director of the Institute for Marxist-Leninist Philosophy of the GDR Academy of Social Sciences: "On the Character of Socialism's Contradictions"]

[Text] Comrade Kurt Hager's address paid much attention to socialism's contradictions as a source and impulse for development. And indeed: As inappropriate as it would be to reduce our theory or dialectical materialism to that aspect, the doctrine on contradiction is yet a cornerstone of the Marxist-Leninist world-outlook, not only one of its most important ones, but also one that is most attractive and the greatest challenge to thought. At the latest, it always is when the "contradiction" topic is raised that things become lively in the FDJ study year. One of the most interesting and serious events in my whole propaganda activity to me was a Sunday morning in January 1981. The Minister for Culture had invited me for a discussion of socialism's contradictions at a cabaret entertainers' workshop. Nor is it, after all, unknown that the problem of "contradictions" has for more than hundred years presented a favorite playground to the opponents of Marxism-Leninism seeking to malign the scientific world-outlook of the workers class by such stupid contentions as that there were only logical contradictions and dialectical ones had been invented by the Marxists to manipulate reality, kindle the class struggle, or through the

insidious allegation the theory on contradiction, the "friend or foe syndrome" of the communists, were an expression and sign of their deep-seated aggressiveness. Lately especially, anticommunist warriors have incessantly sought to use actual contradictions of socialism or some they themselves have designed as an occasion for fishing in troubled waters.

Hence it is perfectly normal that from time to time the theoretical discussion among Marxists revolves most intensively around that topic.

Now again there is the question whether antagonistic contradictions could also arise in socialism. The recognition of antagonistic contradictions in socialism was needed--so it is being said--to keep an eye on problems, difficulties and conflicts, shake up one's consciousness and bolster society's defense capacities. Not a mean role in the discussion also goes to the relation between objective and subjective factors in the development of the contradictions in socialism.

I have three comments on this overall problem:

First: Marx, Engels and Lenin mainly used the term "antagonism" to define the basic character of essential contradictions and their forms of motion and resolution within the scope of a society based on exploitation and, hence, on implacable class opposition. They did not use that term to define particular contradictions. Marx spoke of capitalism as the last antagonistic "form of the social production process, antagonistic in the sense of an antagonism growing out of the social conditions of life of individuals."* One characteristic of such contradictions is that they cannot or can only temporarily be solved on the basis of the given society, their solution runs into barriers within the scope of existing conditions, wherefore it becomes historically necessary to abolish the system as a whole. By no means does that imply that such a society is at the surface exclusively marked by constant violent confrontations, open fights or destructive processes. We know the monopoly bourgeoisie today uses many means for channeling antagonistic contradictions in such a way that they will possibly not jeopardize the capitalist system. What it cannot do, however, is fundamentally resolve these contradictions while maintaining imperialist exploitation and rule. And more than that, temporary solutions more and more often and with ever more fatal consequences lead to a reproduction of the contradictions and to their aggravation and lead to the appearance of new contradictions. That may in fact today be the crucial trait of the antagonistic character of imperialism and its contradictions.

In discussing antagonisms in our society, it seems to me, we cannot ignore that imperialist ideologues and apologists are hunting a lot for ideas so as fictitiously to attribute to socialism the contradiction model we have just defined, be it for reason of their being caught by their own categories of thinking or for counterrevolutionary objectices. So they seek to turn every contradiction in our development--in analogy with their society--into an insurmountable contradiction in the socialist system, misinterpret objective contradictions in a subjectivist manner, and then attribute them to our party as

*Ibid., Vol 13, 1961, p 9.

defects. They also are incessantly seeking to reinterpret our manner of dealing with our contradictions--our uncovering them consciously, thoroughly analyzing them, and mobilizing our whole society toward overcoming them--into an admission of crisis presumably threatening socialism once again, so as to prevent us thereby from resolving contradictions.

Therefore it is not merely a matter of theory or definition to work out the nonantagonistic character of contradictions in socialism. We shall have to pay more attention in philosophy to disclosing and presenting the altered character of the contradictions of socialism and of their connection with the essential basic features of our order. Karl Marx made the point that it was a "society based on class opposition" which came down to the "brutal contradiction, the collision of man with man, as the ultimate solution, to total revolution."* Working class power it is, as well as the public ownership in the means of production, which as the basic features of our order bring along the nonantagonistic character of our contradictions as well as new conditions and possibilities for affecting and resolving them. "The continuing creation, consolidation and development of harmony between social, collective and individual interests," as the Central Committee theses on the Karl Marx Year emphasized, "is the fundamental pattern for the movement of the qualitatively new contradictions in socialism and simultaneously the path along which these propel social progress."**

Second: The disappearance, the elimination of antagonism from the life of society is a world historic process. Saying this, I do not wish to endorse what I think is a simplistic inference, to the effect that because of the historic replacement or substitution of antagonism by nonantagonistic contradictions being a process, any process needing its own time, antagonisms might still arise even in socialism, especially during the transition period to socialism. That observation just does not mean very much. I would like to remind you that it was possible under our conditions to resolve a clearly antagonistic contradiction--that between developing socialism and the capitalist private ownership in the means of production--in the 1950's and 1960's in a highly differentiated manner that included means which actually no longer conformed to that type of contradictions. What is rather important is that socialism does not get separated from the old world by an impenetrable screen. It develops against it in inexorable and implacable struggle. The choice of means and battlegrounds does not depend on it only. And that mainly is the reason that no line of demarkation, set for once and for all, can be accounted for between nonantagonism and antagonism.

The history and present of the socialist revolution in the GDR have always been linked with the struggle against the influences and effects of the external antagonistic contradiction between socialism and capitalism on our internal development. Our party's experiences in this struggle teach us that --confusion or illusion about the antagonistic nature of the opposition between revolution and counterrevolution--in whatever form or wherever they may appear--not be allowed to spread;

*Ibid., Vol 4, 1959, p 182.

**EINHEIT, No 1, 1983, p 26.

--the emergence and formation of those concrete interests, social forces and inclinations in which the movement of objective contradictions makes itself felt deserve the most careful consideration; and
--even nonantagonistic contradictions intensify and assume the form of sharp conflicts, if left to themselves, to spontaneity.

And then there also is the general conclusion that concrete contradictions can never practically be resolved by simply understanding if they are antagonistic or nonantagonistic in character. A resolute defense against or destruction of an enemy and a rigorous assignment of all necessary means to contain or eliminate conflicts in the making have always been combined with mobilizing the potentials and impulses that inhere in our order. The theoretical effort in classifying contradictions as antagonistic or nonantagonistic must not end in setting down rules for dealing with them in a one-sided manner, in schematically fixing ways of solution in one direction only.

Third: Much more important than discussing antagonism and nonantagonism is the scientific penetration of the real contradictions in our social practice, of their concrete content and character--which are, after all, far more diverse than it would appear in an abstract comparison between antagonism and nonantagonism--and is the theoretical generalization of our party's experiences in affecting and resolving them. The first thing we have to consider is this: As in reality contradictions present themselves not as an isolated problem, but as elements in a concrete situation, as one side of any given process, so we also need, for theoretically and practically coming to cope with them, not only the theory on contradiction, but need to use the whole wealth of our world-outlook. It is most compelling, especially for us philosophers, to analyze the contradictions of socialism as they are intertwined with the inevitabilities, interests, actions and modes of conduct of collectives and individuals, and with the objective and subjective conditions of our struggle. Neither in theory nor in practice would it be helpful to treat contradictions as absolutes or as if they were independent.

At the seventh Central Committee session, Comrade Erich Honecker spoke of a number of essential economic experiences, mainly in the last 2 years: of the proven possibility of reducing production consumption in absolute terms while increasing output and national income, of making better use of the precious raw materials, and of boosting exports to the nonsocialist economic region despite the toughest competition. Other comrades reported on similar important results--often, up to recently not even considered possible--in the stubborn struggle against obstacles and difficulties opposing them during the implementation of our resolutions in recent years.

Coping with the tasks connected with that under our party leadership also clarifies, however, the forms in the movement and resolution of objective contradictions typical of our order, the ways and means in which it becomes possible to control them if they are deliberately used as impulses. That has required and will require for the future
--first, a properly timed and thorough analysis of their roots, the perspectives suggested in their development and in the thrust of contradictory tendencies, such as whether the manifestations are short-range, transitory or long-term;

--second, a clear ideological-intellectual orientation by the party and all social forces to the crucial political and economic requirements;
 --third, a public understanding of the social and political character of the contradictions and their consequences for attaining our goals and projects; ascertaining an active and combative position on coping with the problems; using all forms of socialist democracy for challenging initiative, creativeness, and the independent and self-assured exercise of common responsibility by each;
 --and fourth, linking and combining diverse interests based on common objective interests; directing collective action toward enforcing social priority interests by means of the suitable forms of management, planning and organization.

Especially in connection with these experiences, problems in the dialectics between the objective and the subjective in the development of socialism's contradictions become apparent which require further theoretical efforts. Surveys have established that performance differences as a rule are caused by a great number of different circumstances. They have also demonstrated, however, that with all the differences and specifics of a given situation, subjective factors play quite a part in it too: e.g. different degrees of awareness, education, skills, attitudes, knowledge, motives, moral and ideological value judgments, all the way to the attitude toward our world-outlook--which are factors, in other words, that ultimately transcend personal stand-points and conduct.

These differences, then again, become all the more emphatic the more sharply they contrast with identical or nearly identical circumstances and with the generally increased dimensions in our activity. By "identical circumstances" I mainly mean social security or increasing equality of opportunities and conditions for activities as social criteria for personal existence. By "increased dimensions in our activity" which crystallize in greater dimensions of responsibility I mean tendencies such as mentioned by Kurt Hager, like the increase of the produced national income per head (in the producing sectors) by more than half between 1970 and 1982, or the growth in the basic assets inventory per head, almost doubled in the same period. Both are important indicators for the rapidly progressing socialization of labor. I do not overlook the differences in working and living conditions hidden behind these general tendencies and average figures. But with all the differences, the strong tendency toward adaptation cannot be denied. Moreover, this is not a matter of equality or inequality per se, but of disparities in conduct in view of increasingly identical, qualitatively changed terms of existence. The more extensively socialism creates favorable opportunities for all, the more significant becomes the role of the individual. Volker Braun once put it like this: "Less and less is an individual entitled to excuse himself by the circumstances, which are becoming identical for all, and what he makes of himself is up to him."*

Appeals won't do it in these problems, of course. A thorough analysis of practical experiences is needed, of the joint efforts of moral philosophers, economists, sociologists, pedagogues and jurists and, not last, close relations

*"Es genuegt nicht die einfache Wahrheit" [The Simple Truth Won't Do], Philipp Reclam Jr. publishing house, Leipzig, 1979, p 122.

between social scientists and artists, so as to further explore the dialectics between the individual and society, and between the subjective and the objective, as decisive elements in the contradictions and impulses of socialism.

Many questions present themselves to us philosophers: What consequences arise for the historic upward development of individuality from the grown socialization of labor, the significant changes in the social structure and the educational system? What becomes of the elbow room for individual actions and the interaction between the collective and the personality under the impact of scientific-technical progress? Do we emphasize as strongly, when presenting our morality, the currently growing responsibility of the individual, anchored in our world-outlook and in our reality, to society, to circumstances and to himself as the individual's being conditioned by society, the safety the individual enjoys in the collective?

By answering such questions, we philosophers intend to make a still more effective contribution to the implementation of our party policy, to a better and still more extensive use of the experiences in the struggle. In conscientiously, critically and self-critically examining our own work, we shall derive much help from analyzing the address of Comrade Hager as much as the conference as such.

Implications for Pedagogy

East Berlin EINHEIT in German Vol 39 No 1, Jan 84 (signed to press 19 Dec 83)
pp 75-79

[Article by Gerhart Neuner, SED Central Committee member, president of the GDR Academy of Pedagogical Sciences: "Problem Awareness and Active, Creative Attitude--Potential for Education and Youth Work"]

[Text] In the address it was stated that the all-round development of man socialism has achieved and continues to achieve was a great historic accomplishment. How its accomplishments, its humanistic values, and its morality are reflected in the life, the characteristics and modes of conduct, of men--not mechanically and not without contradictions--that is most impressively demonstrated by our youth, which has been marked by penetrating social changes and educated by the working class party, the youth association, the polytechnical school, the family and social forces. How this youth grew up, how it is and how it develops, that is important to know, not only because there are accomplishments here with something to show for.

Under the aspect of impulses, which plays a big role at this conference, more important still is to become aware that the challenge to the new situation the seventh Central Committee session has referred to is mainly also a challenge to youth, and hence to working with youth and its education. Analyses of youth development, of what has been achieved and what has not, are standard procedure among us to convert the school policy strategy the party has come out with into life. We know of the achievements and test situations of our youth when things are politically complicated, at work, at study, all through the ordinary day; and we have pedagogical, psychological, sociological analyses, especially for pupils in the upper grades, some of them repeated over several

years, of the ideological, intellectual and physical development, data from which we can proceed in targeted causation research and for constructive proposals for developing the educational concept for our schools and educational work.

Our youth is closely tied up with the socialist fatherland. Friendship with the Soviet Union and the other fraternal socialist countries is deeply embedded in its thoughts and feelings, as is its internationalist stance, its active solidarity with the peoples' struggle. There is greater pride now in what has been accomplished under complicated conditions, in our party's policy, firm in principle yet flexible, and its leading representatives, in the struggle for safeguarding peace. The motivation to strengthen and defend our GDR and socialism through good work and high achievements has further deepened. It would be abnormal, were young people not disquieted by the threats emanating from the imperialist war policy, from the U.S. missile deployment in opposition to the peoples' will. All the more response has the seventh Central Committee session found also among youth where it has reinforced the conviction that the Soviet Union, the GDR, the countries of the socialist community have what it takes to protect peaceful life and continue the proven course of the main task. All told, youth takes an optimistic view of the future, but understands better and better that nothing comes of itself there, that its own efforts and high achievements are needed.

It is worth noting in this connection that among the most highly rated achievements and values of socialism by the pupils are a safe job and prospects in one's occupation. Meaningful life, for the vast majority, is tied up with having work to do that is meaningful and challenging, they being confident that socialism will ensure them tomorrow as well of jobs and interesting job prospects. Likewise, with science and technology development they are associating optimistic expectations of the future, and they often have already clear ideas about the future development of enterprises and economic branches and a pronounced interest in scientific and technical innovations and developments. To refer to another characteristic feature that most clearly expresses the values of our socialist life: Youth is active and community-oriented, putting friendship, comradeship and mutual assistance right on top on its scale of values.

With the effects of which objective laws are we dealing when we, as is our mission, examine the conditions and ways for youth education under the rapidly changing social conditions? In his "Principles," Karl Marx analyzed the concrete historic conditions for the dialectics between socialization and individuation. The "most developed social relations" at his time, relative to capitalist commodity production, produced, so he found, the posture of the "distinct individual"* and also planted the seed for a future epoch that would be marked by "free individuality, relying on the universal development of the individuals and the substratum of their communal, social productivity as their societal capacity."** "Free individuality," thus, Karl Marx placed in a dialectical connection with "universal development" and the "substratum of their communal, social productivity." The effect of this objective dialectics under our "most developed

*Marx/Engels, op. cit., Vol 42, 1983, p 20.

**Ibid., p 91.

social relations thus far," that of the shaping of the developed socialist society, put on one and the same denominator, means: The greater our "societal capacity" becomes, the more everyone gets the opportunity, in line with our humanistic educational conception, to acquire the totality of culture, the values of our society, included in which are the contained universal human values, the more collectivity develops as a characteristic feature of our life, the more strongly can each individuality expand and can an individual profile, abilities, demand levels and talents develop. But that also places requirements on the scientific penetration of these dialectical development processes and on conducting and organizing educational processes.

Tackling the greater and more complicated tasks with the people, appealing to their consciousness and initiatives, more effectively employing their abilities, treating men with respect, assigning demanding tasks, in particular, to youth, showing confidence in it and charging it with responsibility,* that is the scientifically founded political and youth-political concept of our party, which is fully confirmed by the experiences in our struggle and conforms to developments and requirements charted by our party program. In harmony with it, the eighth educational congress and the central directors conference issued their guidelines: to involve youth, to draw it into "solving tasks and problems, knowing and cautiously guiding its interests, listening to and respecting its opinion, reacting seriously when it means something seriously,"** and further: the concern for the development of all young people, for an optimum development of their capacities and talents, are to be made the centerpiece of educational work.*** Here all our thoughts and actions are governed by the standpoint inherent in Marxism-Leninism that we are dealing with dialectical, contradictory developments that contain demands and tasks that do not run their course on their own but must actively be coped with.

Experiences and surveys agree that the self-assurance and the desire for independence have clearly grown among young people. Many developments that are typical of the transitional age between childhood and youth have moved up to earlier stages and make new demands on the ways and means of educational leadership. Thinking abilities, a higher educational level and a broader range of experience during the school age already have objectively brought it about that young people look at social processes with more discrimination, want to get a deeper understanding of the complexity and contradictoriness of the prevailing class conflicts in the world, and are touched and moved by the vital problems of humanity and want to comprehend more clearly: the continuation of our dynamic economic policy under the changed conditions, coping with scientific-technical progress, and the protection of the natural environment constitute real challenges calling for high dedication and highest achievements.

An optimistic basic position with respect to such developments thus implies young people have become more aware of problems. When someone only picks out

*Cf. Comrade Erich Honecker, "Bericht des Zentralkomitees der Sozialistischen Einheitspartei Deutschlands an den X. Parteitag der SED" (SED Central Committee Report to the 10th SED Congress), Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1981, pp 137, 145/146.

**Margot Honecker, "Der gesellschaftliche Auftrag unserer Schule" (The Social Function of Our Schools), Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1978, p 22.

***Cf. "Materials of the Central Directors Conference in Karl-Marx-Stadt, 10-12 May 1982," DEUTSCHE LEHRERZEITUNG, No 20, 1982, pp 8-9.

particular behavioral manifestations and, superficially looking at them, offers the judgment that young people are too demanding, too critical, too ambitious, he overlooks essential developmental potentials and may only make trouble for himself. Socialism, a dynamically developing social order, needs a youth that recognizes problems, pushes ahead and wants to think and act creatively. Our job is, through all our ways and means of dealing with youth and the methods in instruction and education, to make youth aware of that on its active stance, knowledge, capabilities, creativeness, discipline and dedication greatly depend the upward development of our society as well as further victories in the worldwide struggles. These are problems that are being missed by scientific explorations, both pedagogical and sociological ones, that confine themselves to merely stating what is but do not constructively explore the leeways and opportunities for development.

What follows from this for instruction and educational research and for all the ideological work? Mainly we must place high demands on conveying solid knowledge and developing the ability to think. The persuasiveness of instruction with respect to classbound attitudes and moral value consciousness rises together with the level of scientific demands and with its contribution to conveying insights into inevitabilities and theoretically penetrating the experiences of life. Taking account of that was the main problem which, in cooperation with the social scientists, above all the comrades in the social sciences academy, had to be made on the instruction plans and materials in civics, for the FDJ study year, which still has to be coped with as to the methods of civics instruction, the ways and means of how Marxism-Leninism is to be conveyed to young people today in the appropriate manner.

We are starting extensive projects with the historians aimed at revising history courses and textbooks in such a way that our young people, by means of history, more deeply comprehend in their minds, and more strongly in their hearts: Our GDR comes out of German history as a whole; it is the outcome of the struggles and victories of the revolutionary German workers movement and the homeland of everything humanistic and progressive from the legacy of the past. We must above all do away with a certain abstract and generalizing tendency in history instruction. Together with the literary historians significant work has been done to use literature more effectively, in tapping its specific potentials, for forming the world-outlook of contemporary youth, for molding high ethical and aesthetic ideals and value concepts; that is being carried on at present through teaching plans and methodology aids and the book, "Literatur und kommunistische Erziehung" [Literature and Communist Education] by a social science academy institute. For polytechnical instruction and productive labor, plans and teaching materials have been revised so that pupils are familiarized with scientific-technical developments in production, including the basics in automation and microelectronics, in an ambitious manner. In short: All courses include many activities aimed at the kind of instruction that will challenge and nurture capabilities and creative capacities and make a contribution to the world understanding and world-outlook of youth, to an active and optimistic attitude in life, a stable classbound posture and a socialist value consciousness.

This also holds true for instruction and educational research: We are concerned not only with the quiddity, with actions and measures taken, but also with the young people's own commitment and deeds, their active experience, with effects, in other words. The more numerous activities of the schools, the youth association and other public forces in exploring homeland history, the antifascist resistance struggle, the growth of our republic, and the development of friendly relations with the fraternal countries will have a profound impact on patriotic and internationalist education, once children and adolescents get committed to it, become active, and collect historical facts, talk with and record their talks with resistance fighters and activists of the first hour, explore their home region at hikes, "on Fontane's tracks" e.g., and take a hand in fixing up schools and residential areas and see to cleanliness and order and the protection and preservation of nature. That gives them a sense of comfort, an important source for the love for one's home and fatherland.

Education--and this also must still more be taken into account in educational research--is not only explicit and direct instruction. Crucial educational effects also come out of more or less conscious everyday experiences, mainly from the moral atmosphere in the collectives, order, discipline, cultured behavior, public opinion, customs, traditions and mores, even those that stem from past practices of living, and from the whole manner in which we celebrate festivals. School traditions, e.g., often with reference to the name of the school, are the more effective educationally, the more actively they are being used to motivate for various activities and build up stable behavioral traditions and appropriate habits. Especially all senior pupils--and the public education ministry as well as the FDJ Central Council have suggested that--must be given tasks in organizing life at school that stimulate the sense of responsibility and collectivity and evoke rights and duties and an active combative stance.

Goethe once said to Eckermann that in his youth everybody thought the world had only actually started with him. It has always been a trait of young people that they want to do something, and do it differently, even want to be different from their seniors. Impatience and rigor on the part of our active, self-assured youth are at times uncomfortable, but these are potentials that can and must deliberately be used where we seek to make innovations prevail over old habits, take new approaches in science, technology and production, overcome conservative attitudes, and enforce our life principles and value concepts in ordinary living. Young people feel most comfortable with collectives at school, in enterprises and in science institutions where much is expected of them, mediocrity and routine are not tolerated, they, the younger ones, are given chances, what is said is said frankly, what is done is done fairly, and where one deals with each other without much fuss. Pettiness, tutelage, exaction, as analyses tell us, help cause difficulties and conflicts with young people, even sometimes co-called delinquencies. Our many fine experiences with youth projects, in scientific and educational institutions, and in the innovator and scientific-technical mass movements, call for extensive analyses and generalizations as to the ways and means and manner in which they are conducted.

Right now we are engaged in a pervasive process of a substantive profiling of the schools, of public education as such. After we started making the

necessary changes in the crucial courses, we must now work out a strategy for proceeding further in developing and applying our school's educational concept in accordance with requirements, on the various levels, in subjects and subject fields, in connecting the school with the dynamics in production, in turning the school into a social organism, an educational institution linked with public life through many strands. That applies also to preschool education, the quality and effectiveness of instruction, and training and continuing training for teachers. We have made progress in scientific-educational research; our cooperation with other social and natural sciences has become more fruitful; educational science has come closer to a creative encounter with teachers and educators, it is picking up sound practical experiences, generalizes them and has stronger practical repercussions thereby.

As far as the tasks and criteria defined here are concerned, theoretically ambitious research, oriented to practice, is, however, not yet good and fast enough. One of the obstacles often still is to talk about things on too high a level of abstraction and merely to state developments without working out solutions for complicated tasks that can become practically effective. Other reserves still can be found in the cost/benefit ratio, the transfer of data into practice, and the concentration of capacities on the most important tasks and results. We are about to establish the ideological and substantive-organizational premises for that in the last 2 years of the current five-year plan and in preparation for the 1986-1990 plan, results are achieved--also in an extended interdisciplinary cooperation with scientists from other disciplines--that meet objective requirements, tasks and criteria.

Conclusion for Research, Instruction

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pp 80-85

[Article by Otto Reinhold, SED Central Committee member, rector of the SED Central Committee Academy of Social Sciences: "On the Growing Dynamism of Our Economic and Social Development"]

[Text] In its policy, our party proceeds from the consideration that in the 1980's two strategic tasks must and can be solved in juxtaposition--the preservation of peace and prevention of a nuclear inferno, and the continued successful shaping of the developed socialist society. The two tasks are inseparable from each other. One cannot be resolved without the other.

This realization is held in common by the Marxist-Leninist social sciences in the GDR. We need not say much about it. What we must more thoroughly look at, however, is what the implications are that follow from it for research and training. Some aspects have to be given more thorough thought, it seems to me.

As it became all too clear in 1983, the imperialist arms buildup and confrontation policy is nothing short-term; nor is it merely the work of some crazy politicians bent on nuclear war, who might fast be restored to reason, but it expresses fundamental interests of the most aggressive part of the ruling imperialist circles in the United States and other NATO states, particularly of the military-industrial complex. Our party Central Committee, therefore,

at its seventh session, underscored that U.S. President Reagan's pronouncement on the crusade against communism was by no means just empty talk. The whole imperialist reaction policy in action--from the arms buildup to economic warfare to ideological struggle-- aims at creating facts that are supposed to make theoretically and practically attainable the declared goal of the "crushing of communism." Mainly two inferences can be drawn from that, it seems to me:

First: This policy by the most aggressive imperialist forces is conceived to be one of long range. We must expect it to determine the policy of the United States and other NATO states over the years ahead. It follows from this that that strategy can be foiled only if the struggle for preventing a nuclear inferno also becomes long-range. That becomes most apparent after the start of the deployment of new U.S.intermediate-range missiles in Western Europe.

Second: Precisely for that reason, the solidity and maximal strengthening of socialism assume a central importance. Comrade Erich Honecker made a point of it at the seventh Central Committee session by emphasizing: "Political stability, economic dynamism, continuing to implement in a consistent manner the unity of our economic and social policies for the well-being of the people are of crucial importance for our contribution to safeguarding peace."*

The continued shaping of the developed socialist society must go on under given conditions. We must look at the world as it is today, not as we would like it to be. The task, or the problem, simply is to find the ways and means under the given conditions that will successfully implement the economic and social strategy formulated in the party program and at the 10th party congress. The risk to peace from imperialist policy is not normal, of course. That cannot induce us to conclude, however, that the shaping of developed socialism, the unity of our economic and social policies, should have to be postponed to better times. The consequences resulting for our party policy and that of the fraternal parties within the scope of the socialist community are running precisely in the opposite direction.

The struggle between socialism and imperialism assumes its specific conditions and forms in any given historic phase. Today they include the imperialist arms buildup policy and the danger to peace invoked thereby as much as the socialist community's struggle for maintaining the military strategic equilibrium and the worldwide struggle to foil the imperialist strategy and prevent a nuclear inferno. The continued successful shaping of developed socialism, the unity of our economic and social policies, the consistent implementation of our economic and overall social strategy are ongoing despite the changed international conditions while they also are our most important contribution to counteracting those conditions and turning developments around.

Today's international conditions, the connection between internal and international development, are not only a burden to us but also an impulse, which to use is of great importance.

*Erich Honecker, "In These Times of Struggle . . .," op. cit., p 23.

Many studies and discussions indicate, it seems to me, that this inseparable connection between the two strategic tasks, the inseparable connection between internal and international development, has by no means yet fully penetrated the research and training, mode of thinking and attitude in the social sciences, so that it still must receive more penetrating thought.

Today's struggle between socialism and imperialism is among the fundamental effects of socialism's economic laws. As one finds, that is by no means a fact that would determine perhaps only the tendencies in historic development. Year after year, quarter after quarter, the social reproduction process and economic intensification must be organized in such a way that they meet with internal requirements while yet the imperialist economic warfare is successfully rebuffed and all attempts at extortion remain futile.

That has far-reaching ramifications for the planned proportionate development, the effective use of the national income, the tempo of development in various branches, and the effects of the value law, the performance principle and so forth.

The unity of economic and social policies and the inseparable connection between scientific-technical and social progress make it imperative that they be shaped in such a way that they will help forge the political stability and the unity between the party and the people needed in the struggle against the imperialist arms buildup and confrontation policy.

That applies all the more to the intellectual-cultural development. Obviously, entirely new demands are being made today on the ideological struggle. Sure enough, anticommunism has always been anti-humanistic, anti-human. It never opposed only the communists and their Marxist-Leninist world-outlook. But now it has been further escalated. Today it mainly serves to get set for the plans of crusade by the most aggressive imperialist forces--especially for a nuclear inferno--and is directed against the survival of mankind as such. Fighting against it thus has become a matter of the existence, the survival, of mankind.

In his address, Comrade Kurt Hager has explained how great the challenges were and are that have to be coped with after the 10th party congress to implement our economic and social strategy consistently and successfully. And then one finds that not only new complicated tasks have to be resolved but also that the capacities exist to cope with them.

Merely defining the 1980's as a time that places high demands on practical activity would be misleading.

First, especially in recent years, our party has proven itself able to react fast and flexible to rapidly changing conditions, draw in good time the necessary strategic and tactical inferences, take the necessary measures and motivate the vast majority of the working people to enforce them in practice. While in some publications and lessons the remark about the growing role of the Marxist-Leninist party in shaping developed socialism may still sound like an abstract formula, practice has demonstrated most concretely how year after year,

month after month, the party's role has grown in the economy as much as in all other sectors of public life. The stable and steady development of socialist society in the GDR primarily is due to the fact that the SED is up to that growing role. Second, it is by no means exaggerated to remark, it seems to me, that recent years presented us with more theoretical insights and make more of them still necessary and possible than many other decades in our country's history. Many fundamental realizations in our party program have been confirmed in a new way, under new conditions, many other scientific insights had to be newly gained.

The remark in the SED Program that shaping the developed socialist society is a historic process of penetrating political, economic, social and intellectual-cultural changes has often been quoted. Not so rarely, however, the question has also been raised what those penetrating changes consist of.

By now one can understand well enough that the all-inclusive conversion to intensively expanded reproduction at the overall economic range is one such process of change. What also becomes clear along with it is that this is a process that is not confined to science and technology or to economics. Drawn into it, rather, are the production relations, the system of economic management, planning and stimulation, public relations and modes of thinking. In the everyday shaping of developed socialism it is being confirmed that socialist society is no rigid organism but that, rather, its rapid forward advance is organized by the conscious manner of shaping the developed socialist society. Under the impact of domestic and international impulses the dynamics of public life has greatly accelerated.

At its seventh session, the Central Committee formulated extremely important realizations about that. I am thinking here mainly of Comrade Erich Honecker's remark that scientific-technical progress is going to accelerate further in the course of the 1980's. Especially important and highly realistic, it seems to me, is the implication that only an accelerated and uninterrupted upgrading of products and of the production structure, technologies and procedures, can permanently ensure high efficiency. In other words: High speed in upgrading is one of the basic conditions for intensively expanded reproduction. Only when you can annually renew between 20 and 25 percent of your products, can you protect your international positions and prevail in the economic struggle between socialism and imperialism.

Sometimes you run into the view at discussions that this high replacement speed is primarily due to international developments, to capitalist competition. Now these are reasons that do play a role, even a very important one. But to look only at them would be a mistake. The needed higher replacement speed, rather, is categorically connected with our intensively expanded reproduction. How else, e.g., could we reduce our specific energy and raw material expenditures, not just for a brief period, but year after year, by from 6 to 8 percent? That can certainly not be done by skimping a little with production expenses for products that have always been produced. How else could we enforce a type of reproduction in which the output over the long run grows faster than the investment of capital assets and funds; and how could supplies in high-grade technical consumer goods be significantly improved? That is obviously possible only through a permanent replacement process, through constantly rationalizing at large dimensions.

It must be perfectly clear to us, it seems to me, that the growing dynamics in social development is not a process that was just imposed upon us from the outside. However significant international effects may be, the dynamics of our social development is due to the nature and requirements of socialism itself. The result of the dialectics between internal and external conditions is that the foreign policy and foreign economy give rise to this dynamics all the more compelling. Coping with it, shaping it consciously and according to plan, focusing actions and thinking upon it, is a fundamental precept for the stability of socialist society. That is why we are not dealing here with just any sort of impulses or with just any system of management, planning and economic stimulation, but with laws of motion, an economic mechanism, and impulses that cause such dynamics with great effectiveness. So the question has to be answered in which direction this dynamic process has to go in the GDR, which ways are possible and effective, and which impulses and forms of material incentives can be made effective for it. Mainly one must be clear about the need for the dynamics, to form the attitude needed for it. The growing dynamics in socialism's economic and social development therefore is a great challenge to our country's social scientists.

Comrade Kurt Hager has explained in great detail that the conception of the developed socialist society, as formulated in the party program, has fully proven itself even under the new conditions. This is a conception that is aimed at the all-inclusive upward development of socialist society, at having the advantages, impulses, ideals and values of socialism take full effect.

That also clears up a number of views about the tasks and substance of the socialist phase that are one-sided and contradict historic experiences. I am referring to the idea, e.g., that the most important task in this socialist phase is to eliminate the birthmarks of capitalism so that, when that is done, the transition to communism can be made. Normally then one deals in a most cavalier fashion with what one means by birthmarks. Sometimes it is understood to mean all that which will no longer exist in the communist phase, e.g. commodity production, the value law and money. According to the logic of such a view, party policy should primarily thus be concentrated, not on in every way developing the socialist society, especially the productive forces, but on eliminating, abolishing, the "birthmarks" in the broad understanding referred to.

That notion not only contradicts the views of Marx, Engels and Lenin, it is diametrically opposed to practical experiences and the theory of developed socialism that stems from them. Commodity production, the value law, the performance principle, like other laws and phenomena of socialism, are not residues of capitalism, but have their specific causes in the character of the socioeconomic base created in the course of the socialist revolution. So they cannot be abolished, they can only be used maximally to shape and advance socialism, until the point is reached at which, because of the total development of society, they lose their basis. But that is a point in time that most assuredly is still far away.

As one finds, the successful shaping of developed socialism, particularly under current conditions, calls for surmounting at greatest speed some outdated notions and fancies. At its seventh session, the Central Committee pointed out that we have been able in recent years to make significant advances there. Tasks

only recently considered impossible to resolve are now being coped with successfully. Whereas formerly the opinion prevailed that more production, more of a national income, could be achieved only if one got more material, more energy, and more investments, it has become clear in the meantime that economic growth is attainable only if available potentials are more effectively used.

We are gradually getting away from the idea that equates the stability of socialism with unchangeability, and also from the other one, according to which the capacity and responsibility of the collective are contrasted with individual responsibility, and we are getting away from attitudes that would expect a certain degree of automatism in the solution of tasks and problems. Formerly, social science studies would at times suggest socialism was marked by complete harmony and scientific-technical progress met with no kind of contradictions. Today's growing dynamics and conditions indicate, in particular, that things surely are not all that harmonious. To assume that the conversion to intensively expanded reproduction at the overall economic scale--especially under the conditions of imperialist economic warfare--could be completely harmonious and be brought about without any contradictions is a hermitic illusion. The great advantage of socialism is that we can resolve new problems, contradictions and disproportions in such a way that they lead to no serious social and political upset in society and that solving the contradictions makes for an upward development of socialist society. However important and necessary the scientific analysis of the contradictions in socialism may be, it is that capability of socialism and the full use of it that have to be the focal point in our work.

The years since the 10th party congress not only have confirmed our program of carrying on the party's economic and social strategy. They also have come combined with a great number of new experiences and insights the theoretical generalization of which are practically ideal sources of cognition for the Marxist-Leninist social sciences, making our contribution possible and necessary.

Summaries of Major Articles

East Berlin EINHEIT in German Vol 39 No 1, Jan 84 (signed to press 19 Dec 83)
pp 2, 95

[Summary of excerpts from address by Kurt Hager, SED Politburo member and Central Committee secretary, to SED Central Committee Social Sciences Conference held 15-16 December 1983 in East Berlin. A translation of additional excerpts from the address, published in the East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, is also published in this JPRS report]

[Text] Law of Our Epoch: the Driving Forces and Values of Socialism

From the address to the SED Central Committee Social Sciences Conference, 15-16 December 1983: The Developed Socialist Society--The Driving Forces of Socialism--Socialist Democracy--The Use of the Dialectics--The Tasks of the Social Sciences.

[Summary of article by Prof Dr Guenter Heyden, member of the SED central audit commission, director of the SED Central Committee Institute for Marxism-Leninism and member, EINHEIT editorial board; pp 24-25]

[Text] On the Vitality of Marxism-Leninism

The Karl Marx Year as the consummation of dealing with Marx for decades, the spread of Marxism-Leninism and its acceptance by numerous progressive movements. What puts the "only true 'historic right'" (Engels), the sovereign right to revolution, into the crossfire of the imperialist crusade strategy? Marxist-Leninists always have stood in the front rank of the peace forces.

[Summary of article by Prof Dr Max Schmidt, director of the GDR Institute for International Politics and Economics, chairman of the science council for imperialism research and member, EINHEIT editorial board; pp 29-33. A full translation of this article is published in this report]

[Text] Foiling the Imperialist Policy of Confrontation and Intensified Armament

In taking issue with the purposes of the confrontation course, pushed particularly by U.S. imperialism, the search for military superiority that is inherent in NATO's deterrence concept is disclosed, and the central importance is shown that lies in securing the military-strategic equilibrium for preserving world peace and as a prerequisite for graduated arms limitation and disarmament.

[Summary of article by Rainer Daehn, party secretary in the Frankfurt/Oder state-owned semiconductor plant; pp 34-38]

[Text] Convincing Ideological Work

It is among the essential tasks of enterprise party organizations further to develop and reinforce the basic ideological positions for implementing our ambitious economic and social goals. Which requirements result from that for the cooperation between the practical fields and the social sciences and how can what we learn in daily labor better still be channeled into the social sciences?

[Summary of article by Prof Dr Helmut Koziolk, SED Central Committee member, director of the Central Institute for Socialist Economic Management, SED CC; chairman of the council for scientific economic research, member of the GDR Academy of Sciences and member, EINHEIT editorial board; pp 39-43. A full translation of this article is published in this report]

[Text] Our Planned Economy on the Path of Comprehensive Intensification

The connection between economic growth and comprehensive socialist intensification. In what way does the role of live labor grow in the intensification process? What can speed up the science-technology-production-sales cycle and the spread of innovator processes?

[Summary of article by Prof Dr Ernst Diehl, deputy director of the Institute for Marxist-Leninist Philosophy, SED CC; chairman of the Historic Science Council of the GDR, member, GDR Academy of Sciences; pp 44-49]

[Text] GDR Historiography in the Peace Struggle

Disclosing the causes of war holds a firm place in GDR historiography. From it we learn: The wars of aggression in this century are due to imperialist rapaciousness and profit greed, the chief factor of peace is real socialism, the GDR has made an important contribution to it ever since its founding.

[Summary of article by Prof Dr Erich Hahn, SED Central Committee member, director of the Institute for Marxist-Leninist Philosophy, Academy of the Social Sciences, SED CC; member, GDR Academy of Sciences; pp 50-54. A full translation of this article is published in this report]

[Text] On the Character of Socialism's Contradictions

The difference in principle of the thrust and solution of contradictions in socialism and in capitalism, their antagonistic or nonantagonistic character. The philosophers' tasks in the analysis of the real contradictions in our social development and in generalizing our party experiences in affecting and resolving the contradictions.

[Summary of article by Prof Dr Gerhard Keil, chief of the chemistry research department in the GDR Academy of Sciences, director of the Institute for Chemical Technology, member of the presidium, GDR Academy of Sciences; pp 55-59]

[Text] The Responsibility of the Natural and Technical Scientists for Maximum Research Results

Attaining higher research results and applying them for greatest economic benefit calls for a higher level of interdisciplinary work and for taking all matters of efficiency into account from the vantage point of the economy at large.

[Summary of article by Prof Dr Lothar Rathmann, rector, Karl Marx University, Leipzig; pp 60-64]

[Text] The Struggle for Peace and Social Progress in Asia, Africa and Latin America

The national liberation movement is getting ever more strongly confronted with the course of the most aggressive forces, especially those of U.S. imperialism, unabashedly engaged in neocolonialism's militarization. Fighting against that policy makes the nonaligned movement realize more and more the inner connection between peace and national sovereignty, an end to the arms race, disarmament, development and social progress.

[Summary of article by Prof Dr Hans Koch, SED Central Committee member, director, Institute for Marxist-Leninist Cultural and Art Sciences, Social Sciences Academy, SED CC; pp 65-69]

[Text] The Arts in Shaping the Values of Socialism

Our of their specific modes of aesthetically reflecting reality, art and literature are gaining important potentials for adding to the individually coined wealth in socialist values by the people in our society. Relative to that, substantive and methodological issues in the research and efficacy of aesthetics and the literary sciences are discussed.

[Summary of article by Prof Hans Wiesner, Lt Gen, head of the Friedrich Engels Military Academy; pp 70-74]

[Text] Concerning the Meaning of Being a Socialist Soldier

In view of the tense international situation, the members of our armed forces have to make an especially responsible contribution to the preservation of peace. Among the noblest tasks of our social scientists is to help further develop socialist defense awareness, the unconditional readiness for the defense of our socialist fatherland, among all working people.

[Summary of article by Prof Dr Gerhart Neuner, SED Central Committee member, president, Academy of the Pedagogical Sciences of the GDR, member, GDR Academy of Sciences; pp 75-79. A full translation of this article is published in this report]

[Text] Problem Awareness and Active, Creative Attitude--Potential for Education and Youth Work

The challenges in the new situation mainly also are challenges to youth, working with and educating youth. What traits in them reflect our society's accomplishments and values and thus are especially important for teaching, instructional research and all our ideological work?

[Summary of article by Prof Dr Otto Reinhold, rector, Social Sciences Academy, SED CC; member, GDR Academy of Sciences, corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Sciences, member, EINHEIT editorial board; pp 80-85. A full translation of this article is published in this report]

[Text] On the Growing Dynamism of Our Economic and Social Development

Continued success in the realization of our social strategy as a demand made on our party's leadership capacity. Living up to it--for which all the prerequisites are in place--includes high expectations placed in the social scientists for deriving theoretical conclusions from understanding and analyzing the increasing social dynamism and the experiences in practically coping with it, as they prove themselves guides to conscious action.

[Summary of article by Edgar Fries, graduate social scientist, deputy department chief in the SED Central Committee; pp 86-91]

[Text] Cuba--A Beacon of Freedom

The results achieved in 25 years, since the triumph of the Cuban revolution, are, considering Cuba's starting position and the incessant imperialist attacks against it, all the more convincing proof for the vitality of socialism. "Production and defense" is the slogan in the spirit of which Cuba's working people, led by the Communist Party and with solidary support from the other socialist countries and all progressive forces, and under the conditions of the tense international situation, are approaching with rigor and confidence the implementation of the plans drawn up and the protection of their accomplishments.

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PRE-MILITARY TRAINING OUTLINED; CHURCH, YOUTH OPPOSITION NOTED

The Hague INTERNATIONALE SPECTATOR in Dutch Vol 38 No 1 Jan 84 pp 1-8

[Article by Dr Derk-Jan Eppink, legal scholar: "The System of Military Indoctrination and Education in the GDR"; passages enclosed in slantlines, printed in italics]

[Text] The leadership of the GDR does not let a single opportunity go by to describe itself as the "country of peace." In virtually all speeches, the national leadership¹ in East Berlin tries to portray itself as a strong opponent of militarism.

In the GDR press, the concept of militarism is equalled with NATO and especially the United States and the FRG. As defender of peace, the GDR itself has allegedly nothing to do with the phenomenon of militarism.

Although the GDR leadership claims that it has nothing to do with the phenomenon of militarism, the rethoric from East Berlin does not have anything to do with the everyday policy of the GDR leadership. To erect a monument against militarism is no guarantee of being free from it oneself. The opposite is rather the case.

In no other Warsaw Pact country, not even in the alliance leader the Soviet Union, does the military play as dominant a role in the daily life of the citizens nor is it cultivated as much as in the GDR. From cradle to grave, the GDR citizen is primarily accompanied by the military.

The "Wehrerziehung" (a concept which is virtually impossible to translate) phenomenon indicates the extent to which society in the GDR is militarized. This article elaborates on what is involved in "Wehrerziehung," what are its legal and educational principles, and how it is implemented in practice. At the same time, we are looking into the criticism which the "Wehrerziehung" arouses in the GDR itself and the repercussions caused by the phenomenon.

"Wehrerziehung" as an Institution

"The socialist Wehrerziehung and pre-military training should prepare young people for service in the armed bodies of the GDR to such an extent that they are willing, with class consciousness and therefore unconditionally and uncompromisingly, to carry out any command from the Workers and Farmers Force for the loyal defense of socialism."

This is how the concept of /Wehrerziehung/ is defined in the GDR. The concept is hard to translate; it is a merger of the words "Wehr" (defense) and "Erziehung" (indoctrination).

In the GDR, /Wehrerziehung/ is a concept with very broad meaning, and it takes on a very special place in East German society. It involves a uniform (and mostly uniformed) system of indoctrination and education, which is completely at the service of the ideological and military defense of the GDR. The development of the mental and physical skills of the young in the GDR are directed toward ideological and military qualities in preparation for service in the GDR armed forces. The "Wehrerziehung" is an essential part of the national defense and is described as a "Durchgängiges Prinzip" [universal principle], that is to say that it runs like a red thread throughout the whole East German indoctrination and education system.

The "Wehrerziehung" phenomenon is anchored in the political system of the GDR by means of painstaking legislative work. The main principle of the socialist system of indoctrination and education is laid down in Article 25 of the constitution of the GDR, which states that GDR citizens "must be imbued with the spirit of socialist patriotism and internationalism."³

This basic socialist thought is implemented through two separate laws. In the "Law on the Uniform Socialist Education System" of 25 February 1965, the goals, structure, methods and content of education are laid down in detail.⁴ The backbone of the whole educational system is the so-called "ten grades general education polytechnic school" for students from 6 to 16 years of age, which plays a central role in the "Wehrerziehung." The term "polytechnic" refers to the link made in the school between education and productive labor.

In addition, the "GDR Law on Juveniles" of 28 February 1978 centers on the specific tasks and obligations of young people in the GDR, as well as on those of their educators.⁵ The task of youth in the GDR is described as follows:

"It is the honorable duty of youth to respect and defend the revolutionary traditions of the working class and the achievements of socialism, and to promote peace and friendship among peoples, as well as to practice anti-imperialist solidarity."⁶

What is expected of the educators is that they will educate the young people of the GDR "to become citizens who are devoted to the ideas of socialism, who think and act like patriots and internationalists and who strengthen socialism and defend it against all enemies."⁷

In the educational concept of the GDR, education and indoctrination are irrevocably tied to each other and woven into a unit through the uniform system of indoctrination and education of 1965. In the GDR, both indoctrination and education fall within the jurisdiction of the state. The state determines the goals, provides the resources and implements the system.

The goal of the system of indoctrination and education is threefold:

- loyalty and devotion to socialism;
- patriotic and international thought and action;
- willingness to defend socialism faithfully.

Within the general system of indoctrination and education both elements also have specific tasks. The task of indoctrination is to get the GDR youth to accept Marxism-Leninism as a form of life, a goal of life and a view of the world. Education is a means to convey knowledge and skills which support this ideological goal. The outcome of the whole system should be the formation of a "socialist personality," characterized by ideological loyalty and willingness to participate in military defense.

Just as education and indoctrination belong together, so are the ideological and military aspects also tied together indissolubly. This makes "Wehrerziehung" (ideological as well as military defense) a constituent part of the uniform system of indoctrination and education and of the whole GDR society itself. The system is a permanent process to protect young people against the virus of pacifism and to make them enthusiastic for the ideological and military protection of the GDR.

Whereas the GDR leaders often show esteem for conscientious objectors and pacifists in the West, in their own country the phenomenon is obstinately suppressed. Article 25:1 of the GDR criminal code states that to refuse military service is punishable by a 5 year prison term.

Refusal of military service is possible only on religious grounds, which is then followed by incorporation into one of the "construction units" of the national people's army as alternative service. These so-called "construction soldiers" fulfill their military service with their division without carrying a weapon and engage in digging trenches, building emergency bridges or barracks, or in reconnoitring unknown terrain.⁹

Pedagogic Foundations

As early as the fifties, the GDR leaders launched actions and campaigns against pacifist trends among the people ("Entpazifizierung" [depacification]), and as preparation for the rearmament of the GDR. These campaigns were institutionalized into the system of "Wehrerziehung," which in time required scientific-pedagogic foundations.

According to GDR pedagogy the socialist Wehrerziehung has two components: the emotional element and the rational element. The emotional element consists of cultivating, starting at an early age, a limitless love for the GDR and an immeasurable hatred for the enemies of socialism and especially West German imperialism. In the emotional stage, love and hatred must be portrayed ideologically as clear opposite poles.

The central point of the rational element is to see socialism as the highest form so far of human society, which must be defended at any cost. The rational stage, during the years of puberty, involves more scientific-ideological schooling and semi-military training.

According to GDR pedagogy, the unity of the emotional and the rational elements is achieved through military traditions which include the necessary ingredients (patriotism, heroism and mass heroism).¹⁰

The goal of the system of education and indoctrination in the GDR is to create a "socialist personality" (model GDR citizen) with a corresponding "socialist consciousness," which is understood as all of the political, philosophical and moral views. A component of this is "socialist morality," which was summarized by Walter Ulbricht into 10 commandments (!), the second of which reads as follows:

"You shall love your fatherland and always be ready to do your utmost for the defense of the workers and farmers force."¹¹

Hence, socialist morality is primarily "Wehrmoral" [military morality], which is reflected in the readiness of the socialist personality to defend the achievements of the GDR by force of arms. /Wehrerziehung/ is a means to bring about this /Wehrmoral/.

This is the concept of indoctrination and education in the GDR and the strategy behind the concept of Wehrerziehung.

"Wehrerziehung" in Practice

Diagrams 1 and 2 indicate how Wehrerziehung is organized in the GDR and which bodies are involved in it. They show that it involves a complicated but well organized network of training activities, which are carried out through various levels. [Diagrams not reproduced]

/Kindergarten/

In the nursery schools of the GDR, the 3 to 6 year old child is primarily educated in the emotional aspect of the /Wehrerziehung/. The pedagogic work is based on the "nursery school plan for education and indoctrination." This plan is the teacher's manual and includes the study material and the teaching method. It mentions, among other things, the goal "of instilling into the children feelings of solidarity with the members of the armed forces."¹²

The curriculum includes a section designed to "familiarize with social life," in which framework the relationship between child and soldier can take place. In practice this occurs through visits to the barracks, and the soldiers in turn visit the nursery schools. "Patenschaft" [sponsorship] often exists between the barracks and the school. The children learn that the national people's army watches over them and protects them against imperialist American and West German soldiers. In the "emotional stage" the teacher must instill in the child love for the GDR and hatred for the West and thus provide the child with an enemy image.

Education during the emotional stage takes place through numerous pedagogic resources, such as military toys, songs, poems, and comic strips. An example of a song for use in Wehrerziehung runs as follows:

"When I grow up I will join the Popular Army (2X)
I will drive a tank, ra..ta..ta..ra..ta.. (2X)
When I grow up I will join the Popular Army (2X)"

The next stanzas then run as follows:

- 2 - I will go up in an airplane, hst...hst...hst...
- 3 - I will build big bridges, rom...tom...tom...
- 4 - I will be a quick radio-operator, dadit...dadit...dadit...
- 5 - I will load the guns, rum...bum...bum..."¹³

Poems have the same orientation, such as for example:

"Soldiers"

"When I hear the soldiers singing
I leave all my toys behind
And run into the street
The soldiers I have to see."

"We thank you soldiers
Because day and night
You watch over the cities
And citizens of our country."¹⁴

Another example is the children's newspaper BUMMI, which has been read by children in the GDR for many years. The main character in these stories is the bear "Bummi," who in his adventures "supports the struggle of the proletariat" everywhere in the world and fights against imperialism.

/General Education Polytechnic Secondary School/

During primary and especially secondary education at the 10 grades general education polytechnic school (ages 6 to 16) the emphasis is placed on the "rational element" of the Wehrerziehung. The goal of the Wehrerziehung in primary and secondary education is the development of a "socialist personality" and readiness for military defense.

The courses being taught offer numerous connecting points for the Wehrerziehung. In the classical courses (history and civics) the emphasis is on ideological schooling, whereas the exact science courses (physics, chemistry, mathematics) are suitable for instilling military-technical knowledge. In geography the students learn terrain orientation by day and by night, map reading and the use of a compass.

The teaching of sports takes an important place. A great deal of attention is devoted to fighting techniques, long training runs, obstacle courses and throwing projectiles. From fourth grade onwards, the course "sports" includes the practice of marching, following military orders and understanding commando language.

There was a great stir in the GDR in 1978 when "Wehrkunde" [Military Science] was introduced as a separate course for 9th and 10th graders in the general

education polytechnic school. In this course, which was made compulsory for 15 and 16 year olds, the students are forced to handle weapons. Until then, the Wehrerziehung had been ideological and military-theoretic in character without youth of that age having been in contact with arms. The course /Wehrkunde/, which was already compulsory at the "Advanced Polytechnic School" (a 2 year pre-university program) and at the universities themselves, consists of:

- 8 hours of military theory;
- 2 weeks of exercises in the field;
- a 2 week camp with weapons education and firing practice,
- and a 3 day closing exercise.¹⁵

The controversial /Wehrkunde/ course is taught, among others, by members of the national people's army and, like the whole /Wehrerziehung/ school program, it falls under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Education.

Pioneer Youth

While the Wehrerziehung is carried out by the state via the schools and the Ministry of Education, the youth organizations also take on a substantial share. The pioneer youth in the GDR are divided into the "Young Pioneers" (for 6 to 10 year olds) and the "Thalman Pioneers" (from 10 to 15 year olds). Both pioneer organizations fall under the jurisdiction of the FDJ [Free German Youth] youth organization.

Officially, membership in these pioneer organizations is voluntary, but it is virtually impossible for an individual to avoid them. Every youth who becomes a member must take the oath of the pioneers and comply with those 10 pioneer commandments. The most important commandment is love for the GDR, one's parents and the Soviet Union.

Pioneer organizations hold competitions in the areas of firing with air pistols, swimming and throwing projectiles. Every year since 1967, during the winter vacation, large scale military exercises take place for pioneers, in which activities such as long distance racing, an obstacle course, the transportation of wounded and the like, are integrated. The exercise takes place under the supervision of officers of the national people's army.

/Free German Youth/

At the age of 15, East German youth go from the Thalman Pioneers to the Free German Youth, of which they remain a member until the age of 25. The FDJ is the youth organization of the SED [Socialist Unity Party]; it was established in 1946 under the leadership of Erich Honecker. The FDJ sees itself as "the party's helpers and combat reserves," which play a central role in the indoctrination of a socialist personality.

In its statute, the SED gives the FDJ the task of winning the youth over in order to form a developed socialist society, to defend the GDR and to create the conditions for the transition to communism.¹⁶ In practice there is no way to escape membership in the FDJ. Not to be a member would make it impossible to pursue university studies.

Through the organization of meetings, discussions, lectures, demonstrations and excursions, the FDJ primarily takes care of ideological schooling.

Society for Sports and Technique [GST]

The GST, which handles the military-technical training of the GDR youth, plays a central role in the whole Wehrerziehung. The GST is an organization of which young people, 16 years of age and above, can become members. Officially, membership is voluntary, and it is considered a privilege in the GDR. The organization has a territorial structure through districts and circles, and it is headed by a general of the national people's army.

Until the age of conscription (18 years old), the youth in the GDR can get in 2 years of military skills in the GST. This varies from training as a diver, a driver for military vehicles, parachute jumping, to sharp shooting. In addition there are also many sports activities such as rope climbing, hand grenade throwing, an attack course, performance running and marching.

While the GST provides its own members with numerous activities, the organization also covers the whole field of pre-military training. Thus there is a great deal of cooperation between the FDJ and the GST. A striking example is the so-called "Hans Beimler Competitions." These contests are held annually, and include such divisions as athletics, performance running, obstacle course, hand grenade throwing and shooting. These contests are organized by the general education polytechnic schools, under the responsibility of the FDJ and the GST.

The /Wehrkunde/ course at the general education polytechnic school, the advanced polytechnic school and the university is usually taught by an army officer who is also a member of the GST. If a 16 year old leaves the general education polytechnic school and goes to work for a company, then his pre-military training is continued there under the leadership of the GST. In this way the GST is involved in all pre-military training in schools, companies and youth organizations.

Following completion of military service, membership in the GST can be maintained. However, one may also join the so-called "Combat Groups of the Working Class." This paramilitary organization is under the direct jurisdiction of the SED. The "Combat Groups of the Working Class" were set up following the 1953 revolt and form the crack troops of the SED.

"Kulturkampf"

The churches in the GDR are the only organizations which can make decisions independently from the state in terms of personnel matters and organization.¹⁷ The protestant church, united in the "Union of the Evangelical Churches," is the largest church community with 7.9 million members. The Catholic church,¹⁸ led by the "berlin Bishops Conference," is second with 1.2 million members.

Both churches form the only forum within the GDR where criticism of the policy of the GDR leadership can be vented. Because of its large following, the protestant church plays a more active and more significant role in the GDR than the Catholic church, which usually adopts an attitude of reserve.

For the church, the uniform indoctrination and education system has always been a point of contention. In the church-state relationship in the GDR, the /Wehrerziehung/ particularly formed a permanent subject of disagreement. In 1978, following a first talk between Erich Honecker and protestant church leaders, a certain detente seemed to take place in the church-state relationship. According to the "church in socialism" concept, the church would have been given more space (in terms of religious building plans, religious broadcasting time, the importation of religious literature, and the like). This should have created a workable relationship between church and state.

In reality nothing came of this concept. The church continued to criticize the state's "monopoly on education" in the GDR. Especially after the introduction of the "Wehrkunde" course, the church communities and church leaders openly criticized the education policy of the GDR leadership.¹⁹

The GDR leaders reacted to this criticism with sharper propaganda for atheism: 1978 was labeled the "academic year for atheism," and in 1980 the "principles of scientific atheism" became a required course for some university studies (pedagogy and philosophy).²⁰ In addition, via the FDJ, the GDR leadership launched a large scale campaign for atheism among the youth.

Searching Youth

The military indoctrination and education system has not only muddled the church-state relationship in the GDR, but has also caused the opposite of what was aimed for among many young people. Instead of ideological loyalty and military discipline, the GDR leadership is increasingly faced with pacifism and aversion to ideology among the youth. Many youth in the GDR are fed up with the pompous comic opera socialism. In the beginning of this decade, independent calls for peace (for example, the "Berlin Appeal" by members of the protestant church) followed each other and the pacifist orientation became visible through the open wearing of the badge "Swords into Plowshares."

While the GDR leaders had for years acclaimed the peace movement in Western Europe, a comparable movement in their own country embarrassed East Berlin. The nervousness of the SED increased when it became apparent that the unofficial peace movement finds its support primarily in religious circles and operates foremost under the protective wings of the protestant church. The unofficial peace movement (it is not a cohesive organization but rather a tendency) raises its voice especially against the Wehrerziehung as an expression of virulent militarism and pleads for a "Social Peace Service" as alternative service instead of incorporation into the "Construction Soldiers."²¹

Dissatisfaction among the youth, pacifist feelings and the role of the church were clearly evident at the Dresden "peace forum" organized by the church on 13 February 1982, in which 5,000 individuals participated. During the forum, a great deal of criticism was expressed about the indoctrination and education system and the military character of GDR society.²² The church acts here, on the one hand, as a valve for criticism by GDR youth, but, on the other hand, it tries to prevent an open confrontation with the GDR authorities.

The GDR leaders reacted to the advent of pacifism and the criticism of the Wehrerziehung with characteristic ideological rigidity. In March 1982, a law was enacted in parliament which broadens the military duties of the GDR citizens.²³ In the summer of 1983, about 20 pacifists were expelled from the East German city of Jena.²⁴ On the other hand, the GDR leadership tries to deflate the unofficial peace movement by organizing peace demonstrations and manifestations such as "Rock for Peace."²⁵

Conclusion

There is no escaping the conclusion that there is a virulent and permanent militarism in the GDR, which is institutionalized by means of the "Wehrerziehung."

In my opinion, the main reason for such a comprehensive and well thought out system is the lack of permanent legitimacy of the GDR itself. The artificial character of the GDR as a state and the GDR's inferiority complex with regard to the Federal Republic of Germany make Wehrerziehung an institution for the cultivation of GDR patriotism. Hence, Wehrerziehung, a combination of traditional Prussian militarism and contemporary GDR socialism, functions as medicine for the young against the lack of national legitimacy.

In practice the Wehrerziehung has missed its mark and the youth do not appear to have become immune. Via the West German mass media, the GDR citizens are informed of all the news. What Wehrerziehung tries to hide is unveiled by the Western media. /Wehrerziehung/ is being nullified by the cultural vulnerability of the GDR. The credibility of the GDR leadership is reduced rather than strengthened by /Wehrerziehung/.

Since the second half of the seventies, the GDR leaders have been trying to reduce the cultural vulnerability. Dissident intellectuals (Biermann, Brasch, Bahro, Kunze, and the like) have been systematically expelled, and the /Wehrkunde/ course was introduced in the schools.

In the early eighties, the problems of the GDR leaders only became greater. The expulsion of citizens is not a solution, and neither is ideological rigidity. A generation born after the building of the Berlin wall in 1961 is coming up. In spite of all the /Wehrerziehung/ (rather, perhaps, because of it) this generation is becoming afflicted with ideological disinterest and pacifism. The generation which, having grown up with the wall, is not allowed to go to the West simply imitates Western customs in their own country. State and church are fighting over the searching generation. The former repels, the latter attracts and rejoices in the increase of young people. Peace activism by the youth goes together with dissatisfaction among the youth.

With regard to this generation, the GDR leaders are faced with a dilemma. Liberalization or even tolerance carry with them the risk of the creation of pacifist calls and of the flourishing of an unofficial peace movement. With repression the GDR would run the risk of falling into disrepute in the Western peace movement, which the GDR leaders set so much store by. Moreover, an effective repression is made more difficult by the diffuse character of the unofficial peace movement and the position of the church.

In the summer of 1983 -- for the first time since 1977 --, the GDR leadership turned to an emergency solution and started a systematic expulsion of peace activists. However, expulsion is not even an emergency solution to the dissatisfaction of a whole generation, although it may perhaps be a welcome surprise for the individual being expelled.

But the genie is out of the bottle, and the /Wehrerziehung/ was unable to remedy this. Worse yet: the more /Wehrerziehung/ was imposed, the more young people turned away from GDR socialism and militarism. While the SED leaders assiduously refer to the works of Marx and Lenin, Udo Lindenberg's "Sonderzug nach Pankow" [Special train to Pankow] is rumbling past the SED party building.

FOOTNOTES

1. NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 5 October 1983.
2. "Handreichung zur sozialistischen Wehrerziehung" [Aid Toward Socialist 'Wehrerziehung'], East Berlin, 1974, p 183.
3. "Die Neue Verfassung der DDR" [The New Constitution of the GDR], Cologne, 1974, p 89.
4. J. Hartwig and A. Wimmel. "Wehrerziehung in der DDR" [Wehrerziehung in the GDR], Stuttgart, 1979, p 14.
5. Idem, p 15.
6. Idem, p 15.
7. 'Jugendgesetz der DDR' [GDR Law on Juveniles], Article 1:1.
8. Ebert, Horst and others, Stichwort "Goal of Socialist Education," p 257, in "Worterbuch zur Sozialistische Jugendpolitik" [Dictionary for Socialist Youth Policy], East Berlin, 1975.
9. J. Hartwig and A. Wimmel, op. cit. p 24.
10. E. Doepler, ed., "Militarische Traditionen der DDR und der NVA" [Military Traditions of the GDR and of the National People's Army], East Berlin, Military Publications of the GDR, 1979, pp 129-137.
11. P C Ludz, "DDR Handbuch" [GDR Handbook], Bonn, 1975, p 577.
12. "Bildungs- und Erziehungsplan für den Kindergarten" [Education and Indoc-trination Plan for Kindergarten], East Berlin, 1970, p 8.
13. U. Donath, "On the Role of Music in the Ideological-Moral Education and Indoc-trination of Elementary School Children," in "Neue Erziehung im Kindergarten" [New Indoc-trination in Kindergarten], Book 3, 1976, p 8.

14. "Reime, Gedichte und Geschichte für den Kindergarten" [Rhymes, Poems and Stories for Kindergarten], East Berlin, 1968, p 13.
15. "Military Science in the GDR" in "Sozialistisches Osteuropa Komitee" [Socialist East European Committee], Hamburg, 1979.
16. SED statute of 22 May 1976, p 35.
17. "Handbuch der DDR," [Handbook of the GDR], Federal Ministry for Internal German Affairs, Cologne, 1979, p 590.
18. Idem, p 586.
19. "Wehrkunde in der DDR" [Military Science in the GDR] in "Sozialistisches Osteuropa Komitee," op. cit.
20. W. Knauft, "Katholische Kirche in der DDR" [Catholic Church in the GDR], Mainz, 1980, p 183.
21. W. Büscher, P. Wensierski, "Friedensbewegung in der DDR" [Peace Movement in the GDR], Documents 1978-1982.
22. Radio Free Europe, 18 February 1982, "Peace Demonstration in the GDR."
23. Radio Free Europe, 5 April 1982, "The Official Policy Toward the Peace Movement in the GDR."
24. DER SPIEGEL, No 22, 1983.
25. DIE ZEIT, No 12, 1982.

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CATHOLIC JOURNAL SCORES FRG CHURCH NEWS SERVICE REPORTING

East Berlin BEGEGNUNG in German Vol 24 No 2, Feb 84 p 23

/Article by M.F.: "Foul Smelling KNAster (= Catholic News Agency people or strong tobacco)--Disinformation Instead of Information"/

/Text/ In the FRG's ecclesiastical media landscape, the Catholic News Agency (KNA) stands out in particular by its total inability factually and with any kind of differentiation to appraise religious and religious-political developments in the GDR and other socialist countries; obtuse generalities predominate. Catholic and other churches in these countries have repeatedly been compelled to criticize and condemn embarrassing mistakes made by this agency, but the latter has never wavered from its aim to disorient the public and obstruct relations between Church and state in the socialist countries. the agency has thus turned into a favorite tool of right conservative politicians, such as are at home especially in Bonn's CDU.

The method is simple: Factual information is all too often displaced by distortion and speculation. News apt to provide a positive image of the Church's situation and the social activism of Catholics in the GDR, for example, tends to be altogether suppressed or doctored. The agency that claims to be Catholic has developed remarkable skills in these practices.

Conscious Misrepresentation

Church circles in the GDR recently sharply contradicted KNA assertions that the Church is establishing contacts with the government (as at the recent meeting between Cardinal Joachim Meisner and State Secretary Klaus Gysi) only "when they cannot be avoided" (8 December 1983). This was called a conscious misrepresentation of the Church's attitude, and it was emphasized that the Catholic Church in the GDR was interested in ongoing contacts with the respective government agencies at all levels.

While the KNA makes quite free with official Church intentions, it distorts even more the aims of such Catholic initiatives as are reflected in BEGEGNUNG und the Berlin Conference of European Catholics (BK). To be a priori dismissed as communist inspired and ultimately non-Catholic--even anti-Church--is everything printed in BEGEGNUNG by the stereotype charge, mindlessly repeated for more than 20 years, that our journal is supposed to be published by "a small group of journalists operating on the SED tracks" (10 November 1983).

Though they know better (because KNA representatives have frequently attended BK events), the BK is similarly misrepresented as the mere merger of government controlled Catholics from socialist countries and "also attended by a few spokesmen of left Catholicism of several West European countries" (3 November 1983). In fact Catholics from almost all West European countries cooperate in the BK, by comparison to collaborators from socialist countries are indeed the majority and by no means all "leftists." Still, such facts are much too positive for the KNA and must therefore be turned upside down.

Manipulation of Truth

The unscrupulous manner of the agency's handling of the truth is also illuminated by its assertion that the GDR public had needed "indirect indications by officials of the Eastern CDU" to learn that the GDR bishops had published a pastoral letter on peace in January 1983 (24 November 1983). As a subscriber to BEGEGNUNG, the KNA was consciously suppressing the fact that our journal reported the pastoral letter in issue No 2/1983. Another example of disinformation: In a brief and tendentious report on the conference of Eichsfelde Catholics in Heiligenstadt in late October 1983, the agency claimed that "members of Catholic congregations had rarely attended such meetings in the past" (31 October 1983). The numerous minor and major Catholic conferences since Bautzen in 1959 are evidence of the untruth proclaimed by the author of this report.

On occasion other FRG periodicals open their columns to some KNA editors. Consequently the disinformations of this agency get additional distribution. The HERDER-KORRESPONDENZ, for example, recently printed an article (several pages long) by a senior KNA editor. It is almost impossible to outdo this article in mistakes, superficiality and malignity. The executive of the BK study group in the FRG sent a letter of protest to the editorial board of the HERDER-KORRESPONDENZ, listing a total of 20 factual errors and lies in the article. The HERDER-KORRESPONDENZ has now felt obligated to publish the correction provided by the BK.

On the other hand the KNA tries to pass over in silence any events in the Western world, that the agency considers undesirable. On 3 November 1983 it reported in great detail about the Thirteenth World Congress of the Catholic Press in Dublin, for example, but failed to mention that the overwhelming majority of the congress resolutely rejected three draft resolutions initiated mainly by FRG delegates and aiming, in the language of the Cold War, to pillory the socialist countries.

All too often a foul odor emanates from the editorial premises of this allegedly Catholic agency. Not even the eau de cologne of pious phrases is able to change it into incense.

11698

CSO: 2300/302

HUNGARY

DENOMINATIONAL CHURCH LEADERS MEET WITH PPF AND STATE REPRESENTATIVES

Budapest EVANGELIKUS ELET in Hungarian 19 Feb 84 p 1

[Text] In accordance with the traditions that have been established over the years, Hungary's church leaders, many of whom are elected officials of the Patriotic People's Front, visited the headquarters of the movement where they were received by Imre Pozsgay, the secretary general. State Secretary Imre Miklos, the chairman of the State Office of Church Affairs, also was present at the meeting.

The PPF secretary general spoke of the lately intensifying international situation and greatly appreciated the service to the cause of peace that the churches, led by their hierarchies, had undertaken to provide both at home and abroad. He outlined the social and economic tasks that only a unified nation could attempt to solve. Speaking of the PPF's plans, he requested the church leaders' opinion and their effective cooperation as in the past, for achievement of the objectives in question was in the interest of every Hungarian citizen, regardless of his world outlook.

During the meeting, the following presented their views: Cardinal Laszlo Lekai, archbishop of Esztergom; Calvinist Bishop Dr Tibor Bartha; Lutheran Bishop Dr Zoltan Kaldy; Chief Rabbi Dr Laszlo Salgo; Jozsef Szakacs, chairman of the Council of Free Churches; Canon Imre Biro, secretary general of the National Peace Council's Catholic Committee; Unitarian Bishop Dr Jozsef Ferencz; Dr Zoltan Aranyos, synod councillor and secretary general of the National Peace Council's Ecumenical Peace Committee; Methodist Superintendent Frigyes Hecker; and State Secretary Imre Miklos.

The participants found that society's unity was firm, despite the country's economic difficulties. By strengthening work ethic, the churches were striving to safeguard our achievements against international attacks, and also against phenomena that threatened to undermine society's moral code. The people were capable of making even great sacrifices if their morale was good and public life was clean.

All the speakers agreed that the PPF movement had to do everything in its power to protect families, because they were also the repositories of national unity. The speakers pledged their support for the PPF's intention to care for the elderly with low incomes and small pensions, for young people beginning their careers and about to establish families, and for families with many children.

They emphasized the importance of strengthening patriotism and and of forming a sense of historical awareness.

It was explained that religious people felt a deep sense of satisfaction because their churches had stood up for social progress and intended to proceed along the same path also in the future.

Robert Juhasz, secretary of the PPF National Council, wrote an article evaluating the meeting. Entitled "A Meaningful Dialog," the article appeared in the 4 February 1984 issue of MAGYAR NEMZET.

1014

CSO: 2500/233

HUNGARY

NEPSZABADSAG DESCRIBES INFLUENCE OF READERS

Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 11 Jan 84 p 3

[Article by Ferenc Vadasz: "Our Co-worker, the Reader"; passages enclosed in slantlines were printed in italics]

[Text] Each morning at the newspaper, those who work on the letters to the editor column often huddle over a table upon which the day's mail is piled. In less than half an hour, practiced hands sort the mail--the readers' reactions to our articles--according to counties, cities and districts; this is then quickly forwarded to administrators who make a few comments on the content of every letter which is read. The brief extracts of the letters are forwarded to the editorial director in the form of a /letter review/. We believe that every letter to the newspaper is a reply, even if it contains no reference to a previous article, even if it unambiguously refers to a private matter, personal request, complaint or petition. It is an answer in the sense that it is /fostered by trust/; one of the paper's previous articles--days, weeks or perhaps years ago--inspired and encouraged the resolve of the writer: let me also write of my grievance; voice my joy; inform them of my suggestion; perhaps they can help; perhaps my success will also inspire others.

With Pen and Camera

Those letters which may be truly considered replies to one of our articles or reports--if they are timely and genuinely supplement our articles with new and significant data, or if they debate or challenge a point and are worthy of consideration due to their objectivity--are evaluated in the same way as if they had been written by one of the newspaper's reporters. We publish ever greater numbers of these in the column entitled /Our Readers' Opinions/ which appears in the Saturday issues. Last year, /240 letters or excerpts/ were published in this way. There are at least the same number of letters which we were unable to publish; however, since the reader called our attention to various matters and phenomena, we decided that it would be good for reporters to examine them more closely and thoroughly so that if warranted, they could deal with the indicated problems in the newspaper.

Many hundreds of active readers who are interested in the situation of the country and the economy and in social and cultural problems have from year to

year become our respected /co-workers/--and we do not say this to be polite.

In 1983, there were more than twice as many--nearly 500-- who gained expression in our column entitled /The Readers' Forum/. On Thursdays, an entire page would be filled with their articles and messages from the workplace and housing projects, about their observations gained at the various forums of social and public activity. It is on the basis of their ideas that our cartoonists portray the /Letter Woman/ who is annoyed, shakes her head and grumbles at the sight of what displeases her. And our letter writers are also the ones who train their camera lenses--recently in ever greater numbers--on targets needing publicity.

Response Within the Specified Time

/Thousands of letters/ from our newspaper reach party and state agencies, authorities and institutions with the request that their /contents be examined and that the results of the examination be conveyed to both the newspaper and the letter writer/. Last year we forwarded letters of this type to 2,600 official addresses, and the majority of replies--let it be said to the credit of the administrators--arrived within the legally stipulated time limit. And not only did they reply, not only did they formally satisfy our requests: /They also acted/. We attentively monitored the fate of such cases, and if the actions taken were not satisfactory, we requested the intervention of higher authorities, and a re-evaluation and reversal of decisions judged to be superficial and felt to be unjust. Our aim is for the reporters of the various columns--as far as their energy permits--to examine the complaints, reports and grievances of public interest /personally and on the spot/. We believe that the battle against abuse must be pursued not merely in the defense of economic interests, but also in defense of the moral and ethical interests of society, the trust of the populace and the party policy, and the credibility of the press which represents it.

We are not only in contact with our readers through the mail. Each day many people seek out our /advisory office/, and even if it is not always within our means to immediately take a stand or an action on the basis of what they say, in what follows we also handle the reports as if they had been received in the mail. We inform the complainant through the mail of the actions we have taken and their results.

We must separately mention our column entitled /Legal Adviser/. Even randomly cited titles say much about the replies given to questions which are often vital to individuals and groups, and which occupy wide strata of society: How is joint property dissolved? How is the right of preemption exercised? When is it possible to petition for parental support? Who is entitled to a permanent pension? Could a state apartment be obtained by way of exchange? What is contained in a document establishing a block of owner-occupied apartments? Could a child inherit despite the provisions of a will? How much may a private artisan earn in addition to his pension? For what length of time are young newlyweds entitled to benefits?

Last year, the paper published /360 items of legal advice/; the number of readers affected by or interested in the issues raised may be estimated

in the hundreds of thousands.

Similarly, a significant number of letters are sent to the editorial directors and to the reporters known to the readers by name. A portion of these are answered by the addressees. If they refer to the work of the newspaper, they are handled in the same way as the other letters. We deal with all of them and answer them all. This is also how it was last year.

Their Help is Indispensable

Perhaps it is not superfluous if we now answer a few voices which are sometimes perceptible between the lines: Isn't it a waste of time and an unnecessary effort to report on issues considered of public interest? Is it worthwhile for the reader to take pen in hand and call attention to one thing or another? After all, no immediate effect is noticeable, nor is the content of the letter always discernible, either directly in the original form or indirectly. We would like to reassure all those who have considered this question: not a single worthwhile observation or criticism is lost at the newspaper. Month after month, we inform party and government leaders in writing--as we did last year--as to what our readers think of the formation of the international situation, the planned rocket sites, the alarming extent of the arms race, measures endangering the peace of mankind; about various ethical, political and economic questions, the activity of party organizations, health care, education, transportation problems; about labor discipline, interestedness, social supervision; about difficult bureaucratic official procedures, mistakes, irregularities, the debates between owners and renters, industrial and agricultural products, the quality and supply of goods; the work of construction and other branches of industry, the OTP [National Savings Bank], state insurance, the activities of service enterprises and institutions; about employment, judicial, pension and housing matters--and many other issues. In preparing decisions and resolutions of national significance, the responsible directors take into consideration the reports prepared on the basis of letters on these matters and on-site observations. Thus, our letter-writing readers also "have a say" in the formation of policy.

Our thanks to everyone of /the tens of thousands of volunteers, co-workers, aides at the party newspaper, those writing regularly and those who write occasionally/, who jointly serve to express /public opinion/. We await their successful cooperation this year too!

9956

CSO: 2500/204

DETAILS ON JARUZELSKI MEETING WITH SCIENCE, ENGINEERING LOBBY

Discussion Period

Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 16 Dec 83 pp 1, 2

[Article by Tadeusz Podwysocki: "Science and Technology the Key to the Future: Speech by W. Jaruzelski"]

[Text] (Our own information) On 15 December, a meeting took place in the Palace of the Council of Ministers in Warsaw between creators of science and technology and the premier of the Polish government, General Wojciech Jaruzelski, in which members of the highest state authorities participated.

The proceedings were chaired by the president of the NOT [Chief Technical Organization], Dr Aleksander Kopec, who in his opening address before the discussion stated, among other things, that "during the period since the last meeting between a group of NOT activists and the Premier, as is well known, many important events have occurred and a new situation has arisen in the state and in the economy. At that time we spoke about the necessity of halting the decline in the economy, about the willingness of the technical cadres to face up to the social and economic difficulties, and about concluding a broad national understanding. We stated that we would take up these subjects in the professional work of technical circles and in the social activity of NOT, and that we would make them the main subjects at the 20th Congress of Polish Technicians.

"I think that we have kept our promises, and that we have carried out and are still carrying out the tasks we have taken upon ourselves. We have defended the historical heritage of the Polish People's Republic, respected the actions and achievements of our fathers and past generations; today we are noting this, but two years ago, after all, it was a battle. Today not one engineering organization belonging to NOT has to cancel its decisions and resolutions, and this gives it a moral right to speak up in the present situation."

The president of NOT then recalled that in accordance with the conclusions of the technical community, a Council of Ministers resolution had been undertaken on the subject of cooperation between the state authorities and NOT and the SNT [scientific-technical associations]. An Office of

Environmental Protection and Water Economy, which had been sought for a long time, was created. A Council of Ministers resolution implemented a system for the professional training of engineers, and major privileges were granted us in this regard. Many of our proposals on modifying the mechanisms of the economic reform were adopted. In accordance with our proposals, a program for the electronification of the economy has become a reality. The issue of forming a Committee on Scientific-Technical Progress as a central body for guiding the development of science and technology is in the final stage of coordination.

Prominent creators of science and technology took part in the discussion. Prof Jerzy Derfer, the rector of the Gdansk Polytechnical School, and also Prof Jerzy Grzymek, pointed out in their statements the barriers and restraints on technical progress, stressing at the same time the real possibilities for using scientific and engineering creativity for the problem of emerging from the crisis. The president of the Association of Polish Electrical Engineers, Engineer Jacek Szpotanski, pointed out the need to begin the electronification of industrial processes. This problem was also discussed by Prof Stefan Wegrzyn, who stated that "education in information science must be present in a much greater degree in the scientific background of every person with a higher education who leaves the walls of our schools behind him. But there also has to be an increase in the number of specialists in the area of information science proper, micro information science, among all the graduates. One has to speak of this with great concern, since the trends presently observed point to a systematic decrease in the number of specialists trained in the area of polytechnical information science. Such a limitation of the number of those who will determine whether Poland will preserve the conditions for dramatic technical progress to maintain exports of almost all of the technical equipment we have so far been exporting, will create a mortal danger for our entire economy."

On the other hand, Prof Roma Ney of the Mining and Smelting Academy noted that there is no country that could emerge from a crisis without long-term activities in the sphere of scientific and technical progress. The economic reform, meanwhile, has so far not created the mechanisms for scientific and technical progress. The technological gap in relation to the other socialist countries is increasing. Thus, even in the field of carbochemistry, we are back in the 1950's. We are not using the elements accompanying the copper ore that is extracted. In this we are also at the 1950's level of technology. Coal refining is also at a standstill. The problem of coal was also discussed by Prof Jerzy Rychlewski, who stated that in the future the development of carbochemistry will have strategic significance for the economic development of Poland.

"Nothing can replace scientific and technical creativity," concluded Prof Jan Kaczmarek, the president of the Association of Polish Mechanical Engineers. "But the introduction of the results of creative work depends to a significant extent on our own organization. The fundamental issue is the creation of an incentive system promoting scientific and technical progress. In spite of the difficult situation, it is possible to be successful in increasing economic results, precisely through scientific and technical progress."

Many speakers discussed the subject of amendments to patent laws. The delegate Lidia Jackiewicz-Kozanecka expressed the view that the new law should make the inventor and innovator a partner in the enterprise. The new law can also make the scientific research facilities more active, since this has to do with their participation in work on innovation.

Prof Michal Hebda called attention to a very important problem in his statement. He not only discussed the quality of the process of the exploitation of capital assets, but also noted that an abrupt deterioration of it is taking place. The current value of these assets is 30 billion zlotys. It is unthinkable for the cost of the exploitation of capital assets to continue to reach about 1 billion zlotys, as it is doing this year. The present situation, Prof Hebda stated, is a phenomenon of the inefficient utilization of machines and equipment, amounting to from 50 to 60 percent. One has to be disturbed by the fact that about 100,000 trucks have been immobilized by a lack of spare parts and improper operation. Thus far there has been no economic method for assessing the exploitation of machines and equipment. Since 1980, the reliability of equipment and machines has deteriorated fourfold. A state inspection of the state of the utilization of capital assets is necessary.

Prof Roman Fafara, president of NOT Food Industry Committee, called attention in his speech to the fact of insufficient biological progress. Only 50 percent of the potential biological possibilities of plants are utilized in Poland. There is a similar situation in livestock raising. This is happening because the achievements of science and practice are not used and disseminated in agriculture. It is necessary to have more dynamic progress in the food industry. At this time there is a shortage of equipment and tools. There is a shortage of 270,000 tractors, and in the food industry most machinery comes from imports, and the situation here is extremely disturbing.

"There have been many valuable proposals from the scientific-technical community," Minister Wladyslaw Baka stated in his speech, "but it is not possible to agree with all of them." The government representative for the issues of the economic reform at the same time thanked NOT for the proposals and its participation in modification of the mechanisms of the economic reform. He emphasized NOT's active participation in work on formation of the reform's solutions. He next gave assurances that there are great possibilities for technical progress in 1984. There will be tax breaks for enterprises bringing new goods into production.

Speaking about wage policy, Minister Stanislaw Ciosek gave assurances that it was necessary to rebuild the entire system of emoluments. Wages have to be integrally linked to the productivity of labor and its quality, but it is not an easy matter to create a suitable wage system. Customs and traditions govern this. The system for rebuilding wages will require several years of experiments. With respect to wages for engineers and technicians, all the cadres should be subject to the same rules that are supposed to be binding on other workers at enterprises. This, however, is a question of promoting technical creativity, but that requires working out appropriate solutions, and also systemic ones. At present we are aiming for such solutions.

Deputy Premier Zbigniew Szalajda described the state's technical policy.

The directions of this policy, among other things, were defined in the central plan for next year. In the area of technology, the emphasis was placed on linking it to the needs of the food industry, construction, health protection, the conservation of fuel and energy, and intensifying exports and limiting imports. A contribution to carrying out these tasks will be made by the government's orders for research work (100 topics); innovation (82); inventions to be applied and disseminated; and also investments associated with the introduction of scientific research work. These tasks have been systematized in the plan for the first time.

Elaboration on Jaruzelski Speech

Warsaw PRZEGLAD TECHNICZNY in Polish No 3, 15 Jan 84 pp 8, 9

[Edited version of Wojciech Jaruzelski speech prepared by Witold Ochremiak]

[Text] During a meeting with a broad representation of scientific-technical circles and the world of technology on 15 December 1983 in the Office of the Council of Ministers, at the end of a discussion lasting over 6 hours, Premier Army General Wojciech Jaruzelski took the floor.

The most fundamental result of the exchange of views was the unanimous and clearly stated wish to take action on behalf of technical progress to serve Poland and to overcome the barriers and difficulties that have occurred for a long time on the road from idea to industry, the premier said. The most fundamental issue for idea and industry to want and to be able to be realized is the creation of appropriate economic, material, organizational, and psychological-moral conditions.

What should be done in order to obtain progress in this field, being aware that idea without industry is barren, while industry without idea is poor and deprived of development possibilities?

Referring to the question formulated in this manner, the premier said: "Technology is the basic key to the future. It determines not only whether there will be prosperity and what it will be like, but also simply what everyday life will be like."

It is apparent from the statements made during the meeting--to which the premier called attention--what kind of enormous reserves exist, and what great possibilities there are both in economic, technical, and intellectual potential, but also above all in the cadre, scientific, and engineering potential that has been created by the Polish People's Republic.

Mention was made in the discussion of the decrease in the attractiveness of the profession of engineer, the declining number of candidates for higher technical schools, and the drop in employment at scientific research institutes.

This is extremely disturbing, the premier stated; nevertheless, one should also perceive the number of engineers in Poland, which is higher than in many other developed countries, and also the way in which the engineers are used.

The main issue is the activity and productivity of engineering and technical work. It is limited both by certain complexes and dissociations of a political and psychological nature, various types of disillusionment, and a loss of faith in the possibility of useful activity. There are also --as was apparent from the discussion--material difficulties, as a result of which the activity and productivity of labor are not commensurate with the needs and possibilities.

Incentive problems are problems of paramount importance, and they have to be adapted to actual needs. The government's plans on this question are far advanced. The patent law is to be amended; the issue of bonuses for work on inventions and increasing efficiency has been resolved, wage systems in institutions have been supplemented with new bonus principles, and priorities will be applied in regard to honoring anti-import technical solutions. One of the stimulating factors will be a system for recognition of the degree of engineers' specialization.

We should not, however, the premier stated, have too much faith in the magical significance and power of all kinds of laws and decrees. Even the best law will not be of any help if people's good will does not follow it. This can be followed through the example of the law on quality. We are perhaps the only country in the world that has such a law, and at the same time one of the countries that has the lowest quality. After all, high technology and great skill are not required in order to produce forks that do not bend, or any other very primitive products that were known back in the state of the Vistula, but now we above the Vistula, on the threshold of the 21st century, are having difficulties with this.

The premier referred to the many comments and statements dealing with the economic reform and its consequences. The reform is an enormous step along the road to the autonomy of enterprises, and thus also of its cadres. Regardless of its weaknesses and defects, the reform is a great chance for an engineer. Every ambitious engineer and technician should make use of this autonomy as much as possible.

Things are not going very well with the use of the possibility of directing funds into development, although every enterprise, especially an autonomous one, should look far ahead. Every enterprise should understand that its future fate depends on this and that the world does not end with the present day. An understanding through old categories, that if things are bad then those above will provide support, is still dominant. This mentality should be thoroughly changed. We should rely on brave and courageous people who look to the future. Thus the issue of competitions as a fundamental innovation in the selection of management cadres is the next chance for the most capable and most dynamic people. Emphasizing the great significance of trade unions, worker self-government, and the role of the working class,

the premier stated that it is in socialism that the fullest possibility exists of obtaining a community of the interests among all those employed in an enterprise, and overall, in the entire economy. The engineering-technical cadre has to give the tone to efficient action in the economy, so that this great army, the officers of which are the engineers, technical supervision, may have a proper direction and great penetrating force.

The scarcity of funds for the development of the economy is standing in the way of obtaining greater momentum and great effectiveness in our efforts. The size of the national income is decisive. Those gathered in the hall, the premier said, are people with a precise approach to matters and with a rational understanding, and they know that the national income cannot be passed over, that it is only from the national income that funds can also be allocated for investments, including those for development. But the national income has very abruptly declined by more than 25 percent in comparison with the 1970's. This means that in absolute terms the percentage allotted for investments is lower.

The premier noted the ratios of investment and development outlays: 30 percent for agriculture and the food industry, another 30 percent for the housing industry, and 14-15 percent for the fuel and energy complex. This priority in directions is absolutely correct and necessary from the point of view of the interests of the entire economy. The remaining 20-odd percent is allocated for social, communal, and educational needs. How are we to satisfy the needs in these really critical areas, and at the same time not regress, and not allow the emergence of a technological gap, since without investments and modernization such symptoms are already occurring?

There are certain areas which have the nature of serious bottlenecks. They include communications, for example. One should also understand the consequences of indebtedness and restrictions, which are not symbolic in nature, as is said here and there in propaganda that should not be taken seriously. Calculated in real terms, there are 12.5 billion zlotys of direct and indirect consequences affecting our economy, weakening it a great deal, and reducing possibilities for development. This is a very serious barrier, since it causes a limitation of the possibilities for economic cooperation with other countries.

There is also, however, another psychological barrier, our internal one, which often does not permit making decisions, even ones that are correct from the economic point of view and absolutely justified, but which cannot obtain social approval. This is a very serious dilemma for us. Nonsensical things sometimes exist in various social services, allowances, and supplements, but it is not possible to withdraw them. The reasons of the socialist state dictate many solutions in this regard. These are thus determining factors of an objective nature. In a certain sense, they also include the situation in the area of emoluments. Any wage regulation that liquidates existing distortions, such as those that exist today in wage systems, is difficult if it corrects something to someone's detriment, even if there are economic needs. This has to be a longer process, as a result of which this system is put in order, primarily within the framework of the enterprise, where it is possible to assess in the most objective manner who deserves how much.

This is also a question of establishing rational norms and standards. In this sector, the premier stated, there is an enormous freedom and lack of order. Many norms and standards are undermined, and without having this sector put in order, wage systems do not have a rational foundation. This has to be viewed as a whole.

It does not follow from the picture that this cannot be overcome. Above all, it is possible to do more by properly managing the resources forces at our disposal and by establishing a correct strategy for action.

The requests made during the discussion are certainly proper, the premier stated, and they will receive an appropriate reflection in the government's work and actions. For example, progress has been made on establishing a Committee on Science and Technical Progress. In the near future, the legal situation of scientific research institutes, as well as the Polish Academy of Sciences, will be regulated. It appears that the entire area of the basic sciences and applied sciences must receive some kind of coordinating superstructure, and more order has to be obtained in this field.

The premier referred to East Germany's experience in using the capabilities of scientific research institutes, and their capacity for operational reaction to the needs of industry. There is a system there of combines that also include institutes, while there are none in the ministries. There are also strong departments for technical progress in the enterprises. A model is provided by Japanese enterprises, which employ almost one third of all engineering-technical workers, who deal only and exclusively with technical progress. Very important results and progress are obtained there on the road of working out new organizational, technical, and technological solutions. We also have to set out along this road in a determined manner, breaking through various obstacles. There is no other way to accelerate technical and organizational progress.

East Germany has made considerable progress in reducing materials intensiveness and energy-intensiveness, with a simultaneous increase in production. We have also taken the first real steps toward reducing materials-intensiveness. There are enormous reserves in this regard, primarily in the sphere of human activities, organizational and technical. In this way conservation of the labor force--which is one of our very serious problems--can be obtained.

The premier cited the anti-import activity issues brought up in the discussion. This is undoubtedly a great economic and political problem and also a moral and patriotic one, as has also been said. To a considerably greater degree than in the past we must make ourselves independent of imports, which often do not have any justification, and hold us by the throat and do not permit us to resolve many problems. The crisis has taught us and accustomed us to be able to do considerably more with our own forces than we have done in the past. And we should express sincere gratitude and respect for the many thousands of scientific workers, engineers, and technicians, who in this difficult situation have been successful in seeking correct solutions. They are supplementing each other, but they are

ours, they are just the same, and they are solving the same problem. It is necessary to go further and to overcome the complexes that have grown for years, the false conviction that the best thing to do is to buy. It has happened that we have imported nails and rope from abroad. It is necessary to perceive the basic reserves that lie in our own capabilities, which are great and can be even greater, in increasingly broader and richer collaboration and cooperation with the socialist countries, within the system of socialist integration. It is only thanks to extensive economic cooperation with these countries, primarily with the Soviet Union, its huge raw materials base and its large market for which countries wealthier than us are standing in line, and thanks to having lasting support in this base, which we can be a reliable and important partner in the West. Counting on the reverse process is what led to what happened. It is in these terms that we should assess our understandings with our socialist partners. This is not a question of walling ourselves off in any direction, but rather of developing our own forces in a healthy manner that guarantees us real economic sovereignty, and relying on what provides full stability, and on this basis, being a partner wherever we can earn something for Poland.

This is associated, the premier said, with the request put forward in the discussion for a long-term definition of technical policy. This includes the necessity of changing structures, a certain restructuring of our industry, in order to orient it more toward the needs of agriculture, industries producing for the market, and those Polish specialties in which we are and can be strong, those which will constitute our export trump. There is much room for action here for technology, technical progress, and searching for areas in which we can be foremost and in which in any case we should not fall behind. This is a question of the ambition of our creative people, the aspirations of professional engineers, and at the same time a chance for Polish science, in certain sectors in which we score great achievements, to strengthen and consolidate them.

The premier shared the view of many participants in the discussion who stated that we are not a country with the size and wealth to be able to allow ourselves equally dynamic action in all sectors. A selective choice and designation of selected areas has to be determined by the creative people themselves, and obviously by the determining factors in turn at all levels, but only when they have a completely clear picture of what we have to offer in certain areas of science and technology.

The discussion dealt with the problems of training engineering and technical cadres, which is our great task and obligation. The premier, citing the statements by Prof Grzymak, emphasized that the training of a modern engineer does not fully correspond to the requirements of life, and too little attention is paid to equipping him with a knowledge of technology.

This also pertains to operation, which was mentioned in the discussion. This has to do with not damaging or spoiling equipment, and not wasting what there is. The elements of an engineer's ethics are based on this. Meanwhile, the operation of machinery and equipment is really barbaric. The premier cited only one example of the scandalous operation of

agricultural machines at one of the institutes belonging to the SGGW [Central School of Agriculture]. This is a serious educational and moral problem, a problem of respect for work.

Without respect for equipment, expressed in the form of operation, it is difficult to obtain and ensure the prestige and position of the engineer and technician as the person who creates progress. This prestige has to be ensured by the government, as was mentioned in the discussion, and one should take this to heart and give an even higher social rank to the position of engineer and technician, since they constitute the social force that in the final analysis determines progress and the development of the country. We must therefore be more active in popularizing the people who create progress, who create it at various levels, who make a valuable contribution to the development of technology and to strengthening the country economically.

For generations, the premier said, we have been educated in a spirit of romanticism, in the spirit of the sciences of the poets, with a great deal of messianism and little positivism. But today what we need above all is realism, from which will grow optimism and a conviction that we are able, that we are a country that on the whole is rich in raw materials, rich in the sense of the great potential created by the Polish People's Republic, and primarily that we are rich in people, in numerous capable cadres. It is only necessary to make better use of this, and that is our joint concern.

We are in the 40th anniversary of the Polish People's Republic. We do not want to treat the past period like rentiers who clip coupons and say, "We have built Nowa Huta, we have built Mariensztat, and that is grounds for giving us allowances." We are proud of this and we think that it is only in socialism that it could have been possible to achieve what we have achieved in such a short historical period, and to emerge from the depths of backwardness and destruction. We will not permit in our midst nihilistic and objectively anti-people, attitudes and sentiments. They belong to a bygone era and to a lost generation. We are only beginning to emerge from the crisis, with all of our shortcomings, an enormous pressure from abroad, and expectations that we will be brought to our knees. A decline was predicted for us, but production is increasing here, even when we are paying \$1.3 billion this year.

We have been able to achieve a certain stabilization and normalization. It is now important to build a feeling of strength and obtain the unity of society. We are not seeking understanding on matters the conflicts and differences about which may last for many years, but there is no need to be ashamed of this if our intentions are pure. On the other hand, in the area of the economy, the needs and the national way of life that is threatened, we should obtain agreement and unity in order for our economy to regain its health as soon as possible and in order for us to be able to take the next step forward.

The premier expressed a highly favorable opinion of the meeting that took place, acknowledging it as a form of an advisory body for the management of the party and the state. We are trying to develop this advisory body; we will want to broaden our contacts, and get opinions from NOT, PTE [Polish Electrical Society], and all the social factors allowing us to have a broader and better perception of all of the determining factors that provide a valuable initiative and support for us.

The premier stated that the conclusions voiced in the discussion would be included in concrete targets and tasks, and set into the appropriate schedules and the plan for the government's work.

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CHRONOLOGY OF CHURCH EVENTS IN 1983 REPORTED

Katowice GOSC NIEDZIELNY in Polish No 1, 1 Jan 84 pp 1-4

[Article by Father Henryk Piecha: "The Church in 1983"]

[Text] January

1--The 16th World Day of Peace was observed with the motto "A Dialogue for Peace, a Declaration for Our Time." John Paul II sent a special message to the nations of the world.

Martial law in Poland, which was declared on 13 December 1981, was suspended.

The 100th anniversary of the birth of Rev Emanuel Grim. His verses, art and published works have become a permanent part of Silesia's literary output.

2--The Holy Father ended the Franciscan Year celebrations with a pastoral visit to Rieti and Greccio. It was the 35th trip of John Paul II within Italy.

The Rev Doc Jan Szturlej, the secretary of the National Headquarters of the Apostolate to the Sick for many years, was buried. He died on 30 December at the age of 68.

6--John Paul II consecrated 14 new archbishops and bishops, including Zenon Grocholewski, secretary of the Supreme Tribune of the Apostolic Signature, and Juliusz Paetz, Lomza's ordinary.

7--Greek Orthodox and Orthodox Catholics who use the Julian calendar celebrated Christmas.

11--Hollywood: By virtue of a decision by the State Supreme Court, funeral services were held for 16,000 unborn children discovered in February 1981 in garbage cans near a gynecological clinic conducting abortions.

14--Waclaw Majewski, the auxiliary bishop of the archdiocese of Warsaw, died at the age of 91. He was the oldest bishop of the Polish episcopate.

15--Rome: The pope held the traditional New Year's meeting with representatives of the 105 countries that maintain diplomatic relations with the Holy See.

18--Warsaw: The Joint Commission of Representative of the Government and the Episcopate deliberated.

18 to 25--The Week of Prayers for Christian Unity was observed with the motto: "Jesus Christ, Life of the World."

21--The Holy See Press Office published the John Paul II bull "Aperite Portas Redemptori" announcing the Jubilee of the 1950th year of Redemption.

23--The 120th anniversary of the January Uprising.

Gdansk: Mass was celebrated at St. Elizabeth's church for the 20 mariners on the ship KUDOWA ZDROJ who perished in the Mediterranean Sea in the worst sea catastrophe in the history of Poland's merchant fleet.

25--Rome: The Holy Father canonized the Italian Trappist Maria Gabriela Sagedda, who died in 1939 at the age of 25, offering her life for Christian unity.

Rome: John Paul II signed the Apostolic constitution "Sacrae Disciplinae Leges," promulgating the new Canon Law Code.

28--Rome: The Holy Father met Cardinal Elect Jozef Glemp, primate of Poland, in a private audience.

[----] [Art. 2, point 3 of the law on controlling publications and public performances of 31 July 1981 (DZIENNIK USTAW No 20, Item 99), and the revision of 28 July 1983 (DZIENNIK USTAW No 44, Item 204)].

February

2--A consistory was held in which the Holy Father created 18 new cardinals. Archbishop Jozef Glemp, primate of Poland, and Bishop Julijans Vaivods, apostolic administrator of the archdiocese of Riga and the diocese of Lipaw (Latvia), among others, received cardinal hats.

A day of national prayer is held in Poland to initiate the period of preparations for the Holy Father's visit.

3--Cardinal Antonio Samore, librarian and archivist of the Roman Church, died at the age of 77.

7--Rome: John Paul II met with George Bush, vice president of the United States, in a private audience.

11--Agostino Cardinal Casaroli, the Vatican secretary of state, met with Premier Amintore Fanfani at the Italian embassy in the Vatican to discuss, among other things, the revision of the concordat between Italy and the Holy See.

12--John Paul II named Prof Stanislaw Lojasiewicz of Krakow's Jagiellonian University as a member of the Papal Academy of Sciences.

16--Rome: On Ash Wednesday the pope led a penitential procession and celebrated Mass at St Sabina's basilica. The Holy Father also sent a special message for Lent.

The eminent poet Kazimiera Illakowiczowna died in Poznan at the age of 90.

21--Warsaw: Another meeting of the Joint Commission of Representatives of the Government and the Episcopate was held. Problems associated with the program of the visit of John Paul II to Poland were discussed.

23-24--Warsaw: The 190th Plenary Conference of the Polish Episcopate was held.

25--Hiroshima: A statue was dedicated to John Paul II on the second anniversary of his visit to Japan.

25 to 26--Czestochowa: The Eighth Congregation Responsible for the Movement of Enlightenment and Life entitled "New Man in Christ" was held at Jasna Gora.

26--Rome: The new apostolic constitution "Divinus Perfectionis Magister" was published. It contains new legislation regarding beatification and canonization.

March

1--Warsaw: Mieczyslaw Jastrun, the eminent poet, essayist and translator, was buried.

2 to 9--John Paul II visited eight Central American countries: Costa Rica, Nicaragua, Panama, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, Belize and Haiti. This was the pope's 17th trip abroad. Commentators designated it as the most difficult one to date because of the tense sociopolitical situation in this region of the world. [----] [Art. 2, point 3 of the law on controlling publications and public performances of 31 July 1981 (DZIENNIK USTAW No 20, Item 99), and the revision of 28 July 1983 (DZIENNIK USTAW No 44, Item 204)].

9--Warsaw: Jozef Cardinal Glemp, primate of Poland, met with Gen Wojciech Jaruzelski, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Polish People's Republic. After the meeting, the terms of the pope's visit to Poland were published.

10 to 21--Archbishop Luigi Poggi, the apostolic nuncio for special missions, visits Poland.

12--Valentia (Vibo diocese, Italy): Jozef Cardinal Glemp, primate of Poland, was awarded the "Testimonial Award."

13--John Paul II opened the International Youth Center at St Wawrzyn's church near St Peter's Square.

Rome: Jozef Cardinal Glemp, primate of Poland, assumed control of his titular church, the Mother of God basilica in Zatybrze.

In accordance with the decision of the episcopate, a day of thanksgiving was held in Poland for the charitable foreign aid given to our country.

Lomza: Bishop Juliusz Paetz, Lomza's new ordinary, made the ceremonial entry into the cathedral of St Michael the Archangel.

23--John Paul II named the Rev Doc Tadeusz Gocłowski of the Order of Missionary Fathers as an auxiliary bishop Lech Kaczmarek, the Gdansk ordinary.

24--Warsaw: The 191st Plenary Conference of the Polish Episcopate deliberated.

25--Rome: On the Feast of the Annunciation of the Most Holy Virgin, John Paul II inaugurated the Jubilee Year of Redemption at St Peter's basilica, performing the symbolic act of opening the Holy Doors. The Jubilee Year will continue until 23 April 1984.

During the Year of Redemption, ceremonies will be held in Croatia to celebrate the 1300 years of Christianity in that land.

26--Bishop Stanislaw Jakiel, suffragan bishop of Przemysl, died at age 73.

27--Rome: On Palm Sunday the Holy Father blessed palms in St Peter's Square, led a procession and celebrated Mass.

Katowice: The Annual Day of Recollections for Artists was combined with celebrations of the 60th anniversary of Silesia's Stanislaw Wyspianski Theater.

Hanna Malewska, the well-known Catholic writer, died in Krakow at the age of 72.

Katowice: At the cathedral of Christ the King, Bishop Herbert Bednorz, Katowice's ordinary, conferred Holy Orders on 35 deacons.

April

3--Rome: On Easter John Paul II delivered his Easter message to the faithful gathered in St Peter's Square, after which he delivered holiday greetings in 44 languages and gave the "Urbi et Orbi" blessing.

6--Rome: Four Lithuanian bishops visited "ad limina."

The 400th anniversary of the birth of the great Italian painter Rafael.

7--Tokyo: Helder Camara, the archbishop of Recife and Olinda (Brazil), received the peace prize of the Japanese Niwano fund.

10--Warsaw: To mark the 40th anniversary of the Warsaw Ghetto uprising, Jozef Cardinal Glemp, primate of Poland, celebrated Mass in St Augustine's church for the deceased insurgents and the Jews murdered during World War II.

11--The 20th anniversary of the announcement of the encyclical "Pacem in Terris" of Pope John XXIII.

14--For the second time during the Jubilee Year of the 600th Anniversary of Jasna Gora, the Visitation Image began its journey through the dioceses. The journey began in the archdiocese of Warsaw.

18--Warsaw: The Joint Commission of Representatives of the Government and the Episcopate deliberated.

19--Jerzy Andrzejewski, one of Poland's most eminent prose writers, died in Warsaw at the age of 73.

23--Brother Roger, the prior of the ecumenical union in Taize, handed the ambassadors of the USSR and the United States in Madrid a letter containing an appeal for peace and a request to meet with the leaders of both powers.

24--The 20th World Day of Prayer for Vocations. The Holy Father sent a special message for the occasion.

28--Warsaw: Celebrations were held to mark the 300th anniversary of the local St John the Baptist Metropolitan Seminary.

29--Rome: John Paul II held a private audience with seven dignitaries of the Church of England.

30--Rome: The Holy Father sent a letter to the bishops of Tarnow, Nitrze and Pesc to mark the 900th anniversary of the canonization of St Andrew Swierda.

May

1--Warsaw: Jozef Cardinal Glemp, primate of Poland, was invited by the workers of the Ursus Machinery Plants to celebrate Mass and deliver a homily at St Joseph's church.

3--Czestochowa: With the participation of almost the entire episcopate, celebrations honoring the Queen of Poland were held at Jasna Gora.

Warsaw: Minister Adam Lopatka, the director of the Office for Religious Affairs, confirmed the appeal of John Paul II to the government of the

Polish People's Republic regarding the freeing of all those jailed for their beliefs.

Warsaw: An unknown person assaulted the Primate's Aid Committee located in the Franciscan convent in the Old Town.

3 to 4--Czestochowa: The 192nd Plenary Conference of the Polish Episcopate deliberated at Jasna Gora.

4--Budapest: Archbishop Luigi Poggi, the apostolic nuncio for special missions, visited Hungary for one week.

8--Krakow: The annual ceremonies honoring St Stanislaw were held. Bishop Herbert Bednorz, the ordinary of Katowice, celebrated the solemn mass at the Skalka.

Prudnik Las (Opolska diocese): A statue-epitaph was dedicated to honor Stefan Cardinal Wyszynski, the deceased primate of Poland, who was imprisoned there from 1954-1955.

15--Rome: The Holy Father canonized two Italian Salesian missionaries: Bishop Alojzy Versiglia and Father Kaliksta Caravario, who 53 years ago were martyred in China.

Opole: Bishop Alfons Nossol, the ordinary of Opole, conferred Holy Orders on 23 deacons at the local cathedral.

Erfurt (GDR): At the end of the Congress of German Evangelicals, an appeal was made to church authorities to condemn all production, deployment and use of arms of mass destruction.

20 to 22: The Holy Father made a pastoral visit to the archdiocese of Mediolan on the occasion of the 20th Italian Eucharistic Congress held in that city.

22--Warsaw: A memorial tablet was unveiled in Warsaw Cathedral to mark the 100th anniversary of the death of Cyprian Kamil Norwid, the great poet and thinker.

26--Rome: John Paul II received a government delegation from the People's Republic of Bulgaria.

28--Second anniversary of the death of Stefan Cardinal Wyszynski, primate of Poland.

29--Rome: Do Cardinal Nascimento, the chairman of the Conference of the Angolan Episcopate, was elected as the new chairman of "Carotas Internationalis" at its 12th plenary session.

Piekary Slaskie: The annual pilgrimage of men and youth was held under the motto "God Will Win." At the end of the pilgrimage, the image of Our Lady of

x Pekary was sent on its way through 21 parishes for the meeting with the Holy Father in Katowice-Muchowiec.

Myslenice (Krakow archdiocese): The central celebrations were held to mark the 350th anniversary of the local Marian sanctuary.

30--Warsaw: Archbishop Achille Silvestrini, the secretary of the Council for Church Public Affairs, visited for several days.

Lublin: A statue was dedicated to John Paul II and Stefan Cardinal Wyszyński, the deceased primate of Poland, at Lublin's Catholic University.

June

2--Rome: On the feast of Corpus Christi, the Holy Father led a eucharistic procession from the basilica of St John Lateran to the basilica of Santa Maria Maggiore.

3--The 20th anniversary of the death of Pope John XXIII. His beatification is in process.

5--Rome: In the framework of the Year of Redemptions celebrations, the pope celebrated Mass on the steps of St Peter's basilica for the sick and applied the sacrament of Holy Oil to 100 people.

6--Warsaw: Jozef Cardinal Glemp, the primate of Poland, met with Gen Wojciech Jaruzelski, the chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Polish People's Republic.

8--Zagreb (Yugoslavia): A Eucharistic Congress for Youth was held.

9--Warsaw: The 193rd Plenary Conference of the Polish Episcopate deliberated.

In the United States, the senate constitution subcommittee approved two constitutional amendments concerning the introduction of prayer in public schools.

12--In Wloclawek diocese, the celebrations of the 800th anniversary of the death of St Bogumila ended.

15--Mario Cardinal Casariego, the archbishop of Guatemala, died at the age of 74.

16 to 23--In association with the 600th anniversary of the Miraculous Image of Our Lady of Czestochowa on Jasna Gora, John Paul II made his second apostolic trip to Poland. It was called the pilgrimage of hope. The papal pilgrimage route coursed through Warsaw, Niepokalanow, Czestochowa, Poznan, Katowice, Wroclaw, Gora St Anny and Krakow. The Holy Father led almost 30 celebrations, delivered about 20 homilies and speeches, beatified three servants of God: Mother Urszula Ledochowska, Father Rafal Kalinowski and Brother Albert

Chmielowski, and participated in the closing of the Provincial Synod of the Krakow Metropoli. The Jasna Gora celebrations were the culmination of the papal pilgrimage. On the last day of the visit, the pope met with Lech Walesa.

19--Czestochowa: The 194th Plenary Conference of the Polish Episcopate deliberated at Jasna Gora under the leadership of the Holy Father.

26--James Robert Cardinal Knox, the chairman of the Papal Council on Family Affairs, died in Rome at the age of 69.

29--On the feast of Sts Peter and Paul, the Holy Father led a solemn Mass in the plaza in front of the Vatican basilica. A delegation of the Constantinople patriarchate, headed by Metropolitan Meliton, was present.

Warsaw: The Joint Commission of Representatives of the Government and the Episcopate executed an initial evaluation of the pope's second visit to Poland.

30--Rome: John Paul II received in audience seven Cuban bishops who visited "ad limina."

July

1--Rome: John Paul II received in a special audience Jozef Cardinal Glemp, the primate of Poland, and members of the Polish episcopate who came to the Etermnal City.

1 to 13--Poznan: The Seventh General Chapter of the Society of Christ deliberated. The Rev Edward Szymanek was elected as the new superior general.

10--Rome: At the end of Ramadan (the Muslim Lent), the secretariat for Non-Christian Affairs sent a special message to all followers of Islam.

16--Bishop Edouard Gagnon was selected to replace the deceased Cardinal Knox as chairman of the Papal Council for Family Affairs.

17--Tropie (Tarnow diocese): The Polish episcopate participated in the events celebrating the 900th anniversary of the canonization of St Andrew Swierda.

22--Martial law was lifted in Poland.

24 July to 10 August--Vancouver (Canada): The Seventh General Meeting of the World Council of Churches deliberated. John Paul II sent a special message to the meeting participants.

24--Solemn Masses were celebrated in all churches in Venezuela to mark the 200th anniversary of the birth of Simon Bolivar, the liberator of South American nations.

25--Assisi: The 192nd General Chapter of Franciscan Monks ended. A letter was sent to leaders R. Reagan and Y. Andropov inviting them to a fraternal meeting in Assisi.

August

1 to 12--Geneva: A delegation from the Holy See participated in the second world conference dedicated to the struggle against racism. The conference ended a 10-year campaign against racial discrimination.

2 to 6--Mother Teresa of Calcutta visited Poland.

4--In Chile the trade unions appealed to church representatives to mediate a dialogue with the government.

Warsaw: The 272nd pilgrimage on foot from Warsaw to Jasna Gora started.

14--Rome: A decree of the Congregation on Sacraments and the Worship of God designated 14 August as the liturgical feast day of St Maximilian Kolbe.

Piekary Slaskie: The traditional pilgrimage of women and girls was held under the motto "God Will Win."

14 to 15--The Holy Father made a pilgrimage to Lourdes. It was the 19th trip abroad for John Paul II. Before going to the Lourde's sanctuary, the Holy Father held talks with French President Francois Mitterrand.

18 to 25: A copy of the Miraculous Image of Our Lady of Czestochowa was viewed by parishes in Wodzislav, Zorice, Jastrzeb and Rybnik.

21--Sirpiec (Plock diocese): Celebrations associated with the 500th anniversary of the local sanctuary were held.

Kamien Slaski (Opole diocese): Celebrations marking the 900th anniversary of the birth of St Jacek, the diocese's main patron, were held.

21 to 28: Brazzaville: A National Eucharistic congress was organized to mark the 100th anniversary of the Catholic Church in the Congo.

22 to 26--Toronto (Canada): The 14th General Meeting of the International Federation of Catholic Universities (FIUC) was held.

25--Czestochowa: The 195th Plenary Conference of the Polish Episcopate deliberated at Jasna Gora.

26--In Poland the feast day of Our Lady of Czestochowa was a day of thanksgiving for the Holy Father's pilgrimage to Poland as well as a day of renewing Jasna Gora's vows to the nation.

31--Rome: In speaking at a general audience, the Holy Father mentioned the third anniversary of the agreement between the government and the workers of Szczecin and Gdansk.

September

1--Lublin: Bishop Piotr Hempterek was elected as the new rector of Lublin Catholic University.

2--Rome: In association with the death of the passengers on the South Korean airline, John Paul II sent a telegram of condolence to the archbishop of Seoul.

Rome: The General Chapter of the Dominican Order elected Father Damian Alojzy Byrne, an Irishman, as the new superior general.

3 to 4--Lesna Podlaska: With the participation of the Polish episcopate, the 300th anniversary of the appearance of the famous image of Our Lady was celebrated.

4--Czestochowa: The 300th anniversary of the Relief of Vienna was celebrated at Jasna Gora; thanks were also offered for this year's harvests.

Katowice: A statue was unveiled in the square dedicated to the boy and girl scouts who died in World War II.

7--Madrid: Archbishop Achille Silvestrini, the delegate of the Holy See to the final meeting of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, expressed satisfaction that the Final Act of the conference broached the problem of freedom of conscience and religion.

8--Rome: The Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith published a letter to the bishops of the Catholic Church entitled: "Concerning Some Problems About Dispensing the Eucharist."

8 to 18--An International Congress on Mariology and Mary was held on Malta.

9--Katowice: Sixty years have elapsed since the appearance of the first issue of GOSC NIDZIELNY.

9 to 11--The 14th National Congress of Austrian Catholics was held under the motto: "Live in Hope and Give Hope."

10 to 13--In honor of the Congress of Austrian Catholics and the 300th anniversary of the Relief of Vienna, John Paul II made a pastoral visit to Austria. The pope visited Vienna and the Mariazell sanctuary. It was the 20th visit of the pope outside Italy.

13--Rome: The 33rd General Congregation of the Society of Jesus, which has been deliberating since 2 August, selected Father Peter Hans Kolvenbach as the new superior general.

14 to 16--Lublin: A Congress of Polish theologians was held at Lublin Catholic University under the theme "Christianity and Polish Culture."

Manila (Phillipines): Agostino Cardinal Casaroli led celebrations marking the 400th anniversary of the arrival in China of the Italian missionary Father Mateo Ricci.

18--The World Day of Resources for Social Remittance was celebrated in Poland under the motto: "Resources for Social Remittance in the Service of Peace."

20 to 21--Warsaw: The 196th Plenary Conference of the Polish Episcopate deliberated.

25--Bethlehem: The local Catholic University celebrated its 10th anniversary.

26--Warsaw: The Joint Commission of Representatives of the Government and the Episcopate met.

28--John Paul II celebrated his 25th anniversary as a bishop.

29 September to 29 October--Rome: The Sixth Synod of Bishops deliberated on "Penance and Reconciliation as an Essential Need for Man and Humanity and at the Same Time a Mission Entrusted to the Church by Christ."

October

2--In the framework of the Year of Redemption celebrations, the first Sunday of October was designated as World Marian day.

Kielce: The main jubilee celebrations marking the 100th anniversary of the Kielce diocese were held in the local cathedral.

2 to 8--The 39th Week of Love was celebrated in Poland under the motto: "Through Love We Build Hope."

3--Rome: John Paul II received in audience Caspar Weinberger, the United States secretary of defense.

5--Oslo: The Norwegian Committee awarded this year's Nobel Peace Prize to a Polish worker, Lech Walesa, the former chairman of the Solidarity Independent Trade Union. To mark the occasion, the Holy Father sent Mr Walesa a telegram of congratulation.

Terence Cardinal Cooke, the archbishop of New York, died at the age of 62.

16--The fifth anniversary of the pontificate of John Paul II.

Rome: The Holy Father canonized Blessed Leopold Mandic, the Croatian Capuchin.

The Third World Food Day. On this occasion, the pope sent a message to the FAO director general.

Lublin: The Ecumenism Institute, the first of its kind in Poland, began its activities at Lublin's Catholic University.

The Holy Shroud of Turin was formally given to the Holy See. The document in this matter was signed by Agostino Cardinal Casaroli, the Vatican secretary of state, and the executor of the testament of the late king of Italy, Humbert II.

23--World Mission Day. On this occasion the Holy Father sent a special message.

28--Dublin: The 11th World Congress of Catholic Press Journalists ended under the motto: "Everyone Has a Right to Speak."

29--Esztergom: At the invitation on Laslo Lekai, primate of Hungary, a delegation of the Polish episcopate visited Hungary to participate in the celebrations marking the 300th anniversary of the city's liberation by Jan Sobieski III from the Turks. The Polish delegation was headed by Jozef Cardinal Glemp.

Rome: The Catholic Bulgarian Center was opened.

30--Rome: The Holy Father canonized the Italian physician, the Rev Jakub Cuzman, the Spanish monk Dominik Itturate and the Romanian Brother Jeremiasz.

November

3--The African bishops, attending a synod, publicshed an appeal for reconciliation and penance in Africa.

4 to 7--Jozef Cardinal Glemp, the primate of Poland, visited Italy.

5--Rome: To mark the 500th anniversary of the birth of Martin Luther, the Holy Father sent a letter to the chairman of the Secretariat for Christian Unity, Jan Cardinal Wilebrands.

6--Rome: John Paul II celebrated Mass in St Peter's Basilica to mark the 25th anniversary of the death of Pope Pius XII.

Falenica, near Warsaw: Mother Teresa of Calcutta founded the first home in Poland for the Order of Missionaries of Love.

7 to 11--Rome: The International Festival of Religious Songs was held.

Italian Cardinal Umberto Mozzoni died at the age of 79.

8--Rome: In a special declaration, the press bureau of the Holy See expressed alarm about the situation in Lebanon and the Near East.

9--Washington: The Albert Einstein Peace Prize was awarded to Joseph Cardinal Bernardin, the archbishop of Chicago, at a ceremony. He is the coauthor of a

document by the episcopate of the United States concerning peace and disarmament.

11--The 65th anniversary of Polish independence.

13--Rome: John Paul II beatified St Mary of Jesus Crucified of the Order of Discalced Carmellites.

15--Agostino Cardinal Casaroli, the Vatican secretary of state, made an official visit to the United States.

16 to 17 Warsaw: The 197th Plenary Conference of the Polish Episcopate deliberated.

20--Czestochowa: On the feast of Christ the King, ceremonies were held at Jasna Gora ending the jubilee celebrations of the 600th anniversary of the presence of the portrait of Our Lady of Czestochowa.

Katowice: Herbert Bednorz, bishop of Katowice, opened the diocese museum.

24--Rome: A new Holy See document was published: The charter of Family Rights.

New Delhi: Queen Elizabeth II of Great Britain awarded Mother Teresa of Calcutta the Grand Cross of Service.

27--The Canon Law Code became obligatory throughout the entire church.

28--Washington: President Ronald Reagan signed a document annulling the old legal regulation that forbade the United States from maintaining diplomatic relations with the Holy See.

The Orders of the Sisters of Love celebrate their 350th anniversary.

30--Constantinople: A Holy See delegation, led by Jan Cardinal Willebrands of the Secretariat for Christian Unity, participated in ceremonies honoring St Andrew. The delegation was received by Patriarch Demetrius I.

December

1--The Holy Father nominated the Rev Stefan Moskwa as auxiliary bishop of the ordinary of the Przemyśl diocese.

Rome: The Congregation for Catholic Upbringing published a document entitled "On Human Love--Guidelines Concerning Sexual Education."

2--Rome: John Paul II received in audience Bohuslav Chnioupka, the Czechoslovak minister of foreign affairs.

4--Radzionkow: On the occasion of St Barbara's feast day, Katowice Bishop Herbert Bednorz celebrated Mass for the intention of miners. The mass was broadcast by Polish Radio.

10--The 35th anniversary of the passage by the United Nations of the Declaration of Human Rights.

Lourdes: Celebrations were held to mark the 50th anniversary of the canonization of Bernadette Soubirous.

11--Rome: John Paul II participated in ceremonies and gave a sermon at the Protestant Church of Jesus Christ near Via Toscana. This was the first time ever that the Bishop of Rome visited a Protestant church in his diocese.

13--In Lebanon the local patriarchs and bishops published a document entitled "The Rules of Behavior in the Current Situation in the Country and Prospects for the Future."

The suffragan bishop of Wroclaw, Wicenty Urban, died at the age of 72.

[----] [Art. 2. point 6 of the law on controlling publications and public performances of 31 July 1981 (DZIENNIK USTAW No 20, Item 99), and the revision of 28 July 1983 (DZIENNIK USTAW No 44, Item 204)].

17--Rome: USSR Ambassador Lunkov met with Agostino Cardinal Casaroli at the Vatican.

Archbishop Robert Runcie, primate of the Church of England, ended his official 2-week visit to China.

20--Warsaw: The Joint Commission of Representatives of the Government and Episcopate deliberated.

25--Rome: The Holy Father celebrated Midnight Mass in St Peter's basilica. At noon. the pope delivered a Christmas message and gave the "urbi et Orbi" blessing.

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FRG NATIONAL MINORITIES POLICY CRITICIZED

Warsaw TYGODNIK ROBOTNICZY in Polish No 4, 22 Jan 84 p 2

[Article by Z.K.: "Anti-Polish Chauvinism on the Rhine"]

[Text] Our state and most vital national interests direct us to follow attentively all that happens between the Elbe and the Rhine. The FRG is, moreover, the kind of state which from the beginning of its existence has questioned our western borders through more or less intense propaganda, or at any rate feels that they have not been premanently adjudicated.

Polish historical memory has strongly encoded the history of German relations with our country. There was everything in this history--from the extermination of our ancestors living on the western borders of the Piast state, through the invasions and plundering by the Teutonic Knights of the Cross, the Prussian initiative in the Partition of Poland, the politics of Bismarck and the Hakata, to September 1939, the Hitlerian occupation, the extermination of everything: Oswiecim, Majdanek, the destruction of Warsaw. It was not only Hitler who announced and accomplished the destruction once and for all of the Polish nation and state. This was the policy of the German state supported by millions of its inhabitants.

The birth of the GDR and the Zgorzelec Treaty opened a new chapter in the history of Polish relations with that portion of the Germans residing between the Oder, Lusatian Neisse and the Elbe, friendly relations, mutual and continually more comprehensive cooperation, defense of the balance of power that arose in Europe after World War II, the defense of peace.

Many years were required in advance of December 1970 for the Social Democratic chancellor, Willy Brandt, to sign in Warsaw a treaty between Poland and the FRG to renounce the application of force, to normalize and recognize the boundaries determined in consequence of World War II. One could suppose that since 1970 the development of Polish-West German relations will redound to the benefits of both sides, that its foundations will be, contrary to revisionist forces on the Rhine, a realism based on those good traditions which pertained in certain periods of Polish-German history.

The intensification of the international situation, the coming to power of the CDU, the installation of American euromissiles in the FRG, and the transformation of that country from a solely economic power into a military one

have all changed the situation and enjoin vigilance in view of the growth of anti-Polish revisionist forces on the Rhine, particularly because they now enjoy support in U.S. policies that seek, among other things, to undermine the decisions of Potsdam.

Last week we wrote about the pronouncement of Mertes, minister-president of the FRG, in which he said that 1.1 million Germans live on allegedly Polish western territories and 100,000 "beyond the region of the Oder and Neisse." Basing himself on the constitution and borders of 1937, he spoke about the obligation of the West German Government to care for these Germans. This was not the first anti-Polish statement by a representative of the government of Chancellor Kohl.

Poland through double indemnity has discharged her obligations to unite families, permitting departures to the FRG. Does not the Kohl government know how various forms of citizenship were imposed on many Poles from Polish lands incorporated into the Third Reich by brute force and against their will and opposition?

The Foreign Affairs Commission of our Sejm reacted appropriately to this pronouncement of the West German minister and in accordance with the Polish-West German treaty of 1970.

The position of the Sejm commission was recently attacked by the known chauvinist Herman Czaja, a CDU deputy to the Bundestag. "The so-called Polish parliament," he stated, "excessively interferes in the internal legal affairs and the sovereignty of the FRG and disturbs the foundations of the December 1970 treaty."

In the FRG there is an escalation in the growth of insults to Polish statehood and to the Polish nation; there is a brutality of expression and an insolence of reproaches. Revisionist, imperialist forces on the Rhine have sensed favorable winds for their retaliatory sails in the international situation intensified by the United States as at no other time since 1945.

Poland wishes fully to shape as in the past her relations with the FRG on the basis of the 1970 treaty, to develop them according to the laws of mutual benefit. In order to accomplish this the FRG is obliged to adjust its legislation and its codes, particularly on citizenship, to the requirements of the 1970 treaty. Basing oneself on the continuation of laws and codes from the period of the Third Reich and the occupation of Poland does not have any legal meaning in international relations or in those between our countries.

Polish public opinion will continue attentively to follow the development of the situation in Bonn and will draw its own conclusions from it.

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