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# East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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26 December 1985

EAST EUROPE REPORT  
POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

ROMANIAN REPORT ON MEETING OF BLOC HISTORY REVIEW EDITORS

Bucharest REVISTA DE ISTORIE in Romanian Jul 85 pp 714-715

[Text] The meeting was organized at the initiative of the "The Czechoslovak Journal of History," and was held in Prague on 27-28 March 1985. Attendees included representatives of history journals from Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, the German Democratic Republic, Poland, Romania, Hungary and the Soviet Union. Stefan Lache, professor at the Stefan Gheorghiu Academy and Ion Apostol, assistant editor-in-chief of REVISTA DE ISTORIA, represented our country.

Representatives of other history journals included: V. Vasiliev, ISTORICESKI PREGLED, of Bulgaria; G. Becker, ZEITSCHRIFT FUR GESCHICHTSWISSENSCHAFT of the German Democratic Republic; E. Potkowski and A. Skrzypek, KWARTALNIK HISTORYCZNY, of Poland; V. G. Truhanovskii and I.V. Sozin, VOPROSI ISTORII, and G.N. Sevastianov and E.I. Triapitin, NOVAIA I NOVELSAIA ISTORIA, all of the Soviet Union; and F. Musci, SZAZADOK, of Hungary.

Professor I. Krizek, deputy director of the Institute of History at the Czechoslovak Academy of Science and editor-in-chief of THE CZECHOSLOVAK JOURNAL OF HISTORY presided over the work of the conference.

The agenda proposed by the hosts included: reports and discussions concerning current and long-term questions on the work of the history publications of the participating countries; an exchange of views on the possibilities of a joint approach to certain important aspects of contemporary historiography; and an exchange of experience regarding ways to profit from the results of scientific research and work in editing.

Each delegation presented information about the particular concerns of history publications as well as their structure and content. Particular attention was given to the ways to reflect the current stage of development of national and world historiography and the role of history journals in ideological and political-educational work. It was in this context that representatives of the host country as well as those of the Soviet Union and Bulgaria remarked on the 6 March 1985 Moscow meeting of the ideological and propaganda central committee secretaries of certain socialist countries' communist and workers parties. Other questions addressed included the organization of collections, circulation and the activities of the editing, technical editing and editorial staffs.

The discussions also focused on the way in which various journals report the work of historical research in other countries, particularly in the European socialist states. Most of the speakers mentioned that in their home countries intense preparations were underway for the upcoming International Congress of the Historical Sciences to be held in Stuttgart and that this is already being reflected in their history journals.

At the close of the conference, the participants met with the director of the History Institute of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences, Academician Iaroslav Purs. Academician Purs, after expressing his satisfaction with the meeting in Prague, made several observations concerning present and future tasks of historians in Czechoslovakia and he spoke of the role of the social sciences--and of history in particular--in ideological struggle.

Academician Purs underscored the need to enlist researchers and historical writers in the promotion of the principles of proletarian internationalism and the ideals of peace and cooperations between peoples. He recalled the contribution of the Soviet army and the Soviet people to the defeat of fascism and the liberation of Czechoslovakia.

The Romanian delegation, acting within its mandate, spoke of the concern of historians in our country to broaden cooperation with their colleagues in socialist countries and countries worldwide. The delegation described the work of history journals to research, write and popularize national and world history as well as the tasks of historiography in our country in light of the ideological program of the party and the directives given by the 13th RCP Party Congress and the work of the party's secretary general, the president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu. The delegation stressed that historians and history journals in Romania have the mission of shedding light--in the spirit of truth--on the rich traditions of struggle by the Romanian people for liberty, independence and national unity, on the place and role of Romanians in the historical development of this part of Europe and on their contribution to the general cause of progress and civilization.

In displaying our history journals, their contribution was clear to the process of benefitting from the research dedicated to certain critical periods and fundamental questions of the Romanian people's history and to certain major aspects and events in history in general. Attention was called to the progress made in studying the economic, political, cultural and diplomatic ties of Romania to neighboring states and to other states and peoples--progress given impetus by the 15th World Congress of History held in Bucharest in 1980 and by the preparations being made for the upcoming International Congress of the Historical Sciences, the 16th, to be held at Stuttgart.

At the conclusion of the gathering, there was agreement that the international meeting of the editors-in-chief of history journals from certain European socialist countries offered the opportunity for a useful and necessary exchange of views; it contributed to better understanding all around and to broadened bilateral contacts between the editors with the goal of

improving their work. The participants proposed that these types of meetings be held every so often and the Bulgarian delegation offered to host a meeting at Sofia to be held within the next 2 years.

The meeting demonstrated the important and growing role of history journals not only in making use of scientific discoveries and in reinvigorating and broadening the scope of this science but in their contribution to the political and ideological education of the masses, to understanding priorities, as well as to bringing specialists closer together and to increasing their understanding of one another.

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CSO: 2700/18

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

GREATER TRAINING DEMANDS PLACED ON AIR FORCE PERSONNEL

East Berlin MILITAERTECHNIK in German No 5 1985 (signed to press 10 Jul 85) pp 225-227

[Article by Lt Gen M. Barthel: "More Secure Protection of GDR Air Space--A High Demand on Technical Military Knowledge and Skill"]

[Text] The members of the air forces and air defense of the National People's Army [NVA], together with the members of the NVA military services, are successfully fulfilling the class task established by the 10th SED Congress of protecting the socialist order and peaceful life of the citizens of the GDR and all states of the socialist community against any attacks by imperialism. As troops under permanent combat readiness in the unified air defense system of the countries of the Warsaw Pact, they carry out the tasks assigned to them in securing the inviolability of the borders and air space in close cooperation with their comrades in arms in the Soviet Army and the other fraternally allied armies of the Warsaw defense coalition.

The international situation has been further aggravated by the unprecedented extent and pace of armament in the United States and NATO countries and the danger of a war has increased. In view of this fact, the degree of combat readiness of the air forces and of the air defense troops to initiate combat operations against an aggressor at any time, to hinder strikes by his air forces, and to fulfill the assigned combat tasks successfully under all combat conditions is becoming increasingly important.

That is why the continuous guarantee of a high combat readiness is the focus of the work of the commanders as well as the members of the political entities and staffs of the air forces and air defense command. Their efforts are directed mainly toward achieving results in political and tactical training that guarantee a complete mastery of combat, command and support equipment, that ensure their employment under all conditions, and that guarantee that the newly introduced equipment will produce the required increase in combat effectiveness and readiness in the shortest time. That puts high demands on the work of the party organizations and requires the carrying out of systematic and responsibility work with all members of the army.

The members of the air forces and air defense command have demonstrated repeatedly and in an exemplary manner their willingness and ability to fulfill

the ordered tasks in the ready-alert system of air defense, in exercises and in checks of combat readiness. The development of our military service illustrates that the importance of military equipment as a factor in combat effectiveness and readiness is steadily increasing and that new and higher requirements are continually being established to master it.

In his report to the 10th SED Congress, Comrade Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee, stressed: "All members of the army have been given the task of having a complete mastery of military equipment. That means that in training and troop command one should consciously take into account the qualitatively rising demands from the relationship between the soldier and military equipment. The leadership activity of the commanders, political entities and staffs must be further improved to cope with the far-reaching changes in all areas of military affairs."<sup>1</sup>

The members of the air forces/air defense command have taken on this task with initiative and discipline. In recognition of the fact that the outfitting with up-to-date combat, command and support equipment does not by itself achieve an increase in combat capability and readiness, the conclusion is that every member of the army must be trained in the shortest time for his function and for the specific duties that he is to perform. Training is therefore to be handled as a unified process of political-moral, psychological and military training. It presupposes firm class positions as well as a high physical and mental stress limit of those being trained.

The pace of development in science and technology is also having an increasing impact on military thought. Greater demands are being placed on the people who use equipment and employ it in combat. As in all military services of the NVA, substantial qualitative changes have also occurred in recent years in the air forces/air defense command. They are characterized by the introduction and application of microelectronics and automation in many installations of combat equipment, command systems, guidance facilities, communications and air traffic control. With its possible applications, microelectronics is revolutionizing military equipment in general and having a very lasting impact on the relationship between people and technology.

The determinant role of people in this process is becoming more and more pronounced. Greater demands are being put on their abilities and skills, above all in the command of equipment and its technologies. Thanks to the concern of our party and the efficiency of our national economy, the air forces/air defense command are being outfitted with up-to-date combat equipment, armament and other equipment. The decisive principle types involve proven Soviet military equipment meeting today's requirements of military thought.

The equipment status is characterized by the presence of newly introduced and modernized equipment or equipment that has been in stock for some time. The introduction of new equipment or equipment that has been in stock for some time. The classification of equipment by generations must not lead to a subdivision into "old" and "new" equipment. In this connection, the report to the 13th Conference of Delegates of the SED party organizations in the NVA and GDR border troops states:

"It is in the nature of the matter that tactical training includes the struggle for the expert command of armament and combat equipment as well as for its proper preventive maintenance. It is above all a matter of strengthening the conviction that we can be successful in solving combat tasks with the available combat equipment if we master these tasks sovereignly. That is true in any case, regardless of whether it involves newly introduced or modernized systems or systems that have long been in place."<sup>2</sup>

The combat effectiveness of equipment is not determined by its belonging to a particular generation but primarily through the complete mastery and utilization of all of its combat characteristics and parameters.

As a result of the development of science and technology, the newly introduced equipment has become more complex. With the perfecting of its system nature, there has been an increase in the degree of specialization of personnel. At the same time, however, there has also been an increase in the demands on the capability of members of the army in the team operation of military equipment. That places high demands on their training and on their teamwork in combat operations. The commanders of all levels must have outstanding technical military knowledge and capabilities at their disposal. They must be in a position to train their combat teams and crews and to lead them in combat. By this we mean the responsibility of the officers to develop their "technical culture."<sup>3</sup>

To an increasing degree, the further development of military equipment is being characterized by automation. With automation, the effectiveness of command and weapon control processes is increased significantly. In this way, the activity structure of the members of the army changes as well; people take part in the direct technological process and there is a further increase in the determining role. More profound basic scientific-technical knowledge is needed to be able to perform the tasks that arise in operation, maintenance and repair. This is demonstrated daily in the practical work of the members of our military service.

A continual improvement of combat equipment is typical for the antiaircraft missile troops of air defense. They have up-to-date radar reconnaissance stations and weapon control facilities. Automated command systems ensure the computer-assisted analysis of the air situation, the display of the air situation, and the calculation of the operational capabilities of the weapon systems. They make possible prompt action and effective fire for the certain destruction of any air enemy.

The aviation units of the air forces and air defense received efficient aircraft and helicopters with outstanding combat possibilities. Their complex equipment includes up-to-date radar, navigation and landing systems, control and computer facilities, and powerful engines. An effective armament guarantees the engagement of the enemy in all flight parameters.

The special purpose radio technical troops are equipped with up-to-date radar stations. These stations make it possible to locate and identify air attackers at great distances and at all altitudes and to determine their

coordinates. That is the basis for the allocation of targets to the antiaircraft missile troops and for the guiding of their own fighter aircraft to the air enemy.

Such qualitative changes as the simultaneous reconnaissance of air targets at various altitudes, protection against interference, and additional improvements in operational capability resulting from the application of scientific findings produced a high level of radar equipment.

Up-to-date command and guidance systems, large-scale computers, means of communication and transmission installations as well as facilities for the automation of command and the situation display are present at the command positions. The automation of the acquisition, processing and display of information permits a more rapid processing and a reduction of the time for the formulation of decisions by commanders. Because of the exacting equipment and technology, the utilization of automated command systems plays an essential role in determining the demands on the scientific knowledge of the crews of the command positions.

Requirements and phenomena arising with the introduction of new and advanced equipment as well as with the modernization and further utilization of equipment that has been in stock for some time require a new and complex approach to the training and advanced training of the members of the army.

These requirements are stipulated in the training and advanced training programs and basic documents for the training year. The goal of technical training is to ensure that every member of the army has command of the equipment assigned to him and understands perfectly how to make full use of its tactical possibilities. Practice in our military service indicates how the problems in the mastering of the equipment can be solved under the new conditions through a tightly run training and advanced training system. The content and organizational principles of technical training must thereby be adapted constantly to the requirements of the equipment and of the relationship between people and equipment. Provisions for training, utilization, maintenance and repair are to be made early. New aspects of the utilization of equipment can be resolved only in close connection with technical training. They are not merely a matter for the engineers but an inseparable component of the leadership activities of all commanders as well as members of the political entities and staffs.

Expert knowledge and certainty in the evaluation of technical problems are necessary to make correct decisions and especially to organize and carry out technical training specific to the tasks and situation.

Nothing can compensate for insufficient training. Accordingly, neither can a lack of specific knowledge and insufficient skills be eliminated immediately through the good will and willingness to perform of the members of the army.

The increasing importance of learning by the members of the air forces/air defense command for a high combat effectiveness and combat readiness is taken into account in the activities of the commanders and staff members as well as the members of the party and FDJ organizations. This corresponds to the

responsibility of superiors not only for the attitude of subordinates toward learning but also for technical training and advanced training.

Learning is hard work and requires time. The result of this recognition is the necessity of organized learning in off-duty periods as well. In this connection, clear political positions and correct attitudes are being established in the party and FDJ organizations. Experience teaches that where training and advanced training is at a high level in duty periods, the members of the army can likewise be mobilized for learning in their free time. In the air forces/air defense command, there has been widespread development of technical military circles in the FDJ and many other initiatives of the learning movement. The work is especially successful where there is tight control of contents and organization, where learning is oriented toward a specific goal, and where every result is accounted for.

Under the conditions of a pronounced team character of technology, the handling of complex combat, command and support equipment requires a maximum of discipline and order. Technical discipline and order, embedded in general military discipline and order, are basic prerequisites for guaranteeing the security of people and equipment, for preserving public property, and finally for maintaining the operational readiness and reliability of combat equipment, armament and other equipment.

Violations of discipline and order and infringements against technical standards and technological flows and against the regulations for operation, maintenance and repair or against safety regulations can lead to results that endanger flight safety, cause damage and losses and adversely affect combat effectiveness and readiness.

Good results in tactical training are achieved only where the superiors themselves are exemplary, exercise strict control and are intolerant toward all violations. Experience teaches that the demands on technical discipline increase as technical and technological processes become more complex and that the discipline of the individual influences the success of the work of large teams.

The renewal and modernization of military equipment is a natural process. That is why the present and the future are marked by growing demands on the members of the air forces/air defense command. Peak performance in preparation for the 11th SED Congress and 30th anniversary of the NVA and the development of all talents and experiences to continue to solve the critical problems of the relationship between people and equipment as the level of training is raised, thus ensuring the combat readiness of the military service--that is the demand on future work.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. Report of the SED Central Committee to the 10th SED Congress, Berlin, 1981, p 128.

2. Report of the Secretariat of the PHV of the NVA to the 13th Conference of Delegates of the SED party organizations in the NVA and the GDR border troops. In PARTEIARBEITER, special copy, February 1984, p 319.
3. High technical culture is unthinkable without a solid political-moral attitude. In MILITAERTECHNIK, Vol 1, 1985, p 1.

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CSO: 2300/7

ECONOMIC

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

ECONOMIC PLANNING PROCESS, AGENCIES OUTLINED

Bonn INFORMATIONEN in German No 19, 20, 4, 18 Oct 85

[Article: "The Way the GDR Planned Economy Functions, Part 1"]

[4 Oct 85 pp 13-17]

[Text] In the second half of 1985, state administrations and enterprises in GDR will conclude preparation of the 1986 economic plan and the 5-year plan to 1990. After months of coordination within the multi-layered planning organization, among enterprises, combines, ministries, the Planning Commission, the Council of Ministers and party organizations on the one hand, and the partner states of the economic community of the East Bloc--the Council of Mutual Economic Assistance (CEMA)--on the other, the plans will come into force toward the end of this year and, as of 1986, are binding work bases for all so-called supervisory planning bodies.

The planning organization of the GDR is a hierarchy and consists of several planning levels:

1. Among the highest planning and economic authorities directly subordinate to the Council of Ministers are the State Planning Commission (SPC), the Ministry for Finance (MF), the State bank and the Office of Price Control. They prepare the strategy for economic development and pass them on to subordinate planning and managing levels in the form of a binding planning order. In the planning preparation stage, the plan projects of the annual national economic plan and the 5-year plan are not only coordinated in detail with the enterprises and combine (=supervisory planning bodies), but also with delivery and procurement wishes of the CEMA partners.

Of the highest planning authorities cited, the State Planning Commission is of greatest importance. Among other things, it is responsible for planning the growth of society's total product, managing the flow of goods and funds according to types of merchandise, industries and public consumer groups. With a system of balancing and establishing quotas, it attempts to steer availability as well as consumption. This balancing and distribution system is structured as follows:

--The State Planning Commission prepares state planning balance sheets for about 400 items most important to the national economy--primarily raw materials and investment goods;

--In coordination with the SPC, the ministries balance another 650 types of goods;

--These balance sheets are complemented by 1,100 additional balance sheets of the combines.

The economic management claims that, with the help of these more than 2,000 types of goods balanced, it is possible to steer the production process roughly for about three-fourths of goods production and nine-tenths of exports. In addition, enterprises prepare about 2,500 assortment balance sheets. They serve to regulate delivery and procurement relations between enterprises and combines.

Compared to the total amount of goods produced in the national economy, production and use of only a very small number of goods is being planned with the aid of goods balances. But with the administrative methods available, it is not possible to coordinate half-way evenly the complicated interlocking relations between availability and use for considerably more than 2,000 to 3,000 individual goods. One reason is that, with every increase in centrally balanced goods, the difficulties of realistic information procurement and processing increase progressively. Therefore, because of the relatively small number of goods balances in physical units (square meter, meter, kg, ton, cubic meter, piece), only a rough structure of future goods production can be planned and established as to which future demand should be considered, and which must be ignored.

2. According to the planning order, ministries for various industrial sectors and regional bodies (bezirk councils, etc.) are directly responsible for planning and managing the economy. They constitute the middle planning level together with the combines, which work according to the rules of business accounting (= profitability principle) and act (relatively) independently in a legal sense. Their managers have authority to give instructions to subordinate units.

Some of the essential tasks of these institutions are to serve as vertical and horizontal integration bodies, to carry out targets of the central organs in the enterprises, decide disputes, be supportive through pertinent instructions and settle differences, and ensure compliance with the operational plans declared binding by the state in all parts, goals and indices.

3. Within the state planning and managing hierarchy, enterprises are the lower (last) level, the executing level. Their performance also indicates correctness or misjudgment of planning decisions higher up, since here the plan models and projections of the planners become reality.

As individual industrial enterprises, they have largely lost their economic independence and must follow the combine managers' instructions. Above all, they have to fulfill two tasks simultaneously: First of all, they must carry out the real concern of an enterprise through efficient production according to demand. Secondly, they are obligated to follow instructions and additional target plans of superior authorities even after the official conclusion of planning, i.e., in the implementation phase. In case of contradictions, central decisions have priority over considerations of profitability and demand.

#### Plan Components and Indices

Planning, unified in its basic structure both in method and organization, uses a great number of technical and economic indices with whose aid central state tasks are transformed into business measures. For this purpose, the State Planning Commission and the Ministry for Finance, together with the Central Office of Statistics, regularly issue a planning order with new indices, usually at the beginning of the 5-year planning. The planning process at the enterprise and authority level is thus standardized in the following areas:

- Production and performances;
- CEMA integration and foreign trade;
- Efficiency measures;
- Science and technology;
- Fund of fixed assets, investments and investment project preparation;
- Material and technical supply and economy of materials;
- Labor force, wages and training;
- Financial indices and material stimulation.

Each of these groups of nomenclatures contains a number of indices which are to cover the area concerned in a comprehensive manner. All this serves to steer the enterprises, enable communication between the plan areas, collect performance data, and compare performance.

The operating plan is derived from the national economic plan. It is subdivided into several plan components:

- Production;
- Sales;
- Science and technology;
- Reproduction of fund of fixed assets;
- Economy of material;
- Work productivity and labor force;
- Working and living conditions;
- Finances and costs.

Each plan component contains several individual plans according to the assortment structure. The nomenclature can be enlarged. Compared to VEBs, small state enterprises have fewer state targets imposed on them. The targets dictated by the state to the enterprise, such as for production,

use of material, cost development, etc., must be broken down, as far as possible, to the level of enterprise departments, foremen's sections, brigades, etc. To make the possible the target/actual figures comparison, planning and accounting indices must be identical in concept and content.

### Planning Phases

Central planning generally differs between annual plans, 5-year plans, long-term conceptions (10 to 15 years), and national economic prognoses (20 to 30 years). While the two longer-term studies serve the constant work of prognosis and, therefore, are only of orientation value, the annual and 5-year plans register the most important economic processes and ratios, are based on a comprehensive balance sheet in terms of value and amounts, and are binding.

Overall economic and company planning are usually begun so well in advance that the plan drafts for the annual and 5-year plans can be enacted into law before the start of the new plan period. There were instances in the past, however, when work on the draft plans was not concluded on time so that the enterprises at first had to work with temporary plan targets. In order to inform the supervisory planning bodies (VEB, combines, LPGs, VEGs, etc.) already at the beginning of a new plan period about their future economic tasks, 5-year planning in particular--even with the use of modern computer procedures--requires a relatively long preparation period and different planning phases which are not always clearly defined. The most important ones are:

Preparation of the central plan project of the State Planning Commission;  
Plan coordination within CEMA, and  
Planning in the enterprises.

The State Planning Commission, simultaneously with its CEMA partners, begins the preparation of an internal plan project about 2 years before the 5-year plan becomes effective; i.e., it began planning in 1984 for the 1986-1990 plan. Despite the imponderables due to the long preliminary running time--6 to 7 years--, it determines the requirements for raw materials, material and work force, the production output of economic units, the national economy and foreign trade, as well as the amount of financial earnings and financing needs of the combines. This project also includes the medium-term and long-term international economic obligations of the GDR, such as delivery and procurement promises stemming from 202 cooperation and ministerial agreements with the Soviet Union. This still inadequate plan project forms the basis for coordination and balancing within CEMA and then within one's own planning system.

In the following months, bilateral and multilateral negotiations are carried out within CEMA boards to decide whether the prognosticated physical and value amounts of important state planning items can be accepted. From this derive technical-organizational and financial actions at the CEMA level, such as development of raw materials, use of energy and material, joint investment projects. This also covers future foreign trade

policy according to countries and currency areas--including Western industrial states. This coordination is of paramount importance for the GDR economy, dependent on imports and exports, since foreign trade with CEMA amounts to about 70 percent of all foreign trade turnover; more than half of this is effected with the Soviet Union.

Enterprises become officially involved in the planning process only after the central plan project has been approved by CEMA and the Council of Ministers. In accordance with the plan order, the superior authority gives them tasks based on central coordination (400 state plan balance sheets, for example). Within the standard values of this plan framework, the enterprises must prepare an operations plan taking into account profitability, social requirements, inter-enterprise cooperation, the demands of industrial and ultimate consumers, etc.

By including the enterprise plans in the overall economic planning process, an until then totally neglected element makes its belated appearance: taking into account the demand established among consumer groups. From the viewpoint of economic efficiency, and actually also from the understanding of the political economy of socialism, demand should have been given highest priority in all planning considerations from the very beginning.

Since this is not provided in practice, the enterprise is faced with a conflict. According to the plan order, the government obligates it to base its plan on the actual consumer demand, however without giving it assurances as to raw material supplies. Since the enterprise has no influence on central decisions on raw materials, it has to begin planning without sufficient knowledge of its raw material base. This creates new imponderables, since experience shows that those central dispositions of raw materials in many cases do not correspond to the enterprise's expectations, neither in quantity nor quality. From this stems the unbridgeable contradiction between meeting demands (purchase contracts) on the one hand, and the economic possibilities of the enterprises on the other hand, which are limited, for example, by alliance obligations (supply contracts), lack of foreign currency, shortage of raw materials, capacity shortfalls, etc.

Such disproportions caused by "planning" must then be eliminated between enterprise and superior organs. Under the plan order, the enterprise must defend its plan draft. This means in reality that every operational plan project, worked on for months by business administrators, planners, technicians, etc., must be pressed into a plan model, basically already decided on at the central level, which is burdened with many preliminary weaknesses. The original operations plan has a chance for approval only if it succeeds in successfully defending the items which depart from the ideas of the authorities. If this is not done convincingly, the plan has to be revised entirely or in part, which as a rule happens at the expense of efficiency, technical progress, meeting demand, and the quality of the products.

Revisions of the plan, once or several times, cause considerable additional administrative expenditure. This also includes annulment of economic contracts concluded and legally binding according to the plan order. The constant search for new plan variants acceptable to the authorities for additional weeks keeps especially the business management from its proper tasks. These are, among other things, steering of production, cost control, developing teamwork, in short, fulfillment of the current plan and and thinking ahead for future time periods.

If management wants to escape this belated strain, it must be willing to accept from the beginning the preset targets, even if this contradicts demand or economic reason. Difficulties occurring later on can then be justified by pointing to decisions from higher up. If this can be made credible--which is not always easy, despite the clear facts of the case--then an enterprise can simply turn an underfulfillment of plan into an overfulfillment of plan with all advantages to the enterprise and its personnel.

[18 Oct 85 pp 10-13]

[Text] At present, work on the 1986 national economic plan and the 5-year plan 1986 to 1990 is being finalized in the GDR. In Part 1 on the method of functioning of the GDR planned economy, plan components, indices and planning phases were described. Part 2 focuses on the principles of goods distribution and the importance of supplies for the population in planning use of the national product.

#### Rights to General Resources Vary

All economic units and state organs, in order to fulfill their delivery tasks and to ensure their procurements, are obligated to conclude economic contracts with their cooperating partners to the full extent of the state planning target. All planning supervisory boards are subject to this obligation, ever since the first law on contracts became effective in 1951. The law, revised several times and newly passed in 1982, regulates the tasks, rights and duties of the contractual partners at the conclusion of economic agreements, during the phase of plan preparation, and after state allocation of the final operational plan of the enterprise. With the general obligation of concluding contracts, the state creates the impression of wanting to close officially the preparation phase of planning, of making no further interventions in the enterprises' work on plan relocation, and of offering legal security to the contractual partners.

In fact, however, an orderly and undisturbed plan implementation on the basis of economic contracts is not possible for the enterprises. The law on contracts permits subsequent changes in the contract, and in this context introduces concepts such as primary and secondary contractual

partners. For this purpose, the great number of public consumers (=users of goods) are divided into three ranking groups with varying access rights to the production result obtained. Based on these rankings, the planning order determines further rankings which can be supplemented by individual decisions.

The following public consumer groups with varying privileges were established:

--Public consumers without claim to priority considerations. These include domestic trade for supplying the population.

--The law on contracts grants general priority to conclusion of contracts for "...performances for implementation of the science and technology state plan and for export projects of installations, as well as for other projects or tasks which have been given priority ranking in legal provisions or in the decisions of the Council of Ministers...".

--Highest priority is given to national defense, not to the masses of the population: "Conclusion and fulfillment of economic contracts concerning economic assurance of national defense and the fulfillment of economic tasks to guarantee internal security and order, must be carried out in such a way that the planned requirements of the armed organs are covered under all circumstances as to quantity, assortment, quality, and time."

The following 10 consumer groups are the institutions which have absolute priority for supplies:

Ministry for National Defense,  
Ministry of the Interior,  
Ministry for State Security  
State Administration of State Reserve,  
Engineering/Technical Foreign Trade,  
State Planning Commission, Department for Government Contracts,  
VEB Special Construction, Potsdam,  
Special Trade,  
Society for Sports and Technology (entity responsible for pre-military training).

The Council of Ministers may determine additional institutions to be given priority for supplies. Furthermore, the defense minister and the SPC have the right at any time to give priority rating under state policy to a) other state organs, combines, enterprises and other institutions, and b) individual investment projects, in order to ensure for them privileged delivery of goods.

Just how broad a definition has been given to the concept of "armed organs" can be seen, for example, by the inclusion of the Society for Sports and Technology. This paramilitary institution, since 1952 in charge of premilitary teaching and training of pupils and youths, is given a higher ranking with regard to supplies than the working population.

The three-step ranking has the following consequences in practical economic life with regard to concluding or changing economic agreements:

--Once an enterprise has fulfilled its obligation imposed by the government, i.e., to conclude contracts with ancillary suppliers and buyers for the full amount of its target, this does not mean that it can now produce according to plan and contracts.

--If a consumer group with absolute priority rights intends to place additional orders, the producer approached by the group does not have the right to reject the additional orders. The producer must accept the order even if its capacities are fully utilized and if the material and financial resources of the enterprise (= working capital) are fully budgeted. In such a case, it must immediately cancel contracts already concluded with consumer groups without priority ranking, such as domestic trade firms. If the capacities thus freed are insufficient to cover the additional requirements, the enterprise is obligated to cancel contracts with general priority (ranking No 2).

--In case of doubt, central authorities make the decision.

A producer unable to prove that an additional order imposed on him is outside his production range, must accept the order. Every enterprise must assume all additional burdens connected with the order. This includes: production switches, training expenditures, new raw material procurement, revision of the operational plan, negotiations with present and new suppliers and buyers, calling on higher authorities to procure more funds and contingents of material and acknowledgments of cost overruns.

If the enterprise conducts the necessary negotiations with the authorities in a thorough and circumspect manner, it can turn the additional burdens to financial advantage with the help of clever "marshaling of evidence." Even cancellation of the economic contracts will hardly have a negative effect on the financial results of the enterprise, since it can claim to be acting under higher authority.

The changes in contracts have a much more disadvantageous effect on the producer's former contractual partners. They must try to cover the unforeseen supply gaps through new orders. Since they cannot attract offers on a free market but need new, officially sanctioned contingents of raw materials and finished products (i.e., purchase permits for scarce materials), they are faced with a difficult situation. Under the law on contracts and the planning order, available raw materials were distributed long ago and capacities are fully utilized. There is no chance to share in existing contracts at the expense of other consumer groups, since one is ranked lowest oneself. Therefore there exists the danger of a total loss of the required primary products.

If contractual changes because of "higher authority" affect CEMA, then international complications arise. It is also true for the Soviet Union, the alliance's major supplier of raw materials, that intervention of the

highest planning and steering authorities in Moscow in existing agreements (for example, oil supply contracts) must be accepted as acts of force majeure. In this manner, supply deficits can affect not only individual enterprises in a CEMA country, but whole sectors of industry in the economic alliance without damages having to be paid. The import-dependent enterprises of the GDR have had to struggle for decades with these supply risks.

#### Needs of the Population

From the ranking of access rights in the law on contracts, it can be seen that the requirements of the population are neglected in favor of other group interests. But even the quantities of goods destined for the population cannot be freely disposed of by domestic trade enterprises. Here, too, it is a matter of gradated access rights. The consumer cannot select according to his needs and income from what remains of total goods production that which he requires to satisfy his wishes. Rather, he can cover his demand only within the framework allotted to him by the state. Here is an example from consumer goods supplies:

--All domestic trade enterprises are obligated to prepare a balance sheet for all merchandise assortments according to quantity, quality and/or value;

--in addition, they must rank consumers as privileged or non-privileged consumers ("normal consumers");

--once this is done, the consumer goods made available to the trade are distributed according to plan and ranking order. In order to ensure privileges, the planning order admits many variations.

But the regimentation of consumers does not end with this goods allocation according to their respective "worthiness": the merchandise assortment is then divided according to a) property type of the trading firm, and b) according to the political importance of the individual regional units (bezirks, kreises, communities). For distribution of consumer goods allocations to East Berlin and the 14 GDR bezirks, the following criteria are decisive:

--State retail firms receive the largest share and the most salable assortments.

--The cooperative trade (cooperative organization) receives an assortment of goods of somewhat lower quality destined for mass consumption.

--Private retailers--with the exception of show pieces--then get the remaining merchandise. With these goods they cannot compete with the state and cooperative trade firms in range of goods, quantity or quality.

The differentiation in consumer goods distribution, according to property type of the trade firms, is then complemented by a varying degree of consumer goods supplied to the individual bezirks. An indicator of the regional ranking of a bezirk in allocation of merchandise is retail sales

per capita which, however, are also influenced by the income structure of the population.

In 1983, retail sales per capita in the GDR overall came to an average of 6,246 Marks. In East Berlin it was 42 percent above the GDR average; many members of privileged groups live there who, naturally, earn more than the average GDR citizen and can therefore afford more expensive merchandise.

Bezirk Rostock, with the Baltic Sea vacation area, was 6.3 percent above the national sales average. Suhl, with the Thuringian Forest vacation area, also was 0.9 percent above the average, and Leipzig, center of trade fairs, was 0.7 percent higher. Consecutively lower were retail sales in Gera, Dresden, Halle, Potsdam and Magdeburg: 1.8 percent to 3.7 percent lower than the average. The bezirks of Erfurt and Neubrandenburg had a 4.3 percent lower sales volume per capita, and the industrial center of Karl-Marx-Stadt was even 4.6 percent lower than the GDR average. Only in the bezirk of Frankfurt/Oder (-9.5 percent) were sales lower than in the bezirks of Schwerin (- 4.9 percent) and Cottbus (- 5.2 percent). Based on retail sales per capita, supplies for the population were worst in the eastern part of the GDR.

These figures make it clear that not only membership in a privileged group determines goods allocation, but also the place of residence.

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GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

SUMMARIES OF MAJOR EINHEIT ARTICLES, SEPTEMBER 1985

East Berlin EINHEIT in German Vol 40 No 9, Sep 85 (signed to press 12 Aug 85)  
pp 770, 861, 863

[Summary of article by Werner Felfe, SED Central Committee secretary for agriculture, member of the Politburo: pp 783-789. A full translation of this article is published in this report]

[Text] The Democratic Land Reform--A Victorious  
Revolutionary Mass Action of Workers and Peasants

As the first highlight of the unified revolutionary process of the antifascist-democratic revolution in our country, the democratic land reform put an end to the exploitation of the peasants by large landed property, the aristocracy and monopolistic capital. It established a solid foundation for the alliance of the working class with the entire working peasantry. The socialist transformation of agriculture continued the liberation of the peasants and, under the leadership of the working class and its party, the class of the cooperative farmers has shown itself capable of transforming agriculture into a modern and efficient area of the national economy.

[Summary of article by Bruno Lietz, graduate agricultural economist, member of the SED Central Committee and minister for agriculture, forestry and foodstuffs; pp 790-797. A full translation of this article is published in this report.]

[Text] A Clear Path to a Continued Increase in Productivity

On the firm foundation of what has been achieved on the land through the efforts of cooperative farmers and workers as a result of our agricultural policy, the LPG's and state farms and their cooperative installations are setting a firm course for comprehensive intensification. They are

striving, through the utilization of scientific-technical progress, to achieve higher yields and productivity and to improve further the relationship between expenditures and yields. What are the standards for measuring comprehensive intensification? What preconditions must be established to make it permanent?

[Summary of article by Volkmar Grau, economist for agricultural engineering and secretary for agriculture of the Gera SED district headquarters; pp 798-801]

[Text] Intensification of Party Work in the Countryside

In agriculture as well, comprehensive intensification is the key to continued high increases in performance. The rapid and broad application of science and technology is needed here. A deepening of cooperation leads to increased productivity, opens up reserves, and helps to overcome an unjustified difference in yields and productivity. A report is made on the leadership activity of the Gera SED district headquarters to this end.

[Summary of article by Siegfried Funke, graduate agriculturist, SED Central Committee candidate and head of the Querfurt Agriculture-Industry Association; Dr Werner Baumgart, area director for science and technology of the Querfurt Agriculture-Industry Association; Prof Dr Werner Isbaner, rector of Martin Luther University in Halle and corresponding member of the GDR Academy of Agricultural Sciences; and Prof Dr Hilmar Zeigert, working group leader at the College for Agriculture and Foodstuffs in Bernburg; pp 802-806]

[Text] Linking Agricultural Production Even More Closely With Science

The Querfurt Agriculture-Industry Association can show substantial results on the way to intensification. What is the impact there of timely and specific objectives for the application of scientific-technical progress in plant and animal production? How does one establish the preliminary conditions necessary for intensification through close reciprocal cooperation with scientific installations? How are all cooperative farmers and workers of the association actively involved in carrying out the intensification process?

[Summary of article by Prof Dr Gerhard Neuner, member of the SED Central Committee, president of the GDR Academy of Pedagogical Sciences, and member of the GDR Academy of Sciences; pp 807-813]

[Text] Educational Advances and General Education

The general education provided by the polytechnical secondary school has contributed to the establishment of advances in education for all areas of society, especially for science, technology and economics. What are the consequences resulting from the main directions of social and scientific-technical progress for the further shaping of the content of general education? More and more, the efficiency of the educational system--beginning with the general-education school--is to be measured not only by the depth and scope of general education but also by the number and quality of those capable of peak performance.

[Summary of article by Alois Braeutigam, member of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the central committee of People's Solidarity; pp 814-819]

[Text] Humanism in Our Everyday Socialist Life

Humanism in our socialist society includes the concern about the well-being and the social security of older people. The policy of the SED relative to the older generation is based upon esteem for the work that they have done under difficult conditions in the establishment and consolidation of our state. On the occasion of the 40th anniversary of People's Solidarity, the work of this mass organization is honored and it is shown how through its activities it is contributing to ensuring the veterans of labor and all other citizens a meaningful evening of life in social security.

[Summary of article by Juergen Fritz, political colleague of the SED Central Committee; pp 820-826]

[Text] A Strong Factor of Peace and Socialism in Southeast Asia

The results and experiences of the path traveled by the Vietnamese people under the leadership of the Communist Party in the 40 years since the revolution in August 1945 are just as much the focus of this article as those tasks that the fraternal country is now facing in establishing the bases of socialism. In addition, special attention is being paid to the active struggle of the SRV to secure peace and to the development of the traditional friendship and cooperation between our two parties, states and peoples.

[Summary of article by Prof Dr Hans-Joachim Dubrowsky, faculty head in the foreign economic section of the Bruno Leuschner College for Economics in Berlin; pp 827-831]

[Text] Practices of Neocolonialism

What are the reasons for the high external indebtedness of the developing countries, which has increased by leaps and bounds since the mid-1970's? With the so-called debt conversion, international finance capital is giving itself an instrument that serves forced neocolonial exploitation. What characterizes the mechanism of debt conversion? What is the role there of the IMF? In their growing resistance to the neocolonial dictates of international finance capital, the developing countries can rely on the states of the socialist community.

[Summary of article by Guenter Siemund, graduate journalist, colleague of the State Radio Committee and commentator with the "Voice of the GDR"; pp 832-836]

[Text] A New Attempt to Produce 150 Million Earths Out of Pure Gold

There is a direct line from the French enterprise Credit mobilier that once produced a furor--and whose speculation was examined by Marx and Engels almost 130 years ago--to Merrill Lynch, now the largest U.S. firm in the area of market speculation, namely the handling of government bonds. On the theoretical untenableness and the reactionary social nature of this "modern" version of the attempt to "witch away the national debt through the mystery of compound interest" (Marx) and the connection between imperialist overarmament, high interest rates and high indebtedness.

[Summary of article by L. Abalkin; pp 837-844]

[Text] The Leninist Imperialism Theory and Today's Realities

Proceeding from an appreciation of the Leninist imperialism theory and on the basis of its theoretical and methodological potential, the Soviet social scientist analyzes present-day realities of imperialism. He shows the topicality of the Leninist imperialism theory on the basis of the changes to which the forms of monopolies, the methods of their exercise of authority and the specific manifestations of the basic characteristics of imperialism have historically been subjected.

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GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

SED AGRICULTURAL REFORM REVIEWED, DISCUSSED

East Berlin EINHEIT in German Vol 40 No 9, Sep 85 (signed to press 12 Aug 85)  
pp 783-789

[Article by Werner Felfe, SED Central Committee secretary for agriculture, member of the Politburo: "The Democratic Land Reform--Revolutionary Mass Action of Workers and Peasants"]

[Text] With creative power and a wealth of ideas and with outstanding initiatives in socialist competition, the cooperative farmers and workers of our socialist agriculture have joined the great mass movement in preparation for the 11th SED Congress. With their good results in the struggle for higher yields from the fields and greater output from the stalls, they are fulfilling, to an increasing extent, their most important alliance duty of giving the population a stable supply of foodstuffs at an improving level and of supplying industry with agricultural raw materials. At the same time, they are doing all they can to make life in the villages better all the time.

An important stage of socialist competition is now coming to an end. Before the Central Committee and its general secretary, Comrade Erich Honecker, on the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the democratic land reform, the cooperative farmers and workers account for the fulfillment through this point in time of the obligations that they have entered into. In this way, an event in our history is honored, which--as Comrade Erich Honecker said at the 10th meeting of the Central Committee--produced far-reaching changes in our country.

Junker Land in Peasant Hands

The democratic land reform began 40 years ago. As an anti-imperialist and democratic agrarian revolution under the leadership of the working class, it represented the first highlight of the uniform revolutionary process of the antifascist-democratic transformation in our country.

The victory of the Soviet Army and the liberation of our people from fascism made it possible to deprive the Junkers and other large landowners--the main allies of monopoly and finance capital and supporters of fascism and militarism--of power. On 8 May 1945, after the devastating outcome of fascism

and war, our people were given the historic chance for an antifascist and truly democratic new beginning oriented toward the future. Under the leadership of the KPD and the SED after its formation, this chance was also thoroughly used in the villages and rural kreises and towns of the then Soviet occupation zone.

With the democratic land reform, which had long been on the agenda of history, the KPD turned to a key question of the antifascist-democratic revolution. With its resolution, a centuries-old dream of working peasants was fulfilled, a dream that for them could only be fulfilled at the side of the working class.

Without denying the revolutionary forces that existed within the peasantry, the classics of Marxism-Leninist showed that there can be no self-liberation of the peasants, that the peasant must have allies and leaders arising from other classes and social strata.<sup>1</sup> The bourgeoisie, to whom historically hegemony had fallen in the peasant movements, had failed; it had betrayed the peasants. Only the working class was capable of taking the historical initiative and entering into a firm alliance with the working peasantry. The decisive importance that Karl Marx attributed to this alliance was expressed in a letter that he wrote to Engels, saying: "The whole matter in Germany will depend upon the possibility of supporting the proletarian revolution through a kind of second edition of the peasant war."<sup>2</sup>

Quite in this sense, the KPD from its founding made an important contribution to representing the current and future interests of farm workers, small and mid-level peasants, tenant farmers, homesteaders, gardeners, winegrowers and fishermen. In the peasant assistance program of the KPD, at the Bern Conference in 1939, and in the "Advice for Work on the Land" worked out collectively by the party leadership and other experienced party officials on 28 February 1945, the approach was taken that the roots of social want, fascism and war in the countryside can be eradicated only if the ownership relationships of land are changed.

So even then, the demands were formulated for the democratization of social relations on the land, as they were embodied in particular in the KPD's historical appeal of 11 June 1945. With this action program, the KPD was the first German party to appeal publicly to the working people in the cities and the countryside. The agrarian-policy demands of the appeal of 11 June 1945 corresponded to the interests of the plot, small and mid-level peasants and they even gave large farmers development opportunities.

Nevertheless, the situation in the countryside was complicated in those days. On the one hand, the Soviet Military Administration in Germany, as the socialist occupying power that ended the controlled fascist economy and later promoted and protected the democratic land reform with about 40 orders, established favorable preconditions for the new beginning with its consistent implementation of the Potsdam agreements. The peasants, on the other hand, were not yet sure of themselves, for traditional ideas were still standing in the way and fascist ideology in particular had left its mark. Therefore, the first step of the antifascist-democratic agrarian policy of 1945 was to present this policy to the peasants so that they could gain confidence in the

developing new democratic entities of the state. The fact that the KPD included the salvaging of the 1945 harvest in the center of its party work was evidence of the active efforts of communists to put this agrarian policy into effect. Together the peasants and workers, communists, social democrats, trade unionists and Soviet soldiers brought in the first peace harvest to tackle hunger and want.

In this way, the KPD gained a solid foothold in the countryside, so that it was able to take the next step. Of great importance was the fact that the KPD and SPD thereby agreed upon the principles of an antifascist-democratic transformation of agriculture. These principles provided for the expropriation of large landed property over 100 hectares and the landed property of active Nazis and war criminals without indemnification, the establishment of a state land fund, and the distribution of the largest part of the land and inventory to farm workers, resettlers, landless peasants and other working people.

On 2 September 1945, KPD Chairman Wilhelm Pieck explained these principles of land reform at that memorable meeting of peasants in Kyritz in today's Potsdam Bezirk and summarized them in the highly effective slogan "Junker Land in Peasant Hands,"<sup>3</sup> which corresponded to the inherent requirements of the farm workers and landless peasants. The next day, the presidium of the provincial administration in Saxony issued the first legal act on land reform. The next week, analogous laws followed in Mecklenburg and Brandenburg, in the Land Saxony and in Thuringia.

The realization of the democratic land reform was in the hands of democratically elected land reform commissions. More than 50,000 industrial workers, farm workers, small farmers and other working people belonged to these commissions, and more than 12,000 communists, over 9,000 social democrats and almost 1,000 members of the CDU and LDPD [Liberal Democratic Party of Germany] worked in them. The expropriated land was assigned to a state land fund encompassing 3.3 million hectares. More than 2 million hectares were parceled out to more than 200,000 farm workers and resettlers, and 125,000 landless peasants and small tenant farmers were able to expand their farms because arable land, pastures and wooded areas were conveyed to them. In many places, the parceling out of large landed property turned into real public festivals.

The land was turned over to the peasants and not nationalized. Such a step was in accordance with the historical conditions of development and the deeply rooted sense of ownership of the peasants as well as with the social necessities. In following the comment of Karl Marx that "the peasant must find his situation directly improved to interest him...in the revolution,"<sup>4</sup> the party took into account the pronounced peasant traditions of the private ownership of land in our country and turned over the land as private property to those who cultivate it. At the same time, all land speculation was prevented with the legally prescribed restriction that land reform land cannot be divided, sold, mortgaged or leased.

With the democratic land reform, public ownership of land also came into being. One-third of the land fund was conveyed to state, community or social

entities. In the following period, about 500 publicly owned farms came into being on 3 percent of the agricultural acreage. They were an important point of departure for the subsequent establishment of socialist production relations in agriculture.

It is a great historical achievement that the KPD was able to make the democratic land reform a matter for all of the people as the first great revolutionary mass action after their liberation from fascism. It is primarily attributable to its political-ideological activity that a rapid and uniform transformation of the power relations in the countryside was possible, despite the lack of a centralized state authority. The diverse resistance of the large landowners was broken. With the land reform, a battle was waged for peace and, in accordance with the Potsdam Agreement, the power bases of German militarism in the countryside were removed.

The democratic land reform was a profoundly revolutionary mass action, a school of democracy and a successful test of the unity of action of the KPD and SPD. With the abolishment of large landed property, the economic strengthening of the small and mid-level peasants, and the formation of public ownership of the land, solid foundations were laid for the alliance between the working class and the entire working peasantry and the liberation of the peasants was successfully begun.

The party also had to deal with doubts about the correctness of the land distribution. Some thought that it is wrong to parcel out the land, saying that large-scale operations are superior to small enterprises in agriculture as well. Here too, the party let itself be guided by the objective historical conditions:

In the first place, it was a matter of satisfying the longing of farm workers and landless peasants for their own land. At the same time, it was necessary to provide a new existence for tens of thousands of resettlers.

Secondly, there was then a lack of the most urgently needed up-to-date farm equipment; tractors and harvest equipment, to the extent that they existed at all, were destroyed in the war or obsolete and other equipment and agricultural chemicals were hardly available.

Thirdly, at that time, we did not yet have sufficient cadres who would have been ready and able to manage the large number of socialist large-scale enterprises.

One argument against the land reform was that it should take place with indemnification. Supported by the classics of Marxism-Leninism and a comprehensive analysis of the specific historical conditions, the party decided to remove a centuries-old injustice against the peasants through expropriation without indemnification. Friedrich Engels had pointed out that "the entire large landed property of the German nobility, but especially that to the east of the Elbe, was gathered together from stolen peasant land and when it is taken back from the robbers without indemnification, then they are not even getting their just due. They ought to have to pay compensation as well."<sup>5</sup>

In regard to the continued revolutionary transformation in the countryside, of historical significance was the overcoming of the split in the German working class, the birth of the uniform revolutionary action party in the form of the SED in April 1946. It steadily and persistently forged the alliance between the working class and the peasantry.

This path, by way of the strengthening of the influence of the working peasants in the Peasants Mutual Aid Association, which developed into a democratic mass organization from the peasants' mutual aid committees formed in 1946, led to the development of the machine rental stations as political, technical, agronomic and cultural centers in the countryside. The delivery of 1,000 tractors, 500 cultivators, 540 trucks, 200 skim plows and other agricultural equipment from the Soviet Union even before the 1949 spring tilling represented a substantial help.

In the hard class struggle, the alliance between workers and peasants stood the test. Above all the machine rental stations and later the machine tractor stations developed into solid footholds of the working class on the land, and important material, personnel and ideological preconditions were established for the subsequent transition to cooperative production.

The historical significance of the democratic land reform is by no means limited to the revolutionary transformation of the political and socioeconomic relations but also includes that far-reaching cultural revolutionary development process that began with it and fully unfolded under the conditions of socialism.

#### Socialist Transformation of Agriculture

After the founding of the GDR and the transition to long-term economic planning that was put into effect with the first five-year plan, there was an intensification of the contradiction between large-scale socialist industry and the simple production of goods in agriculture. Whereas the industrial production of goods increased by more than 43 percent from 1950 to 1952, the increase in agricultural production was only 17 percent. The fragmented agricultural production hindered the development of modern productive forces and the utilization of new findings in agricultural science, so that it was not possible to meet adequately the growing demands of the population for foodstuffs and of industry for raw materials. The small peasant enterprise had exhausted its possibilities for development.

At the beginning of the 1950's, however, with the consolidation of the alliance between workers and peasants, there was also a rapid maturing of the subjective factor in the countryside, which was also expressed in the establishment of the first agricultural production cooperatives by the peasants. Thus the objective necessity and the subjective possibility had reached the point of gradually leading the working peasants to large-scale socialist production and further developing the alliance.

In accordance with the new development conditions, the Second Party Congress also decided upon the gradual formation of agricultural production cooperatives as a solid component of the development of the principles of socialism. This historically significant decision continued the liberation of the peasants that was initiated with the land reform. Whereas the land reform put an end to the exploitation of the peasants by the large landowners, the Junkerdom and monopoly capital, the socialist transformation of agriculture gave the peasants latitude for the development of their personalities and the unhindered development of their creativity and released enormous economic, political, intellectual and cultural powers.

The priority work of the machine tractor stations in the fields of the LPG's, the material, financial and staff support through the socialist state, the successfully handled action "Industrial Workers Into the Countryside," and the diligent work of the cooperative farmers were a stable basis ensuring that successes did not fail to come. The help for the LPG's was possible because the economic and political power was in the hands of the working class and the party of the working class knew that the socialist revolution can be victorious only when it is linked with the agrarian revolution.

Under consideration of the national conditions, the SED oriented itself toward the conclusions provided in the Leninist cooperative plan, which show how the socialist transformation of agriculture is to be carried out systematically. In the GDR as well, a highly developed industrial country with a long tradition of private ownership of land and experience in intensive agricultural production, it was shown that the Leninist cooperative plan corresponds to the inherent laws of socialist development, the observance of which first made possible and guaranteed a successful agrarian policy.

In following Lenin's references to the gradual transition to higher and higher forms of the cooperative and to the multiplicity of forms, three types of LPG were established initially. In accordance with his personal level of development, the peasant himself could decide on the degree of socialization of production and work. In this period, he accumulated his own experiences.

Tremendous changes took place in the life of the cooperative farmers and in the face of the villages as the agrarian revolution became inseparable from the cultural revolution. That could all be realized in a historically short period of time because we, consistently and continually seeking suitable forms of socialist transformation, found ways that--as Lenin put it--were as easy, simple and accessible for the peasant as possible. That is all the more remarkable considering that we established the political, ideological and economic preconditions under the most difficult conditions of class struggle--an open border with the FRG, for example.

"It is clear to the entire world that with the socialist transformation in the countryside the only correct path was chosen to secure for the peasant an existence in peace, freedom and prosperity and to establish once and for all that it is better for the people when urban and rural areas work together fraternally on a socialist foundation,"<sup>6</sup> declared Comrade Erich Honecker at the 12th GDR Farmers Congress.

## Secure Future for the Class of the Cooperative Farmers

Socialist ownership (public and cooperative property) is the decisive political, economic and social force of social progress in the countryside. Its development confirmed Engels' forecast that only socialism will be in a position to give the peasants a historical perspective. Whereas in the FRG--where the democratic land reform foreseen by the Potsdam Agreement for the three Western occupation zones as well was hindered--the dying off of farmers is a daily phenomenon and the number of farmsteads has declined from 1.65 million in 1949 to about 732,500 in 1984, the cooperative farmers in our republic have a secure existence and are facing a secure future. By taking the instructions of Marx, Engels and Lenin as guiding principles for its actions, our party established the preconditions for the development of a modern and intensive agriculture and a well-educated and respected class of cooperative farmers. That is also expressed in the results that have been achieved since 1949. Thus in 1984, we produced almost two and a half times as much grain and the hectare yields of potatoes and sugar beets doubled. Our 1984 production of meat animals was seven and a half times greater than in 1949; the production of milk was three times greater and that of hen's eggs was six and a half times what it was in the year of the founding of the GDR. All of that was achieved under increasing efficiency, whereby the number of people employed in agriculture declined from over 2 million in the 1940's to 850,000 in 1984.

The party's agrarian policy is an inseparable part of our overall scientifically founded strategy and tactics for the further formation of the developed socialist society. In accordance with our party's program, it is aimed at "systematically increasing production and its efficiency in agriculture and the foodstuffs industry to ensure the stable and steadily improving provision of the population with high-quality foodstuffs and of industry with raw materials" as well as at "making living conditions in the village more like those in the city so that the essential differences between urban and rural areas can gradually be overcome."<sup>7</sup> Precisely for this reason, especially with the intensification of cooperative relations under the juridical independence and economic self-responsibility of the LPG's and VEB's, our party is emphasizing the improvement of the socialist production relations, the consolidation of the alliance between the working class and the class of the cooperative farmers, and the development of socialist democracy.

It is expected that agriculture will make a large contribution to that increase in economic output that is necessary to be successful in continuing our main course of a oneness of economic and social policy even under the changed reproduction conditions. For this reason, it is important to be consistent in applying the economic strategy in agricultural as well, a part of the uniform reproduction process of the national economy. The resulting urgent task for the cooperative farmers and agricultural workers is to increase substantially the yields of all crops and the productivity of livestock through intensification and to improve the fodder economy so as to supply the large amount of livestock with fodder from one's own yields in the shortest possible time.

For this purpose, we see the greatest reserves in the combining of the advantages of socialism with the scientific-technical revolution as well as in the further extensive and binding work with maximum-yield and maximum-performance concepts. They are the best method of applying the findings of scientific-technical progress and proven rural experiences in practice. All of that also helps to overcome the unjustified differences that still exist. Through the priority intensification of plant production, we are establishing the preconditions for the necessary increase in productivity in all of agriculture. Decisive for this is the continual improvement of the fertility of the soil, agriculture's most important means of production.

In the continued comprehensive intensification, it is a matter of the even more effective scientific and economic permeation of the uniform reproduction process in plant and animal production and of drawing conclusions therefrom for management and planning. With the better utilization of qualitative growth factors, the fund-saving type of intensification will become predominant in agriculture. That is, the increase in the yield and productivity is associated more and more with the improvement of the relationship between expenditures and results and with the raising of efficiency. Experience teaches that the best results are achieved where intensification takes place as a complex process. It is only the close interaction of science, training and advanced training of people, mechanization, use of chemicals, breeding, land improvement, storage and preservation that produces the greatest effect.

The realization of our party's economic strategy establishes high standards for the all-round political and economic consolidation of the LPG's and for the deepening of cooperative relations to "make better and better use of all of the powers of cooperative ownership and to strengthen further the class of the cooperative farmers."<sup>8</sup> The transfer of managerial functions to the cooperation council while maintaining the juridical independence and economic self-responsibility of the LPG's and VEB's raises the responsibility of the cooperative farmers and workers for the uniform reproduction process in plant and animal production and releases new creativity for the utilization of the strengths of cooperative and public ownership.

If we now make the leap from the democratic land reform of 40 years ago to the present, then we find the parallels to the widespread cooperation of the farm workers, landless peasants and small tenants in the democratically elected land commissions in the increasingly conscious and creative action of the cooperative farmers and workers in the commissions and aktivs of the LPG's and in the cooperation councils and their commissions.

An irrevocable principle of our Marxist-Leninist agrarian and alliance policy was and is to transform the progress in the fields and in the stalls resulting from the enterprising and diligent work of the cooperative farmers and workers into social progress. Constant care for the working and living conditions of people and development of the possibilities for an active intellectual and cultural life in attractive villages with productive gardens and an individual production are all determined by the party's policy directed toward the well-being of the people.

It was possible to overcome the centuries-old backwardness of the villages. This process took place at a rapid pace. Cooperative work created the conditions for an intellectual and cultural transformation of the working people in the countryside, for which there is no historical comparison. Downright symbolic for the overcoming of the backwardness in education in the villages is the fact that today 90 percent of those employed in agricultural production have a complete education, compared to just 5 percent in 1960.

The democratic land reform, the starting point for a 40-year dynamic and successful development of our agriculture, has uncovered significant social forces. Free from exploitation and oppression, the class of the cooperative farmers in the GDR, under the leadership of the working class and its party and in overall social cooperation, has shown itself capable of transforming agriculture into a modern and efficient area of our national economy.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. Friedrich Engels, "Revolution und Konterrevolution in Deutschland," "Werke" [Works], Vol 8, Berlin, Dietz Verlag, 1960, p 12; "Der Status quo in Deutschland," op. cit., Vol 4, Berlin, Dietz Verlag, 1959, p 48.
2. "Marx an Engels" [Marx to Engels], "Werke" [Works], Vol 29, Berlin, Dietz Verlag, 1963, p 47.
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4. Karl Marx, "Konspekt von Bakunins Buch 'Staatlichkeit und Anarchie'" [Conspectus from Bakunin's Book "State System and Anarchy"], "Werke" [Works], Vol 18, Berlin, Dietz Verlag, 1962, p 633.
5. Friedrich Engels, "Zur Geschichte der preussischen Bauern" [On the History of the Prussian Peasants], op. cit., Vol 21, Berlin, Dietz Verlag, 1962, p 242.
6. Erich Honecker, "Workers and Peasants Hand in Hand for Socialism and Peace" in "XII Bauernkongress der DDR" [12th Peasant Congress of the GDR], Berlin, Staatsverlag der DDR, 1982, p 282.
7. "Programm der Sozialistischen Einheitspartei Deutschlands" [SED Program], Berlin, Dietz Verlag, 1976, p 30.
8. "Bericht des Zentralkomitees der Sozialistischen Einheitspartei Deutschlands an den X. Parteitag der SED" [Report of the SED Central Committee to the 10th SED Congress], report given by Comrade Erich Honecker, Berlin, Dietz Verlag, 1981, p 75.

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GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

AGRICULTURAL INTENSIFICATION, INTEGRATION OUTLINED

East Berlin EINHEIT in German Vol 40 No 9, Sep 85 (signed to press 12 Aug 85)  
pp 790-797

[Article by Bruno Lietz, member of the SED Central Committee, minister of agriculture, forestry and foodstuffs: "A Clear Path to Continued Increase in Productivity"]

[Text] With a great will to work and produce and numerous initiatives, the cooperative farmers and workers of agriculture, forestry and the foodstuffs industry are also preparing for 11th SED Congress. Animated and stimulated by the decisions of the 10th conference of the SED Central Committee, they are doing their utmost--that is becoming especially clear now in the days and weeks around the 40th anniversary of the democratic land reform--to improve further the good results in socialist competition. At the same time, they are thereby supporting the party policy aimed at the well-being of the people and the securing of peace and they are making an important contribution "to giving the continued formation of the developed socialist society in the GDR a broader base through a substantial increase in productivity,"<sup>1</sup> as Comrade Erich Honecker emphasized in his speech in preparing for the 11th SED Congress.

The grain harvest confirms that the hard work to repeat, stabilize and improve on the record yields of the 1984 harvest in accordance with the objective of the competition is showing good results. The cooperative farmers and workers are thereby reaffirming their confidence in the party policies and their determination to make the contribution expected of them in continuing the main task in its unity of economic and social policy.

Today the LPG's, GPG's [horticultural producer cooperatives] and other cooperatives number almost 630,000 permanent employed members. The cooperatives and their cooperative installations cultivate about 87 percent of the useful agricultural area of our country. They control more than 83 percent of the livestock. With about 95 percent of the state output of plant products and 75 percent of its output of products in animal production, they bear the main responsibility for supplying the population with foodstuffs and industry with agricultural raw materials. To increase further its output, our society's highly respected class of the cooperative farmers is exerting great efforts to make better and better use of the strengths inherent in cooperative

ownership. The appreciation of their experiences and traditions, the all-round development of their villages, and the certainty of their secure perspective motivate them to continually improving performance. The development path that women cooperative farmers have taken is especially remarkable. The great social accomplishments were felt by them in particular in their work, home and family.

#### Steady Agrarian Policy and Diligence of the Farmers

The course of the main task decided upon at the Eighth SED Congress and consistently maintained since then has proven to be a strong driving force for increased productivity in agriculture as well. With the support of the working class, the cooperative farmers and workers have achieved significant progress in the qualitative and quantitative development of the intensification factors and in their complex utilization. Above all, there has thereby been a significant shift in recent years in the ways of overall agricultural production, a change that began with the land reform. Thus in the 1970's, up-to-date technology was introduced for the mechanization of field work. This increased the productivity of live labor in combining, for example, by a factor of 2.5 relative to the harvesting methods in effect until then. In the fodder harvest, the transition from the two-man to the one-man operation and the doubling of output increased productivity to about 400 percent of the previous level and in the turnip harvest it was increased to 400 to 500 percent of the former level.

The intensification of plant production was also given a lasting boost through progress in the use of chemicals as well as in irrigation and drainage. The yield of crops and the productivity of livestock have been increased substantially through success in breeding.

#### Development of Yields in Plant Production (decitons [100 kg] per hectare)

| Crop        | 1961/65 | 1976/80 | 1981/84 |
|-------------|---------|---------|---------|
| Grain       | 25.8    | 35.8    | 40.1    |
| Potatoes    | 166     | 175     | 193     |
| Sugar beets | 244     | 269     | 289     |

#### Development of the Production of Important Animal Products (total yields in kilotons)

| Item                  | 1960  | 1970  | 1980  | 1984  |
|-----------------------|-------|-------|-------|-------|
| Slaughter animals     | 1,363 | 1,800 | 2,478 | 2,583 |
| Including             |       |       |       |       |
| --Hogs                | 843   | 1,040 | 1,558 | 1,632 |
| --Cattle and other    | 428   | 621   | 692   | 693   |
| --Poultry and rabbits | 92    | 139   | 228   | 258   |
| Milk (4 percent fat)  | 5,014 | 6,205 | 7,281 | 7,638 |

With the construction of modern facilities for animal production as well as the reconstruction and rationalization of existing stall facilities, productivity was increased in animal husbandry. More than one-fifth of the cattle pens and more than one-third of the hogpens are fully mechanized. Since the beginning of the 1970's, this alone has improved the working and living conditions for about 30 percent of animal handlers. In the coming years, it will be a matter of systematically continuing along this path and also of rationalizing and reconstructing small stalls having little mechanization. Appreciable progress was also achieved in the area of the storage, preservation and processing of agricultural products. A contribution was thus made to the stabilization of supply while simultaneously improving quality and to the reduction of losses.

The improved level of education is one of the greatest accomplishments and strengths of agriculture. Whereas in 1960 only 5.9 percent of those permanently employed in socialist agricultural enterprises had completed occupational training, now 90 percent have completed specialized training, including 70,243 advanced and technical-school cadres. There are also various additional skills, in particular knowledge and abilities and qualifications--in short, the availability that the cooperative farmers and workers acquire in their work, through the practice of cooperative democracy as well as through participation in the innovator movement, in courses of instruction, and in schooling. Applying this potential even more effectively to increase agricultural production benefits comprehensive intensification and is also fully in keeping with the personal interests of the cooperative farmers.

Up-to-date organizational forms were developed for the further increase in agricultural production. Today, as basic units of the national economy, 1,140 plant-production LPG's, 2,792 animal-production LPG's and 468 VEG's [state farms] along with their cooperative installations characterize socialist agriculture. They work together successfully in 1,190 cooperations. That is an improvement of socialist production relations corresponding to the essence of our party's agrarian policy, an improvement that presents favorable conditions for the further development of the productive forces in agriculture. The 262 agrochemical centers and 161 land-improvement cooperatives also serve the continual improvement of the control of socialist intensification. As centers of the working class in the countryside, the 168 kreis enterprises for agricultural equipment are proving to be efficient partners of the LPG's and VEG's. They are indispensable for consistent intensification, just as is the recognized state veterinary system, upon which our agriculture can rely in the resolution of all of its tasks. The manifold relations that have developed between agriculture and the foodstuffs industry are also turning out to be very beneficial. In particular, the cooperation associations with their specific possibilities for the exchange of experiences and the comprehensive application of new scientific-technical findings are an essential factor in economic growth.

Under whichever aspect one views the development of agriculture since the democratic land reform, one always comes to the conclusion that the cooperative farmers and workers have at their disposal the preconditions for

raising yields in plant production and output in animal production under continually rising efficiency, for further advancing social progress and for making the face of the socialist village even more attractive. They are thus in a position--as provided for in our party's program--"to improve systematically production and its efficiency in agriculture and the foodstuffs industry, ensuring a stable and steadily improving provision of the population with high-quality foodstuffs and of industry with raw materials, and to make living conditions in rural areas more like those in the cities so as gradually to overcome the essential differences between the city and the countryside."<sup>2</sup>

#### Standards of Comprehensive Intensification

The increasing contribution of agriculture to the growth of the national economy, which is a precondition for the continuation of the main task in its unity of economic and social policy, is possible in the long term only if in agriculture comprehensive intensification with its core of mastery of scientific-technical progress permeates the entire reproduction process.

As has always been the case in the last four decades, the resolution of the tasks in accordance with the economic strategy decided upon by the 10th SED Congress and with the conclusions drawn by the 12th GDR Congress of Farmers is simultaneously leading to a further strengthening of socialism now as well. While the class of the cooperative farmers, together with the leading working class, is doing everything possible to make scientific-technical progress the main source of a lasting increase in productivity in agriculture, a significant upturn is also taking place in its own development. In this way, essential preconditions are being established for raising the alliance between the working class and the class of the cooperative farmers to a new level: in a close community of interests, the mastering of comprehensive intensification and thus the long-term realization of a substantial increase in productivity for the further formation of the developed socialist society.

#### Per-Capita Consumption of Selected Foodstuffs

| Item                       | 1955  | 1965 | 1975  | 1984  |
|----------------------------|-------|------|-------|-------|
| Meat and meat products, kg | 45.0  | 58.7 | 77.8  | 94.4  |
| Certified milk, liters     | 90.7  | 94.1 | 100.8 | 104.8 |
| Butter, kg                 | 9.5   | 12.5 | 14.7  | 15.9  |
| Vegetables, kg             | 60.7* | 63.8 | 90.0  | 92.3  |
| Fruit, kg                  | -     | 46.5 | 66.6  | 68.1  |

\*1960

Comprehensive intensification in agriculture requires the achievement of greater production per unit of area or per animal through the application of scientific-technical progress and other qualitative growth factors and a further increase in labor productivity and efficiency through the reduction of the specific expenditure per product unit. That results in the following standards for intensification:

--The increase in agriculture's own output must exceed the increase in the gross turnover;

--the net product must grow faster than the consumption of production;

--labor productivity must increase more rapidly than gross production.

That requires that the productivity indicators own product, net product, cost structure and profits be made increasingly the subject of management and the conducting of competition.

As is generally known, the amount of total agricultural production is largely determined by the amount of plant production. The priority task is therefore the intensification of plant production with the goal of achieving increasing and stable yields especially of grain, potatoes, sugar beets, oil seeds and fodder with a declining expenditure per product unit. The fact that the cooperative farmers and workers take the associated responsibility very seriously and that they are making more and more effective use of the soil as the main means of production and as the food basis of the people is reflected in the development of the gross turnover of plant production in decitons of grain units per hectare of useful agricultural area. Comparing the average of the years 1981 through 1984 with the average of the years 1976 through 1979, it increased by 10.3 percent.

The necessary increase in productivity in plant production requires that the soil be made even more the focus of attention, that it be used efficiently--no matter what position is involved--everywhere, and that its natural fertility be improved steadily. Its availability is limited. That is all the more reason why it is a requirement of national economic reason that this valuable natural resource be managed intensively and that it be preserved and improved. The complex methods worked out by agricultural science for increasing soil fertility give all LPG's and VEG's of plant production and their cooperations an important foundation for doing this. They proceed from the assumption that the supplying of the soil with reproduceable organic material is the Alpha and Omega of increasing soil fertility. It has been possible to improve this by about 30 percent since 1975. An important reserve for higher yields is primarily found in the systematic reproduction of soil humus on the basis of balances related to crop rotations and fields. The development of this reserve requires that more importance be attached to organic fertilizer.

And substantial reserves are also opened up by the continued persistent transition to territorial forms of organizing production and work with coordination between plant and animal production. Thus more consideration can be given to the different soil qualities of the various locations through practical field planning and crop rotation, rural experiences can be applied more effectively, the manpower capacity in the villages can be better used, and the expenditure for transport can be reduced, above all for transport of fodder and organic fertilizer.

Land improvement, especially irrigation, plays a very special role in making full use of the productive capacity of the soil and plants. Much has been

done here in recent years in particular. It is now already possible to supply 1.1 million hectares--17.3 percent of the useful agricultural area of the GDR--with additional water and in this way to increase long-term average yields by about 25 percent.

In animal husbandry, the focal point of intensification is in the increase in output per animal. In past years, a greater farm fodder output in each territory and better fodder economy led to remarkable results. In terms of grain units, the production of animal products was increased by 4.7 percent in the years 1981 through 1984 relative to the years 1976 through 1979. The increase was 6.2 percent for meat animals, 9.9 percent for eggs, and 21.3 percent for wool. It was possible to reduce the fodder expenditure per product unit of animal production. The broad application of the GDR's fodder evaluation system and the work of the fodder control points as well as of the state feedstuffs inspection have made a substantial contribution to all of this. One must continue to make consistent progress along this path. In addition, in the future as well, the systematic reproduction of animal stocks with good fertility and breeding results and low livestock losses will remain a national economic task of the first order.

As is confirmed in practice, that presupposes the consistent implementation of the decisions of our party and of the measures taken by the government in management, planning and economic accountancy, in the improvement of cooperation, in agricultural research, in agricultural price reform, in irrigation and in material interest, measures that are all aimed at promoting intensification as a complex process and establishing permanent foundations for rational and effective work. "The long-term rational formation of the reproduction process," stressed Comrade Werner Felfe, "leads to high yields and output with a declining specific expenditure when the organization of production and work is stable and is controlled every day in an exemplary manner. In agricultural production, with its dependency upon nature, that is a particularly high demand, because lost time cannot, as a rule, be recovered...."<sup>3</sup>

Productivity comparisons carried out in this sense, the imparting of advanced experiences and direct support by state entities and scientific installations help in making even better use of the potential productivity of the soil, plants and animals everywhere as well as in more rapidly overcoming unjustified differences in the utilization of intensification factors, especially scientific-technical progress.

#### Prerequisites for Lasting Intensification

With a view to the new tasks in the present and future, it can be stated that the class of the cooperative farmers, in its alliance with the working class, is well equipped for the accomplishment of these tasks and that the political, economic, scientific-technical and social conditions exist to carry on the long-term intensification of agricultural production in its breadth and multiplicity. Foremost among all the steps toward intensification is the better and better utilization of the capital goods available in agriculture. It is thereby a matter of sensibly combining the efforts for the best possible

use of existing equipment with the correct and efficient employment of new high-quality means of production from our industry. Comrade Erich Honecker stressed at the 10th Central Committee Conference that it is now a matter of "increasingly supplying agriculture with the means of production that promote capital-saving intensification. One of the most important requirements is the continually better utilization of forces of nature, above all the biological growth factors. Whether it is a matter of machines, chemicals or other means of production, they should above all open the way to higher production and efficiency through their quality."<sup>4</sup>

That also holds true for the production of such means of production as high-quality seed and productive breeding animals--especially in the VEG's. On the whole, the VEG's, with the production of specific agricultural means of production and the exemplary application of scientific-technical progress, have developed into stable and efficient centers of the working class in the rural areas, centers that play an epoch-making role in the intensification process. This is also underscored by their great responsibility for the training of young specialists and management personnel. The trade-union organizations, as representatives of the interests of the workers and as schools for socialist work, have a lot to do with the remarkable results of the VEG's.

To a considerable degree, intensification in the coming years will also be promoted through the further closing of mechanization gaps and through the qualitative improvement of existing equipment--especially by way of repair.

As in the other branches of the national economy, the intensification process in agriculture, forestry and the foodstuffs industry will also be substantially influenced by microelectronics and biotechnology. As for biotechnology, of great value for its development are our own accomplishments and above all the results that are achieved in cooperation with the USSR in accordance with the program through the year 2000 as well as in cooperation with the other CEMA member states.

For the application of microelectronics, agriculture has at its disposal a program specified in accordance with the requirements of the 10th Central Committee Conference. In the foreground at the present time is the development of microelectronic technology to be used in process control in agricultural working tools, animal-husbandry facilities and greenhouses; the setting up of information, control and advisory systems; and the creation of computer-aided information systems that rationalize management processes and support decision-making in the LPG's, VEG's and their cooperations as well as in the combines and state and economic-management installations. Along with these new operational capabilities, in the examination and selection of which use is made of the experiences of other branches of the economy, solutions are worked out to make more effective use of already existing data processing systems, office computers, etc. through programs with multiple applications.

Today it is a management task of the first order to establish the conditions so that the cooperative farmers and workers can make full use of the sources of intensification, above all the given possibilities of science and technology, and so that they--especially the innovators--can also contribute

to the operational possibilities of such modern technology as microelectronics. This is precisely the way that will make it possible to help make scientific-technical progress more generally effective.

The movement of the Young Innovator's Exhibition is of great value for intensification, for it provides important impulses for scientific-technical progress. In the rural areas as well, as was confirmed by the congress of young cooperative farmers and workers of agriculture, forestry and the foodstuffs industry in Schwerin in November 1984, a new young generation has grown up that is dedicating itself with initiative and energy to the increased tasks of socialist intensification. It is gratifying that the proportion of young people in agriculture has increased to 15 percent. In the future as well, as became evident at the 12th parliament of the socialist youth organization, the members of the FDJ will distinguish themselves with diverse initiatives at focal points of agricultural production and in the development of the village.

The long-term agricultural research program decided upon by the party and state leadership, which orients toward the closer association of science and agricultural production, is having a more and more fruitful effect on the intensification process. Purposeful research, development and transfer, as practiced in particular by the Academy of Agricultural Sciences and its institutes, is making it more and more possible for the LPG's and VEG's to make direct use of the accomplishments of science. The user seminars as well have contributed to the substantial shortening of the path to the realization of new scientific findings. The scientific centers in association with the bezirk councils as well as the state entities and veterinarians are making a noteworthy contribution to these seminars. The central and bezirk consultation enterprises are also among the mediators of scientific-technical progress and proven experiences. Here the cooperative farmers, workers and especially the managers can inform themselves about the latest findings and study under which specific conditions they can be applied in practice. That increases their certainty of making the correct decisions on the possibilities for the utilization of these findings under their own conditions. The GDR Agricultural Science Society and the professional association for agricultural, forest and foodstuffs technology of the Chamber of Technology are doing their part in paving the way for what is new and proven in the LPG's, VEG's and cooperative installations.

With the field-related maximum-yield concepts and the stall-related concepts on maximum productivity, in which a common denominator is found for the scientific findings and experiences of the farmers, the LPG's and VEG's have important management documents for comprehensive intensification. They are successful especially where, in accordance with the planned production and competitive goals, the cooperative farmers and workers themselves work out these concepts and constantly bring them up to the latest level of knowledge, where they also identify fully with the intent of their concepts. In this way, the unity of science and practical experiences can be experienced by all. In the joint work of farmers, workers and members of the intelligentsia, the prediction of Karl Marx is realized: "Just as the production process is a factor in the application of science, science, in contrast, becomes a factor, a function so to speak of the production process.... Science is called upon

to be a means of production of wealth; a means of enrichment."<sup>5</sup> That is seen especially graphically in the established production experiments, with which cooperative farmers and workers in the LPG's and VEG's together with scientists explore how better use can be made of the potential of the soil, plants and animals under the conditions that may prevail. In this way, new fighting positions are established for the necessary increase in output in the coming five-year plan, which, in turn, will be reflected in the concepts for maximum yields and maximum productivity.

The great intellectual potential that agriculture has is a good prerequisite for comprehensive intensification. The cooperative farmers and workers of the best LPG's and VEG's are characterized by great open-mindedness relative to what is new and by an atmosphere that aims to apply their own knowledge and to increase knowledge relentlessly. Such an atmosphere needs to be created everywhere, for it is, after all, an essential condition in ensuring that due attention is paid to job-related advanced training and to the imparting of knowledge and practical capabilities in special courses and instruction in all LPG's and VEG's. The focal point of training is shifting more and more to advanced training according to current and future requirements. Therefore, educational advances in biotechnology and microelectronics should also be secured in accordance with these requirements.

As practice shows, the mastering of scientific-technical progress with the goal of a high economic utility while simultaneously improving working and living conditions characterizes to a substantial degree the personality development of the cooperative farmers. It puts high demands on their attitude, on their knowledge and capabilities, on their skills, and on cooperation in the work team as well as among the brigades, departments and work force. As in the utilization of all sources of productivity growth, making science and technology as fruitful as possible requires that the cooperative farmers take good care of cooperative property, work actively in the formation of cooperative democracy, and take part in the management and planning of cooperative concerns.

The knowledge of cooperative farmers that they are contributing to the strengthening of socialism and to the securing of peace, the knowledge that they are needed, and the feeling of well-being in the work team, in the LPG and in the village, which give the cooperative farmers a strong sense of self-confidence and the knowledge of their own strength, also work as driving forces for initiatives and creativity. It is priority task of all chairmen and management personnel, especially the leaders of work teams and department heads, to pay great attention to the further development of these driving forces and to stimulate them.

How fast and how effectively the great strengths of agriculture can be exhausted with comprehensive intensification depends largely upon the level of management, planning and organization. The stability of the LPG's and VEG's and the expression of their juridical independence and economic self-responsibility are a pledge for further intensification. Greater possibilities for this arise from the assumption of managerial functions by the cooperation councils. All processes are increasingly permeated by

scientific standards and methods. Performance and stimulation are just as much a unit for cooperative farmers and workers as for the leaders.

Indeed: since 1945, a comprehensive and far-reaching transformation process has taken place in agriculture. The democratic land reform and, on its basis, the development of the productive forces and the socialist production relations in the countryside have proven themselves to be a source of the increase in productivity in agriculture and the starting point for the fundamental change in rural life as a whole. The close community of interests of the city and the countryside since the democratic land reform has confirmed everywhere: thanks to the purposeful SED agricultural policy that is constantly directed toward the consolidation of the alliance between the working class and the class of the cooperative farmers, every action for the society, in the final analysis, also leads to a further improvement of material and intellectual-cultural life in the countryside as well. For the cooperative farmers, that is simultaneously a demand and an incentive to increase their contribution in socialist competition for the 11th SED Party Congress to further increase the productivity of the national economy.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. "Zur Vorbereitung des XI. Parteitages der SED" [In Preparation for the 11th SED Party Congress], from the speech of Comrade Erich Honecker, 10th Conference of the SED Central Committee, Berlin, Dietz Verlag, 1985, p 9.
2. "Program der Sozialistischen Einheitspartei Deutschlands" [SED Program], Berlin, Dietz Verlag, 1976, p 30.
3. Werner Felfe, "Repeat, Stabilize and Further Improve on Good 1984 Results," NEUE DEUTSCHE BAUERNZEITUNG, No 3, 1985, p 6.
4. "Zur Vorbereitung..." op. cit., pp 43-44.
5. Karl Marx, "Zur Kritik der politischen Oekonomie" [On the Criticism of Political Economy] (manuscript 1861-1863), part 6, complete edition (MEGA), second division, Vol 3.6, Berlin, Dietz Verlag, 1982, p 2,060.

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GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

INFORMATION SCIENCES SOCIETY FORMED

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pp 854-855

[Article by Rudi Mond, graduate historian and head of the office for academic societies of the GDR Academy of Sciences: "On the Founding of the GDR Society for Information Sciences"]

[Text] ON 1 July 1985, the founding meeting of the GDR Society for Information Sciences was held in the main auditorium of Humboldt University in Berlin. More than 600 people took part, including scientists from teaching, research and development, engineers, technicians and other experts working in the national economy as well as physicians, teachers, officials of social organizations, and representatives of state and management authorities. An initiative committee of specialists presided over by Prof Dr Manfred Peschel, corresponding academy member, had prepared the founding of the Society for Information Sciences in agreement with the presidium of the GDR Academy of Sciences and in cooperation with central state authorities, scientific institutions, combines and other installations.

The introductory report by Prof Dr Heinz Stiller, vice president of the GDR Academy of Sciences, was followed by special reports by Prof Dr Dieter Hammer, Academy of Sciences, on "Communication in Complex Computer Systems" and by Prof Dr Detlef Kochan, Dresden Technical University, on "Computer-Integrated Preparation and Implementation of Production " as well as by commentary on the profile of the special sections of the society that are to be organized. In the subsequent consultation of the more than 400 members who enrolled on the day of the society's founding, the statute was decided upon and the managing board and auditing commission of the new scientific society were elected. The board elected Prof Dr Dieter Hammer, Institute for Information Sciences and Computer Technology, as its chairman and Prof Dr Walter Cimander, mathematics section of Dresden Technical University, and Dr Dietmar Lochmann, Institute for Communication Engineering, Berlin, as deputy chairmen.

The founding of the society corresponds to the requirements of our time. Again and with all due emphasis, the Central Committee in its 10th Conference pointed out the importance that is falling to microelectronics and, on its basis, to computer technology for ensuring the stable increase in the productivity of our national economy. The long-term implementation of the

central provisions that have been made in recent years for the further development of information processing and information technology requires a promoting of the development of the discipline of information sciences,<sup>1</sup> the application of research results, and training and advanced training in this field. It is the intent of the new scientific society to work in this sense.

Its objectives, therefore, include the promotion of research and development and the application of research results. This will be served by the development of scientific life, the exchange of opinions, and the dissemination of the latest findings and experiences. The society will help to force discipline development through concentration on leading research and to support interdisciplinary activity.

The society sees an important task in contributing to training and advanced training and to the formation of the personality of the socialist scientist. It wants to encourage the rising generation of scientists, support advanced training, and be concerned about the further imparting of knowledge on the information sciences--in the schools, for example.

It will participate with other scientific societies and the classes of the Academy of Sciences--especially the class for information sciences, cybernetics and automation, the GDR Mathematical Society and the Scientific Society for Measurement Techniques and Automation of the Chamber of Technology--in tangential questions and will continually cooperate with research and theoretical installations, scientific management institutions, combines and state authorities as well as social organizations in the resolution of set tasks. In accordance with national requirements and under consideration of international developments in this area, the content of the main directions for the work of the society was determined and the following special sections were established:

--"Theoretical Bases of Information Sciences" (including numerical process technology); chairman: academy member Prof Dr Helmut Thiele, mathematics section of Humboldt University in Berlin;

--"Computer Architecture and Technology of Computer Operations" (with parallel-processing systems, networks and operating systems); chairman: Prof Dr Walter Cimander, information sciences section of Dresden Technical University;

--"Software" (with programming languages, technology of software development, and data-bank systems); chairman: Prof Dr Gerd Stiller, Institute of Information Sciences and Computer Technology of the Academy of Sciences;

--"Artificial Intelligence" (with language processing, expert systems); chairman: Prof Dr Fritz Wystozki, Central Institute for Cybernetics and Information Processes of the Academy of Sciences;

--"Applications of Information Sciences" (with computer-aided design and production control, computed-aided jobs in management, planning and administration, in research, in medicine, in information systems and communications, and in automatic image processing); chairman: academy member

Prof Dr Volker Kempe, Central Institute for Cybernetics and Information Processes of the Academy of Sciences;

--"Training and Advanced Training" (including the necessary social effects); chairman: Prof Dr Immo Kerner, mathematics section of Dresden Pedagogical College.

The increasing application of information sciences in all areas of the national economy and of life in the society presupposes a broad knowledge of information sciences and capabilities for their implementation. Along with advanced training, therefore, great attention is to be devoted to this in close cooperation with the all-round schools and the colleges.

The society will be concerned with organizing conferences and meetings of members serving to provide comprehensive information on the overall scientific area while considering practical national economic requirements. It will carry out symposiums and colloquiums both on specific problems as well as on broader questions--especially in regard to tasks to be resolved in research and applications--and it will organize advanced training events that provide instruction on new trends to broad groups of personnel involved in information processing and technology (and in areas affected by them). Encouraging the publication of leading scientific results and articles in the nature of information and advanced training in its field and developing the national and international exchange of experience is likewise part of the responsibility of the GDR Society for Information Sciences.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. In regard to information sciences as a scientific discipline, see Horst Tzschoppe, "On the Nature and Utilization Possibilities of Information Sciences," EINHEIT, Vol 7, 1985, p 652 and following pages.

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ROMANIA

ORIGINALITY, CREATIVITY IN DEVELOPING MARXIST THEORY

Bucharest ERA SOCIALISTA in Romanian No 18, 25 Sep 85 pp 1-4

[Article by Univ Prof Dr Gh. Al. Cazan: "Originality and Creativity in Developing the Marxist Theory of Socialist Revolution"]

[Text] Among the extensive political-educational happenings that marked the passage of two decades since the ninth party congress--an event that inaugurated in the contemporary history of the homeland a period rich in revolutionary accomplishments in all fields of activity, an era of high revolutionary vitality--a new work having as a central theme the socialist revolution and the continuity of the revolutionary process of building the new order in our country appeared in the Politica Publishing House's collection devoted to the philosophical thought of Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu.

As is known, the theoretical and practical contribution of our party and its secretary general, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, to the creative development of Marxist theory starts from the existence of specific social-historical factors, related to one another, with their own dynamics, in each country that carries out the socialist revolution, under the conditions of the application of the general laws of social and historical progress. The new social order that we are building--the secretary general of the party says--has as a basis the dialectical- and historical-materialist conception, which offers a scientific interpretation of the phenomena of the surrounding world, of the prospects and trends of the evolution of human civilization. The perennial value of this revolutionary conception is conferred, all told, by the analysis of the concrete social-historical realities, by the continual concern for the confrontation of theory with life, with the changes that occur in social existence, in the development of the production forces, in world knowledge. "Revolutionary practice," Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu stated, "demonstrates that it is not possible to obtain successes in this struggle except by using the scientific theory of dialectical and historical materialism, the principles of Marxism-Leninism, not as a lifeless dogma, as an immutable scheme, but as a method of studying, knowing and understanding the new problems and requirements raised by life, the current imperatives for the development of society, as a living guide to establishing the ways of struggle in accordance with the realities of each historical stage" (p 59).

In the dynamic, innovative spirit that defines the historical period inaugurated two decades ago by the ninth congress, our party and its secretary general have steadily promoted in all economic and social activity the principle according to which the utilization of the superiority of the socialist order does not happen by itself but requires constant efforts to thoroughly study the realities in each stage, to secure the management of society in conformity with the objective trends and the concrete-historical conditions of social development. The theoretical and practical activity performed by Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu has demonstrated and demonstrates brilliantly the capacity to discern the objective trends of contemporary social progress, to apply creatively the general truths of the revolutionary conception to the concrete conditions of the development of socialist construction in our country, to orient the creative efforts of the people with a view to optimally solving the problems of economic and social development and securing the continual progress of our society.

The innovative orientations adopted at the ninth congress for the party's entire theoretical and practical activity are of historical significance because they eliminated a number of cliches and dogmas, releasing our people's creative energies. This wide opening up toward social and historical reality has made it possible to steadily develop all economic and social life, to raise the life of the people to higher levels of material and spiritual civilization. The ninth congress formulated with particular clarity the revolutionary objective of building the new society by starting from the concrete conditions in Romania, applying the dialectical-materialist principles, the principles of scientific socialism, the generally valid truths, to Romania's realities. "Marxism," Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu pointed out in this regard, "is a living science, one that is continually being developed and enriched, synthesizing the historical experience and the conclusions of social development." In the always innovative spirit that was the basis for its formulation nearly a century and a half ago, the Marxist theory of revolution has been enriched and developed by its very creators, by prominent thinkers of our century, and in the activity of the communist and workers parties, proving conclusively that the revolutionary theory of the world is not a closed system but a conception that is continually being developed on the basis of the generalization of social practice, of the new historical processes in all spheres of social life.

This idea brings out one of the basic characteristics of the revolutionary ideology: its dialectical spirit, the concern for not regarding as immutable the solutions given to problems in a certain historical era. "Working out this doctrine, whose basic truths are brilliantly confirmed by life," Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu stated, "the classics of Marxism were not able to give definitive answers to all the problems that the later evolution of society has raised." For Marx and Engels their own theory was not a dogma at all, but a guide to action, a science that offers only the guiding principles for achieving profound revolutionary transformations in all fields of society. Such an understanding of the open character of the Marxist conception of revolution makes evident, all the more under the contemporary conditions, the necessity of continually confronting the theoretical theses and principles with practice and, on this basis, the necessity of continually developing them.

In Marx's theory of socialist revolution, the criticism of the abstract, metaphysical, nonhistorical understanding of the social processes was developed right from the start. Marx and Engels thus did not use a preestablished concept of socialist revolution or an initially normative one. Back in 1843, Marx asserted that the communist society is not a dream of mankind or an imaginary project, a fulfillment of a transhistorical ideal, but an objective necessity resulting from real, given historical contradictions existing within the capitalist society. He demonstrated that the capitalist "civil society" begets, by its very logic, the communist society, understood as total "human emancipation." Marx saw in communism "the necessary form and dynamic principle of the future," "the historical abolition of those alienations that turn the human being into a crippled, unfulfilled being estranged from his essence." Practical action--that is, revolutionary practice--constitutes the method of accomplishing this change, envisioned by Marx in 1843-1844 and extensively theorized in 1845. For precisely this reason, in "The German Ideology," communism was defined as "real practical movement, which abolishes the current situation."

An inextricable connection, with an absolute methodological value, exists between the materialist conception of history and the view of revolution. This means that it is not possible to achieve a creative development of the Marxist theory of revolution without knowing and creatively developing its theoretical basis itself: dialectical and historical materialism and the materialist philosophy of man. After the publication of "The German Ideology" and "The Communist Manifesto," Marx and Engels themselves developed the theory of socialist revolution in accordance with the new historical circumstances. These undertakings involve the form and content of the organization of the working class within the proletarian revolution and after the gaining of power, the motive forces and the causes of the socialist revolution, the form of the revolution, the form and content of the state established through the gaining of power by the working class, the stages of the construction of the new social order, the relationship between them and the economic and social legacy, the purpose of constructing the new society and the means of accomplishing it, and so on. Each particular problem has its significance and importance in the general context of the theory, but what characterizes the theory as such is precisely the fact of its development in relation to life, to the realities, to the economic, social and political transformations.

The theoretical contributions involved in our party's entire activity of conducting the revolutionary process in our country make evident the innovative, dynamic character of the conception promoted during the past four decades, and especially after the ninth congress, beginning with the outbreak of the revolution for social and national liberation, the accomplishment of the socialist revolution, the success of socialist production relations in the economy, and the gradual affirmation of the new principles of organization of social life.

The problems of the socialist revolution and of the construction of our society have been analyzed by our party and its secretary general, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, from a perspective open to historical evolution, of which the creative relating to the theory and practice of socialist revolution constitutes the basic element.

In Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's view, the concept of socialist revolution is not devoid of its political content or of the content and political form of the initial moment of the revolution. The socialist revolution does not come down to the gaining of political power by the working class, an essential phase in the revolution, but one that, if it is not followed by constructive economic and social acts and processes, can fail. The revolution represents a dialectical process, a unity of the continuous with the discontinuous.

In our party's view, the revolutionary process and the socialist revolution continue and have to be developed continually in conformity with each historical stage, both in the field of the production forces and in that of the transformations of the socialist structure, that of production and social relations, that of the management of society, that of the people's way of life. The qualitative changes that occur in the process of building the new order are objectively and subjectively dependent on economic and social conditions, and not just of the general nature of production relations.

The continuity of the revolutionary process under the conditions of our socialist society is determined, in the final analysis, by the action of the objective laws of social development, by the contradictions between the old and the new, by the necessity of achieving higher levels of economic and social development.

Starting from the fact that the struggle between the old and the new as a general law of progress is also manifesting itself in our society, that in this framework contradictions are appearing in different fields of activity--it says in the volume that we are presenting--the role of the conscious factor, of leadership by the party, consists of discerning in time the appearance of the different contradictions and finding the ways to eliminate them. To act to strongly affirm the new, to secure the continual development of the production forces, to improve the production and social relations, constitutes, as a matter of fact, one of the chief aspects of the exercise of the party's leading role in society. Through its theoretical and political content, the thesis of the continuity of the revolutionary process in the current stage of development of our socialist society represents an innovative contribution of our party and its secretary general to enriching the theory of socialist revolution in accordance with the new structures and objectives of development that the real historical process of the revolutionary transformations in our country brings out.

The decisive rejection of the absolutizing, idealizing views of socialism--of the false impression that socialism could not have difficulties in the process of its development and that the mere act of establishing the political power of the working class would solve by itself all social problems of the new order's progress, would lead automatically to the attainment of the socialist principles in life--constitutes a characteristic trait of the entire theoretical and practical activity of the party and its secretary general, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu. Reality and life--Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu stresses in this regard--show that the process of revolutionary transformation of society does not end with the establishment of the political power of the working class, with the achievement of socialism, that the revolutionary

transformations, the laws of materialistic dialectics, the contradictions between the old and the new, the transition from quantity to a new quality continue to constitute the active, dynamizing factor in the country's multilateral progress, in the construction of the socialist order. "We must always bear in mind that the laws of dialectics also manifest themselves strongly in the socialist society and, probably, the communist society too. Consequently, it is necessary to study, to understand, to discern in time the appearance of the contradictions and to act to eliminate them. In this regard, we must set aside everything that is old and no longer suitable and must make way for the new, must act consciously in the direction of innovation in society" (p 33).

These ideas were materialized in the period after the ninth party congress in an original theoretical conception of the content of the revolutionary transformations in the new stage of building the new society that our country entered in the middle of the '60's.

The formulation of the Romanian Communist Party's Program for Forging the Multilaterally Developed Socialist Society and Advancing Romania Toward Communism constituted a moment with broad meanings in the process of the accomplishment of the revolutionary transformations in our country, the expression of the party's stronger and stronger development, of its theoretical and political maturation, of the growth of its historical role in managing the whole society. "Generalizing theoretically the experience of the party and our people in the struggle for the revolutionary transformation of society, for the construction of the new, socialist order and for the raising of the level of material and spiritual civilization of the whole populace, the program takes into account, at the same time, the experience of the other socialist countries, of all the peoples, creatively applying the general, universally valid truths to the concrete social and national historical conditions of Romania."

The experience of our party in the process of revolutionary transformation of society, and of other parties and socialist countries, has made evident, besides the common traits of the work of building the new order, a great variety of specific solutions, responding to the concrete-historical conditions existing in each country, numerous characteristics that have enriched the treasury of practical experience and of revolutionary theory. Life has demonstrated and demonstrates day by day--it says in the volume that we are presenting--that the implementation of the general principles of the socialist society occurs under specific conditions, different from one country to another, from one era to another, and the role of the conscious factor, of the revolutionary party, consists precisely of deeply understanding these realities and solving the problems in practice in a concrete, differentiated manner. "Both in the struggle to gain political power and in the process of building the new order, the characteristics of each country must be studied and taken into consideration, each communist party must devise its own political line in conformity both with the general requirements for social development and with the concrete conditions in each country. After all, it is known that the general laws manifest themselves under concrete conditions, that the general is realized through the particular; if it does not acquire concrete embodiment, in multiple particular forms, the general truth, no matter how accurate it may be, runs the risk of remaining just an aspiration, an abstract desire" (p 47).

The period that has passed since the ninth congress has demonstrated brilliantly the original and creative character of the approach by our party and its secretary general, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, to the theoretical and practical problems of building the new order. Among them there are the theses regarding the new economic and financial mechanism, the wide-scale introduction of the gains of the scientific and technical revolution, the accomplishment of a new revolution in agriculture, the expansion and development of socialist democracy, the people's direct participation in devising and applying the party's policy, in achieving a new quality of work and life.

Starting from the realities of life, from the objective, concrete-historical requirements for carrying out the revolutionary process, the party's political and ideological activity opens up in each historical stage new theoretical prospects, new possibilities of a creative approach to revolutionary theory.

Setting the forging of the multilaterally developed socialist society as a strategic objective of the stage in which we are, the party's program has in view the achievement of significant progress in all fields of social life: in the development of society's material base, in the improvement of social relations, in the development of democracy, in the strong affirmation of the role of science, in the intensification of the theoretical, ideological and political-educational activity. These directions of development of the revolutionary process configure in their complexity the historical stage of the forging of the multilaterally developed socialist society.

The essential traits that define this distinct stage of the revolutionary process of building the new order are expressed fully in the intensive growth of the production forces, the creation of a modern economy based on advanced technology, the providing of a high level of productivity and efficiency of social labor, the steady development of science, culture and education, the raising of the material and spiritual well-being of the whole populace. "We intend to provide a multilateral development of society, the flourishing of all aspects of social life, both of the economy and of science and culture, the improvement of management, the formation of the new man, the promotion of socialist ethics and equity. Consequently, we consider the formulation of the forging of the multilaterally developed socialist society as a basic objective of the party to correspond fully to the current historical stage. This gives a precise orientation to the activity of the party, to the work of our whole populace" (p 183).

The programs and objectives adopted at the national party congresses and conferences in this period for attaining the strategic objective of the current stage of development of socialist construction refer not only to material progress, to the flourishing of economic life, but also to all areas of society, including the improvement of the production relations and of the organization of society, the development of working-class, revolutionary democracy, the affirmation of the socialist consciousness, the activity of education, and culture.

The revolutionary transformations in each stage of the construction of socialism--Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu stated--include obligatorily both the

technical-material base and social consciousness. The degree of development of consciousness thus manifests itself as a strong material force in the revolutionary transformation of society, in the knowing of the objective requirements for economic and social progress in each stage, and in the management of society in conformity with the objective trends and requirements. This is why, under the conditions of socialism, the role of the conscious factor, of the party, of the revolutionary consciousness of the masses takes on a particular importance. We are forging a society--it says in the work that we are presenting--in which the working class, the peasantry, the intelligentsia, the whole populace, participate consciously in forging their own history, their own future. Consequently, our party puts in the center of attention the forging of the new man, the full use of all the means that society possesses to continually raise the general level of education--professional and political--of the broad masses of people, to thoroughly arm the builders of socialism with knowledge of the objective laws of social development. In this spirit, in the speech given at the Plenum of the RCP Central Committee and the Central Party Actives on 24 July, the secretary general of the party once again stressed the requirement of performing a broad ideological and political-educational activity for forming the new man, steadily implementing the party's ideological program with a view to raising the level of revolutionary consciousness of the party, of our whole populace.

In our party's view, the successful development of socialist construction necessarily presupposes the performance of a broad theoretical and political-educational activity for arming the party and the people with a clear perspective in the revolutionary struggle, helping, at the same time, to enrich the common treasury of revolutionary theory and practice.

It is a principle fully confirmed by historical reality that the transformations that occur in social consciousness, the progress of science, of education and culture, the development of revolutionary theory itself through the theoretical and ideological activity of the party have a more and more important role in the general progress of society, including in the development of the production forces. In the current stage of development of our country, the theoretical and political-educational activity of the Romanian Communist Party and the theoretical work of its secretary general, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, have had and have a highly significant role in arming the working class, the broad masses of people, with a scientific understanding of the social processes of the contemporary world. This historical reality--Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu pointed out at the Expanded Plenum of the RCP Central Committee on 1-2 June 1982--dictates the thorough analysis of the revolutionary processes, of the economic and social transformations in our country, and the devising of original theoretical and practical solutions to the new problems that appear in the process of the construction of socialism. As Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu pointed out, the revolutionary process and the socialist revolution cannot be considered ended with the passage of one or another of their stages. On the contrary, each success obtained creates conditions for the even stronger affirmation of the revolutionary process in our country, for its development both in the field of the production forces and in the field of production and social relations, of the stronger affirmation of the revolutionary spirit. The characteristics of the revolutionary process will be

present in the economic and social activity and in the political-educational work of the party over the course of the entire work of forging socialism and communism. "Socialism and communism," the secretary general of the party pointed out, "require abnegation, boundless devotion, a revolutionary spirit--and we have to learn to be revolutionaries in everything that we do, to work as true revolutionaries."

The ninth congress opened up a new stage in the process of the forging of the multilaterally developed socialist society. It placed before the party, before the whole populace, the objective of achieving important changes of a qualitative nature in all fields of social life. As is known, the continuation of the implementation of the party's program at a higher level and the consolidation of the gains that we have obtained in economic and social development presuppose, in each stage in which we are, the accentuation of the intensive aspect of development, the utilization of the entire material and human potential that we possess at a higher level.

In the spirit of the creative conception that has oriented the entire development of the revolutionary process during the period of the past two decades in our country, the ninth congress defined as a basic objective of the third stage of implementation of the party's program the firm continuation of the process of revolutionary transformation of society, of the policy of multilateral development of Romania, of development of the production forces, and of improvement of social and production relations on a new basis. "The role of scientifically conducting these revolutionary processes goes to our party, as a revolutionary, communist party. Only in this way will it be able to fulfill the mission of a guiding political force of society, will it secure the guiding of the people along the path of socialism and communism" (pp 211-212).

Through the implementation of the provisions for the new 5-year period, in 1990, Romania will enter a new stage of economic and social development, will take a new forward step along the path of forging the multilaterally developed socialist society and advancing toward communism. Through the growth of the national economy at a high rate and the improvement of the set of new social relations, the achievement of a new quality of work and life for the whole populace, our society will enter, at the start of the next decade, a higher stage in carrying out the socialist revolution, a stage that will open up new prospects both for carrying out the process of revolutionary transformation of economic and social life and for developing the theory and practice of socialist revolution.

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ROMANIA

ORGANIC UNITY BETWEEN DEMOCRACY, SOCIALISM

Bucharest ERA SOCIALISTA in Romanian No 18, 25 Sep 85 pp 9-11, 43

[Article by Univ Lect Dr Aculin Cazacu: "The Organic Unity Between Democracy and Socialism"]

[Text] Set among the basic theses of scientific socialism, of revolutionary theory, the organic unity of essence between socialism and democracy can and must be understood dialectically, as an ascending historical process. Socialism bears in itself, in the essence of its revolutionary development, all of the objective and subjective sources for the appearance and generalization of a new democratic reality, essentially different from the bourgeois one and superior to it both in its content and in its forms of manifestation. As Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu recently stated at the forum of local government bodies, "If we were to compare our working-class democratic system--the Congress of the People's Councils--to the situation in other states of the world, we could say that our working-class, revolutionary democracy is superior to any form of bourgeois democracy, that through the widely democratic system that we have achieved we ensure that all the social classes and categories, and especially the workers, the peasants, the intellectuals, all the working people, regardless of nationality, our whole populace, participate actively in devising and implementing the general policy, in consciously forging their own free future, the socialist and communist future."

The processual nature of the forging of this reality in the socialist way of life is dependent, of course, on a host of material and spiritual factors, on the complex changes that occur in the people's material existence, as well as in the structures of spiritual life. Consequently, in the years of socialist construction in our country, the formation of a new, unique and unitary democratic system has gone through several stages, it being improved continually, especially after the ninth congress of our party. Moreover--Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu stated at the Plenum of the RCP Central Committee and the Central Party Actives on 24 July 1985--in the future too, we will have to ensure the vitality of this system; "Let us always start from the fact that what we have achieved corresponds to a certain stage, to a certain level of development of the production forces and social relations, that, in the future too, along with the general development of society, of social relations, we will have to find newer and newer forms and improve the existing ones, continually expanding the democratic framework and securing the active and conscious participation of the whole populace in managing all sectors of activity."

A programmatic objective of socialist development, the expansion and improvement of democracy are connected, at the same time, with the way in and degree to which the theoretical and ideological activity opens up creatively toward the realities, abandoning the theses that prove obsolete and boldly promoting the superior, valuable new. The 20 years that have passed since the ninth party congress--a crucial historical event in the life of our society--are characterized precisely by an intense activity of reworking the very concept of democracy, as well as by a constant action of forging the new democratic reality. These years are also indicative of the way in which the dialectical interdependence between socialism and democracy has been expressed in a wide opening up of revolutionary thought toward the assimilation of the new, through a consistent institution of democratic practice in accordance with the concrete-historical requirements for the continual revolutionary process in our country.

#### The Full Utilization of the Objective and Subjective Factors

In the course of the revolutionary process of constructing socialism, profound transformations have occurred in all sectors and levels of the life of our society. Characterized by different rates and proportions, by varying priorities from one stage to another, these transformations contained the essence of political power, the forging of the unitary socialist economy, the abolition of the economic and social basis of exploitation, the institution of a new system of distribution, the development of the socialist, value content of social consciousness, the forging of a superstructure corresponding to the objective conditions of the socialist way of life. The development of the new society by stages was also expressed in the changing of the dominant political actions for conducting the revolutionary processes, in the center of which the Communist Party was always put. Thus, from the generalized assembling of the attributes of the new order (particularly in the sphere of economic relations) we turned to quantitative accumulations, which paved the way for the qualitative leap, the transition to a higher quality in all economic and social activity. Just as, in proportion to the materialization of the type of extensive development, new conditions--springing from the very experience of the socialist organization of life--were formed for the transition to development of an intensive type, based on efficiency and competitiveness, on the better utilization of the existing material and human resources, implicitly through the complex effects of the democratic organization of social life.

Historical experience shows that, in our country, socialist development has tended and tends progressively toward providing all of the objective and subjective factors for progress on our own, generated by the very structures of the new society, in the context of the interdependences of the contemporary world. We can say that in the years of socialist revolution and construction, especially in the period of the past 20 years, after the historic ninth party congress, a generalized practice of the homogenization of our society has taken shape.

When we refer to homogenization, we have in mind not only the dynamics of the class structure of society but also the overall interaction between infra-structures, structures and superstructures, the attainment of more and more

advanced stages of systemic compatibility between these constitutive levels of the social complex. In such a treatment, homogenization reflects that state of the social system characterized by indicators in which the tendency of optimum functionality of all sectors of activity, in their close interdependence, is concretized. The processual nature of the establishment of integral, systemic social action and the affirmation of a community practice that draws together the creative force of all the social classes and categories, of all the instances of conscious action for building the new order, are specific to the current Romanian society. Consequently, we will say that, in its essence, this process represents the mass, generic basis for activating the human potential of democracy, the way in which the participatory-democratic resources of the whole society are materialized.

The homogenization of society--determined, at bottom, by the transformations of an economic nature--also led necessarily to the rethinking of the superstructural organization. Characterized, for a certain time, by additivity (the accumulation of the institutions specific to the socialist order of life) and complementarity (the harmonization of the action of the different superstructures in a unitary conception and according to a unitary model), the dynamics of the superstructures are unfolding, at present, under the sign of the attributes of integrality and systemicity. In other words, as a result of the objective changes, the entire superstructure is manifesting itself homogeneously (in the functionality specific to its different components--political, legal, educational and so on) and, at the same time, openly, in an interdependence with revolutionary practice, with the concrete activity of all categories of working people. The dynamics of the political essence, of the democratic powers and functions of the people's councils, whose congress, which was held recently, demonstrated the existence of new resources for blending their activity with the direct experience of the masses, of the citizens, are indicative in this regard.

If we refer to the processes on an infrastructural level (those specific to the production forces), we will observe that they involve, more and more, their generic quality and the way in which they are expressed on the plane of the superstructural organization of society. For instance, the improvement of the vocational training of the working people cannot be viewed in itself but--bearing in mind its specific dimensions--in a close connection with the social organization of production, with the legislating of the practice of worker self-management and self-administration, with the overall improvement in the unitary system of socialist democracy.

We mention, in this context, that the secretary general of the party has stressed and stresses often the necessity of combining the specialized training of the personnel with ideological, moral and political, civic training, with a view to providing all of the conditions and directions for finalizing the human resources, for consciously and multilaterally involving man in carrying out the historical process. In their essence, the measures regarding the reconsideration of the main economic indicators for evaluating production, for instituting a new economic and financial mechanism, also have, besides their specifically economic attributes, special meanings for what we call the organic convergence between the social and political plane of democratic

participation in leadership and the economic plane of efficiency, characteristic and determinative of homogenization on a macrosocial level.

Consequently, the democratization of our society arises within the economic and social processes, is being instituted progressively as a reality indicative of the current situation and the prospects of the functioning of the whole social complex. Consequently, we feel that it is necessary for us to extend the image of the homogenization of society (of the sphere and content of this conceptual expression), treating it as a generalized practice of democracy. Of course, among its defining traits there also are the convergence between the social classes and categories and the objective affirmation of the tendency of objectual coincidence between the interests of the different group structures of our society. The unity of direction in the dynamics of the interests has both material and spiritual dimensions, refers--in a growing interdependence--to the effects that result from improving the production and distribution relations, but also to the moral, political and value consequences of basing the social relations on principles of equity, in all their operational respects. But the homogenization, in the plenitude of its meanings and significances, includes not only the sphere of the interests and also that of the formation of a new democratic system of social, political and moral control, in proportion to the more and more harmonious combining of the revolutionary experience of the masses with that of political leadership proper and of the assimilation of our party's conception of the laws and characteristics of the continual revolutionary process in our country by a larger and larger number of citizens.

Consequently, the homogeneous character of the transformations that are occurring in our society expresses a set of overall determinations (in this case, manifested in the social effects of economic growth), a set of convergent relationships between the interests of the social classes, categories and groups, as well as the new quality of the intragroup relations (based on values such as those of cooperation, community spirit, coparticipation, responsible involvement, a spirit of responsibility, order and discipline, and so on). In this macrosocial context, the emergence of the democratic practices appears to us as an objective necessity, as an expression of the systemic behavior that our society in its entirety is acquiring. Consequently, socialist democracy, in its entire unity of characteristics and differentness of the modes of accomplishment, is essentially distinct from any subjectivistic (or, in general, voluntaristic) attitude that would put it in the position of a functional system artificially "grafted" onto economic and social structures incapable of containing it in its organic plenitude.

#### The Improvement of the Democratic Organization and Management of Our Society

The party documents and the works of Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu define the continual strengthening of the unitary system of working-class, revolutionary democracy and, equally, the improvement of the organizational framework for participation by the masses in the management of society as basic problems of the multilateral development of socialism in our country. The experience of building the new society has led to the progressive institution of a relationship of systemicity between organization, management and democracy.

Consequently, we can say that, through its essential attributes, the new democracy that we are achieving is irreducible to participation--in this case, to participation in relation to decisionmaking. The aspect of participation, an indispensable aspect, of course, and one of maximum importance, is just one of the aspects of the involvement of the democratic act in the higher organization of the whole society, in all its respects, including the decisionmaking ones. Moreover, the blending of the forms of social organization with the affirmation of real, meaningful democracy constitutes a priority way to raise the quality and efficiency of all economic and social activity.

Increasingly, the indicators specific to the organizational aspect are acquiring higher values not only through the multiplication of the forms of action in the most diverse fields but also, in particular, through their optimizing direction in relation to the system of social distribution, ownership and production. Consequently, worker self-management (a specific type of democratic practice in our society) is acquiring a constantly renovated foundation, put in agreement with the objective requirements for multilateral socialist development. As was also pointed out at the Congress of the People's Councils, on the basis of its economic mechanisms, worker self-management (and self-administration) entails a vast action of social organization, beginning with the sphere of production, but not being limited to it.

At its full extension, the wide scope of the social impact of self-management is materialized in the expansion of the role of the working class in generalizing the working-class model of community, civic life, with all of its value determinations. One characteristic direction of the exercise of this role in the current stage is that of the growth of the status and influence of the working people in relation to the functioning of the socialist state, of its bodies on all levels, with the growth of its attributes (as a sovereign representative of the interests of those who work) of managing and organizing all economic and social activity on the basis of the sole national plan for developing our country. A chief instrument for the organization of society, our socialist state is defined, above all, not only as a superstructural form but also as an organizational method of generically blending the superstructural functions with the jurisdictions, rights and action of the democratic bodies of the working people. The existential basis for the accentuation of its democratic character, along with the growth of its role in society, lies in precisely this blending. Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu stated in this regard: "The development of working-class, revolutionary democracy constitutes the basic factor in the successful forging of socialism, in the building of the communist society, understanding this not in an anarchic way but in the sense of the people's active and organized participation in the management of all sectors of activity, in which the state--both in the current stage and under communism--will have to have an important role. No society will ever be able to do without an organism for unitary management of the whole society."

Consequently, we conceive of the complex role of the socialist state without any "statist" or state-intervention tendencies in themselves, which would sever the channels of democratic, open communication, as a direct experience of the working people. In what we are saying, there is also an aspect that is overlooked (deliberately, of course) by some Western analysts, in whose works

the elements of denigrating reference to the socialist experience are based on ignoring the real dialectics, the superstructure under socialism. We are referring to, for instance, among others, Jean Francois Revel, who, in his latest book ("Le Rejet de l'Etat," Bernard Grasset, Paris, 1984), after he had "decreed" earlier the end of the democracies, offers us an example of misunderstanding the realities, of artificial opposition of the state to society and the individual, postulating that socialism would be characterized by a hypertrophy of the state to the detriment of the civil society (in this case, we are referring to those passages in the cited work in which the attacks on socialism involve the experience of building the new society).

As a characteristic of the functioning of our democratic system, the blending of the activity of the new working-class bodies for participation with that of the state bodies expresses the formation of democracy's "genetic mechanism" (the economic one, in this case) in methods of the action of a superstructural, state nature. At the same time, we have in mind in this regard not only the reflection of the objective conditions (economic ones, especially) but also the action of the state instances, characterized by an operational openness toward the vitality of worker self-management and by an overall responsibility to the whole populace for the way in and degree to which they implement the party's program and the plans for economic and social development.

One aspect of an essential nature in the blending of the widely socialized forms of working-class democracy with those corresponding to the functions of the state is the generalization of the continual control (of a worker type, in its essential makeup) over the initiation, preparation, adoption and implementation of all decisions (economic, political, cultural, educational and so on). As a supreme representative of the owners and producers, as an organizer of the common life of the people, of the socialist nation, the state is called upon to act with maximum responsibility in all directions of activity, collaborating directly with the masses of working people.

The providing of a broad framework for implementing the content of working-class democracy concerns the very essence of socialism. The participatory character of our democratic system, expressing the growing socialization of the activities in all material and spiritual fields, presupposed the institution and guaranteeing of a complex system of civil rights and duties whose sphere is essentially involved in any act of true democracy. In proportion to the accumulation of radical transformations in all areas of community life, this system has experienced, in our country, continual improvements, reflecting man's new social position in all of the processes of socialist development, his capacity as a conscious forger of history. This position, characterized by indicators with an essentially socialist content, is defined in the basic legal document--the Constitution of the Socialist Republic of Romania. The basic values of socialist democracy, grouped around the unity of essence between right and duty, between the consciousness of freedom and that of responsibility, which has its ontic basic in the new historical reality of socialism, are contained in the constitution, in the whole existing normative and legal framework.

Through its own characteristic processes, the socialist order of life--defined as such in the country's laws--has also generated the institutional and public means needed for continually respecting in practice the basic rights and liberties of the citizens. The organization and management of society have thus found, in the legislative provisions, not only an expression of the humanistic content of state activity but also the means of continual improvement through the direct democratic participation of the masses in all economic, social, political and cultural activity, both within the economic and social units and in the sphere of civic relations, under all circumstances of community life.

#### The Democratic System--a Factor in Multilateral Development

One essential aspect of the democratic organization and management of our society is that of the affirmation of the Communist Party's role as a vital center of all the processes that occur in society along the line of the lawlike accomplishment of socialist development. Leadership by the party--which has a profound historical legitimacy and is instituted as an objective necessity--presupposes a continual molding and functionalization of the institutional factors that the system of state organization contains in itself. The Romanian experience of building the new society shows that the combining of leadership by the party (on the basis of a broad historical perspective, thus on a strategic plane) with the operational and executive system of the state (thus on a predominantly tactical plane) represents a dominant trait of the organization of our society.

Socialism creates, in fact, for the first time in history, the conditions for the affirmation of a superior political model that combines party activity with state activity in a dialectical manner, giving them the direction of progressively opening up toward the vitality of life, toward the experience of the masses. The sphere of the political itself thus entails considerable qualitative changes: it is no longer a "concentrated expression" of just the economic, but also of the dynamics of democratic participation, of the growth of the value content and of the functionality of the socialist consciousness. The formation of a new table of values, within which the political ones find a separate place, has led and is leading to an axiological homogenization of society, to the accumulation of a vast field of spiritual premises of development. Between the political, legal, ethical, educational and cultural there is instituted a complex range of interdependences, of channels of communication, which cause the preeminence of the political to be exercised more and more by virtue of the attributes specific to the people's power in society, that is, the attributes of real democracy.

All of these things demonstrate the idea--stressed in the party documents and in Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's work--according to which, under socialism, as a new practice of democracy is crystallized, the political leadership of society is exercised not only on behalf of power as such but also as a system of action based on the profound dynamics and dialectics of economic and social life. Leadership acquires, progressively, a broader and broader mass basis, processes and expresses the characteristic tendencies of the realities, is always molded in relation to them. Consequently, the very principles that guide it (including, with priority, that of democratic centralism) acquire new

meanings, are enriched in content, become ever more receptive to the immanent requirements of the revolutionary process. In order to be efficient, leadership must respond, in terms of decisions, to the deepest interests and aspirations of the people. But this is only one aspect of the problem. The other is found in the necessity of directly attracting the people themselves into the democratic exercise of rights and liberties, of duties and obligations. Consequently, the democratization of social relations constitutes a premise and condition for efficient leadership, as a generative mechanism of the new quality that the political factors as such acquire.

This field of dialectical interdependences between the management of society and the accomplishment of the democratic act can be synthesized in the expression "a generalized political practice of the social learning of democracy," an expression that conveys the real situation and the human direction of the process of democratization of our socialist society.

The assimilation of the principles and values of democracy into the structure of social action thus appears to us not as an abstract offer made to the people but as an effective practice, as a continual "conquering" of the field of historical realities--at bottom, as a revolutionary process, springing from the inner vitality of our socialist society. At the same time, continually learning to participate democratically in social life, the working people find in the system of political leadership the essentially open factors, without any sort of privilege or discrimination, for their own social expression. It is essential for us to observe, in the context of ideas with which we are dealing, that, multiplying the forms of democratic participation on all levels of social action, socialism is developed predominantly as an effective institution of the real practices that give a growing content and quality to these forms. The priority character of the content is a characteristic, distinctive trait of the democratic organization and management of our socialist society. Of course, the construction of this practice of the real content presupposes the operational analysis and treatment of the contradictions of development, the discerning of the crucial aspects of the different particular actional systems, the raising of the degree of conscious involvement of the social groups and the individuals, the wide stimulation of social initiative.

Socialism possesses the most complex resources for turning the real content of democracy into a factor in multilateral development, for profoundly involving the democratic act in the general strategy of progress. Consequently, being essentialized continually, the practice of working-class, revolutionary democracy differs radically--and, from this viewpoint, in a manner complementary to the above-mentioned--from petty politics, from any form of voluntarism, from the procedures of rigid statism, from administrative overproportioning of the economic and social processes. The tendential result of its development is that of concentrating all the forces of the nation in the direction of opening up a wide field of action for the laws of the historical evolution of socialism, in the prospect of the transition to communism.

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ROMANIA

ROLE OF NATIONAL, INTERNATIONAL INTERESTS IN MODERN WORLD

Bucharest ERA SOCIALISTA in Romanian No 18, 25 Sep, No 19, 10 Oct 85

["The Dialectics of the National-International Connection in the Contemporary World," a discussion with Alexe Andris, Victor Duculescu, Elena Florea, Marin Nedelea, Ion Rebedeu, Calin Vilsan, and Marin Voiculescu.]

[25 Sep pp 32-35]

[Text] As a historical-social category on which the revolutionary concept of life and the world has focused special attention, the nation is a motive force of socioeconomic and political development and an important factor of progress in the contemporary world, a world marked by deepening mutual dependence and mutual relations in many areas among various states and peoples.

Proceeding from this reality, our party and the theoretical work of its secretary general, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, deal in a profoundly scientific and consistently revolutionary manner and from the positions of dialectical and historical materialism with the role of the nation and the dialectical national-international connection in contemporary development and in the process of the socialist revolution and construction. Correctly understanding this connection and the relationship between the progressive national interests of each people and international relations, and resolving the problems generated by such interests in accordance with the precepts of the revolutionary theory are two of the basic requirements of ideological work and of enriching social theory and practice.

In our country, the social sciences are concerned with elucidating in depth the subject of the nation and its role, and the general-particular and national-international equations in the contemporary world from the positions of dialectical and historical materialism and scientific socialism, and in the light of the revolutionary activities of the RCP and its ideological program.

The present discussion, attended by University Lecturer Dr. Alexe Andris, University Lecturer Dr. Victor Duculescu, Dr. Elena Florea, University Professor Dr. Marin Nedelea, University Professor Dr. Ion Rebedeu, University Lecturer Dr. Calin Vilsan, and University Professor Dr. Marin Voiculescu is designed to tackle certain current problems, the theoretical significance and practical implications of the role of the nation, the dialectical connection

between national and international, and the manysided assertion of nations and national states in the light of the socialist system, the world international process, and the new trend in the development of the contemporary society.

#### A Profoundly Significant Dialectical Relationship

--Ion Rebedeu: Within the fertile framework of the creative spirit of approaching the aspects of building socialism, initiated 2 decades ago by the ninth party congress, our party, with the decisive contribution of its secretary general, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, has boldly reconsidered and clear-sightedly and with revolutionary daring developed, in accordance with the realities of the contemporary world, the Marxist theory concerning the nation, its role and the role of the national state and values in the socialist and communist development of the society, the viability and vitality of the nation as a motive force of social progress, and the significance of state independence and sovereignty and of national interests as factors of assertion and free development of the peoples and of ensuring a fruitful cooperation among the nations of the world, on the basis of equality and mutual respect.

Our party's philosophy on the role of the nation as an activating force of contemporary progress and on the national-international connection is based on the materialist-dialectical approach to the relationship between material and economic factors on the one hand, and intellectual and cultural factors on the other, which structure the general configuration of the nation in the contemporary world. Thus, the nation constitutes an important factor of social development because the intellectual and psychosocial values that give it its characteristics and specific social traits--such as, for example, awareness of a community of origin and historical destiny; patriotism, as an expression of the individual's identification with the basic interests and aspirations of the nation; love for the fatherland and people; appreciation of traditions; awareness of specific national traits; national dignity and pride, etc.--are a very important form of social mobilization and of enthusiastic, responsible, and creative involvement of the masses in economic, cultural, and scientific development.

History clearly demonstrates this fact. Even in the capitalist society, split as it is into antagonistic classes, the nation is still an active factor due to the characteristics that set it apart, although there these characteristics are capitalized upon differently by the various social classes. And the principle is even more true of the countries that, after World War II, embarked along the road of free development, and for which defending and strengthening independence, sovereignty, and national interests, and the struggle against colonialism and neocolonialism, and for social progress, constitute vital objectives.

In our socialist society, by eliminating exploitation and crystallizing the community of interests of all the social classes and categories on the fundamental aspects of socioeconomic development, we have created real conditions for increasingly asserting the nation as a decisive factor of progress. National consensus--one of the essential results of the era opened up 20 years ago by the ninth congress, and one of the defining traits of our

current development--is a revealing expression of the unity of thinking, feeling, will, and action of all our people, of the unanimousness with which all the citizens support the policy of the party, and of the realization that only by implementing this policy and the principles and values of socialism can our socialist nation assert itself. It also eloquently highlights the scope, strength, and importance of socialist patriotism and national awareness, greatly shaped by the revolutionary, socialist humanism and by the values of socialist ethics and equity and of the new workers-revolutionary democracy.

--Marin Nedelea: Indeed, our party's documents and the great theoretical work of its secretary general have played a decisive role in wielding and raising to a higher level--in the new social-historical conditions--the rich traditions of the Romanian political system on the issue of the nation and the national state, national independence and sovereignty, and the national-international connection. They have also made a noteworthy and widely recognized contribution to enriching the Marxist theory of the nation and national relations, and to asserting the policy of defending national freedom and independence as one of the decisive requirements of contemporary social progress, peace, and international cooperation.

Particularly fertile from both theoretical and practical viewpoints, and engendering extensive positive consequences for developing the socialist construction in Romania, have been the guidelines formulated by the party secretary general, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, on bolstering the nation and its unity and cohesion, defending national interests, and developing the new traits of the nation in the conditions of socialism, the organic unity between the interests of the workers class and of all working people and the national and general interests of the Romanian socialist state, the role of national pride and revolutionary, socialist patriotism for speeding up the country's progress along the path of socialism, and the need to strengthen the unity and brotherhood of all the working people, regardless of nationality, simultaneously with promoting international solidarity.

--Calin Vilsan: Correctly understanding the national-international relationship is particularly important for successfully building a socialist society and for the victorious struggle of international revolutionary and progressive forces for peace, independence, cooperation, and progress. The national and the international are categories of the objective process of development characteristic of a society divided into nations, among which there is a great unity. Since it is expressed through nations, international life cannot exist outside of them and cannot develop unless all the nations develop. Thus, the richer the national life and the more developed the political, economic, and cultural life of a people, the richer and more complex the international life.

The theses according to which contradictions are generated between national and international interests by the trend to national independence, are completely unfounded. Such ideas stem from an overrating of the international factor and underrating of the national one, erroneously viewed by some political scientists as "transient," "derived," or "partial," and thus of a "lesser" importance than the international factor. Equally inconsistent are

the theses that describe the defense of national interests and concerns with asserting one's own nation and its free and independent development, without any foreign interference, as "nationalism." But national independence cannot and must not be identified with nationalism, just as international solidarity cannot be viewed as dependence. A genuine and enduring international solidarity can only be achieved on the basis of equality of rights among all the nations. The independent development and progress of each socialist nation not only do not contradict the interests of international cooperation and solidarity, but on the contrary, are a fundamental condition for strengthening their force and for increasing the prestige and influence of socialism in the world. The wealth of experience gained by both our country and the other socialist countries categorically disproves the viewpoints according to which concerns with the development of one's own nation and with defending national independence and sovereignty constitute a "deviation" from Marxist-Leninist policy. Such theses distort the contents of the idea of nationalism, quite mistakenly using it to describe not those who exploit and oppress other nations, violate the interests of other people, and interfere in their internal affairs, but those who defend national independence and sovereignty, and the dignified and free assertion of each nation. According to the Marxist philosophy, the state, as the main political instrument of social-political development of a country, expresses both national class interests, and international interests. Thus, the national and the international--categories of the objective process of social-historical development--must be viewed as an organical, inseparable unit.

One of the salient traits of our party's policy of building the new system is the harmonious and consistent blending of national and international interests. The entire history of our party shows that its activities have been and are now put at the service of the people, of the socialist revolution and construction and, at the same time, at the general service of socialism and peace in the world.

--Alexe Andris: The unity between national and international is an inseparable unity, within which neither of the two categories can be subordinated to the other without impairing both the cause of socialism in one's own country, and the cause of socialism in general. The failure to correctly understand the dialectical connection between national and international interests sometimes generates theses in support of subordinating national interests to international ones. Life proves that it is in the interests of each socialist nation to fully develop through its own efforts, simultaneously using the opportunities offered by extensive cooperation with the other socialist countries, and with all the other countries of the world, regardless of social system. Thus, only by correctly and efficiently asserting national interests can one truly serve international interests. At the same time, full compatibility between progressive national interests and international interests implies strict respect for the interests of each country, and eliminating mistrust and any obstacles from the path of cooperation and understanding among nations. By resolutely acting to defend the people's national interests, the RCP does not harm the interests of other nations, but on the contrary, it promotes these interests in close, permanent, and harmonious correlation with the vital interests of all the peoples and nations of the world.

--Calin Vilsan: Along this line, we must stress the importance of correctly grasping the relationship between national and international for the revolutionary struggle and for asserting a new unity and solidarity in the international communist and workers movement. As is known, the communist and workers parties carry out their activities amid vastly different social-political conditions, and that requires--as an objective requirement of the revolutionary struggle--that their strategies be in keeping with the specific situation prevailing in each country, with national and historical particularities, etc. Thus the inalienable right of each party to independently map out its political line and its revolutionary strategy and tactics and to act autonomously, in accordance with reality requirements, both in the struggle to remove the old system, and in the struggle to build socialism and communism.

Our party's documents consistently emphasize the thesis that the development of relations of cooperation among all communist and workers parties, which is an essential necessity for uniting all progressive and anti-imperialist forces, demands resolute endeavors to achieve a new unity, a unity in diversity, based on the principles of full equality of rights, noninterference in the domestic affairs of other parties, respect for the independence of each party and for its right to independently work out its internal and international policy. At the same time, the cause of the struggle to rejuvenate the society and to achieve the transition to socialism requires, as RCP Secretary General Nicolae Ceausescu has stated, "that the diversity of political tactics and strategies should not lead to opposition among parties, to negating experiences and methods verified in practice, and to rigid support for dated concepts, issued in certain specific conditions. No party can be forcibly told what methods to follow, but, at the same time, no party can expect to impose its line on others. This is precisely the meaning of the new, truly revolutionary, and creative spirit of the relations of mutual esteem and respect on which to base the solidarity of the revolutionary forces and the new unity of the communist and workers movement."

--Marin Nedelea: One of the essential theoretical and practical problems urgently raised by the very development of the contemporary world, about which I would like to talk, is that of the relationship between class and nation, social and national, and class interests and national interests. The close linkage and dependence noted in the world in the past 50 years between national and social liberation struggles fully attest the topicality of this issue and the need to correctly understand it, not only in order to explain the recent past, but also in order to formulate new conclusions on foreseeable future developments.

As reality shows, the social liberation, class, and national liberation struggles are similar phenomena in their essence, and that is why they naturally complement and support each other. This is plainly evident in the world: the national liberation struggle against fascism paved the way for popular and socialist revolutions in several countries, and they in turn facilitated the launching and victory of the anticolonialist struggle and the establishment of new independent states throughout most of the world. Thus, there is no objective reason to separate them and to oppose between them the social and national, class struggle and struggle to assert the nation and its

independence and sovereignty. Failure to understand this truth, or attempts to subordinate one phenomenon to the other, to ignore one or the other of the two processes, or to preempt them lead to generally weakening the progressive forces of the society. All history shows that the interests of the struggle for social liberation can never be divorced from the general national interests and opposed to them, and cannot be met by sacrificing national interests, in the absence of national independence and sovereignty.

In our times, endeavoring to decide which of the two phenomena--the class and the nation, the social or the national--is more important, establishing a hierarchy and thereby predicating the attitude toward them on the ensuing hierarchy, would be sterile, antidialectical theoretically, and an obstacle in the path of the unity and joint actions of all the forces of social progress; it would mean consciously ignoring the enormous demiurgic and revolutionary potential of one or the other of the two fundamental motive powers of this era.

--Alexe Andris: The deep qualitative changes that have occurred in the development of the Romanian nation on the path of socialism are reflected in the contents of its fundamental interests. For the first time in history, the vital interest of our nation to be fully sovereign in its own country and fully independent in its relations with the other nations and peoples, incorporates within it and is in organic unity with all the essential issues of Romania's progress and socioeconomic development stemming from the implementation of the objectives of the socialist revolution and construction. Our people's vital interests include what is objectively necessary for the nation itself to be sovereign and to develop independently. To this contributes the essential fact that under the conditions of socialism it has become possible for the interests of the workers class, as the most progressive and the leading class in society, to include in their structure and contents, as organic component elements, such vital interests of the entire nation as defending the territorial integrity, independence, and sovereignty, and defending the sacred right of the people to develop their national economic complex, to cultivate their language and culture, and to ensure the victory of socialism and communism in their own country, in keeping with its specific conditions and particularities, and to have free and equal relations with the other nations and peoples.

--Victor Duculescu: Concerning our discussion on the relation between national and international, I would like to point out the importance of socialist, revolutionary patriotism as a contributing factor to strengthening the moral-political unity and activating the energies of the entire nation around the party. As Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu stressed at the 13th party congress, "In all our political-educational efforts to shape the new man we must focus on developing revolutionary-socialist patriotism, love of the homeland, responsibility for and attachment to the people and their revolutionary achievements, and determination to struggle and work to build socialism and communism, to continuously raise the material and cultural well-being of the people, and to defend Romania's revolutionary achievements, independence, and sovereignty." Educating the working people in the spirit of revolutionary patriotism is combined with asserting the spirit of international solidarity and of friendship with the socialist countries, with the peoples of the

developing countries, and with all the progressive forces which are in favor of peace, cooperation, and relations of equality among all the nations.

According to our party's philosophy, we must thus consistently blend patriotic and revolutionary education with asserting the spirit of solidarity and friendship with other peoples. In point of fact, there is a dialectical unity between these two aspects, because strengthening the socialist fatherland actively contributes to strengthening the powerful front of peace and progress in the contemporary world, while strengthening relations of solidarity with all the progressive forces of the world in the struggle for peace and cooperation permits the increasingly extensive assertion of our country in the world and the capability of the Romanian people to build a free and prosperous future in their homeland. As history makes it clear, patriotism is a powerful activating and mobilizing force in the nations' struggle for independence, sovereignty, and social progress.

Asserting patriotism and love of the homeland, and cultivating its history and progressive traditions have nothing in common--as we already said in our discussion--with bourgeois nationalism. As is known, bourgeois nationalism is an ideology that creates opposition among peoples, contests their right to develop freely and independently, and cultivates mistrust and hatred among them. While bourgeois nationalism is an ideology that divides the peoples and seeks to incite them one against the other, revolutionary socialist patriotism plays an important positive role. It channels the energies of all our homeland's sons toward implementing the common aims of progress and building the new society. The attributes of revolutionary patriotism constitute a perennial spring of concentration of the capabilities and aspirations, and of all that a nation has most valuable in the struggle to assert itself in the world, and for prosperity and progress.

The attributes of patriotism are extensively substantiated in our party's documents and in the theoretical work of the party secretary general. Almost 2 decades ago, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu had stated: "How would a people feel who did not know their past or history, and who did not value and honor this history? Would they not feel like a child who does not know its parents and who feels alien in the world? That is undoubtedly how they would feel, comrades. That is why we are dutybound to know and study the past and struggles of our people. We can be proud of our past. Our people managed to preserve their national identity in very difficult conditions. They were a factor of progress and civilization in this part of the world,, and they contributed to the progress along the path of a better life." There is no doubt that learning and understanding the revolutionary past of our people and their traditions of liberty and independence is one of the most important stimuli for tapping the enormous reservoir of energy inherent in national consciousness, and at the same time, for preserving the love for freedom and independence.

--Ion Rebedeu: In the Romanian socialist society patriotism and the patriotic revolutionary consciousness represent both awareness of our identity as a nation--an, implicitly, as individuals belonging to the nation with all the ensuing implications concerning attitude toward the historical past and toward the nation--and awareness of the need to make every possible effort to ensure

the socialist progress of the fatherland and to implement the decisions of the 13th congress.

Life demonstrates the erroneous nature of viewpoints that equate patriotism with nationalism, and efforts to ensure the many-sided socialist development of one's own nation, to defend national interests, and to defend national sovereignty and independence with narrow national interests, etc.

The concept elaborated by our party and its secretary general, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, on the nature, contents, and importance of socialist patriotism, and on the correlation between patriotism and revolutionary consciousness, between class interests and progressive national interests, between social and national factors, between socialist patriotism and international solidarity, and between the national and international in building a socialist society, constitutes, on the one hand, a brilliant program for shaping and developing a patriotic and revolutionary consciousness in all the working people and for educating them in the spirit of international solidarity, and for expanding the scope of patriotism as a motive power of our socialist future, and on the other hand, a theoretical Marxist answer of a great theoretical value and argumentative conviction to all "globalist," integrationalist, and assimilationist ideas that negate or underestimate the value of patriotic feelings, of national pride and dignity, and of national independence and sovereignty, or which try to provide a theoretical justification for subordinating national interests to alleged international interests.

In the years since the ninth congress, the idea that the supreme duty of the communists is to faithfully serve the nation and the people's vital interests has become the motto of Romania's socialist development. According to our party, the new system can be successfully built only in keeping with the realities, particularities, and implicitly, the national basic interests of each nation.

--Marin Nedelea: One of the social phenomena that has acquired particular scope in our era is international solidarity among peoples and nations, especially among the progressive forces. Contrary to the assertions of the "globalists" and of the various adversaries of the nation, who blame interstate contradictions and disputes and real problems in solving mankind's major problems on the existence of national states and on "national selfishness," international solidarity and cooperation have made important progress precisely at a time of assertion of national states and nations, on the basis of and in step with the realization and observance of their independence and sovereignty.

The objective basis of international solidarity and cooperation is the shaping of a single world economy, the contemporary requirements of the international division of labor, increased mutual dependence in economic and other areas, and the need to unite the states' efforts to defend their legitimate interests, independence, and sovereignty. This requirement and direction of development, which is increasingly clearing a path for itself at present in international relations in general, was felt and intimated earlier and more acutely by the workers class and its revolutionary parties, which developed the ideology and policy of international solidarity of the workers movement,

as one of the mainsprings of the force and effectiveness of its revolutionary actions. Implementing this behavior principle in the area of interstate relations, the socialist countries and the other states that act along this line are making a great contribution to the world spread of the progressive experience of the workers class and of other advanced social forces, and to utilizing it in the interests of all mankind.

Continuing to remain one of the inherent requirements of solidarity among the advanced and progressive forces, international solidarity and cooperation are increasingly being recognized as a major tool of uniting--on the basis of and through respect for the national-statal entities and their interests--the efforts made to eliminate obstacles from the path of achieving the great potential for material and cultural progress offered by the current level of industrial production, science, and technology. This imparts a new quality and scope to the international solidarity of progressive forces and more broadly legitimizes the finality of this solidarity, discrediting the slanders of reactionary forces and narrow interpretations of its forms and manifestations.

As an effect of the new realities, international solidarity and cooperation in various areas, at both interstate level and among social forces and organizations, can be achieved only through careful consideration of national and statal delimitations, and of the consequences stemming thereof for their contents and forms.

--Calin Vilsan: Proceeding from the great, revolutionary social and national changes that impose the diversification and expansion of the social forces struggling for progress, our party believes that international solidarity acquires new and extensive dimensions, including unity and cooperation with all the socialist countries, communist parties, social and social-democratic parties, government parties in the developing countries, national liberation movements, the nonaligned movement, anti-imperialist forces of peace and progress everywhere, and practically with all the peoples and states that promote peace, democracy, and independence.

Our party resolutely bases international solidarity on the principles of equality and respect for the autonomy of each social force in the struggle for progress. "We view the concept of international solidarity," Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu stated, "within the context of the great revolutionary changes that have occurred in the world, which make it incorporate both the unity of the socialist countries and communist and workers parties, and support for the national liberation movements, the struggle against imperialism, colonialism, and underdevelopment, and the struggle for forging a new world order, for achieving disarmament, and for enforcing respect for each people's right to be masters of their fate."

For our party and state, militant solidarity with the other progressive forces of the world is one of the major, dominating components of the organic unity between building socialism in one's own country, and the entire rejuvenating world process, and an essential element of the unity between national and international.

[Text] The Dialectical Correlation Between Independence and Interdependence

--Alexe Andris: One fact that does not even need to be proven any longer is that international relations of interdependence and the international division of labor are currently deepening, particularly because of the scientific-technical revolution, constituting, as has been said here, an objective historical process. This process was highlighted already by Karl Marx, who noted: "The place of the old needs, met by the products of the respective country, is being taken by new needs, which require products from the most remote countries ... Local and national isolation and meeting requirements with one's own products are being replaced by international exchanges and mutual dependence among the nations of the world. And this is valid for both material, and intellectual production." In the past decades, this interdependence has acquired unprecedented scope. However, as Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu stressed, interdependence "must not lead to dependence; it must materialize in the potential of each country--thus, the small and medium size ones, too--to participate, in the forms they consider useful, in various cooperation ventures with other states, and to independently decide on their development. Thus, the limit is set at the point where interdependence may turn into dependence, something that would in fact mean the loss of national independence."

The process of deepening interdependence and growing world problems do not cancel the need for independence of the nations and states, do not come into conflict with it, but on the contrary, they assume it implicitly. Without independence there would be no efforts on the part of each nation and each state as a basic factor of progress. The entire historical evolution of the human society demonstrates that development is an endogenous process, and not an imported product, a process that may be encouraged or impeded, but is not determined by international factors. Naturally, such a process can be successful only within a national framework, structured in keeping with the needs, potential, and aspirations of each nation, and it requires original approaches and solutions.

--Marin Voiculescu: It is no secret that many of the contemporary non-Marxist orientations accept the existence of the national state as a de facto subject of contemporary history and consequently, international relations as relations among sovereign states. However, "globalized state interdependence" is invoked in order to arrive at the conclusion that in these conditions, independence and sovereignty can be only "limited" or "relative." The dissociation of the nation in relation to the state thus becomes a sui-generis "argument." The belief that emerges is that the state is allegedly the subject of absolute sovereignty (subject of internal and external conflicts), while the nation is only the subject of independence. The nation is dissociated from the state in the idea that, as a distinct social-cultural entity, it is the bearer of independence in relation to the other nations, while the sovereign state is slated to disappear. However, historical realities show that interdependence does not exclude, but on the contrary, it presupposes independence, sovereignty, and equality of rights among all the states. A lasting and fruitful international cooperation can be developed only by respecting the

national interests of the peoples and basing the relations among all the states on the principles of national sovereignty and independence, and equal rights.

Strengthening national independence and sovereignty does not imply opposition to cooperation and to the process of deepening interdependence, just as expanding, developing, and diversifying international cooperation do not infringe on independence and sovereignty. In today's world, the right of each nation to develop freely and independently and to be the master of its national resources, and the unhampered access of each people to science and technology are a strong necessity, stemming from the objective laws of social-historical development, and defending national independence and sovereignty is an inseparable component of the general struggle for a qualitative change in international relations. "Life and events have shown," Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu stressed, "that nothing and no one in the world can stop the peoples from choosing a new path of free and independent development, and that any reactionary attempt to hold back peoples' progressive development is doomed to fail. That has been the case since the beginnings of mankind, as the history of social development attests, and that will always be so! That is why people must draw their conclusions and consistently proceed from the need to respect peoples' determination to choose their own path of independent and free development, as they wish it."

Naturally, interdependence makes for expanding relations of cooperation among sovereign and independent states, but precisely in order to develop successfully, this cooperation must be based on respect for national independence and sovereignty, and solutions must be devised to harmonize specific national interests, on the basis of equal rights, and never by subordination and domination.

--Alexe Andris: In a world in which all the large, medium-sized, or small countries, regardless of their level of development, economic potential, etc., are compelled to cooperate, in which even the most powerful and influential states cannot develop in isolation from the other countries without encountering serious difficulties in one area or another, it becomes necessary for the countries to give each other certain facilities. That, however, should not make some dependent on the most influential, but should permit the independent action of each nation. Mutual dependence among nations imposes renunciation of both isolation and dependence, being the only way to encourage the general progress of each nation, to eliminate the gaps among states, and to ensure a better and more just world.

--Victor Duculescu: In connection with that we should, in my view, dwell on the current role of international organizations and on the relationship between state independence and the activities of those organizations. As is known, the international organizations constitute forms of interstate cooperation, based on strict observance of the norms and principles of international law.

The West has tended and still tends to present integration organizations, such as the west European Common Market--which is an unquestionable reality--as an "alternative" to the system of sovereign nations and states. But the

experience of developments within the Common Market shows that even within such organizations national interests do not "dissolve" within general west-European interests. The conclusion is that national interests are far from having become a "spent" category, and that whatever the type of international organization which a state joins, national interests can never be underestimated or ignored.

Along this line, I believe it necessary to emphasize the special attention that our country attaches to cooperation with the CEMA socialist member states on the basis of respect for sovereignty and equality of rights. As Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu stated in his report to the 13th party congress, "Romania will resolutely act to implement the agreements on improving the CEMA activities, and to develop economic exchanges and production sharing. We will actively participate in coordinating plans, production specialization, and joint scientific-technical research, so that CEMA can play an increasingly important role in the socioeconomic development of the member states, in building socialism and communism, and in raising the well-being of our peoples." Our country's economic cooperation with the other CEMA socialist member states is based on strict respect for national interests and equality of rights, and is consistently aimed at forms and modes of cooperation that accord with the interests of all the partners and that can contribute to strengthening their national sovereignty and the economic potential of each socialist country.

--Marin Voiculescu: As has been demonstrated by historical experience, sovereignty and independence are inalienable attributes of each state--regardless of size, social system, or economic strength. There is no disagreement or conflict between expanding economic, scientific, or cultural cooperation among states--as a defining trait of contemporary international reality--and strict observance of national independence and sovereignty. On the contrary, the entire process of elaboration and implementation of the domestic and foreign policies of a given country constitutes a right, and at the same time an obligation for the respective state.

Our party's documents emphasize the need to develop broad international cooperation on the basis of respect for national independence and sovereignty. Stressing the universal value of these principles, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu pointed out that they are not subject to any transaction, and that the difference or community of social systems must not put into question these basic principle, in any form. On the contrary, precisely in order to assert a fruitful cooperation both among states with the same social system, and among states with different social systems, it is necessary to resolutely implement all those principles.

According to our country and to President Nicolae Ceausescu, the policy of asserting state sovereignty has nothing in common with isolation and seclusion. On the contrary, it is precisely the resolute promotion of such a policy that can ensure an increasingly extensive understanding and cooperation among peoples. In the spirit of this open-minded concept, Romania, as is well known, resolutely endeavors to achieve a broad cooperation in Europe and throughout the world, based on the principles of equality, national

independence and sovereignty, noninterference in internal affairs, and the right of each people to choose the social system they want. Our country consistently develops its friendship and cooperation with all the socialist states, expands its many-sided relations with the developing countries, and develops its ties with the developed capitalist states and with all the countries of the world, regardless of social system.

#### The Objective, Law-Governed Process of Asserting the Nation and the National State

--Ion Rebedeu: In the original spirit of materialist dialectics as a revolutionary method par excellence, boldly generalizing and projecting the new social experience of the world in which we live, the party secretary general, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu has considerably enriched the Marxist view of the nation with new and original theses.

Several of these theses are particularly relevant: the mission of the nation as a factor of progress, democratic renewal, and revolutionary changes; the specific place or "status" of the nation within social determinism not only--and not so much--as a "framework" of social development, but primarily as an activating force for historical processes, not only as an "object" of social influences and determination, but particularly as a historical subject, as a collective historical personality that leaves a significant mark on the society and its dynamics; the particular structural complexity of the nation, in which material and spiritual, objective and subjective, economic and cultural, psychological and linguistic elements interact together; understanding, and implicitly, defining the concept of nation within a much broader perspective than the traditional one, by highlighting national interests and will, the political organization of the nation in an independent and sovereign state, patriotism, national pride and dignity, etc., in a dialectical view of the determinism of the national phenomenon, particularly of the significance of national consciousness; closely relating the process of formation and development of the nation to the entire economic, political, spiritual-cultural, etc. history of the people, an act which necessarily requires sensitivity to the people's progressive traditions and utilizing these traditions from the viewpoint of the socialist ideals of the nation, and so forth.

Here I would like to stress the fact that currently it is possible to analyze the specific spiritual national traits in a broader and more generous perspective, thanks to the many theses of a particular theoretical and methodological value included in party documents and especially in Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's work. These theses refer to the psychological makeup of the Romanian people and their national characteristics. Along this line, the party secretary general mentioned the need to develop "those moral virtues that we wish to inculcate in each citizen and that the Romanian people possess in their very mental structure," and the fact that the inhabitants of this land "preserved and developed specific common traits, giving birth to the Romanian nation in the course of the centuries..."

The opponents of Marxism often claim that Marx and Engels did not take into consideration the psychological factors of social life. On this basis, some of them suggest the need to "unite" Marxism with various psychological theories. In reality, the Marxist-Leninist classics not only did not ignore or underestimate the role of social psychology, but they even noted the presence of psychological traits specific to the various nations, and highlighted their role in the life and history of certain European peoples. In "Draft for a Speech on the Irish Problem, that was Never Delivered," Marx includes a point entitled "National Character. The Influence of the European Movement and English Phraseology." In many works by Marx and Engels one encounters expressions such as: "the English national character," "the Irish national character," "German national particularities," "the particular traits of each people." Engels notes that the "English national character" is "essentially different from both the German and the French" character. In the "Holy Family" we find the well-known statement that "the difference between French and English materialism corresponds to the differences between the two nations. The French have given English materialism spirit, flesh and blood, and eloquence. They gave it the temperament and grace that it lacked. They civilized it." In the introduction to the English version of "The Development of Socialism from Utopia to Science," Engels stressed that "the workers class is the bearer of the best traits of the English national character." In his turn, V.I. Lenin devoted great attention to national psychology. In the "Letter to S.G. Saumean," he asked: "Why do you refuse to grasp the psychological aspect, which is very important for the national issue?"

Although in the works of the founders of the revolutionary theory we read many theses and views, and many specific historical analyses concerning the psychological aspects of social and national life, we must add that later, the analysis of the psychological level of social reality--in close connection, of course, with the sociological level, which plays the decisive role--for a long time was assigned an entirely insignificant place in Marxist thinking, because of the wish to avoid psychological interpretations of phenomena. In our country, in recent years, on the basis of our party's theses and views, the issue of social and national psychology has been increasingly drawing the interest of researchers in various areas, particularly concerning national mentality and its relationship to the national consciousness and culture.

--Marin Nedelea: In order to understand in a truly scientific and objective manner the national phenomenon in the contemporary conditions, one must, of course, study without prejudice the national reality of each state, become thoroughly conversant with the diversity, and establish the overall, essential, and conceptual traits of the nation, its manifestations, and its operation.

From this viewpoint, both in our country and abroad, important positive contributions have been made to developing and expanding the Marxist concept of the national phenomenon, which currently constitutes a generalized international reality playing a primary role in the evolution of the contemporary world.

At the same time, a number of new facets of this issue have emerged or intensified in recent times, and they require a deeper theoretical analysis. I am referring, among other things, to national developments in the conditions of socialism; the specific shaping and assertion of nations in the newly independent states, established by peoples recently liberated from colonial domination; regional integration; the dialectical and objective interaction of independence and interdependence, and the need to forge a new world economic order and to base the relations among all the states on new principles.

From a theoretical, and particularly from a practical viewpoint, the issue of the relationship between nation and state has acquired a special importance in our times. In point of fact, the extensive use of this concept, by non-Marxist researchers, too, attests to the wide scope of the national phenomenon, which constitutes a telling and defining reality of the contemporary world.

As is known, the existing states of the world all have a national basis, although the specific forms of statal assertion of the nations are very varied. Thus, there are states with an homogenous national population; states in which one nation predominates, to varying extents, at the side of national minorities (cohabiting minorities) of varying size; binational states; multinational states, and finally, the phenomenon of one nation divided among several states.

While the first types have been more extensively studied, we are scientifically less familiar with the nation-state correlation in the case of multinational states. It is, however, evident that the evolution of multinational states, typical of certain areas of Africa in particular, raises a number of questions of an undisputable scientific significance in relation to the Marxist theory of the nation. At what stage of development are the component ethnic groups from the viewpoint of their becoming peoples and nations? Will nations be established in those areas upon homogenous or plurinational ethnical bases? What role will the existing state play in the continuation of this evolution?

All these questions attest to the need to expand the area of investigation and the scientific understanding of contemporary national phenomena, with a view to further noting and enriching the conceptual methodology, including the concept of the nation.

--Ion Rebedeu: The concern with dialectical flexibility and deterministic discernment in the study of the nation, designed to eliminate any simplifications and reductionistic, narrowly-economic or cultural-spiritual treatments, as well as a certain reserve in highlighting the value and significance of the national spirit, especially ethnic and national consciousness, and other elements which, at the same time, through and beyond class differences are known to unite, to a great extent, the interests and ideals, feelings and desires of the members of the nation, have created a situation in which the definition of the nation is sometimes either avoided, or stripped of theoretical relevance; one such definition states that the nation is "the form of existence of human communities at a certain stage of historical development." Undoubtedly, in view of the complexity of the nation, to define it by listing a certain number of traits or characteristics would be

exaggeratedly didactic, fall short of reality, and would thus not be entirely relevant. However, I do not think that it is or can be theoretically inconclusive to endeavor to arrive at the most exact definition by summarizing the essential without oversimplifying, simultaneously with a deeper and more coherent study of the specific traits of the nation, as a superior form of human community, and of the manner in which the capitalist and socialist social systems perceive it.

From the creative positions established by our party secretary general, the theoretical discussions designed to arrive at a definition of the nation have opened up new horizons in the understanding of the nation, have significantly expanded and deepened the perception of the nation, particularly the socialist nation, with not at all negligible implications at theoretical, political, cultural, and educational levels.

Nevertheless, I, too, believe that some of the definitions of the nation featured in textbooks and theoretical works still do not sufficiently capitalize on the innovative and substantial progress made in the theoretical elucidation of the nation after the ninth congress, and consequently, these definitions remain, in one way or another, derivations of the traditional understanding of the nation, and are marked by a certain oversimplification.

Among the causes that would explain, in my opinion, this situation, I would cite: the often unilateral emphasis put on the role of historical factors in the establishment of the nation (the transition from feudalism to capitalism) and insufficient consideration given to the deep historical roots of the nation and to the fact that the nation is the product of the entire history of a people; a certain overshadowing of one important circumstance, namely the fact that from its emergence, the nation was viewed as a privileged and polyvalent point of reference for the idea of progress in the modern society; the still limited and inconclusive theoretical study of the idea--essential for understanding the dialectics of the national phenomenon--that the nation exists and manifests itself as a historical subject; frequent underestimation of the role and significance of intellectual, cultural, and psychological-social factors, of national consciousness, and of national values for the existence and future of the nation; downplay of national interests as elements that crystallize and unite the members of a nation at an intellectual, and to a certain extent, social-political level. Evidently, there are other reasons, too. However, what I consider important is the awareness of the fact that, proceeding from the views featured in party documents, and without underestimating the real theoretical gains and meanings attained by Romanian scientific research, in view of the complexity of contemporary processes, the definition of the nation remains an open theoretical issue, subject to additional enrichment, restructuration, and reevaluation, with fertile consequences for an increasingly more appropriate understanding of its role in the contemporary world and its future prospects.

I also share the idea voiced here that the research devoted to the issue of the nation must focus more intensively on the specific processes that characterize the formation and assertion of nations and national states in the countries liberated from the colonial yoke after World War II, and on the elements that underline the aspect, dynamics, and historic role of the

socialist nations and the dialectical relationship between national and international.

--Elena Florea: In connection with research devoted to the nation, I think a few clarifications are in order.

Firstly, in contemporary Marxist thinking the concept of nation was and continues to be extensively discussed, analyzed, and developed precisely in relation to the traits and particularities of the national phenomenon in our times, and to the original processes of establishment of additional peoples as nations at the current historical stage in the evolution of human society. Interesting studies and books have been written on this subject, and many theoretical debates have been held. One can speak of a genuine "laboratory" in which contemporary Marxist thinking filters and reconstitutes, in the light of the realities of our times, many of the fundamental concepts with which it operates, including that of the nation. In my opinion, the elements of this concept and its meanings have been exposed to a series of elucidations, shifts of emphasis, and expansions imposed precisely by the need to explain, from the positions of the materialist-dialectical and historical philosophy, the specific traits and complexity of national processes. As is highlighted by the most recent gains of Marxist thinking, the concept of nation, with its component elements, is currently at such a level of development and clarification that it can serve as an efficient scientific tool for understanding the complexity of the contemporary national phenomenon and the extraordinary diversity of its forms of manifestation.

Neither can we ignore the fact that contemporary Marxism persistently dwells on the national liberation movement and the structural changes occurring in the life of the peoples who have shed the colonial yoke, appropriately and discerningly utilizing the concept of nation in order to explain the national processes launched after independence and the very process of establishment of these peoples as modern, independent, and sovereign nations, and pointing out some of its specific traits.

Naturally, Marxist thinking has by far not exhausted yet the study of the process of assertion of the new nations as an objective historical trend of the contemporary world. Continuous creative efforts are still needed to "melt down again" and reconstitute the concept of nation from contemporary positions, and there is an acute need for theoretical analysis and conceptualization of the national processes specific to the peoples who have recently won their independence, of the structural changes determined by socialism in the very structure and historical role of the nation, and of the specific evolution of the nation in the conditions of contemporary capitalism. Along this line, our party documents correctly stress that it is the duty of Marxist thinking--and of social science research in our country--to analyze and explain in depth the active role of the nation as a historical form of human community in the contemporary world, the qualitative changes that the nation is undergoing under socialism and in the process of advance toward communism, and the specific and original establishment of nations by recently liberated peoples in comparison with similar processes accomplished in Europe in past centuries.

--Ion Rebedeu: The role of the nation in the contemporary world and in the future, and the significance of asserting and consolidating the independence and sovereignty of national states cannot be properly understood unless the establishment and assertion of the nation and its aspect and structure in each country are perceived in close connection with the entire past struggles and work of the people, and with the long historical process, often marked by vicissitudes, in which the conditions ripened for the increasingly vigorous manifestation of the elements, processes, and traits that characterize the nation as a superior form of ethnic-social community.

In the period that has elapsed since the ninth congress, thanks to Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's exceptional theoretical contributions, we have resolutely eliminated the metaphysical, dogmatic, and oversimplifying approaches that on the one hand, essentially reduced the emergence of the nation to economic factors (the capitalist market), underplaying its deep historical roots and the manner in which it was forged by an extremely complex and long history, and on the other hand, effected a metaphysical rift between the capitalist and the socialist periods of existence of the nation, a fact which led to, among other things, underestimating national values and creating a narrow and simplistic view of socialist patriotism. In the light of the work of the party secretary general, the Romanian nation is the specific product and synthesis of the history of our people, and its ethnic-social, economic, territorial, linguistic, cultural, political, intellectual, psychological, etc. configuration can only be understood with the aid of history. In point of fact, the entire historical past of our people is mirrored in the national consciousness, in the socialist self-awareness of the Romanian nation, in the culture of our nation, and to a considerable extent, in the structural elements of the moral-intellectual makeup of our people.

One cannot understand the nature and dynamics of the nation without taking into consideration the specific forms of human community within the general framework of social determinism. While, for example, the people, as a form of human community, "operated"--with the relevant differences and particularities --under both slavery and feudalism, and the nation under both capitalism and socialism, it is evident that the form of human community cannot be immediately "deduced" and explained by economic and class factors and by social system, and that, consequently, a large number of factors contribute to the birth and development of the nation, and that the nation is relatively independent (but more so than other social elements) of the structural elements of social formation (capitalist or socialist), although the latter do significantly mark its structure and operation.

Obviously, between class relations (created essentially according to position in relation to the means of production) and the relations established among people as members of the same nation (on the basis of the community of origin, historical past, language, territory, economic life, culture, etc.) there are differences (each has its specific traits, although they are dialectically linked in social life) that cannot be ignored; hence, when analyzing social processes or historical periods, one cannot consider, for example, only those factors that concern class interests. Let us recall what the dogmatic implementation of the thesis of the "two cultures" in the capitalist society meant, as well as the idea that under socialism, culture is national only in

form and socialist in contents. Or what it would mean to reduce the variety of contradictions of the contemporary world to class contradictions only, ignoring the contradictions between poor and rich countries (which are evidently by far not divorced from the policy pursued by the colonial bourgeoisie in the course of centuries), between the newly independent countries and the neocolonialist policy promoted by imperialist circles, etc.

#### The Nation Under Socialism

--Alexe Andris: One of the most constructive ideas formulated by Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu in his report to the Ninth RCP Congress, which has been conclusively verified by life, is that "The development and growth of each socialist nation and each socialist state--equal, sovereign, and independent--is an essential requirement on which depend the strengthening of the unity and cohesion of the socialist countries and their increasing influence on mankind's advance toward socialism and communism." The entire experience gained by our country and by other socialist countries forcefully highlights the important role of the socialist nation and state for socioeconomic development and for advance along the path of material and intellectual progress.

The scientific analysis of contemporary developments shows that the nation and the state will for a long time to come remain the basis for the development of the socialist society. The assertion of the nation and the growth of the socialist state are in keeping with the objective requirements of social progress and of building socialism and communism.

--Elena Florea: One of the ideas promoted by our party and its secretary general refers to the fact that the victory of socialism in Romania radically changed the nature and role of the Romanian nation, by creating the conditions necessary for its ripening and full assertion as a socialist nation, and for its action as a primary factor of progress.

The qualitative changes occurring in the process of building the comprehensively developed socialist society contribute to raising our socialist nation to a higher level, marked by the emergence and assertion of superior traits, which define it only within the context of the new system. Among those traits are: increasing assertion of the leading role of the workers class; the action of the party as the vital center of the nation and of the entire society; social homogeneization as a fundamental factor of internal cohesion of the nation and of increasing unity of all the people around the party; development of the socialist, progressive consciousness of the working and all other people, characterized by socialist patriotism and international solidarity; active action of the state as the supreme representative and organizer of the common life of all the people and the entire nation, and as the upholder of the country's authentic interests, simultaneously with the development and perfecting of the system of workers-revolutionary democracy, and so forth.

Summarizing the contents and profound significance of the full assertion of the new traits acquired by our nation in the course of the revolutionary process, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu stated in his speech at the 1-2 June 1982

plenum of the RCP Central Committee that "The elimination of the division of the society into antagonistic, oppressive and oppressed, classes, the establishment of a socialist society, based on friendly classes inspired by the same goals and interests, and the uniform development of the production forces, of science, education, and culture, and of a new life and world outlook have fundamentally changed the character and role of the nation. We can confidently state that our nation has acquired superior characteristics, and has risen to a higher level within the process of building the comprehensively developed socialist society and advancing toward communism."

--Victor Duculescu: Along this line, I would like to dwell on the importance of the policy consistently promoted by our party after the ninth congress on the nationality problem, a policy that reflects great humanism and permanent concern for treating all Romanian citizens, regardless of nationality, with love, friendship, and understanding, and for directly and actively involving them in the great socialist construction. As Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu pointed out at the 13th party congress, "In our country we have solved the nationality problem once and for all, on the basis of the Marxist-Leninist concept and of the principles of scientific socialism, and we have ensured complete equality of rights among all the fatherland's citizens. Whatever our nationality or mother tongue, we are all sons of the same fatherland, we are all citizens of the Socialist Republic of Romania."

The humanitarianism of our party's nationality policy is primarily reflected in the fact that, in order to provide equal working and living conditions for all the citizens, great efforts have been made to more markedly develop the formerly backward counties. Significantly along this line, endeavors continue to greatly develop the production forces and to evenly distribute industrial and other socioeconomic facilities in all the counties and areas of the country, thus creating conditions to ensure the right to work of all the fatherland's citizens, regardless of nationality, and to permit all the working people to acquire the most advanced achievements of science and technology. Similarly eloquent are the figures that attest the increased participation of all Romanian citizens, regardless of nationality, in cultural and educational activities, and the implementation of the right to culture and education, and access to education and to scientific achievements. Simultaneously with these noteworthy achievements, all of the country's citizens are increasingly participating in the management of the society and in socioeconomic and political life.

In all these years, our party has consistently acted to establish a climate propitious to guaranteeing the rights of all the citizens, regardless of nationality, and has continuously emphasized the need to resolutely fight any manifestation of nationalism, chauvinism, and antisemitism, and any form of human debasement, which are alien to the revolutionary world outlook. At the 13th party congress, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu stressed that "We must do everything possible to strengthen the friendship and brotherhood among all the fatherland's citizens, regardless of nationality! Fighting chauvinism and nationalism is an integral part of the endeavors to shape the new man, the man with a progressive consciousness, conscious builder of socialism and communism!"

--Elena Florea: The RCP and its secretary general, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, have worked out and substantiated our own original strategy for solving the nationality problem in our country. The premise on which this strategy is based is that--as our experience and the experience of other countries, including developed ones, proves--equality cannot coexist with economic backwardness, which causes a low level of social, cultural, and scientific conditions, and of life in general. Therefore, uniformly and evenly distributing economic activities and educational, cultural, and health establishments throughout the country, developing the towns and villages, the production forces in general, and the formerly backward counties in particular, constitutes--as has been shown--the main prerequisite and the decisive factor for ensuring full equality among all the citizens, regardless of nationality.

The implementation of this strategy has yielded a decisive result for complete equality among all the working people, regardless of nationality: the establishment of material conditions capable of ensuring what many countries, including the most developed capitalist states, have yet to ensure: jobs for working people of all nationalities, and protection against unemployment; they can thus work permanently and earn permanently; they receive equal pay for equal work, without any discrimination; they can rest and care for their health; they have access to all educational levels and can study in the language of their choice, including their mothertongue; they can use their scientific and cultural-artistic talents in their own language; they have press and publications in their mothertongue; they can freely and equally participate in the organization and management of all socioeconomic activities.

All this tellingly proves that, as our country's president stressed, had we not industrialized the entire country, had we not built a balanced, uniform, and harmoniously developed national economy, had we not ensured the economic progress of all the areas and counties, with all the talk of equality, de facto inequality would have persisted. It is clear that any other approach to the nationality problem is unrealistic and can only damage the interests of the working people, because socioeconomic development is the decisive factor for ensuring full equality of rights among all those living and working in socialist Romania.

--Victor Duculescu: The fact that all the working people, regardless of nationality, have the widest rights and freedoms, while the party resolutely fights any equal rights violation, exposes as such the diversionist maneuvers and attempts of certain chauvinistic and irredentist circles abroad to put under question our country's nationality policy and to interfere in the internal affairs of socialist Romania under the pretext of "defending the rights" of Romanian citizens belonging to other nationalities. Such attitudes have no foundation in reality, and are only aimed at poisoning the relations among states and peoples and at undermining our socialist system. "The nationality problem," Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu stressed, "has been fully resolved in our country, and any attempt at diversion and at stirring up this issue can only cause disinformation among the respective individuals or peoples, and contribute to marring the relations among peoples and countries. We must resolutely repel the attempts of such foreign reactionary circles to

interfere in our internal affairs, and to misrepresent and distort Romanian realities."

[No 19, 10 Oct 85 pp 24-33]

[Text] The Dialectical Correlation Between Independence and Interdependence

--Alexe Andris: One fact that does not even need to be proven any longer is that international relations of interdependence and the international division of labor are currently deepening, particularly because of the scientific-technical revolution, constituting, as has been said here, an objective historical process. This process was highlighted already by Karl Marx, who noted: "The place of the old needs, met by the products of the respective country, is being taken by new needs, which require products from the most remote countries ... Local and national isolation and meeting requirements with one's own products are being replaced by international exchanges and mutual dependence among the nations of the world. And this is valid for both material, and intellectual production." In the past decades, this interdependence has acquired unprecedented scope. However, as Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu stressed, interdependence "must not lead to dependence; it must materialize in the potential of each country--thus, the small and medium size ones, too--to participate, in the forms they consider useful, in various cooperation ventures with other states, and to independently decide on their development. Thus, the limit is set at the point where interdependence may turn into dependence, something that would in fact mean the loss of national independence."

The process of deepening interdependence and growing world problems do not cancel the need for independence of the nations and states, do not come into conflict with it, but on the contrary, they assume it implicitly. Without independence there would be no efforts on the part of each nation and each state as a basic factor of progress. The entire historical evolution of the human society demonstrates that development is an endogenous process, and not an imported product, a process that may be encouraged or impeded, but is not determined by international factors. Naturally, such a process can be successful only within a national framework, structured in keeping with the needs, potential, and aspirations of each nation, and it requires original approaches and solutions.

--Marin Voiculescu: It is no secret that many of the contemporary non-Marxist orientations accept the existence of the national state as a de facto subject of contemporary history and consequently, international relations as relations among sovereign states. However, "globalized state interdependence" is invoked in order to arrive at the conclusion that in these conditions, independence and sovereignty can be only "limited" or "relative." The dissociation of the nation in relation to the state thus becomes a sui-generis "argument." The belief that emerges is that the state is allegedly the subject of absolute sovereignty (subject of internal and external conflicts), while the nation is only the subject of independence. The nation is dissociated from the state in the idea that, as a distinct social-cultural entity, it is the bearer of independence in relation to the other nations, while the sovereign state is

slated to disappear. However, historical realities show that interdependence does not exclude, but on the contrary, it presupposes independence, sovereignty, and equality of rights among all the states. A lasting and fruitful international cooperation can be developed only by respecting the national interests of the peoples and basing the relations among all the states on the principles of national sovereignty and independence, and equal rights.

Strengthening national independence and sovereignty does not imply opposition to cooperation and to the process of deepening interdependence, just as expanding, developing, and diversifying international cooperation do not infringe on independence and sovereignty. In today's world, the right of each nation to develop freely and independently and to be the master of its national resources, and the unhampered access of each people to science and technology are a strong necessity, stemming from the objective laws of social-historical development, and defending national independence and sovereignty is an inseparable component of the general struggle for a qualitative change in international relations. "Life and events have shown," Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu stressed, "that nothing and no one in the world can stop the peoples from choosing a new path of free and independent development, and that any reactionary attempt to hold back peoples' progressive development is doomed to fail. That has been the case since the beginnings of mankind, as the history of social development attests, and that will always be so! That is why people must draw their conclusions and consistently proceed from the need to respect peoples' determination to choose their own path of independent and free development, as they wish it."

Naturally, interdependence makes for expanding relations of cooperation among sovereign and independent states, but precisely in order to develop successfully, this cooperation must be based on respect for national independence and sovereignty, and solutions must be devised to harmonize specific national interests, on the basis of equal rights, and never by subordination and domination.

--Alexe Andris: In a world in which all the large, medium-sized, or small countries, regardless of their level of development, economic potential, etc., are compelled to cooperate, in which even the most powerful and influential states cannot develop in isolation from the other countries without encountering serious difficulties in one area or another, it becomes necessary for the countries to give each other certain facilities. That, however, should not make some dependent on the most influential, but should permit the independent action of each nation. Mutual dependence among nations imposes renunciation of both isolation and dependence, being the only way to encourage the general progress of each nation, to eliminate the gaps among states, and to ensure a better and more just world.

--Victor Ducelescu: In connection with that we should, in my view, dwell on the current role of international organizations and on the relationship between state independence and the activities of those organizations. As is known, the international organizations constitute forms of interstate cooperation, based on strict observance of the norms and principles of international law.

The West has tended and still tends to present integration organizations, such as the west European Common Market--which is an unquestionable reality--as an "alternative" to the system of sovereign nations and states. But the experience of developments within the Common Market shows that even within such organizations national interests do not "dissolve" within general west-European interests. The conclusion is that national interests are far from having become a "spent" category, and that whatever the type of international organization which a state joins, national interests can never be underestimated or ignored.

Along this line, I believe it necessary to emphasize the special attention that our country attaches to cooperation with the CEMA socialist member states on the basis of respect for sovereignty and equality of rights. As Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu stated in his report to the 13th party congress, "Romania will resolutely act to implement the agreements on improving the CEMA activities, and to develop economic exchanges and production sharing. We will actively participate in coordinating plans, production specialization, and joint scientific-technical research, so that CEMA can play an increasingly important role in the socioeconomic development of the member states, in building socialism and communism, and in raising the well-being of our peoples." Our country's economic cooperation with the other CEMA socialist member states is based on strict respect for national interests and equality of rights, and is consistently aimed at forms and modes of cooperation that accord with the interests of all the partners and that can contribute to strengthening their national sovereignty and the economic potential of each socialist country.

--Marin Voiculescu: As has been demonstrated by historical experience, sovereignty and independence are inalienable attributes of each state--regardless of size, social system, or economic strength. There is no disagreement or conflict between expanding economic, scientific, or cultural cooperation among states--as a defining trait of contemporary international reality--and strict observance of national independence and sovereignty. On the contrary, the entire process of elaboration and implementation of the domestic and foreign policies of a given country constitutes a right, and at the same time an obligation for the respective state.

Our party's documents emphasize the need to develop broad international cooperation on the basis of respect for national independence and sovereignty. Stressing the universal value of these principles, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu pointed out that they are not subject to any transaction, and that the difference or community of social systems must not put into question these basic principle, in any form. On the contrary, precisely in order to assert a fruitful cooperation both among states with the same social system, and among states with different social systems, it is necessary to resolutely implement all those principles.

According to our country and to President Nicolae Ceausescu, the policy of asserting state sovereignty has nothing in common with isolation and seclusion. On the contrary, it is precisely the resolute promotion of such a

policy that can ensure an increasingly extensive understanding and cooperation among peoples. In the spirit of this open-minded concept, Romania, as is well known, resolutely endeavors to achieve a broad cooperation in Europe and throughout the world, based on the principles of equality, national independence and sovereignty, noninterference in internal affairs, and the right of each people to choose the social system they want. Our country consistently develops its friendship and cooperation with all the socialist states, expands its many-sided relations with the developing countries, and develops its ties with the developed capitalist states and with all the countries of the world, regardless of social system.

#### The Objective, Law-Governed Process of Asserting the Nation and the National State

--Ion Rebedeu: In the original spirit of materialist dialectics as a revolutionary method par excellence, boldly generalizing and projecting the new social experience of the world in which we live, the party secretary general, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu has considerably enriched the Marxist view of the nation with new and original theses.

Several of these theses are particularly relevant: the mission of the nation as a factor of progress, democratic renewal, and revolutionary changes; the specific place or "status" of the nation within social determinism not only--and not so much--as a "framework" of social development, but primarily as an activating force for historical processes, not only as an "object" of social influences and determination, but particularly as a historical subject, as a collective historical personality that leaves a significant mark on the society and its dynamics; the particular structural complexity of the nation, in which material and spiritual, objective and subjective, economic and cultural, psychological and linguistic elements interact together; understanding, and implicitly, defining the concept of nation within a much broader perspective than the traditional one, by highlighting national interests and will, the political organization of the nation in an independent and sovereign state, patriotism, national pride and dignity, etc., in a dialectical view of the determinism of the national phenomenon, particularly of the significance of national consciousness; closely relating the process of formation and development of the nation to the entire economic, political, spiritual-cultural, etc. history of the people, an act which necessarily requires sensitivity to the people's progressive traditions and utilizing these traditions from the viewpoint of the socialist ideals of the nation, and so forth.

Here I would like to stress the fact that currently it is possible to analyze the specific spiritual national traits in a broader and more generous perspective, thanks to the many theses of a particular theoretical and methodological value included in party documents and especially in Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's work. These theses refer to the psychological makeup of the Romanian people and their national characteristics. Along this line, the party secretary general mentioned the need to develop "those moral virtues

that we wish to inculcate in each citizen and that the Romanian people possess in their very mental structure," and the fact that the inhabitants of this land "preserved and developed specific common traits, giving birth to the Romanian nation in the course of the centuries..."

The opponents of Marxism often claim that Marx and Engels did not take into consideration the psychological factors of social life. On this basis, some of them suggest the need to "unite" Marxism with various psychological theories. In reality, the Marxist-Leninist classics not only did not ignore or underestimate the role of social psychology, but they even noted the presence of psychological traits specific to the various nations, and highlighted their role in the life and history of certain European peoples. In "Draft for a Speech on the Irish Problem, that was Never Delivered," Marx includes a point entitled "National Character. The Influence of the European Movement and English Phraseology." In many works by Marx and Engels one encounters expressions such as: "the English national character," "the Irish national character," "German national particularities," "the particular traits of each people." Engels notes that the "English national character" is "essentially different from both the German and the French" character. In the "Holy Family" we find the well-known statement that "the difference between French and English materialism corresponds to the differences between the two nations. The French have given English materialism spirit, flesh and blood, and eloquence. They gave it the temperament and grace that it lacked. They civilized it." In the introduction to the English version of "The Development of Socialism from Utopia to Science," Engels stressed that "the workers class is the bearer of the best traits of the English national character." In his turn, V.I. Lenin devoted great attention to national psychology. In the "Letter to S.G. Saumean," he asked: "Why do you refuse to grasp the psychological aspect, which is very important for the national issue?"

Although in the works of the founders of the revolutionary theory we read many theses and views, and many specific historical analyses concerning the psychological aspects of social and national life, we must add that later, the analysis of the psychological level of social reality--in close connection, of course, with the sociological level, which plays the decisive role--for a long time was assigned an entirely insignificant place in Marxist thinking, because of the wish to avoid psychological interpretations of phenomena. In our country, in recent years, on the basis of our party's theses and views, the issue of social and national psychology has been increasingly drawing the interest of researchers in various areas, particularly concerning national mentality and its relationship to the national consciousness and culture.

--Marin Nedelea: In order to understand in a truly scientific and objective manner the national phenomenon in the contemporary conditions, one must, of course, study without prejudice the national reality of each state, become thoroughly conversant with the diversity, and establish the overall, essential, and conceptual traits of the nation, its manifestations, and its operation.

From this viewpoint, both in our country and abroad, important positive contributions have been made to developing and expanding the Marxist concept

of the national phenomenon, which currently constitutes a generalized international reality playing a primary role in the evolution of the contemporary world.

At the same time, a number of new facets of this issue have emerged or intensified in recent times, and they require a deeper theoretical analysis. I am referring, among other things, to national developments in the conditions of socialism; the specific shaping and assertion of nations in the newly independent states, established by peoples recently liberated from colonial domination; regional integration; the dialectical and objective interaction of independence and interdependence, and the need to forge a new world economic order and to base the relations among all the states on new principles.

From a theoretical, and particularly from a practical viewpoint, the issue of the relationship between nation and state has acquired a special importance in our times. In point of fact, the extensive use of this concept, by non-Marxist researchers, too, attests to the wide scope of the national phenomenon, which constitutes a telling and defining reality of the contemporary world.

As is known, the existing states of the world all have a national basis, although the specific forms of statal assertion of the nations are very varied. Thus, there are states with an homogenous national population; states in which one nation predominates, to varying extents, at the side of national minorities (cohabiting minorities) of varying size; binational states; multinational states, and finally, the phenomenon of one nation divided among several states.

While the first types have been more extensively studied, we are scientifically less familiar with the nation-state correlation in the case of multinational states. It is, however, evident that the evolution of multinational states, typical of certain areas of Africa in particular, raises a number of questions of an indisputable scientific significance in relation to the Marxist theory of the nation. At what stage of development are the component ethnic groups from the viewpoint of their becoming peoples and nations? Will nations be established in those areas upon homogenous or plurinational ethnical bases? What role will the existing state play in the continuation of this evolution?

All these questions attest to the need to expand the area of investigation and the scientific understanding of contemporary national phenomena, with a view to further noting and enriching the conceptual methodology, including the concept of the nation.

--Ion Rebedeu: The concern with dialectical flexibility and deterministic discernment in the study of the nation, designed to eliminate any simplifications and reductionistic, narrowly-economic or cultural-spiritual treatments, as well as a certain reserve in highlighting the value and significance of the national spirit, especially ethnic and national consciousness, and other elements which, at the same time, through and beyond class differences are known to unite, to a great extent, the interests and ideals, feelings and desires of the members of the nation, have created a situation in which the definition of the nation is sometimes either avoided,

or stripped of theoretical relevance; one such definition states that the nation is "the form of existence of human communities at a certain stage of historical development." Undoubtedly, in view of the complexity of the nation, to define it by listing a certain number of traits or characteristics would be exaggeratedly didactic, fall short of reality, and would thus not be entirely relevant. However, I do not think that it is or can be theoretically inconclusive to endeavor to arrive at the most exact definition by summarizing the essential without oversimplifying, simultaneously with a deeper and more coherent study of the specific traits of the nation, as a superior form of human community, and of the manner in which the capitalist and socialist social systems perceive it.

From the creative positions established by our party secretary general, the theoretical discussions designed to arrive at a definition of the nation have opened up new horizons in the understanding of the nation, have significantly expanded and deepened the perception of the nation, particularly the socialist nation, with not at all negligible implications at theoretical, political, cultural, and educational levels.

Nevertheless, I, too, believe that some of the definitions of the nation featured in textbooks and theoretical works still do not sufficiently capitalize on the innovative and substantial progress made in the theoretical elucidation of the nation after the ninth congress, and consequently, these definitions remain, in one way or another, derivations of the traditional understanding of the nation, and are marked by a certain oversimplification.

Among the causes that would explain, in my opinion, this situation, I would cite: the often unilateral emphasis put on the role of historical factors in the establishment of the nation (the transition from feudalism to capitalism) and insufficient consideration given to the deep historical roots of the nation and to the fact that the nation is the product of the entire history of a people; a certain overshadowing of one important circumstance, namely the fact that from its emergence, the nation was viewed as a privileged and polyvalent point of reference for the idea of progress in the modern society; the still limited and inconclusive theoretical study of the idea--essential for understanding the dialectics of the national phenomenon--that the nation exists and manifests itself as a historical subject; frequent underestimation of the role and significance of intellectual, cultural, and psychological-social factors, of national consciousness, and of national values for the existence and future of the nation; downplay of national interests as elements that crystallize and unite the members of a nation at an intellectual, and to a certain extent, social-political level. Evidently, there are other reasons, too. However, what I consider important is the awareness of the fact that, proceeding from the views featured in party documents, and without underestimating the real theoretical gains and meanings attained by Romanian scientific research, in view of the complexity of contemporary processes, the definition of the nation remains an open theoretical issue, subject to additional enrichment, restructuration, and reevaluation, with fertile consequences for an increasingly more appropriate understanding of its role in the contemporary world and its future prospects.

I also share the idea voiced here that the research devoted to the issue of the nation must focus more intensively on the specific processes that characterize the formation and assertion of nations and national states in the countries liberated from the colonial yoke after World War II, and on the elements that underline the aspect, dynamics, and historic role of the socialist nations and the dialectical relationship between national and international.

--Elena Florea: In connection with research devoted to the nation, I think a few clarifications are in order.

Firstly, in contemporary Marxist thinking the concept of nation was and continues to be extensively discussed, analyzed, and developed precisely in relation to the traits and particularities of the national phenomenon in our times, and to the original processes of establishment of additional peoples as nations at the current historical stage in the evolution of human society. Interesting studies and books have been written on this subject, and many theoretical debates have been held. One can speak of a genuine "laboratory" in which contemporary Marxist thinking filters and reconstitutes, in the light of the realities of our times, many of the fundamental concepts with which it operates, including that of the nation. In my opinion, the elements of this concept and its meanings have been exposed to a series of elucidations, shifts of emphasis, and expansions imposed precisely by the need to explain, from the positions of the materialist-dialectical and historical philosophy, the specific traits and complexity of national processes. As is highlighted by the most recent gains of Marxist thinking, the concept of nation, with its component elements, is currently at such a level of development and clarification that it can serve as an efficient scientific tool for understanding the complexity of the contemporary national phenomenon and the extraordinary diversity of its forms of manifestation.

Neither can we ignore the fact that contemporary Marxism persistently dwells on the national liberation movement and the structural changes occurring in the life of the peoples who have shed the colonial yoke, appropriately and discerningly utilizing the concept of nation in order to explain the national processes launched after independence and the very process of establishment of these peoples as modern, independent, and sovereign nations, and pointing out some of its specific traits.

Naturally, Marxist thinking has by far not exhausted yet the study of the process of assertion of the new nations as an objective historical trend of the contemporary world. Continuous creative efforts are still needed to "melt down again" and reconstitute the concept of nation from contemporary positions, and there is an acute need for theoretical analysis and conceptualization of the national processes specific to the peoples who have recently won their independence, of the structural changes determined by socialism in the very structure and historical role of the nation, and of the specific evolution of the nation in the conditions of contemporary capitalism. Along this line, our party documents correctly stress that it is the duty of Marxist thinking--and of social science research in our country--to analyze and explain in depth the active role of the nation as a historical form of human community in the contemporary world, the qualitative changes that the nation is undergoing under socialism and in the process of advance toward

communism, and the specific and original establishment of nations by recently liberated peoples in comparison with similar processes accomplished in Europe in past centuries.

--Ion Rebedeu: The role of the nation in the contemporary world and in the future, and the significance of asserting and consolidating the independence and sovereignty of national states cannot be properly understood unless the establishment and assertion of the nation and its aspect and structure in each country are perceived in close connection with the entire past struggles and work of the people, and with the long historical process, often marked by vicissitudes, in which the conditions ripened for the increasingly vigorous manifestation of the elements, processes, and traits that characterize the nation as a superior form of ethnic-social community.

In the period that has elapsed since the ninth congress, thanks to Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's exceptional theoretical contributions, we have resolutely eliminated the metaphysical, dogmatic, and oversimplifying approaches that on the one hand, essentially reduced the emergence of the nation to economic factors (the capitalist market), underplaying its deep historical roots and the manner in which it was forged by an extremely complex and long history, and on the other hand, effected a metaphysical rift between the capitalist and the socialist periods of existence of the nation, a fact which led to, among other things, underestimating national values and creating a narrow and simplistic view of socialist patriotism. In the light of the work of the party secretary general, the Romanian nation is the specific product and synthesis of the history of our people, and its ethnic-social, economic, territorial, linguistic, cultural, political, intellectual, psychological, etc. configuration can only be understood with the aid of history. In point of fact, the entire historical past of our people is mirrored in the national consciousness, in the socialist self-awareness of the Romanian nation, in the culture of our nation, and to a considerable extent, in the structural elements of the moral-intellectual makeup of our people.

One cannot understand the nature and dynamics of the nation without taking into consideration the specific forms of human community within the general framework of social determinism. While, for example, the people, as a form of human community, "operated"--with the relevant differences and particularities --under both slavery and feudalism, and the nation under both capitalism and socialism, it is evident that the form of human community cannot be immediately "deduced" and explained by economic and class factors and by social system, and that, consequently, a large number of factors contribute to the birth and development of the nation, and that the nation is relatively independent (but more so than other social elements) of the structural elements of social formation (capitalist or socialist), although the latter do significantly mark its structure and operation.

Obviously, between class relations (created essentially according to position in relation to the means of production) and the relations established among people as members of the same nation (on the basis of the community of origin, historical past, language, territory, economic life, culture, etc.) there are differences (each has its specific traits, although they are dialectically linked in social life) that cannot be ignored; hence, when analyzing social

processes or historical periods, one cannot consider, for example, only those factors that concern class interests. Let us recall what the dogmatic implementation of the thesis of the "two cultures" in the capitalist society meant, as well as the idea that under socialism, culture is national only in form and socialist in contents. Or what it would mean to reduce the variety of contradictions of the contemporary world to class contradictions only, ignoring the contradictions between poor and rich countries (which are evidently by far not divorced from the policy pursued by the colonial bourgeoisie in the course of centuries), between the newly independent countries and the neocolonialist policy promoted by imperialist circles, etc.

#### The Nation Under Socialism

--Alexe Andris: One of the most constructive ideas formulated by Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu in his report to the Ninth RCP Congress, which has been conclusively verified by life, is that "The development and growth of each socialist nation and each socialist state--equal, sovereign, and independent--is an essential requirement on which depend the strengthening of the unity and cohesion of the socialist countries and their increasing influence on mankind's advance toward socialism and communism." The entire experience gained by our country and by other socialist countries forcefully highlights the important role of the socialist nation and state for socioeconomic development and for advance along the path of material and intellectual progress.

The scientific analysis of contemporary developments shows that the nation and the state will for a long time to come remain the basis for the development of the socialist society. The assertion of the nation and the growth of the socialist state are in keeping with the objective requirements of social progress and of building socialism and communism.

--Elena Florea: One of the ideas promoted by our party and its secretary general refers to the fact that the victory of socialism in Romania radically changed the nature and role of the Romanian nation, by creating the conditions necessary for its ripening and full assertion as a socialist nation, and for its action as a primary factor of progress.

The qualitative changes occurring in the process of building the comprehensively developed socialist society contribute to raising our socialist nation to a higher level, marked by the emergence and assertion of superior traits, which define it only within the context of the new system. Among those traits are: increasing assertion of the leading role of the workers class; the action of the party as the vital center of the nation and of the entire society; social homogenization as a fundamental factor of internal cohesion of the nation and of increasing unity of all the people around the party; development of the socialist, progressive consciousness of the working and all other people, characterized by socialist patriotism and international solidarity; active action of the state as the supreme representative and organizer of the common life of all the people and the entire nation, and as the upholder of the country's authentic interests, simultaneously with the development and perfecting of the system of workers-revolutionary democracy, and so forth.

Summarizing the contents and profound significance of the full assertion of the new traits acquired by our nation in the course of the revolutionary process, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu stated in his speech at the 1-2 June 1982 plenum of the RCP Central Committee that "The elimination of the division of the society into antagonistic, oppressive and oppressed, classes, the establishment of a socialist society, based on friendly classes inspired by the same goals and interests, and the uniform development of the production forces, of science, education, and culture, and of a new life and world outlook have fundamentally changed the character and role of the nation. We can confidently state that our nation has acquired superior characteristics, and has risen to a higher level within the process of building the comprehensively developed socialist society and advancing toward communism."

--Victor Duculescu: Along this line, I would like to dwell on the importance of the policy consistently promoted by our party after the ninth congress on the nationality problem, a policy that reflects great humanism and permanent concern for treating all Romanian citizens, regardless of nationality, with love, friendship, and understanding, and for directly and actively involving them in the great socialist construction. As Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu pointed out at the 13th party congress, "In our country we have solved the nationality problem once and for all, on the basis of the Marxist-Leninist concept and of the principles of scientific socialism, and we have ensured complete equality of rights among all the fatherland's citizens. Whatever our nationality or mother tongue, we are all sons of the same fatherland, we are all citizens of the Socialist Republic of Romania."

The humanitarianism of our party's nationality policy is primarily reflected in the fact that, in order to provide equal working and living conditions for all the citizens, great efforts have been made to more markedly develop the formerly backward counties. Significantly along this line, endeavors continue to greatly develop the production forces and to evenly distribute industrial and other socioeconomic facilities in all the counties and areas of the country, thus creating conditions to ensure the right to work of all the fatherland's citizens, regardless of nationality, and to permit all the working people to acquire the most advanced achievements of science and technology. Similarly eloquent are the figures that attest the increased participation of all Romanian citizens, regardless of nationality, in cultural and educational activities, and the implementation of the right to culture and education, and access to education and to scientific achievements. Simultaneously with these noteworthy achievements, all of the country's citizens are increasingly participating in the management of the society and in socioeconomic and political life.

In all these years, our party has consistently acted to establish a climate propitious to guaranteeing the rights of all the citizens, regardless of nationality, and has continuously emphasized the need to resolutely fight any manifestation of nationalism, chauvinism, and antisemitism, and any form of human debasement, which are alien to the revolutionary world outlook. At the 13th party congress, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu stressed that "We must do everything possible to strengthen the friendship and brotherhood among all the fatherland's citizens, regardless of nationality! Fighting chauvinism and nationalism is an integral part of the endeavors to shape the new man, the man

with a progressive consciousness, conscious builder of socialism and communism!"

--Elena Florea: The RCP and its secretary general, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, have worked out and substantiated our own original strategy for solving the nationality problem in our country. The premise on which this strategy is based is that--as our experience and the experience of other countries, including developed ones, proves--equality cannot coexist with economic backwardness, which causes a low level of social, cultural, and scientific conditions, and of life in general. Therefore, uniformly and evenly distributing economic activities and educational, cultural, and health establishments throughout the country, developing the towns and villages, the production forces in general, and the formerly backward counties in particular, constitutes--as has been shown--the main prerequisite and the decisive factor for ensuring full equality among all the citizens, regardless of nationality.

The implementation of this strategy has yielded a decisive result for complete equality among all the working people, regardless of nationality: the establishment of material conditions capable of ensuring what many countries, including the most developed capitalist states, have yet to ensure: jobs for working people of all nationalities, and protection against unemployment; they can thus work permanently and earn permanently; they receive equal pay for equal work, without any discrimination; they can rest and care for their health; they have access to all educational levels and can study in the language of their choice, including their mother tongue; they can use their scientific and cultural-artistic talents in their own language; they have press and publications in their mother tongue; they can freely and equally participate in the organization and management of all socioeconomic activities.

All this tellingly proves that, as our country's president stressed, had we not industrialized the entire country, had we not built a balanced, uniform, and harmoniously developed national economy, had we not ensured the economic progress of all the areas and counties, with all the talk of equality, de facto inequality would have persisted. It is clear that any other approach to the nationality problem is unrealistic and can only damage the interests of the working people, because socioeconomic development is the decisive factor for ensuring full equality of rights among all those living and working in socialist Romania.

--Victor Duculescu: The fact that all the working people, regardless of nationality, have the widest rights and freedoms, while the party resolutely fights any equal rights violation, exposes as such the diversionist maneuvers and attempts of certain chauvinistic and irredentist circles abroad to put under question our country's nationality policy and to interfere in the internal affairs of socialist Romania under the pretext of "defending the rights" of Romanian citizens belonging to other nationalities. Such attitudes have no foundation in reality, and are only aimed at poisoning the relations among states and peoples and at undermining our socialist system. "The nationality problem," Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu stressed, "has been fully resolved in our country, and any attempt at diversion and at stirring up this

issue can only cause disinformation among the respective individuals or peoples, and contribute to marring the relations among peoples and countries. We must resolutely repel the attempts of such foreign reactionary circles to interfere in our internal affairs, and to misrepresent and distort Romanian realities."

--Ion Rebedeu: To that I would add the fact that the new scope and traits of our nation are also linked, in my opinion, to its status as a conscious historical subject, whose resources reside in its pronounced self-awareness, in the substantial osmosis between perennial national values and socialist ideals, and in the organic correlation between the lessons of history and the understanding of the objective laws of social development. All these are tellingly reflected in the ideology and policies of the party, characterized not merely by realism and scientific spirit, but also by receptivity to the enduring ideological and emotional crystallizations of the past Romanian consciousness. At the same time, the national consciousness--restructured on the basis of the revolutionary life outlook of our party and the socialist system of values, and considerably enriched in contents and influential potential by the great socioeconomic changes and by the practical political reality of self-government by the people in the specific forms of socialist democracy--constitutes a major element that vitalizes and continuously expands the socialist consciousness in its entirety, thus operating as an essential factor of increased political activism and social creativity by our nation.

Of a cardinal importance for the development of the revolutionary theory of the nation and its historical role is Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's thesis according to which the nation will continue to exist as a distinct and specific entity with its own traits under full communism, too, a thesis stemming from the materialist-dialectical and historical analysis of contemporary social and national realities and of the evolutionary trends of historical process, and providing a clear and mobilizing view of the future of the nation; at the same time, this thesis constitutes a substantive retort to the theories that state either that rapid scientific-technical progress and the "explosion" of economic and cultural exchanges among states will lead to the disappearance of the nation and of the particularities and differences between national communities, or that the development of socialism allegedly leads, as an "objective requirement"--as some foreign authors openly forecast--to the "fusing" and "assimilation" of the socialist nations. All these theories or viewpoints explicitly or implicitly proceed from a common and profoundly erroneous premise, namely that the nation, national traits and characteristics, and national interests were allegedly greater or smaller "obstacles" in the path of social progress and a source of mistrust, friction, and contradictions between states and peoples; in some cases, one encounters the absurd and profoundly retrograde idea that the nations, their existence, and particularly their concerns for independent and sovereign national development were "threatening" world peace.

In reality, humanity lives and will continue to live in diversity, and specific traits and variety act and must act as factors of rapprochement among nations, encouraging increasingly close cooperation and collaboration among peoples in all areas. Not the existence of nations impedes the development of cooperation and endangers peace, but on the contrary, the violation of

national interests and of statal independence and sovereignty, and interference in the internal affairs of other states. The current natural, necessary, and fruitful interdependences cannot and must not lead to subordination, they cannot and must not affect sovereignty. Basing the relations among all the states and nations of the world on new principles would lead to an extensive and fruitful cooperation among peoples, and to a natural and unforced rapprochement among nations, within the framework of respect for national characteristics, independence, and sovereignty.

--Marin Voiculescu: Experience shows that the free and independent development of the peoples, and the full assertion of the new and socialist nations constitute an enormous dynamizing and mobilizing force for the energies of the entire society in the struggle for the economic, scientific, and cultural development of each country, and for building socialism and communism. The nation and strengthening national independence are decisive factors of progress and of the future itself of communism in the world. Consistent with this profound understanding, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu stressed the greatly important idea that "having become the leading class in the society, the workers class has the noble obligation to defend the freedom of the fatherland and the people's independence and sovereignty, to do everything possible for the prosperity and well-being of the nation, and to ensure the building of the new social system, in keeping with the specific historical conditions and with the wishes of its own people. Neglecting the safeguarding of national independence and condoning the violation of the sovereignty of the people to whom the workers class and communist party belong, are synonymous, in the last analysis, with abdicating the revolutionary Marxist-Leninist principles and the mission entrusted by history to the communists, and with sliding down the path of cosmopolitanism and national nihilism."

--Elena Florea: The thesis that the basic historical tendency of the process of development of the socialist nations is toward "fusion" within a wider form of social community and toward amalgamation in "one alloy" projects the image of a "non-national humanity," resulting from a long "multilateral and general process of disappearance of the nation... bursting of national barriers, and eradication of national differences," a process whose prerequisites "are born already in the conditions of developed socialism," but which will be completed in "the era of the victory and assertion of communism throughout the world." Some of the theoreticians who support this line of reasoning add that "the new historical social and international communities" resulting from the fusion of the nations will in the beginning be established "within large countries and areas..." through the unification of "neighboring communities, especially related ones, into larger communities, and through the assimilation of all small nations and peoples which enter into the fusion process;" with the time, this process will spread throughout the world, resulting in "a single social and international community of the entire world."

The dialectical process of increasing closeness among the peoples and nations of the socialist world can in no circumstance be viewed as a process of "fusion" of nations, nor as a process of "assimilation" of small nations and peoples by large ones, but only as an organic process linked to and conditioned by the strong assertion of new and democratic relations of equity and equality among them. On the other hand, in view of the fact that

socialism, and communism in particular, provide the most favorable conditions for developing all the creative capabilities and forces of the nation, it is to be assumed that the nation and national state will continue to exist and will intensify their active role in the life of the society throughout this historical stage, which, of course, does not mean that they will become absolute values or eternal social phenomena. According to our party's concept, the future of the nation and of the national state is to be viewed from the historical perspective of the development of the production forces and the perfecting of social relations, the disappearance of social classes and categories, and the homogenization and shaping of a unified society of working people.

From this perspective, the assertion of the positive and constructive role of the socialist nation and national state has nothing in common with what some people describe as "the withdrawal of peoples inside their own shell," or with the so-called attitude that at present allegedly leads to the exacerbation of national factors and to the "minimalization of the processes of internationalization." The obvious conclusion is that both under socialism and under communism, humanity will develop within delimited national spaces, in different ways and amid an extraordinary diversity of conditions and situations, and that the fundamental elements of this historical stage remain the assertion of the nation as a type of human community and its increased role under the impact of the developments occurring in the internal life of the socialist countries and in the relations among them.

--Ion Rebedeu: According to our party, which consistently and manysidedly promotes the values of democracy and humanism, another totally unfounded idea is that the future of the nations should be judged and appraised in relation to their size. Lacking any scientific support and clearly in contradiction with moral values, this view of the prospects of the nations is far from providing encouragement for small and medium-sized peoples who are seeking a new path toward a society of social and national justice and equity.

--Alexe Andris: The social and national changes occurring in the world, the increasing assertion of socialism as the only viable alternative to the societies based on social and national inequality, decolonization and the formation of an impressive number of new independent and sovereign states, the contemporary scientific-technical revolution, the deepening interdependence among states, etc., are the reasons for the topicality and special importance of the development of each nation and each national state, and for the strong need to respect national independence and sovereignty and the right of each nation to sovereignly decide on its fate, to freely select its way of life, and to participate in solving world problems on an equal footing. In these conditions, the idea of a "fusion" of nations at the present stage in mankind's development is actually nothing but an utopic wish, without consideration for the realities and particularities of the historical evolution of nations and national states. Only the failure to understand the correlation between nation and social progress can engender such views, which fail to see, or underestimate, the fact that mankind's progress inescapably implies, before anything else, progress in all areas at a national level, and

that the internationalization of history--an objective process--will for a long time to come remain organically and dialectically linked to the forceful assertion of peoples' national experience.

The description of the nation as a historical category does not mean that it should be turned into an absolute value, but neither should its "disappearance" as a form of human community be proclaimed, nor should it be declared incompatible with the requirements of progress, because the role of the nation stems from the fact that the stage of development of the human society which needs a national framework of development has not yet ended. On the contrary, appearing in a variety of types and forms at varying stages of development, the nation, national interests, and the national state are increasingly asserting themselves on all the continents. Life verifies the truth that national values, independence, and sovereignty, and patriotic consciousness and feelings not only are not fading and ebbing, but are even increasing their mobilizing force and are being reflected in the growing aspirations of the peoples for asserting their own identity, for freedom, progress, and peace.

The entire historical development of the socialist nations demonstrates that the nation is still far from having ended its functions for progress, and that for a long time to come, including the period of building communism, the nations will continue to exist and to develop, actively contributing to expanding the material and intellectual heritage of world civilization and to humanity's advance toward communism through the development of economy, science, and technology, and through the achievement of enduring and genuine national values.

--Ion Rebedeu: Our party's view of the important role of the socialist nation as a moving force of social progress, of its forceful assertion, and of its many-sided development in the conditions of building the comprehensively developed socialist society and advance toward communism has equally little in common with the idyllic, triumphalist view of the future of the socialist nation, or with the interpretation of the blossoming of national life as a spontaneous or automatic reflex of the changes occurring in the material basis of the society. On the contrary, socialism, through the economic, social, and political changes that it engenders, creates the conditions for a genuine national reawakening, for the unimpeded assertion of the nation as a history-making subject, and for the conscious building by the nation, under the political leadership of the revolutionary party of the workers class, of its own future.

A primary role in the actual achievement of these prerequisites is played by the political factor, primarily by the party, which, by establishing appropriate structures, ensures fertile and stimulating grounds for the de facto manifestation of the nation's creative potential and capabilities and for the social mobilization force of socialist revolutionary patriotism, and provides the strategy for the timely and efficient solving of the contradictions, disproportions, or malfunctions that may appear in or among various elements of the social system and that may affect, in one way or another, the strengthening and development of the nation, its cohesion and force.

The merit of our party and of its secretary general, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, is to have boldly planned and consistently promoted, in the period opened up by the ninth congress, a policy that faithfully reflects the vital interests of the nation and of all the people, to have initiated the establishment of an extensive and original system for the direct participation of all the fatherland's sons in the management of the society and public affairs, and to have resolutely acted to improve all social relations on the basis of the values of revolutionary humanism and socialist ethics and equity. All these have been significantly reflected in the continuous strengthening of the unity and cohesion of our nation and of all the people around the party and its secretary general, in the trust with the working people implement the party policy, which they view as their own policy.

#### The Inconsistency and Harmfulness of "Internationalist" Strategies

--Alexe Andris: The role of the nation and of the national state at the present stage is also expressed by the capability of the national framework to ensure progress toward higher levels of civilization for all the peoples in developed or developing countries, to eliminate gaps, poverty, and underdevelopment, and to forge a world of peace and cooperation on earth. As RCP Secretary General Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu stressed, solving the major contemporary problems not only does not require the "overcoming" of the nation and of the sovereign national state, but on the contrary, presupposes an unprecedented assertion of those values. The current historical stage invalidates the bourgeois theories that try to demonstrate the "obsolete character" of the nation and of the independent and sovereign national state, marking the transition not from a "national" to a "non-national" or "supranational" humanity, but from dependence to independence and to full and real equality for all the states, regardless of their level of socioeconomic development, size, etc. Life proves that the nation and the national sovereign state are objective and complex phenomena and realities of the contemporary world, which are in the midst of a process of forceful assertion, unprecedented in history.

--Marin Voiculescu: Indeed, one of the fundamental traits of our times is the struggle for winning and consolidating national independence and sovereignty, the increasingly vigorous assertion of the nation and national states, and the manifestation of peoples' will to be complete masters of their fate and to develop independently, without any foreign interference. The changes that have occurred and are occurring in international life objectively impose the general spreading of the new principles of interstate relations, within which respect for the national interests of each state and for independence and sovereignty is central.

The founders of dialectical and historical materialism paid special attention to the issue of the national state and the nation, and implicitly, to the need to ensure the independence and sovereignty of all the peoples. Thus, in his "Critique of the Hegelian Philosophy of Law," Marx defined sovereignty as the essential prerequisite of the state, whose functions "are nothing but modes of existence and operation of people's social attributes." According to Marx, sovereignty is the essential attribute of the state, and one can speak of real sovereignty only when the state can count, in relation to the rest of the

world, too, as a self-reliant and independent entity. In his turn, Lenin noted that "the nations' right to self-determination refers exclusively to the right to independence in a political sense, the right to a free political separation from the oppressing nation."

In contrast to the objective requirements of historical progress and to the process of increasing assertion in international life of the new principles that must govern the relations among all the states, there are still attempts --sometimes with theoretical pretensions--to minimize or even outright negate the role and importance of sovereign states and national sovereignty as phenomena of a primary importance in contemporary social life. As a more or less conditioned reflex of the profound crisis of system experienced by the capitalist society, certain western political, sociological, and law schools have elaborated or taken over from the reactionary ideology of the past century concepts, theories, and theses that negate the principle of sovereignty, which in their view, "may have been necessary" at other historical stages, but which is allegedly no longer justified at this time of expanding international cooperation and deepening world interdependence. Essentially, the "internationalist" orientations, the "balance of powers" theory, the doctrine of the "dissociation of the state," the theory of "transfer of competences," the doctrine of "limited" or "relative" sovereignty, the doctrine of "political realism," or, in the past decade especially, federalist, regionalist, and cosmopolitan theories are aimed at undermining or annihilating the sovereignty and independence of states, particularly of the small and medium-sized ones, i.e., of the great majority of world states, for the benefit of certain large and powerful states.

Reviving the older imperialist doctrine of the "civilizing mandate" of the colonial powers, certain bourgeois political scientists try to accredit the thesis of certain so-called international prerogatives, according to which the former colonizing states allegedly still had certain "guardianship" or "protective" obligations, which in reality mean nothing but exploitation and domination. The attempts made to justify in theory the domination of some states over others and the policy of redividing the world into spheres of influence show that the imperialist circles are not pleased with the new international situation, and that they would like to halt the trend of big changes toward strengthened national independence and toward a world in which each nation can develop freely, without any foreign interference.

--Ion Rebedeu: While rejecting national nihilism, the bourgeois "internationalist" doctrines, and the theories of the "supranational state," I believe we should emphasize that our party's viewpoint on the role of the nation in the present and future world--according to which the nation, as an important moving force of social progress, has by far not exhausted its creative resources--does not constitute a conjunctural political option, but on the contrary, a natural conclusion with major political implications, stemming from a creative, extensive, and profound theoretical analysis of the issue of the nation. It is on this innovative approach, brilliantly expressed in Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's work, that our party bases its concept on the importance of the nation and the national state at the current stage and at the stage of transition to communism, on the role of national independence and

sovereignty and of the principles of equality and mutual respect for the free development of the peoples, and on the necessary requirement to assert and develop the socialist nation and the independent and sovereign socialist state, and to establish a new type of relations among states and nations. This once again highlights the profoundly scientific nature of our party's policy.

The fact that we now have a clear, comprehensive, and scientific concept, in accord with the objective directions of historical progress and with the fundamental values of humanism and democracy, has enabled and further enables us to convincingly, to the point, and with pertinent arguments unmask the theoretical inconsistency and the true political motivations of the theses concerning the "exhausted" role of the nation, the "anachronism" of the independent and sovereign national state, the "antiquated" or even "reactionary" character of patriotism in today's world, and the harmfulness of "internationalist" strategies and of nationalist or assimilationist theories.

--Marin Voiculescu: Along this line I believe it should be stressed that during the years of building socialism, and particularly in the past 20 years, which marked a new and superior stage in the fatherland's history, Romania has asserted itself in the international arena as a resolute promoter of the principles of national independence and sovereignty, emphasizing that the sovereign right of each people to be masters of their own country and to freely decide on their fate and path of development without any foreign interference, constitutes an objective law of historical development. Our country unwaveringly bases its relations with the other states and all its international activities on the principles of full equality of rights, respect for national independence and sovereignty, noninterference in internal affairs and mutual advantage, and renunciation of the use and threat of force. "In all circumstances," Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu stated, "one must proceed from the truth that the principle of sovereignty is universally valid and is the same for all the states, regardless of size or social system, that it has only one interpretation, and that it can in no circumstance be applied or interpreted differently in relation to different countries."

--Elena Florea: One of the major concerns of the theoretical and ideological activities of our party after its ninth congress has been and remains the rejection of nihilist theories concerning the role and prospects of the nation, to demonstrate their totally unscientific nature, and to pinpoint the reactionary interests that these theories serve.

Proceeding from a false and unverified premise, an entire sociological, philosophical, and political literature is focusing its endeavors essentially on proving that "the preferable world of the future" allegedly lies "beyond the nation-state system," beyond its fundamental values and attributes, and beyond its inalienable prerogatives--national independence and sovereignty. This "beyond" does not mean, in the views of this literature, a "vacuum," but a "global community," of a supranational and suprastatal nature, resulting from the integration and fusion of nations and national states at continental, and later world level, governed by a "world authority" invested with decision, executive, and coercive powers and with all the attributes of sovereignty that it would have "wrested" from the competences of the present states. From this perspective, all those who support such ideas claim as one that we, those

living in the present, are allegedly "in a period of transition from the nation-state to the global community," faced with the "certitude" that the "nation-state, after a 2-century career, has become rigid, sclerotic, incapable of meeting the expectations of the modern man" and the "acute need for a more rational social organization."

--Marin Voiculescu: Indeed, it is a fact that after World War II, the attacks on the nation and the national state, on national independence and sovereignty were strongly revitalized. In view of the fact that the perpetuation of the old relations of domination in international life were being threatened by the increasing assertion of the socialist countries and of the new sovereign states born of the ashes of the imperialist colonial system, and by the growing weight and influence of nonaligned, small, and medium-sized states in international life, theoreticians representing the interests of the imperialist and neocolonialist policy seized upon the formula of minimizing or totally rejecting the sovereignty aspirations of the great majority of world states as the only "saving" solution.

The theories and doctrines aimed at legitimizing the so-called uselessness, harmfulness, or simply cumbersome nature of sovereignty are currently quite in tune with the reactionary apologia of capitalism and with right-wing theories. In point of fact, such doctrines do not remain anchored in theory, but as a rule, accompany and justify the policy of force and dictate, of consolidation and redivision of spheres of influence and domination, and of interference in the internal affairs of other states.

--Elena Florea: The antiscientific and reactionary nature of such theories and doctrines is incontestable. Their falseness is fully proven by the great processes and trends of the contemporary era: the increasing assertion of peoples' will to develop freely within their own national-statal spaces, and to raise their standard of living and civilization in a climate of peace and security; the collapse of the imperialist colonial system and the establishment on its ruins of scores of new sovereign states, which are struggling to develop freely and independently; the increasing assertion of the new principles of interstate relations as one of the essential conditions for ensuring a positive trend in international life and averting a nuclear catastrophe, and for strengthening world peace and security; the vigorous manifestation of national, patriotic sentiments as a means of resistance against the various forms of domination and subjugation, and of infringing on national independence and sovereignty.

Ignoring precisely these major objective and imperative processes of the contemporary era, the "internationalist" ideology, with its entire arsenal of lies and illusions, expresses the interests of the forces that promote a policy of exploitation, domination, and oppression, interference in the internal affairs of other peoples, dictate and aggression, and redivision of the world into spheres of influence.

--Victor Duculescu: The "globalization" of international problems, increasing interdependence, and the assertion of the need to jointly devise lasting and efficient solutions to urgent international problems--an objective contemporary process occurring simultaneously with the increasing assertion of

the national state and the nation--does not invalidate, but on the contrary, it stresses the growing role of the nations in the contemporary world. Unfortunately, ignoring this aspect leads to serious conceptual errors on the part of certain experts and factors that influence political decision and that can conceive of the "interdependence-globalization" relation only in terms of abolishing national sovereignty. While in the past decades it had become "fashionable" to criticize the national sovereign state as a factor of "anarchy" and "conflict" in international relations, currently one increasingly hears sophisticated theories postulating supranational formulas aimed at abolishing the nations under the pretext of "deepening interdependence." Jean Francois Revel, for example, speaks of a so-called incompatibility between the national sovereign state and the "ways of action adapted to the global character of the most important problems that mankind has to solve today." According to Lord Gladwyn, the trend to assert sovereign states should be curbed "in the interests of mankind's survival."

Even prestigious authors, known for their criticism of inequitable situations or of the policy of force, pay a heavy dues to internationalist views. Richard Falk, who views the national sovereign state as an "unsatisfactory" point of reference for solving international problems, opines that "the Westphalian logic" (the logic of sovereign national states) currently seems "incapable of protecting the most vital needs of humanity." Even a renowned scholar like Jan Tinbergen, who unequivocally criticizes the inequities of the present world order, finds no other remedy to the contemporary problems than the establishment of "international agencies" and international bodies invested with considerable world-wide competences, apt to ensure "the direct and operational solving" of some of the major problems of the community of nations. On the other hand, the danger of nuclear war is used by some western authors as a "supraargument" in favor of "internationalist" solutions. Jonathatn Schell, appreciated for his well-known work "The Fate of Earth," believes that "if we accept both nuclear and conventional disarmament, then we deal with a revolutionizing of Earth policies. The aims of the political revolution are defined by those of a nuclear revolution. We must shed our arms, abandon sovereignty, and devise a political system to peacefully solve international disputes."

--Marin Voiculescu: The contemporary bourgeois doctrines that adopt nihilistic positions concerning national sovereignty incorporate a wide range of theories and currents that go from minimizing its role in international relations to claiming the "obsolete" and "historically outdated" nature of the nation, or even argue that the very term of sovereignty should be removed from sociological, political, or legal vocabulary. According to some well-known non-Marxist theoreticians such as W.J. Stankiewicz, we should investigate whether the types of political sovereignty--legal, internal, external, de jure, de facto, etc.--are still founded or justified, and whether they do not show that "the term has changed its meaning." According to the same political scientist, the idea of sovereignty, is allegedly a "pro tem word that alters its connotation, futilely seeking its identity."

One group of western political concepts of a clearly retrograde nature, believes that the era of independent states "has waned or is approaching its end," and that only by uniting the existing states within a supranational

organization at European or even world level, can we resolve the contradictions of the contemporary times. Thus, "internationalism" and the organization of the "world state" are allegedly the only alternative capable of meeting the requirements of the contemporary era.

--Victor Duculescu: Such viewpoints are actually criticized even in the West, because the fact that some basic international problems have not been solved is not at all due to the existence of the nations, but on the contrary, to the promotion of the policy of force and dictate, violation of the fundamental principles of interstate relations, and lack of cooperation on the part of powerfully armed countries and political forces which, aspiring in fact to world hegemony and to control of the international system, are stumbling in the implementation of their plans against the resolute resistance of the nations and sovereign states. The authors of a work published in the United States under the title "Living with Nuclear Weapons," after showing that "it has often been argued... that the real problem of the nuclear era is the existence of sovereign states," and that, "If we could free ourselves from national sovereignty, we could free ourselves from these horrible arms," stress that national sovereignty is synonymous with the independence of the nation, with "the moral right of individuals to select their own form of government and preferred way of life. Preserving such rights is a moral objective and must be recognized as such." ("Living with Nuclear Weapons," The Harvard Nuclear Study Group, Bantam Books, Toronto, New York, London, Sydney, 1983, p 244). Another American author, too, comes to the realistic conclusion that "we must abandon the dreams of a world government and readjust our plans to create a functional international organization with enough power and authority to regulate decisions concerning global security, economy, ecology, and the world population, and to divest national governments of these prerogatives..." (Ervin Laszlo, "A Strategy for the Future. The Systemics Approach to World Order," George Braziller Publishing House, New York, 1974, pp 60, 61.)

--Marin Voiculescu: There are, of course, many political scientists and non-Marxist jurists who state, in accordance with the social-historical reality of our era, that the sovereignty doctrine remains irreplaceable at both the theoretical-political and the practical levels. Thus, for example, the British sociologist J.W. Burton correctly stresses that national independence is one of the "universal values of world policy." "Until a few decades ago," he continues, "the world society was formed of an effectively small number of states, each dominated by one of the few big powers. The human interests and values of the people in the smaller states and colonies were of no importance. World policy could be analyzed in the simple terms of the interests of the powerful and hegemonistic states, to which the smaller states and nations had to adjust." In his turn, the well-known political scientist Marcel Marle highlights the fact that "In the chain of contradictions that affects and will continue to affect the world of the end of the 20th century, we must consider the fact that the future of international relations will depend more on the fate of the nation-state... than on the fate of alliances and balance of forces." The French jurist M. Virally also correctly shows that "sovereignty will remain totally viable in a situation of interdependence, which compels each state to take into consideration the interests of the others, so as to be

able to maintain mutually advantageous relations with them. It is thus compatible with solidarity..."

At the same time, we note some positive developments in the concepts of certain western non-Marxist thinkers. Thus, Francois Perroux--who, in his work "Alienation and Industrial Society" (Gallimard, Paris, 1970) suggested that we "desovereignize the national state," and "abandon sovereignty"--currently supports more reasonable ideas, closer to the realities of the contemporary world. The French theoretician pleads for a radical modification of the "rules of the game" among nations, proceeding from the conviction that "By and large, the West has been a not too scrupulous colonizer," and consequently, that "neocolonialism and the remnants of the relations of force, still alive in the nations' memory, give them the right to struggle for their liberation."

Such positions give rise to pertinent arguments against the theories that claim that mankind has in fact arrived at the stage of "overcoming" sovereignty and adopting supranational forms of organizations, allegedly "apt" to ensure solutions to the basic problems at present most immediately affecting the fate of people and nations.

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