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East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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EAST EUROPE REPORT
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CONFORMISM, USE OF CLICHES IN LITERARY CRITICISM DECRIED

Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 12 Dec 82 p 3

[Article by Kujtim Ymeri and Capajev Gjokutaj: "'Hierarchy' of Values, Not Names"]

[Text] One of the phenomena which stands out in the development of our literature is its continual renewal and renovation. Year after year, new works are added to the tradition to enrich it and further consolidate it. And it is a well-known fact that these works are creations of authors of various ages, beginning with those who placed the first stones in the foundations of our art of socialist realism and ending with the youth who have just had their first successful books. A rich heritage in which the names, titles and values are intertwined, regardless of the age of the creator and the date of publication of the work, this is evidence of the progress of our literature. In the face of this, there is no justification for a static and conformist attitude which appears in some creative discussions and critical comments, when a concrete and well-documented analysis of the values and weaknesses of literary creativity is replaced by an apparently "theoretical" phraseology which is enriched by a few names of authors and titles of works which, like ready-made cliches, go from one article to another, from one discussion to another. In literary-artistic milieus, these cliches have come to be called, humorously, "the presidium of the articles."

"Where Stereotypes and Routine Come From," is the title of an article by R. Brahimí published in the newspaper DRITA on 7 March 1982. Unfortunately, the article is not free of the manifestations mentioned in the title. It talks in general, without concentrating on works and authors. Two passages which we cite are an exception. The first is: "Our literature and arts, with the creativity of O. Paskali and K. Rama, A. Buza and S. Shijaku, D. Agolli and J. Xoxe, I. Kadare and Ll. Siliqi, C. Zada and N. Zoraqi, Dh. Anagnosti and Xh. Keko and dozens of writers and artists...have created a strong support in the struggle against schematism." What is the use of such lists which insult the reader, reminding him of elementary truths which he has known for a long time, (and which place the persons on the list in a difficult position vis-a-vis their creative comrades)? If it is to encourage dozens of writers and artists who, with their militant works, have had a great influence in the struggle against schematism, one might ask: Why only O. Paskali and K. Rama and not M. Dhrami, Sh. Haderi, F. Dushku, Th. Thomai, etc., etc.; why has Ll. Siliqi made a greater contribution to the struggle against schematism

than A. Gjakova, S. Dedja, N. Papleka, B. Londo, S. Drini, N. Lera, K. Blushi, K. Kosta, etc., etc. And the second passage: "Let us take an example from recent years. In the collection 'Koha' (The Times), etc." However, "Koha" was published in 1976 and, in the life of a 40-year old literature, such as that of our socialist realism, 6 years are not a few and do not qualify as "recent years."

In such cases, which occur frequently, the general attitudes and lack of concrete analyses arise from various factors which are related to a knowledge of creativity, ethics, skill in general analysis, etc. Superficial factual knowledge alone can explain the fact that many articles on the poetry of the past 2 or 3 years list in rigid form, one after the other, as in a protocol, the names of D. Agolli, I. Kadare, Ll. Siliqi, etc., whose last collections of poems were published in 1977, 1976 and 1979, respectively. Our brilliant poets have attracted and will continue to attract the attention of literary history and criticism, because their contribution is great and still not studied as thoroughly as it should be. But names rigidly listed as in protocols cannot take the place of concrete, documented analyses of our poetic creativity, which is so rich in individuality at the present time. This can be avoided only by following the creative process step by step, by knowing it from all sides and then arriving at a general knowledge.

The tendency not to make any comments on the achievements and, especially, on the weaknesses of creativity is an ethical problem; it is not hard to find conformist attitudes behind this tendency. We will give two examples to illustrate our point. The comrades who discussed the matter at the recent meeting of the leadership of the Union of Writers and Artists were not in agreement with the conclusion reached in the material presented in the name of the commission on prose by A. Cerga, that the volume of stories "Kush e vrau Odiseene" (Who Killed Odysseus) by A. Kondo "succeeded in analyzing, artistically, the spirit of the working class, the self-sacrifice and the will to overcome difficulties and move forward, the solidarity and socialist social relations which our socioeconomic system and the intensive educational work of the party have created." Values which our entire literature and art have not yet achieved are credited to one volume. In the discussions and in the conclusions it was stressed that, on the contrary, the merits of the volume lie in its treatment of the past, while many of the stories about the working class are fairly superficial and the harmful influence of journalism has had a bad effect on the creativity of this author. It is evident that on such occasions we are dealing with the lack of an ethical attitude on the part of those who write criticism. The greatest anxiety for them is not how they should analyze and prove the values and shortcomings of creativity but how and where this or that name or work should be listed. Out of a desire not to fall out of step, they have to make cases where a work is criticized and this criticism is repeated, with a cliché-type treatment, from one article to another. For instance, the novel "Gjergji" by H. Sinani was justifiably criticized in last year's plenum of the Union of Writers and Artists for an unexplained and typical denouement. After this criticism, four or five articles were published, two on the same day, which simply reiterated these deficiencies. It appears, in such cases, that the authors of the criticism have one consolation: "I am not responsible, brother, he mentioned it first." Such clichés also appear when a new work is praised.

Although these are rare cases, again and again there are instances where general attitudes and lack of scientific documentation come from shortcomings of critic in analyzing and generalizing phenomena and from a tendency to absolutize. Let us mention one of the latest such cases. On page 60 of the collection of studies by K. Bihiku "Letersia dhe koha" (Literature and the Times) which was published recently, one reads that beginning at the end of the 1950's "with the poetic works of I. Kadare, D. Agolli, F. Arapi, etc. the closed system of poetic language, which existed earlier, collapsed and the way was cleared in poetry for ordinary expressions and words from everyday life and from the conversation and speech of the people. "With one stroke of the pencil, an effort was made to absolutize the partial shortcomings of poetic language in the creativity of the 1950's and to assign these shortcomings to all the creations of the authors because this is easier for the critic. An objective analysis of this phenomenon will reveal that, naturally, one cannot deny the new values which the poets who made a name for themselves at the end of the 1950's brought into the poetic language, but, at the same time, it is necessary to pay more attention to works and verses in order to discover the truth which corresponds to the dialectical concept that the roots of these changes lie in the creativity of those who cultivated our new poetry earlier. A priori attitudes run the risk of repeating the error of the mechanical separation of stages and generations, an error which has been strongly criticized by the party.

In order to eliminate shortcomings of this nature it is essential that the critics monitor the creative process step by step. And the same requirement holds true for literary studies, especially since it appears that workers in the Institute of Literature are somewhat removed from current creativity and are not having their say with the required strength. The healthy spirit and the deep and objective analysis which came forth in the most recent plenum of the Union of Writers and Artists is not being observed as it should be in the creative discussions or in the press.

CSO: 2100/20

NEED FOR NOVELS ON CONTEMPORARY THEMES STRESSED

Tirana DRITA in Albanian 5 Dec 82 pp 1, 4

[Article by DRITA correspondent: "Novels With a Contemporary Theme--A Requirement of the Day"]

[Excerpts] In the present stage of development of our literature, the novel, with its great potential for portrayal and with the great popularity which it enjoys among the readers is the main form of literature which should be concerned with solving one of the basic tasks which the 8th party congress assigned to literature and the arts: the presentation of a picture of socialist life.

These matters were discussed at length, last week, in a meeting which the Union of Writers and Artists, in cooperation with the Committee for Culture and the Arts, organized with novelists. The chairman of the Union of Writers and Artists, Dritero Agolli, and the chairman of the Committee for Culture and the Arts, Anastas Kondo, took part in this meeting.

The report presented by the union's secretary for literature, Lllazar Siliqi, said that during the 1981-1982 period, 80 novels were presented to the "Naim Frasheri" Publishing House, about half of which were based on contemporary themes. Adding to this the many novels on the subject of the Anti-Fascist National Liberation War, it appears that current themes hold the proper priority in the creativity of novelists. Nevertheless, on the basis of the publications, the novel on contemporary themes is not presented with the desired values. In many of the works which the editorial staff has returned for extensive reworking or works which were not published, there was an absence of the fullness of life, there was thematic one-sidedness, schematism, superficiality and descriptivism. Also there were not many novels published which were on the required ideological and artistic level.

It is time for our novel on contemporary themes to make a qualitative leap, penetrating deeply into the processes of life, into its contradictions and conflicts, capturing the major themes broadly and not in a narrow manner. The life of the country with its many-faceted character, with its positive heroes, with its progressive individual and with the struggle which he is making to carry on, with his job, family and moral and ethical problems, should occupy the place which it deserves.

Among other things, the achievement of these aims is connected with some organizational problems. The Union of Writers and Artists will provide long creative leave periods for those authors who are involved in writing about important themes from contemporary life.

In their discussions, the writers Sabri Godo, Kole Jakova, Vito Koci, Agim Gjakova, Stavri Kristo, Siri Sulejmani, Hysen Sinani, Ramiz Lika, and Perfet Isufaj stressed the need for the writers to have a knowledge of life.

Knowledge is a fundamental condition; but it must be deep and not shallow. This is not achieved in a day or in a week. One must know the core of the problems, and then creative fantasy is aroused. Sometimes the writer knows the problems but he treats them superficially. A party-minded attitude and civic courage give the writer an opportunity to capture the most representative phenomena of reality.

Of course, it is not easy to write a novel on contemporary themes. However, for a writer who lives life actively, a present-day theme can never be difficult, as it is sometimes, erroneously, thought to be. On the other hand, there are cases where the writer encounters schematic and subjective demands from critics or editors, demands which sometimes express a concept which should be overcome. But, more often, the weaknesses are the reflection of a lack of knowledge of that reality which provides the subject for the work.

The director of the Publishing House, Thanas Leci, said that the novels on contemporary themes should give more space to today's man and contemporary problems. A number of the novels are set in the years of economic recovery, from 1945 to 1950. Of course, this period should be represented but other periods, up to our own times, need to be represented more.

Comrade Anastas Kondo stressed the role and influence of the novel in the general progress of literature, and of other arts such as cinematography. The need for a broad treatment of contemporary themes and the qualitative improvement of literature, he said, are two problems with broad dimensions and great resonance set forth by the 8th party congress and analyzed by the plenum of the Union of Writers and Artists. The novel should give great assistance in this area, presenting the phenomena of life more completely and with more ideological and artistic values. We should delve deeply into the party materials dealing with social problems and any other theme which has occupied our attention and aroused our creative desires. A novel without well-defined characters does not become the property of the reader, and, on the other hand, without great and vital conflicts we do not have real characters and heroes.

Gaining knowledge is a daily process and concern of the writer. We have some novelists who are schoolteachers. However, important problems such as the revolutionization of the schools or the life of the youth are presented infrequently or not at all. We must know how to find literature in those things which, at first sight, appear to us to be ordinary and commonplace but which, deep down, have matters of social interest.

CSO: 2100/19

BULGARIA

BCP'S ZHIVKOV HAILS USSR 60TH ANNIVERSARY

PM170943 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 28 Dec 82 Morning Edition p 5

[IZVESTIYA interview with Todor Zhivkov, general secretary of the BCP Central Committee: "Land of Internationalists"]

[Text] Comrade Todor Zhivkov, general secretary of the BCP Central Committee and chairman of the Bulgarian State Council, answers IZVESTIYA's questions.

[Question] Comrade Zhivkov, you attended and delivered a greeting at the joint ceremonial session of the CPSU Central Committee, the USSR Supreme Soviet and the RSFSR Supreme Soviet to mark the 60th anniversary of the Soviet Union's formation. What were your impressions?

[Answer] First of all, I would like to say what a strong impression the report of Comrade Yuriy Vladimirovich Andropov, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, created on me, on our delegation and on all those comrades with whom I talked about it. The calm, businesslike, dignified and forceful report answered the main questions on the development of the USSR and the international situation. I would especially like to stress the proposals on disarmament problems. The specific and unambiguous new Soviet proposals place in an extremely difficult position those who pay lipservice to support for talks but who in fact pursue a line of armament and preparation for wars. At the same time the proposals provide the antiwar movement in the West with strong arguments which will undoubtedly give it a powerful new impetus. The love of peace of Lenin's great motherlands stands out in particular relief in the section of Comrade Andropov's report devoted to the international situation.

The moving demonstration of the unity of the multinational Soviet state and the fraternity of the free Soviet republics and Soviet people provided another exceptionally strong impression that we brought with us from the hall and corridors of the Kremlin Palace of Congresses. That fraternity could be sensed in the brief but inspired speeches of the representatives of the Union republics. It could be read on the faces of people in the hall. A fraternity which was expressed best of all, perhaps, by the fact that people of so many nationalities spoke proudly of their belonging to a single united people--the Soviet people.

And, finally, I would like to say a few words about something that has always made the most profound impression on me: the respect with which Soviet people treat representatives of other countries and peoples. They are sons of the country and the people which have exerted and do still exert an exceptional influence on the fate of the world and who define their attitude toward others not in terms of the latter's size of territory and population but of their stance and contribution to the common struggle for the freedom, peace and happiness of mankind. Herein, perhaps, to a considerable extent also lies one of the secrets of the influence the Soviet Union exerts on the world's progressive, democratic and peace-loving forces.

So much has been written and spoken about the Soviet Union's role in the modern world--both by the friends and enemies of the Soviet land. I am well aware that what I am about to say is well known to your readers--both as the attitude of friends in general and as the personal attitude of Todor Zhivkov, who has spoken on this theme more than once and for different reasons. While being aware of this and also realizing the impossibility of grasping the infinite, I shall try to give a brief answer.

The fact that a considerable part of the territory of the European continent is now occupied by socialist countries, that the last fascist dictatorships in Europe have collapsed, that the developed capitalist countries--with certain exceptions--are now bourgeois democracies and that socialist parties are in power in some of them--in other words, the fact that Europe is now as it is--all of this ultimately, directly or indirectly, is the result of the fact that there exists in the world a Soviet Union.

I am not over simplifying matters, the Soviet Union and its mighty army bore the main burden of the struggle and played the decisive part in liberating Europe from the fascist military-police machine. But that is not all. Imperialism and reaction did not accept the socialist countries' existence, nor are the bourgeois democratic regimes in the capitalist countries their ideal, either. Imperialism and reaction do not stand on ceremony and do not know what pangs of remorse are. If they are prevented from carrying out their general counteroffensive to enslave the peoples, that is primarily because of the Soviet Union, its might, the revolutionizing influence it exerts on the world and the effective strength of its political and moral support. They are prevented by the cohesion of the socialist countries and the revolutionary and progressive forces around the Soviet Union.

At present, this unity of all the forces of the world revolutionary process is acquiring increasing significance. And here the Soviet Union's role is irreplaceable. I personally have more than once admired the scrupulousness, tact, patience and persistence with which the Soviet party and state leadership pursues the Leninist line toward mutual understanding and unification among the different detachments of the revolutionary, democratic and anti-imperialist movement.

Equally alluring is that breadth with which the CPSU and the USSR wage the struggle for the defense of peace in the world, for detente and disarmament and for cooperation among the peoples. The Soviet Union opposes war, the Soviet Union is a convinced and unshakable defender of universal peace. Persistently, consistently and sparing no efforts, the Soviet Union wages the struggle to save mankind from nuclear holocaust--that truth can no longer be obscured in the peoples' consciousness, as was demonstrated particularly clearly during those days when the world was bidding farewell to our never-to-be-forgotten Leonid Ilich Brezhnev.

[Question] In your view, what aspects of the Soviet Union's life are of greatest interest to the peoples now waging the struggle for their social and national liberation?

[Answer] By the very fact of its existence, by its success in laying the path to a communist society, by the soviet way of life, by its ideology, politics, morality, culture, stances and actions in the international arena--by everything that makes it what it is, the Soviet Union sets an example and thereby exerts an irresistible influence in the world.

Some people try to belittle the Soviet people's experience in socialist building by reducing socialism in the USSR to a "Soviet model," but what kind of "model" can it be when it is a question of the inexhaustible richness of life in the first socialist state--a state which quests, which endeavors and which has aroused the people's masses in their millions to life, to sociopolitical, scientific, technical and cultural creativity! The Soviet Union's merit is that it was the first to begin to apply and to creatively develop in practice the fundamental principles of the revolutionary teaching by Marx, Engels and Lenin. In offering us its experience on a wide scale, the Soviet Union has always stressed that this experience, which took shape under specific historical conditions, cautions us against repeating the mistakes and errors.

The building of socialism in Bulgaria shows that the people who have chosen that path can borrow the USSR's experience with confidence. We, the young socialist countries, have also accumulated positive experience. Much of it has been acquired on the basis of using Soviet experience. Thus it is a transformed experience, doubly tried and tested, so to speak. But each of our countries has its own original contribution which enriches socialism's treasure house in terms of theory and practice. In this respect it is a question not of limited national experience but of an experience which can be used and which is being used in other fraternal countries, including in the motherland of socialism, as Yu. V. Andropov, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, recently noted.

The USSR--and this is stressed in its title--is a Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. And at the same time, when we speak of the Soviet Union the monolithic state of the unified Soviet people rises before us.

During the months preceding the celebration of the USSR's 60th anniversary our press, radio and television described the economic and spiritual flowering of the Soviet Republics. It was convincingly shown how, having set out at different levels of development, the Soviet Republics are now marching in single formation, relying on one another's support. They are equals among equals. There is no doubt that the solution of the nationalities question in the USSR is an attractive example for states embarking on the road of socialism.

Soviet democracy and the participation of tens of millions of people in state administration at all levels and in all spheres of life have been of tremendous significance for increasing benevolence toward the Soviet Union in the world. Soviet experience convincingly reveals the leading position of the working class in society and the significance of the communist party as the leading force and nucleus of the political system. When a socialist society reaches maturity the state develops naturally into a state of the whole people and the communist party becomes the party of all the people.

We are the state: that is how Soviet people think. And this is confirmed by the means of utilization of the solid material base created on the basis of social ownership. Equality before the law, the right to work and leisure, to free education and medical aid, to social insurance, to housing and to a life befitting mankind--these are gains of which hundreds and hundreds of millions of people in the world are dreaming.

The 60 years of the USSR's existence have confirmed and are constantly confirming V. I. Lenin's prediction that the example of the Socialist Soviet Republic in Russia would become the model for the peoples of all countries and that the revolutionizing influence of that example would be enormous.

[Question] Internationalism has become a characteristic feature of the socialist countries' domestic and foreign policy. How is that remarkable phenomenon of our time manifested in Bulgaria's life?

[Answer] Perhaps it is because Bulgaria is located at one of the busiest junctions of international intercourse that our people's internationalist feeling is so strong. This quality of theirs was vividly displayed even during our national rebirth when thousands of Bulgaria's sons fought for the freedom of neighboring peoples in the same way as they are fighting for the freedom of their own people. From the earliest days of its existence Dimitur Blagoev's party clearly and categorically defined itself as part of the world revolutionary workers movement. The party of "close" socialists, the BCP, has never deviated from internationalist stances under any circumstances either in wartime or at moments of national catastrophe. It was no coincidence that Lenin called the "close" socialists real internationalists. It was no coincidence that Georgi Dimitrov unambiguously defined one's attitude toward the Soviet Union as the watershed between the progressive and the reactionary. It was no coincidence that L. I. Brezhnev called Bulgarian-USSR relations an example of socialist internationalism in action.

Internationalism has now become an inalienable feature of the Bulgarian national character. Our patriotism today is not simply love for the fatherland but love for the socialist fatherland, it is socialist patriotism which organically combines within itself both communist ideology and internationalism.

As I also stressed earlier, being a patriot of one's socialist motherland means realizing that its fate is linked to the existence and might of the socialist community countries and, above all, the Soviet Union. This conviction of ours finds practical expression in the rapprochement of Bulgaria and the USSR and in the molding of a new type of patriotic and internationalist consciousness among the Bulgarian people in which love for Bulgaria merges organically with fraternal love for the Soviet Union and Soviet people.

The sense of the socialist countries' common fate was shown particularly clearly in the context of the events in Poland. It was with pain and alarm that our people perceived the confusion in the ranks of the Polish working class and their party and they were outraged by the impudence and aggressiveness of the counterrevolutionary forces. They greeted the measures to save socialism in Poland with understanding and approval.

True to the internationalist traditions of the people and the party, we are following with lively interest and ardent sympathy the struggle of other detachments of the international communist movement and the oppressed and unfortunate peoples and are striving to render them timely and effective support in accordance with our strength and capabilities.

[Words indistinct] foreign policy and its sincere love of peace. We respect the life, work and customs of other peoples and their desire for happiness, we expect the same attitude from them and would like to live with them in peace and mutual understanding. The BCP will continue to venerate, deepen and develop the internationalist traditions inherited from the leaders of the national rebirth and developed by Dimitur Blagoev and Georgi Dimitrov.

[Question] What would be your new year wish for Soviet people, about whom you always speak with such fraternal love?

[Answer] What else could I wish for you for the new year, dear Soviet comrades, apart from tremendous new successes in strengthening your motherland's comprehensive might, and peace and happiness? I am profoundly convinced that all honest people of the world wish you the same from the bottom of their hearts. For there is no other country and no other people which have made or which are making such a generous and invaluable contribution to the preservation of peace and to the success of the struggle for national liberation and independence, democracy and social progress and the happiness of the ordinary people of the world!

We Bulgarians are deeply grateful to the Soviet people for the love given to us from their big hearts, and I would like to repeat that there is no threat or enticement which could force us to leave the formation in which we march shoulder to shoulder and heart to heart with you, dear comrades and brothers.

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

NOVEMBER-DECEMBER 1982 DOUBLE ISSUE OF SED THEORETICAL JOURNAL REVIEWED

East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 11 Nov 82 p 2

[Werner Mueller review of East Berlin EINHEIT in German Vol 37, No 11/12, November-December 1982, signed to press 21 October 1982, pp 1089-1269 plus 10-page annual index: "Firm Fraternal Alliance GDR-USSR--Double Issue of EINHEIT on 60th Anniversary of Soviet Union With Contribution by Erich Honecker." Translations and/or summaries of articles by authors cited below as well as by others are published in pages following this review]

[Text] As an introduction to EINHEIT's double issue No 11/12, 1982, devoted to the 60th anniversary of the founding of the USSR, our party's theoretical journal publishes an article by Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR Council of State, under the heading, "Fraternally Allied in Firm Militant Partnership."

It pays tribute to the founding of the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics as an event of world historic significance. "Our party and the people of the German Democratic Republic are jointly celebrating this important anniversary in firm militant partnership with the CPSU, fraternally allied with the Soviet People," Erich Honecker writes. "Arise from the Red October victory, created in accordance with Lenin's ideas and led by the party of the Bolsheviks, the Soviet Union has made unparalleled advances and has decisively influenced the fundamental changes that have taken place in the world since then," the article states. "Today everyone can see more clearly than ever what a truly historic change has been made toward a world of socialism and peace."

During the 60 years of its existence the USSR has gained achievements of world historic significance in many areas. "In particular this applies to its enormous contribution to the struggle to secure peace and thus implement the most elementary human right, the right to life."

"This great anniversary," Erich Honecker concludes, "is a worthy occasion to bring to mind the historic achievements of the Soviet state. At the same time everyone of us is strengthened in the certainty of the prospects, the certainty of the victory of our common cause of socialism and communism, of the struggle for the people to live in peace and progress. This stimulates the creative energy to continue the successful implementation of the decisions of the 10th SED Congress."

In his article, "Sixty Years of USSR and Revolutionary Process," Hermann Axen, SED Politburo member and Central Committee secretary, emphasizes the inexorable and constantly accelerating progress of the revolutionary process in the world resulting "from the objective laws of the transition from capitalism to socialism, from the invincibility, the superiority and attractiveness of the new social structure in the USSR, from the inevitable laws of the socialist revolution and socialist construction, so brilliantly confirmed in the 65 years of Soviet power and 60 years of the Soviet Union."

In his article, "Friendship With the Soviet Union--A Matter Close to the Hearts of Our People," Erich Mueckenberger, member of the SED Central Committee Politburo, says that one of the finest concerns of friendship work is "to instill in the hearts and minds of all people the awareness of the achievements of the Soviet Union, which since the great days of the Red October has constantly headed mankind's progress as a trailblazer toward communism and which is the main force in the struggle for world peace."

Army General Heinz Hoffmann, member of the SED Central Committee Politburo, writes on "The Soviet Army--Mighty Bulwark of Peace." Its proper strength lies in the communist education of the fighters; in the training of army members, staffs and troops in accordance with the latest findings of Marxist-Leninist military science; in the inseparable unity of people and army, of communists, Komsomol members and unaffiliated persons; and in the CPSU leadership, whose policy serves the vital interests of the working people and the securing of a peaceful future for all mankind."

Apart from any other contributions on other aspects of this great topic, an informative chronology of Soviet peace initiatives from the October Revolution to the immediate present deserves particular attention ["Documentation: In the Service of Peace--A Chronology of Soviet Peace Initiatives," by Burkhard Watzdorf, deputy department chief, Institute for International Relations, GDR Academy of Political Science and Jurisprudence; EINHEIT pages 1229-1233].

Reminiscences of German communists of the "days that shook the world" are moving and instructive ["Reminiscences of German Communists of the 'Days That Shook the World'" (EINHEIT pages 1222-1228; excerpts from three books published by Dietz Verlag, East Berlin): "'Well, That's the Way Lenin Is!'" by Frida Rubiner, and "The Way I Saw and Heard Lenin," by Albert Schreiner--excerpts from "Unvergesslicher Lenin" (Unforgettable Lenin), 1957; "In the Struggle Against White Guards and German Occupiers," by Joseph Gutsche--excerpt from "Weltenwende--wir waren dabei" (Turning Point of the World--We Were There), 1962; "We Inspected the 'Polonia Train,'" by Otto Kuehn--excerpt from "Im Zeichen des roten Stern" (Under the Sign of the Red Star), 1974].

As the most important lesson for us in today's socialism, learned during his years in the Soviet Union, 1945-1955, Manfred von Ardenne, scientist, points out: "In the final analysis, the measure of any kind of research or development is the extent to which it is applied in the economy and for society."

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HONECKER DISCUSSES 'INTERLOCKING' ECONOMIES OF GDR, USSR

East Berlin EINHEIT in German Vol 37 No 11/12, Nov-Dec 82 (signed to press 21 Oct 82) pp 1093-1099

[Lead article by Erich Honecker, chairman, GDR Council of State; SED general secretary: "Fraternally Allied in Firm Militant Partnership"]

[Text] Arisen from the Red October victory, the founding of the USSR has proven a truly historic turning to a world of socialism and peace. Six decades of successful advances irrefutably prove the correctness of Marxism-Leninism and the validity of the objective laws of socialist revolution and socialist construction. The GDR's successful development became possible on the basis of friendship with the Soviet Union and ever closer cooperation with Lenin's land. We stand side by side in the struggle for securing peace, to which we contribute importantly by the all-round strengthening of the GDR.

The 60th anniversary of the founding of the USSR will come in a few weeks--an event of world historic importance. Our party and the GDR people are jointly celebrating this important anniversary in firm militant partnership with the CPSU, fraternally allied with the Soviet people. Arisen from the Red October victory, created in accordance with Lenin's ideas and led by the party of the Bolsheviks, the Soviet Union has made unparalleled advances and has decisively influenced the fundamental changes that have taken place in the world since then. Today everyone can see more clearly than ever what a truly historic change has been made toward a world of socialism and peace.

The Great Socialist October Revolution opened up a new era. While Marx and Engels had proven the perishable nature of capitalism and turned socialism from utopia into a science, Russia's revolutionary proletariat, headed by the Leninist vanguard, executed in practice history's sentence on the exploiter system. The chains of social and national suppression were broken. By establishing working class power and turning the means of production into public property the solid foundation was laid for the free development of all nations and peoples and for their unity and friendship.

As an inevitable consequence of the victory of the October Revolution, there came about on 30 December 1922 the declaration and treaty on forming the USSR as the first and unified multinational state of the workers and peasants, agreed to by the representatives of the then four Soviet republics--the RSFSR, the Ukraine, the Transcaucasian Federation and Byelorussia. The Soviet Union vividly embodies the Leninist nationalities policy and the ideas of proletarian internationalism. Its development bears out that the national question, a component of the social question, can be resolved only through the struggle for the liberation of the proletariat, through the socialist revolution.

Lenin found the crucial prerequisite for the permanence of their union in full reciprocal confidence, in their voluntary accord and in precluding any form of inequality in the relations among the nations. He resolutely turned against any subtleties in the settling of national problems.¹ Through instituting Lenin's doctrine relying on the policy he had worked out, the nations and nationalities of the Soviet land formed a harmonious family marked by relations of mutual aid, respect and trust. The strength of this united family of nations produced enormous socioeconomic advances and stood up most impressively in the defense of the socialist fatherland, in turning back all assaults from imperialism.

Comrade Leonid Ilyich Brezhnev had every good reason to state at the 26th CPSU Congress that no other country had made as weighty a contribution to the changes in our century as the USSR, the homeland of the Great October, the first country of victorious socialism.² Six decades of its successful advances irrefutably prove the correctness of Marxism-Leninism and the validity of the objective laws of socialist revolution and socialist construction. Firm in principle, the CPSU applied these lessons to all practical issues in the struggle and enriched them with new experiences and insights. Today as 60 years ago, progressive humanity finds in Lenin's party and in the Soviet Union the banner carriers in the struggle for a happy future for the nations, free from capitalist exploitation and suppression, in socialism and peace.

The founding of the USSR also amounted to an inspiring beacon for the German communists. They had recognized from the outset the world historic importance of the Red October and--like "Spartacus"--called on the German workers to follow the "Russian example." As early as on 11 November 1917, Karl Liebknecht had written in a letter from the Luckau penitentiary: "The enormous process of Russia's social and economic revolutionization does not mark the conclusion but the start of unlimited opportunities--much greater ones than those of the Great French Revolution."³ A most important inference the German leftists then drew was that the German workers class needed a revolutionary vanguard such as the Russian proletariat had found in the form of the Bolsheviks. They were confirmed in that realization through the struggles of the November Revolution. So, at the turn of 1918/1919, there arose the KPD, the independent revolutionary party of the German workers class. Since its founding it acted in the spirit of proletarian internationalism, in close linkage with Lenin's party and land. Ernst Thaelmann was the one to establish the principle that the attitude toward the CPSU and the Soviet Union showed whether one was a communist.⁴

Our party has held this great tradition in high esteem, even in the toughest days under Hitler's rule. Friendship with the Soviet Union was an inexhaustible source of strength for the illegal and antifascist resistance, for those incarcerated in penitentiaries and concentration camps, or for the ones who had to seek exile. After the glorious Soviet Army had liberated our people, our party, from the first hour, regarded it as its task to turn this into a heart-felt concern of all working people. That is what it has become.

Based on the friendship with the Soviet Union, the first socialist workers and farmers state on German soil, the GDR, was born 33 years ago. That made possible its successful development within the community of the fraternal countries. The web of cooperation with the Soviet Union, in the political, economic and intellectual-cultural field, or in the protection of the revolutionary accomplishments, became closer from year to year for the benefit of both peoples. So we profited from the rich experiences of the CPSU and the Soviet state in constructing socialism in the GDR. In a land that once had been a redoubt of reaction, we were able to carry out a transforming revolutionary process that led all the way to the shaping of the developed socialist society. And now, as the 10th SED Congress resolved, what we hold in common is further being deepened. It is persuasively being shown: he who acts in alliance with the Soviet Union finds the future on his side.

Since its founding, the USSR has performed trailblazing work in socialist and communist construction and passed through heroic struggles and victories. Some may find it hard to imagine how much destruction tsarism, the war and imperialist intervention had wrought in Russia then. One percent was all of the proportion in world industrial production the enormous land commanded in 1922. Fifty nations did not even have their own written language at the time. Illiteracy and unemployment were widespread. Today, the Soviet land produces 20 percent of world industrial output, and the enormous task of developmental adaptation among the Soviet republics has by and large been resolved. All that has been accomplished even though the USSR, the first socialist state, has been exposed for decades to imperialist encirclement, armed intervention, economic boycott, diplomatic isolation and frenetic anti-Soviet agitation.

In spite of hatred and mockery, the nations of the Soviet Union, closely rallied around the communist party, stayed their course in the tough struggle against the counterrevolution and the imperialist enemy and coped with all tasks history had assigned to them. They also passed the hardest test imposed upon them by the attack from fascist Germany and by the Great Patriotic War. The unity, courage and heroism of the Soviet peoples smashed Hitler's plans of world domination and the hopes of the imperialists to erase socialism from the map.

The Soviet Union's victory over German fascism paved the way for the emergence of the socialist world system. The communist world movement became the biggest, strongest and most stable political force of our age. By now socialism has gained a foothold on four continents. The national liberation movement had an enormous upsurge; the imperialist colonial system, which once circled the globe, was swept away. History placed imperialism in the defensive.

Also throughout the postwar decades the Soviet Union bore the main burden in the confrontation with the enemies of socialism and peace. It had to break the imperialist nuclear weapons monopoly on which the United States meant to rely in its policy of "rolling back" socialism. The Soviet peoples had to make immeasurable efforts to bring down the imperialist "cold war" strategy, the economic boycott against socialist states, and the aggression against Cuba and the Indochinese countries. It mainly was the Soviet Union which helped the national liberation movements gain political independence and generously aided them in shaping a new life.

All the more highly one must rate the successes worked out in the fulfilment of the five-year plans, on the road to socialism and communism, all the more magnificent is the program of the 26th CPSU Congress on the continued forward march of the Soviet land. Its two basic tasks, to keep constructing the communist society and to secure peace, are a truly Leninist objective, resolutely aimed at the well-being of the people and the interests of the peoples' progress.

From the very beginning the construction and consolidation of the GDR have been indissoluble from the fraternal aid of and ever closer cooperation with the Soviet Union. Through this partnership our land has found secure protection from the assaults by the imperialist enemy. At the same time, Soviet comrades aided their German class brothers in the first steps toward exercising political power and managing their state-owned enterprises. The SED applied the universal inevitabilities of socialist construction to the conditions of our country and, in doing so, could take account of the fact that these laws had already passed their first practical test in the Soviet Union. In this, our advances toward socialism required and facilitated ever closer cooperation with Lenin's land. By shaping our socialist planned economy in the GDR, e.g., ever better prerequisites were created for joint economic efforts which accrue to the advantage of both peoples.

When the friendship, cooperation and mutual assistance treaty was signed on 7 October 1975, its articles embodied the essential experiences of a fraternal partnership that had lasted for decades already. Derived from it, it contains the long-range prospects for further development throughout this century. As subsequently life was given to this treaty, cooperation made most successful headway in all public sectors.

In setting down the tasks for the continued shaping of the developed socialist society, our 10th party congress also initiated a new phase in our cooperation with Lenin's land. Our party, as one knows, stays the course of the main task in its unity of economic and social policy, which requires a strong economic performance increase so as to secure even under the conditions of the 1980's our material and cultural standard of living and extend it step by step. In view of the stage reached of the material-technical base of our economy and the social processes variously combined with it, such a task can be solved only through rigorous production intensification. The greater labor productivity needed must come mainly by way of science and technology and their better economic utilization. Considerable economic growth must be ensured while raw materials and fuels remain the same and will even partly be reduced. The 10th party congress set down the party's economic strategy for the 1980's that takes care of the requirements referred to.

In the months ahead this year, the fulfilment and surpassing of the current plan enter their final stage. The economic tasks for 1983 come under discussion at the same time. The working people's activities thus already extend beyond the middle of the five-year plan. The demands are high and, partly, of new quality. For all that we may take for granted that the fine production results of the last year will continue in 1982. By the end of August the sector of the industrial ministries showed a 4.2 percent growth rate in industrial commodity production and of 3.5 percent in labor productivity. With an average hectare yield of 39.8 decitons, the cooperative farmers and agricultural workers brought in the largest grain harvest in our republic thus far.

One must remember that each percent of growth today, when it has to be achieved with reduced material and energy, calls for more initiative and inventiveness and for the solution of larger economic development problems than in the 1970's. The key to it lies in the research institutions and laboratories and their close cooperation with production. So it becomes the most significant impulse for performance improvements to exhaust ever more effectively the advantages of socialism for the use of the scientific-technical revolution. That is, by nature, a demand that can only be satisfied in cooperation with the socialist fraternal countries, mainly with the Soviet Union. So our party's economic strategy from the outset presupposes the extension of that partnership.

While that need is derived even from the inherent requirements of our social policy, it logically becomes still greater because, mainly on account of the U.S. Reagan administration, we are up against a declared economic warfare. It cannot induce us to withdraw from the worldwide division of labor. For all that, economic cooperation with capitalist countries also remains an important component of the struggle for peaceful coexistence between states with differing social orders. Yet at a time when influential imperialist circles pursue a policy of threats and embargo, the mutual trade and cooperation among the socialist countries must stand up all the more as the backbone of their foreign economy, satisfy their essential economic needs and reinforce their world market position.

So it is easy to see how much importance attaches to the fact that the cooperation between our two countries develops reliably, as Comrade Leonid Ilyich Brezhnev and I agreed at our recent meeting on the Crimea. Our mutual trade in 1981 came to 49.9 billion valuta mark, a volume unparalleled anywhere in the world in the trade between any two countries. The Soviet proportion in our foreign trade comes to 38 percent. Our mutual trade tripled in the 1970's. Still faster went the development of specialization and cooperation, the results of which in 1981 already came to 44.1 percent of GDR exports to the USSR.

Especially positive are the prospects of our working together in a number of areas which, as it were, lie along the main road of further economic progress in both our countries. First there is our cooperation in the most progressive sectors of science and production. One may but mention microelectronics and robot construction. In coming years our efforts, together with those in other interested socialist countries, will be concentrated still more on the development of science and technology and the introduction of modern technologies in industrial and agricultural production. All efforts are more and more placed under the auspices of production intensification.

As to the extensive raw material and fuel deliveries from the USSR to the GDR, our people regards them as an indispensable long-range guarantee for stable systematic advances. Under current conditions one can understand all the more how valuable the early decision by our party was to make thorough use of our own resources as well as to refine as much as possible the resources imported from the USSR. Let yourselves also be reminded of the consistent economical utilization of petroleum. The GDR citizens also know under how difficult geographic conditions petroleum and natural gas are extracted in the USSR and how long the transportation routes are. More than 10,000 working people from our country, as one knows, have already been involved in building the Soyuz natural gas pipeline. Right now work has started in building more than 545 kilometer of pipeline with the facilities and housing units that go with it, a youth project involving circa 5,000 GDR workers.

Finally, and not last, we should mention the deliveries of consumer goods to the Soviet Union that will come to over 4.3 billion valuta mark in 1982. Thus the interlocking of our economies keeps making headway. In the pulsebeat of the economy and its capacity, the reliable course of our cooperation becomes ever more clearly perceptible. Contractual fidelity and high quality shipments on a modern scientific-technical level are gaining weight. It is in that sense that the cooperation with the Soviet Union plays an important role in the working people's socialist competition. Conscientiously fulfilling what has been agreed upon and, at the same time, tapping new possibilities for jointly tackling the current and future problems--those are to our party concerns of a high rank.

The CEMA countries doubtless have the mental and material resources to cope also with the requirements for the 1980's. That will succeed all the more successfully, the more consistently they are jointly used and utilized with high efficiency. In all this the economic outcome is supplemented by the friendly relations running up into millions. Already they involve many working people who through a direct experience exchange of enterprises, institutions and facilities are intertwined in cooperation on joint projects. And then we have all the encounter of children and adolescents, the student exchange, tourism and much more like that.

During the 60 years of its existence, the USSR has performed world historic achievements in many fields. That applies particularly to its great contribution to the struggle for ensuring peace and, thus, implement the most elementary human right, the right to life. Lenin saw in the Red October the "first victory toward the abolition of war."⁵ The historic peace decree, calling on all to end war and stop their violence and rapacity became the permanent evidence for it. The USSR entered the world arena as a state which, in line with its socialist character, elevated peace into the supreme maxim of its policy and international acts. Already the first USSR Constitution, adopted by the Second Soviet Congress on 31 January 1924, contained this peace principle. Undeterred, the Soviet land has been loyal to it. Logically further developed, it finds its expression today in the peace program of the 26th CPSU Congress and the new USSR Constitution in force since 1977.

The power, strength and international influence of the Soviet Union are of decisive weight in the worldwide conflict about the issues of war and peace and settling them in accordance with the people's interests. As the chief force of our alliance in the Warsaw Pact, mainly the USSR is inspiring the constructive activities by which the socialist states seek to prevent a nuclear inferno and stabilize peace for good. And it is of course understood that we do all we can to ensure our countries' defense capability on an appropriate level. Shoulder to shoulder with the Soviet armed forces, the units of the NVA and the other armed forces in the GDR keep on guard in reliably protecting socialism and peace.

All the world knows what immense sacrifices the Soviet Union invested in the victory over Hitler fascism and thus in the struggle that controls the future of the earth. Twenty million of its sons and daughters gave their lives, once flourishing towns and villages succumbed in ruin and ashes, and it took many years to heal the wounds of war. Many scars still hurt today. The will to peace by the Soviet peoples and the peace policy of their state are one and the same. They are based on the communist ideals and goals as much as on the experience of war and attest to the highest sense of responsibility to all of mankind.

In seeking to make our own contribution to securing peace we feel inextricably interwoven with the USSR. We are most eager to change Europe from a region of devastating wars into a continent of peace, of normal equal relations and fruitful cooperation. That task requires still greater efforts and more resolute acts than before. There is nothing more important to us than peace; from it all deliberations and practical measures are derived. In an era of nuclear weapons of mass annihilation war can no longer be a continuation of politics by different means. Humanity must be preserved from the abyss into which those most aggressive imperialist circles are threatening to plunge it which in their course of confrontation and arms-buildup are not deterred even by the most adventurous risks.

The aggravation of the international situation makes all the more evident how urgent concrete measures are for stopping the arms race and limiting and reducing armaments, especially in the nuclear field. All reasonable people will understand that this can be done only in conformity with the principle of equality and equal security. About that, the Soviet Union and the Warsaw Pact states have kept making constructive proposals on the various international levels; it is the objective of our foreign policy coordination. Entirely in that sense the GDR also backs the tenacious efforts by the Soviet Union to get to positive results as soon as possible in the Geneva arms limitation negotiations with the United States.

The design by certain NATO circles, mainly by the United States, to gain military strategic superiority over the Soviet Union and the socialist community is a serious threat to peace. The same purpose is meant to be served by the deployment of new U.S. nuclear first-strike weapons in Western Europe, expected to reach their decisive stage in conformity with the ominous NATO missile resolution in Brussels in 1983. All who seriously want peace are up in arms against it. They demand a departure from a policy that envisages nuclear death for millions and millions, and they insist that the governments of the NATO states also meet their responsibility to peace.

An arms buildup does not provide more security. What Europe needs is not more U.S. nuclear missiles but the consolidation and continuation of detente, which indeed constitutes a historic accomplishment of the peoples. It would benefit our continent especially, where it effected significant positive changes in the 1970's. The planned deployment of new U.S. nuclear missiles, however, is bound to do the greatest harm to the relations between states with differing social orders in Europe. We maintain that the preservation, further development and extension of detente would be of the greatest importance to the various regions in the world. After all, it contains such fundamental elements for the recovery of the international situation as a conscientious observance of international law, the respect for each country's sovereignty and the non-intervention in the domestic affairs of others.

The aggressive nature of imperialism has been especially demonstrated recently in the Near East. Israel's shameful acts against the Lebanese, Palestinian and Syrian peoples, particularly the abhorrent bloodbath among the Palestinians in Beirut, demonstrate how, especially, the United States is heating up explosive tensions with the risk that they will explode into a big war. That amounts to irresponsible policy.

Today it becomes true in a very special way that peace is not a gift but has to be achieved through hard struggle. So it is not enough to come out in favor of it by declarations. The seriousness of a government's will to peace is mainly gaged against the deeds by which it contributes to solving those problems on which its safeguarding depends. The GDR has passed that test so far and will do the same in the future. As the 10th SED Congress resolved, we do all we can to have the principles of peaceful coexistence prevail over the imperialist confrontation course, have the peoples live without another war, and pursue their everyday work. The all-round strengthening of the socialist GDR within the community of the fraternal countries is the best contribution we can make to it, and each can add his own personal share to it.

Looking forward to the approaching 60th anniversary of the founding of the USSR, we reaffirm our fraternal, constant bond with Lenin's party and land. This great anniversary is a fitting occasion to become aware again of the historic accomplishments of the Soviet state. At the same time, each of us is strengthened through the prospects of the victoriousness of our joint cause of socialism and communism, for the struggle of the people's existence in peace and progress. It inspires the creative energy with which we shall keep implementing the 10th SED Congress resolutions with success.

FOOTNOTES

1. Cf. "CPSU Central Committee Resolution--On the 60th Anniversary of the Founding of the USSR," NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 22 February 1982, p 5.
2. Cf. L. I. Brezhnev, "XXVI. Parteitag der KPdSU. Rechenschaftsbericht des Zentralkomitees der Kommunistischen Partei der Sowjetunion und die naechsten Aufgaben der Partei in der Innen- und Aussenpolitik" (26th CPSU Congress--CPSU Central Committee Status Report and the Next Domestic and Foreign Policy Tasks), Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1981, p 108.

3. Karl Liebknecht, "Gesammelte Reden und Schriften" (Collected Speeches and Essays), Vol IX, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1968, p 371.
4. Cf. Ernst Thaelmann, "On the Victory of Socialism in the Soviet Union," "Reden und Aufsätze zur Geschichte der deutschen Arbeiterbewegung" (Speeches and Essays on the History of the German Workers Movement), Vol I, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1956, p 435.
5. V. I. Lenin, "On the Fourth Anniversary of the October Revolution," "Werke" (Works), Vol 33, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1962, p 36.

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USSR'S NATIONALITIES POLICY DEFENDED AGAINST 'BOURGEOIS DISTORTIONS'

East Berlin EINHEIT in German Vol 37 No 11/12, Nov-Dec 82 (signed to press 21 Oct 82) pp 1137-1146

[Article by Bruno Mahlow, political scientist, member, SED Central Auditing Commission; deputy department chief, SED Central Committee: "Triumph of Lenin's Nationalities Policy"]

[Text] The USSR's successful development--inextricably interwoven with the theory worked out by Lenin and the program he established for the national question. On the irrelevance of the imperialist distortions and defamations of the materialist-dialectical concept of the national question and the nationalities policy in the USSR. The creative further development of the Leninist doctrine on nationalities and the national relations within the USSR under the conditions of developed socialism. The international significance of the USSR's experiences.

As the Great Socialist October Revolution marked the world historic turning point in the struggle for the abolition of suppression and exploitation, the founding of the USSR logically symbolized the historic turning point in the struggle of millenia for eliminating the opposition between the peoples and nations and for establishing equal relations among them. From that arose the historic alternative for the hostility kindled by the exploiter classes among the peoples, and for colonialism, racism and chauvinist nationalistic agitation with their most brutal imperialist manifestations. Specifically, in the international situation of 1922, that also amounted to the weighty political response by the young Soviet power, aimed at the understanding and peaceful coexistence of the peoples and states, to the Versailles system the imperialists had bargained for, which even then contained the germ for another and still more devastating war.

The cornerstone had been laid for a state which, for the first time in the history of peoples and nations one one-sixth of the earth, instead of the subjection, despoliation, discrimination and discord that divided them, in theory and practice paved the way to real equality, economic, social and cultural development, true friendship and fraternal cooperation.

The successful development of the USSR, a country with over 100 nations and nationalities, has worked and is working ever more emphatically as the model for settling the national question and paves the way for mankind to form new historic communities, as represented by the Soviet people today. The Soviet Union--Comrade Erich Honecker has affirmed--became a powerful, united and solidly forged multinational state thanks to Lenin's nationalities policy, the example of which serves as evidence that a full blossoming of nations is possible only in socialism.¹

On a Leninist Basis

The USSR's successful development is inextricably interwoven with the theory established by Lenin and the program he prepared on the national question. He relied on the ideas of Marx and Engels that found their most compact expression in the "Communist Manifesto": "In proportion as the antagonism between classes within the nation vanishes, the hostility of one nation to another will come to an end."² Led by the principle of a class-bound approach, Lenin prepared the creative program and the strategy and tactics for the revolutionary workers movement on settling the national question in its national and international, economic, social, cultural, ideological, official political and legal aspects. This Leninist program and the Bolsheviks' policy based on it became an organic component of the struggle for working class power and successful socialist construction. That is only logical; all the more so in as much as, after all, in prerevolutionary Russia the socially and nationally brutally suppressed nations and nationalities composed more than half of its inhabitants. Taking account of that fact, Lenin developed and defended the theory of the national question in his conflict with opportunistic attacks from the "left" and the right. Of crucial importance in this was his discovery, valid to this day, that in any serious and politically significant matter the grouping comes in terms of classes, not nations. The fault in opportunistic distortions in the final analysis after all lies in the inability to approach the national question by a concrete analysis of economic class and social relations and disclose the class content of national slogans. It lies in the inability to base such slogans on appropriate national and international relations and connections with an eye to the degree of maturity in objective conditions and mass awareness.

Attacks made by bourgeois ideologists against the materialist-dialectical concept of the national question, the national and the international, the distortions and defamations of the Soviet Union's nationalities policy and of the character of relations among socialist countries are based on methods that are as unprincipled as they are obvious. Mainly they then always design--by rote and ahistorically--a mutually exclusive opposition between the tendency to preserve, realize and unfold the nations, national concerns and interests of the peoples, on the one side, and the tendency of internationalization, of the nations' rapprochement and adaptation, the forming of joint uniform bases and characteristics in the community of friendly socialist peoples, on the other. According to whatever they intend to show, they then seek to suggest by such fabrications either the idea that the latter tendency expressed the intent to negate or unify national distinctions or the sovereignty and independence of nations and states. Or they seek to make it appear that the by no means easily deniable reality of the blossoming of nations on a

socialist foundation stood in contradiction to Marxism-Leninism, to which they then impute simplistic, mechanistic notions about the disappearance of national distinctions or the merging of nations. In short: the successes of the Soviet Union in solving the national question and in the nationalities policy had been brought about "in spite of socialism," "in opposition to the ruling ideology."

Wholly in line with such stereotypes of imperialist manipulation, the so-called East Europe researchers are then also spinning their web of lies, by which the vice of the anticommunists is still meant to be turned into a virtue after all, no matter how grotesque the mental distortions get that are needed for that. One of these so-called researchers writes: "Altogether it is to be maintained that the Soviet ideology has by no means prevented a fairly flexible and, to an extent, successful nationalities policy. It proves once again that a false theory certainly may initiate a successful policy that is 'correct' as far as it goes."³ Pseudo-solutions pretending to that sort of originality are meant to help them out of the intricate web of anti-Soviet and anticommunist fabrications. While the USSR's successes with its nationalities policy cannot be directly denied, a detour simply has to be found which via distorting the "Soviet ideology," the Leninist theory, still leads to the solution of the national question.

For that purpose, and in violation of all the truth of the materialist-dialectical world-outlook, it is being insinuated maliciously that the communists let themselves be guided by utopian schemas they mean to impose artificially and arbitrarily on real social development. Quite on the contrary, however, Marxism-Leninism approaches the national question in a concrete-historic sense, in harmony with the objective, real process of social development. The theory and policy of Lenin's party for settling the national question also are by no means based on any kind of wishful thinking remote from reality but are profoundly scientific. Lenin himself formulated the principles for approaching the national question in a most striking manner: "Nor must the communist party place any abstract or formal principles in the foreground in the national question but it must proceed, first, from an accurate assessment of the concrete historic and, mainly, the economic situation; second, from clearly distilling the interests of the suppressed classes of working people, the exploited, from the general concept of the people's interests as such, and third, from an equally clear differentiation between suppressed, dependent and unequal nations and suppressed, exploited and fully equal nations, in contrast to the bourgeois-democratic web of lies, by means of which one seeks to cover up in the era of finance capital and imperialism one's own colonial and financial enslaving of the immense majority of the population on the earth by a minute minority of the richest advanced capitalist countries."⁴ This is what Lenin emphasized: "The historic standpoint and concreteness is what discussions of this question most frequently and mainly lack. All sort of contraband is normally smuggled in under the banner of general sloganry, that of 'general' reflections on internationalism, cosmopolitanism, nationalism, patriotism and so forth."⁵

As Lenin saw it, for the workers movement settling the national question essentially meant an absolute need to appropriate the demand for complete equality among nations, advocate without reservation the nations' right to self-determination, all the way to acts of secession, and advocate and implement at the same time the principle of the international unity of the working class struggle for power and the construction of the new social order.

This also is the sense in which the principles for Soviet federalism Lenin elaborated have to be understood, the forming of a state in which national discord is eliminated and account is taken of the aspirations of suppressed peoples for forming a national state, in which the selfish nationalistic plans of the bourgeoisie are frustrated and the desire of the peoples for unification with the Russian people is reflected. "We want a voluntary alliance of nations," Lenin wrote, "an alliance that allows no use of force by one nation against others, an alliance based on complete trust, a clear realization of fraternal unity, and entirely voluntary accord."⁶ The RSFSR in 1918 became the prototype of a political union erected on those principles. In eliminating national suppression and all privileges by one nation vis-a-vis others, and in enforcing a resolute and consistent democratism in this field, Lenin found the indispensable condition for encouraging the working masses' national liberation struggle. That is imperative for shaping their class consciousness, which would remain obscured and buried under conditions of national bondage and discrimination--a fact that allows the suppressors to realize their policy of "divide and conquer," of pitting the working people in any given nation against one another.

The Leninist theory on settling the national question embraces both the general democratic demands of the peoples and the class interests of the proletariat. It always combines full national liberation with social liberation and rates the development of the nations on a truly free and equal basis as the precondition for the international brotherhood of the working people of all nations. Lenin predicted far ahead when he in the early 20th century, by thoroughly analyzing the anticolonial movement in Eastern countries, came to the conclusion that the social revolution would unite the proletariat's struggle against the bourgeoisie in advanced countries with a whole number of democratic, partly revolutionary, liberation movements in the backward and dependent countries. Showing great sensitivity and attention to the interests of the working people of the various nations, Lenin for the first time in history laid a scientific basis for practical policy in settling the national question and, at the Second RSDLP Congress, established the thesis of the nations' right to self-determination.

Lenin resolutely opposed views that saw in it a departure from the common tasks of the proletarians of all countries and advocated eliminating the national question altogether from the party program. Accepting that demand would have deprived the struggle of Russia's workers class of one of its most important pillars, of the alliance with Russia's suppressed nations where the masses were struggling for their national liberation, as the fundamental prerequisite for the unification movement of liberated nations. Taking issue with those who opposed the inclusion of the point of the nations' right to self-determination in the party program, he stated at the Eighth RSDLP(B) Congress: "Were we to scratch or reformulate that point, we would eliminate the national question from the program. That would be possible if there were people without national characteristics. But there are no such people, and in a different fashion we cannot construct the socialist society."⁷ The motto of the nations' right to self-determination, he emphasized, showed the way leading not to the splitting of nations but to their true international unification. In a masterly manner, he distinguished between justifiid national pride serving the interests of the workers class, and nationalism and chauvinism expressing the ideology of the exploiter classes and oppressor nations.

For the bourgeoisie, nationalism and chauvinism have always served as the preliminary step for aggression and war; history furnishes enough examples of it to our own days. "Marxism," said Lenin, "is incompatible with nationalism, however 'fair,' 'clean,' refined and civilized it may be. Marxism replaces any nationalism with internationalism."⁸ That remark he combined with a reference to the central importance of the working people's internationalist education. "If we want to remain faithful to socialism, we must at once care about the internationalist education of the masses."⁹

Proceeding from this sound scientific position, Lenin underscored that for the proletariat--genuine conditions presupposed--the unification of nations on a truly democratic, internationalist foundation in a large, strong state was preferable to the practice of secession. The founding and development of the Bolshevik party as a multinational party of the workers class on the basis of democratic centralism and proletarian internationalism was a crucial prerequisite for successfully settling the national question within the scope of the socialist union state.

Proven in Practice

This is how Erich Honecker described the historic achievement of the USSR: "Arisen from the victory of the Red October, and founded by Vladimir Ilyich Lenin, the USSR passed through enormous social transformations. There arose then those relations of unity and friendship among free peoples that no one had known up to then in history."¹⁰ On the immense territory of the multinational Soviet land, led by Lenin's party, the national question as bequeathed to humanity by capitalism was settled definitively, and a new historic community, that of the Soviet people, emerged.

That road led purposefully and consistently from the Declaration of the Rights of the Nations of Russia, which had been adopted in November 1917, 8 days after the October Revolution, to the USSR Constitution of 7 October 1977. After the victorious October Revolution, which eliminated national suppression and established the political and legal equality of the peoples and nationalities in the Soviet land, Lenin and the Bolsheviks started channeling the energy and creativeness the national revolution of the country's peoples and nationalities had released into the construction of socialist society. In its course one had to secure the real equality by eliminating the contradiction between the developed centers and the underdeveloped peripheral areas of former tsarist Russia and overcome the discord among the nationalities which the old order had produced.

The key to solving that problem Lenin found in the ability to link the desires, intent and sympathy of the masses in the various peoples and nationalities with the objective requirements and processes of public life. And there he distinguished between an unmitigated necessary recognition of the peoples' right to self-determination including the right to secession and the political utility of secession from the standpoint of the workers class, the working masses. The Bolsheviks tried tenaciously and patiently to convince the nations that had been suppressed in the past through their own experience of the advantages of a fraternal alliance of all nations. They combined socialist construction with the peoples' unification movement toward a unified union state.

The rapprochement and fusion of all nations' workers and peasants, Lenin affirmed, "requires the complete liberation of the colonial and other thus far suppressed or unequal nations, which includes granting the freedom for secession, as a guarantee that the mistrust inherited from capitalism among the working masses of the various nations and the bitterness of the workers in suppressed nations against those in suppressor nations are completely dispelled and replaced by a conscious and voluntary alliance."¹¹

The alliance of the Soviet republics, as Lenin remarked, was to be created while account was taken of the following factors: "first, that without a very close alliance among the Soviet republics it is impossible to preserve their existence because they are surrounded by incomparably stronger imperialist military powers of the whole world; second, that a close economic alliance of the Soviet republics is necessary because otherwise the recovery of the productive forces destroyed by imperialism and ensuring the working people's well-being are not feasible; and third, that the tendency toward creating a uniform economy as a whole, to be managed in accordance with a joint plan by the proletariat of all nations, a tendency which became already quite evident under capitalism, absolutely has to be extended and brought to perfection under socialism."¹² This is the Leninist course the Soviet Union pursued after its founding when the most advanced forces of the various nations united and fused in the construction and defense of the new socialist order.

It was decisive for the success and solidity of this political, economic and military union that it took shape around the RSFSR and that the Russian proletariat formed its core, chief agent and decisive force. It served as a model of proletarian internationalism, an internationalism of deeds, and of willingness for sacrifice. The Russian proletariat granted the former suppressed and economically, socially and culturally backward nations and nationalities in Russia a maximum unselfish support to ensure their rise securely and while bypassing capitalism. Even a redistribution of production capacities from central parts of the country to eastern republics was undertaken.

Under the tough conditions of foreign intervention and civil war, an alliance of the Soviet republics at that time, based on various treaties, arose under communist party leadership. In August 1922 the Central Committee of the Bolshevik party appointed a commission to work out a resolution on the mutual relations between the RSFSR and the other Soviet republics. Its plenum, on 6 October 1922, passed Lenin's plan through which all Soviet republics voluntarily merged into the USSR on the basis of complete equality. The principles Lenin had laid down for the USSR as a multinational state and his federative principle of construction have remained in force to this day. They have persuasively passed the test of time.

In the wake of socialist industrialization and the collectivization of agriculture, the cultural revolution, the creation of the material-technical base of socialism and the formation of the uniform economic complex of the Soviet Union, the disparity between the industrially developed centers and the once backward peripheral areas of tsarist Russia was done away with. The division

of the Soviet republics into industrial and agricultural republics vanished, and a highly developed diversified industry and mechanized agricultural large-scale production were created. About the economic and cultural upswing of the Soviet peoples since the founding of the USSR, the figures given in the following table furnish eloquent testimony:

Economic Development

	Total Volume of Investments		Rate of Growth in Total Industrial Output		Production of Electrical Energy (in billion kilowatt hours)		Rate of Growth in Gross Agricultural Output	
	(1922=1)		(1922=1)				(1922=1)	
	1922	1981	1922	1981	1922	1981	1922	1981
USSR (total)	1	553	1	514	0.8	1,325	1	5.2
RSFSR	1	554	1	478	0.5	836	1	4.1
Ukrainian SSR	1	372	1	276	0.1	231	1	5.0
Byelorussian SSR	1	497	1	699	0.0	33.4	1	5.5
Uzbek SSR	1	859	1	415	0.0	35.4	1	11.8
Kazakh SSR	1	11,030	1	902	0.0	63.6	1	12.6
Georgian SSR	1	314	1	292	0.0	15.1	1	13.3
Azerbaidzhan SSR	1	416	1	138	0.2	14.6	1	12.3
Lithuanian SSR	1*	788	1	61	0.08*	11.7	1*	2.0
Moldavian SSR	1*	162	1	903	0.0	16.7	1*	3.3
Latvian SSR	1*	112	1*	46	0.25*	4.8	1*	1.5
Kirgiz SSR	1	483	1	690	0.0	10.4	1	10.6
Tadzhik SSR	1	533	1	874	—	13.5	1	14.1
Armenian SSR	1	931	1	1,008	0.0	14.3	1	9.4
Turkmen SSR	1	981	1	206	0.0	7.3	1	10.6
Estonian SSR	1*	24	1*	49	0.2*	17.8	1*	1.7

Three-fourths of Russia's population were illiterate in the early 20th century, among them 97 percent of the Uzbeks, 98 percent of the Kazakh and Kirgiz, 99 percent of the Tadzhik and Turkmen. In 1921, only eight inhabitants of Kazakhstan had a college education. Each census at the late 1950's showed that the USSR population had become 100-percent literate. The 10th five-year plan provided the transition to mandatory secondary school education. In the mid-1970's, the proportion of pupils reaching the upper grades was balanced out among the pupils of all nationalities. In 1950, the highest proportion (in Georgia) had still been six times that of the lowest (in Moldavia). The number of scientists rose from 11,600 in 1913 to 1.4 million in 1980. Whereas now all union republics have their own academies of sciences, up to the revolution there had been no colleges at all in the territories of many republics. In former peripheral areas like Turkmenistan, Kazakhstan, Tadzhikistan, Kirgizia, Azerbaidzhan, Armenia, Moldavia and Byelorussia, the number of pupils per 10,000 inhabitants is from 1 1/2 to two times as high today as in Great Britain and Italy. One out of every four scientists in the world is Soviet today.

*Base year 1940. Source: SOVIET UNION, Moscow, No 9, 1982, pp 34-35.

These few figures and examples demonstrate the unparalleled ascent the peoples of the Soviet Union have made under the Soviet power and the impact of their united efforts in the construction of the new society. This process is marked by the rapprochement and adjustments among the nations as well as by their blossoming; for not a few peoples in the Soviet land, the time since the October Revolution in fact offered for the first time the conditions to develop as nations to begin with.

Strength multiplied by being federated into the socialist union, and the friendship among the nations of the Soviet land, also furnished the crucial factors for the victory over Hitler fascism in the Great Patriotic War. All hopes by the reactionary bourgeois circles that the Soviet republics would fall apart were destroyed.

It is all too understandable that imperialism, with its anticommunist and anti-Soviet propaganda, is making great efforts in defaming and distorting the development of nations and national relations in the USSR and the policy of the CPSU. Yet what is left over after all such lying and cheating is the fact that the national question cannot be settled within the scope of the capitalist social order and the capitalist world system. The bloody methods by which the British imperialists suppress the national aspirations in Ulster, the ongoing discrimination, aggravated under the Reagan administration, against the Afro-Americans, Indians and other national groups in the United States, national discord and opposition in Belgium, Canada, Spain and other capitalist industrial countries, the lack of equality of foreign workers, whose number comes close to 10 million in Western Europe alone, the existing and further deepening gap between industrially developed and backward countries and regions, between centers and peripheral areas, even in capitalist Europe and in specific capitalist countries themselves, such as the contrast between northern and southern Italy--all that shows that the ruling classes cannot settle the national question even in the developed regions of capitalism. If we take the capitalist world economic system as a whole, the steady deepening of the north-south contrast, i.e., the increasing exploitation and despoliation of most Asian, African and Latin American countries by imperialist states and the ever wider gap resulting from it in the levels of economic development and the peoples' living conditions, show that imperialism not only cannot solve the problems resulting from national opposition but is further aggravating them.

Against that background one can become all the more persuaded by the magnitude of the historic achievement and the strength of example embodied in the 60-year development of the Soviet Union and the crucial importance of the weight and influence of the Soviet Union and the peoples and states of the socialist community allied with it, regarding the destiny of peace and the solution of the problems that confront humanity.

The National Relations in Developed Socialism

The establishing of the developed socialist society, the formation of the Soviet people as a new historic community marked by truly equal relations among nations, by increasing adaptation in their socioeconomic and cultural

development, through increasingly identical social population structures and the formation of a uniform economic complex in the USSR--in short, the advanced level of social development confronts CPSU policy with new tasks in shaping social relations. The 26th party congress underscored that the historic results achieved in this field do not mean "all questions in the field of national relations have already been resolved. The dynamics in the development of a large multinational state as ours raises many a problem our party must attend to with sensitivity and attention."¹³ The Leninist doctrine on nations and national relations is creatively being developed further under the conditions of developed socialism.

Among the tasks connected with that, the 26th CPSU Congress mainly referred to the need to keep ensuring the linkage between national and international overall social interests. On the basis of the intensification of economic processes we must ensure the development of the material and intellectual potentials in each and every republic as well as their maximum use for having the whole country move ahead. The importance and dimension of this process points to new horizons. Great importance in this connection attaches to the task to strengthen the socioeconomic homogeneity by implementing the 26th party congress program on the country's economic and social development. That includes systematic efforts in bringing the labor productivity up to par which in the industries of some republics still deviates by some 30 percent, and in agriculture still more, from the national average. We are strengthening the fraternal reciprocal assistance among the union republics, their jointly working on important projects and their jointly opening up new territorial production complexes, especially in Siberia, the Far East and the northern Soviet Union. One is focusing on the development of the non-black earth zone as much as, in line with the scientific-technical revolution, on an above-average tempo in the technization of production and the increase in labor productivity in the republics and regions that show the largest population growth. That presupposes of course a systematic management and control of migration processes. Of far-reaching strategic importance for the socioeconomic development of the Soviet Union is the implementation of the food-stuffs program and the setting up of a uniform agro-industrial complex.

Another main thrust in this policy lies in perfecting socialist democracy, in a still more effective linkage between socialist federalism and democratic centralism. Protecting the interests of all the peoples in the USSR while the multinational composition of the republics' population increases is ensured also by strict attention to further improving proportionate representation for all nationalities in the Soviet system.

Multilayered creative tasks arise also from the reciprocal conditioning between the nations' economic and cultural upswing and their coming to resemble one another more and more. A solution for that makes high demands on combining patriotic with internationalist education, an effective connection between overall state and regional interests, and a purposeful development of experience exchange among the country's various republics and regions. That ultimately also manifests a higher qualitative level in the comprehensive utilization of all the advantages of socialism.

The Historic Importance of the Leninist Nationalities Policy

USSR history is the history of six decades of practical experiences in successfully settling the national question, which is inextricably interwoven with the historic accomplishments of real socialism. These experiences provide something exceedingly essential and fundamental to all revolutionary forces in the various sections of our struggle. The imperishable international significance of the experience of the Leninist nationalities policy of the CPSU as such follows objectively from there being in existence the USSR as the chief force for peace and progress, from the power of its example and its active international efforts. Among the most important lessons and experiences in the 60-year development of the USSR are:¹⁴

First: The USSR has furnished the practical evidence for settling the national question on a socialist basis and confirmed Lenin's prediction that socialism produces "new and higher forms of interhuman relations, where the justified needs and progressive aspirations of the working masses of every nationality are for the first time satisfied in international unanimity."¹⁵ That cogently demonstrates in practice the indissoluble unity of the struggle for social and national liberation as being prerequisite to the successful construction of socialism.

The antagonistic contradiction between the progressive tendency to bring the peoples more closely together and unite them on the basis of the internationalization of economic life, and the coercive methods and forms for bringing them closer and uniting them under capitalist conditions, which lead to a deepening of national contrasts, was done away with. The Soviet Union has turned into reality the prediction from Karl Marx that the workers class is absolutely certain to arrive at a harmonious national and international co-ordination of social forms of production.¹⁶

Second: This development took place on the basis of the public ownership in the means of production and the socialist planned economy, thanks to the victory by the workers and farmers power and the working class leadership, reflected and made real in the inspiring and leadership role of the communist party.

Lenin's party originated and developed multinationally in its composition, but most uniformly and internationalistically in its ideology and policy, and in the principles of its organizational structure. Only because of that, because of the unity of action by a multinational workers class, it became possible to bring Lenin's program on settling the national question to realization.

Third: USSR experiences have proven that the fulfilment of the historic mission of the workers class has nothing in common with denying history and the nations' traditions or the concrete forms under which they exist. Refuting the claims by bourgeois ideologists, that the internationalization of public life in the USSR means the elimination of specific national traits, the formation of the Soviet people as a new historic community took place through a process in which the peoples and nations blossomed and enriched each other,

in the exchange of their best accomplishments in their material and intellectual culture, through developing progressive tendencies at an overall national scale, and in overcoming narrow national prejudices and manifestations. The development of a streamlined economic complex in the Soviet Union has gone hand in hand with territorial division of labor, production specialization in the various republics, the use of available natural resources and the allocated economic conditions for a priority development in those production branches that make possible the most comprehensive and effective utilization of the potentials in the various republics.

Fourth: The historic accomplishments achieved in the Soviet Union in settling the national question and shaping national relations would be inconceivable without the constant development and perfection of socialist democracy, the political system of the multinational state, which guarantees to the various nations and nationalities within the framework of the Soviet Union an effective influence on the planning and realization of development in all public domains. The rise and blossoming of the nations and nationalities provide the working people in all parts of the Soviet Union with the concrete experience that an ever more complete satisfaction of the working people's growing material and cultural needs, as the goal of socialist production, by way of production growth and increased efficiency, can all the more extensively and effectively be gained, the more actively and effectively the various republics contribute to it. That provides the basis for the shared objective interests in further developing the Soviet Union's streamlined economic complex.

Fifth: The ascent and blossoming of the nations in the six decades of development in the Soviet Union does not amount to any unilateral increase of national distinctions and differentiations, to the shaping of predominantly national specifics. That process of blossoming presupposes resolute issue-taking with nationalism and also, and mainly, includes all the common features that emerged among the peoples of the various republics in the struggle for joint ideals and goals and are inseparably connected with the formation of the Soviet people as a new historic community.

These common features are vested in the Marxist-Leninist world-outlook in the life of Soviet society; they are such high values of the Soviet people as the collective spirit, helpfulness, solidarity, Soviet patriotism and proletarian internationalism. All these are essential traits of Soviet people, which turned Gorki's saying, "A man--how noble that sounds!" into a social reality.

The USSR, the Soviet people as a new historic community, Soviet man--these three concepts convincingly manifest the joint class nature and the high degree of internationalism in Soviet society within and in its international relations. Sixty years of the USSR have persuasively demonstrated the advantages of real socialism. They mark a qualitative turning point in international relations and in the revolutionary renovation of the world in practice.

FOOTNOTES

1. Cf. Erich Honecker, "The USSR and the Cooperation of the Socialist States," *KOMMUNIST*, Moscow, No 18, 1972, p 64 (in Russian).

2. Karl Marx/Friedrich Engels, "Communist Manifesto," "Werke" (Works), Vol 4, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1959, p 479.
3. Gerhard Simon, "The Non-Russian Peoples in the Society and Domestic Policy of the USSR," OSTEUROPA, Stuttgart, No 6, 1979, p 448.
4. V. I. Lenin, "Original Draft Theses on the National and Colonial Question," "Werke," Vol 31, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1959, p 133.
5. Ibid., "Statistics and Sociology," Vol 23, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1968, pp 284 & 286.
6. Ibid., "Letter to the Workers and Farmers of the Ukraine," Vol 30, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1961, p 283.
7. Ibid., "Eighth CPR(B) Congress," Vol 29, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1961, p 182.
8. Ibid., "Critical Remarks on the National Question," Vol 20, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1971, p 19.
9. Ibid., "The Results of the Discussion on Self-Determination," Vol 22, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1960, p 361.
10. Erich Honecker, "The USSR and the GDR Are Inextricably Linked," "Reden und Aufsätze" (Speeches and Essays), Vol II, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1975, p 116.
11. V. I. Lenin, "CPR(B) Draft Program," Vol 29, p 111.
12. Ibid., "Original Draft Theses . . .," loc. cit., p 135.
13. L. I. Brezhnev, "XXVI. Parteitag der KPdSU, Rechenschaftsbericht des Zentralkomitees der Kommunistischen Partei der Sowjetunion und die naechsten Aufgaben der Partei in der Innen- und Aussenpolitik" (26th CPSU Congress--CPSU Central Committee Status Report and the Next Party Tasks in Domestic and Foreign Policy), Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1981, p 77.
14. Cf. also Boris Ponomarev, "The Leninist Nationalities Policy of the CPSU in the Phase of Developed Socialism and Its International Importance" (Speech at the CPSU Central Committee Science Conference), Riga, 28 June 1982), Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1982.
15. V. I. Lenin, "The Situation and Tasks of the Socialist International," Vol 21, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1960, p 26.
16. Cf. Karl Marx, "First Draft for the 'Civil War in France,'" Marx/Engels, "Werke," Vol 17, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, p 546.

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CSO: 2300/109

BOOK ON DEVELOPMENT OF 'REAL SOCIALISM' REVIEWED

East Berlin EINHEIT in German Vol 37 No 11/12, Nov-Dec 82 (signed to press 21 Oct 82) pp 1259-1260

["The Historic Road of Real Socialism"--Review by Dr Winfried Morgenstern, research program director, Institute for International Worker Movement, Academy of Social Sciences, SED Central Committee; of book "Geschichte der sozialistischen Gemeinschaft" (History of the Socialist Community), college textbook collectively authored by scholars of Karl Marx University, Leipzig, under supervision of Ernstgert Kalbe; published by VEB Deutscher Verlag der Wissenschaften, East Berlin, 1981]

[Text] The truth about real socialism emits a growing radiation on millions of people all over the world in our ongoing struggles. For that reason the extremely diversified achievements and experiences of the Soviet Union also have become subject to sharp ideological struggle. A deeper study and generalizations on the road of development of the various socialist countries as of the socialist community as a whole, furthermore, are of great theoretical and practical importance for approaching the important tasks facing the fraternal countries. With the present volume--accepted as a college textbook--a collective of scientists at Karl Marx University, Leipzig, has made an important contribution committed to that concern.

This publication, prepared mainly by historians, is among the first of its kind. Rich in facts, and leading up to 1978, the basic historic processes are traced in the inevitable genesis, international division of labor and consolidation of real socialism since 1917. There are three main parts which discuss: the principles and the nature of development of socialism as an international system; the forming of socialism as an international system; and the development and consolidation of the socialist community on its own social foundations since the early 1960's. The authors deal in detail with the bilateral and multilateral relations among the socialist states, especially within the Warsaw Pact and CEMA framework, and with the resolute struggle by the USSR and the fraternal countries rallied around it for peace, security and social progress for all peoples.

Relying on extant research results of Marxist-Leninist social scientists, especially historians, on the history of particular socialist countries,

the work yet enters in many ways virgin territory, mainly by means of the declared conceptual intent to present the history of the socialist community under the aspect of history in the process of formation. This way it contributes to conveying historic knowledge, enlivens scholarly debate, and can suggest further research.

The authors regard the history of real socialism not as a mere sum of historic development processes in the various socialist countries, but they regard world socialism as a "holistic social organism" (p 29) in which one must above all comprehend three basic, organically interconnected, processes: "first, the development of socialism and communism as a socioeconomic order with its inherent levels of maturation in each and every socialist country as on the international scale, this being the fundamental element; second, the development of socialism as an international system and the spreading of a new type of international relations of all-round cooperation among sovereign and equal socialist states and the levels of maturation in these relations; and third, the development of the conflict between the socialist and the imperialist system and the degree to which that has developed, by which quantitative and qualitative changes in the international correlation of forces are effected for the benefit of socialism" (p 30).

The dialectics of the national and international logically forms one of the central theoretic aspects pervading this historiography. More still than in the theoretical considerations offered, this interaction becomes visible in the tracing of the concrete course of the socialist community's historic development. The reciprocal penetration and enrichment between the national and the international are shown most clearly in the construction and development of the developed socialist society, as the third main part of the book documents in detail. During that period the new quality of the socialist nations develops more comprehensively while the cooperation and rapprochement among the socialist nations, peoples and states reach a higher level.

This investigation provides valuable evidence for how the general inevitabilities of the socialist revolution operate and how socialist construction works and for the abundance of distinctive manifestations and specific forms in the historic process of the genesis and growth of real socialism. The publication, in its content correlated with the college textbook on USSR history, treats in detail the experiences of the Soviet Union in their importance to the entire socialist community.

The socialist community's growth process has never been without problems and contradictions. History has tested socialism hard, over and over again, from the very first days of its existence, as is clearly shown to the reader. All the more weight therefore attaches to the successes achieved in rapid order, which provided practical evidence for the vitality and certainty about the future of socialism.

The socialist countries entering historically new territory shows up as a process in which the advantages and impulses of the new social order come to unfold under the most diversified conditions. That presupposes a creative

approach, a search for proper ways and means, and learning from the experiences of the other socialist countries, especially the Soviet Union without, just copying those experiences by rote.

A wealth of historical facts emphasizes the special role and responsibility of the communist and workers parties in the socialist countries in the development of each and every fraternal country as well as in that of the socialist community as a whole.

This is a worthwhile contribution to tapping and processing the rich store of historic experience of the socialist community. One should wish for the processing and generalizing of knowledge gained this way to be continued.

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GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

SUMMARIES OF OTHER MAJOR 'EINHEIT' ARTICLES

East Berlin EINHEIT in German Vol 37 No 11/12, Nov-Dec 82 (signed to press 21 Oct 82) 'Resumes' addendum

Sixty Years of USSR and Revolutionary Process

[Summary of article by Hermann Axen, SED Politburo member and Central Committee secretary for international relations; pp 1100-1107]

[Text] Through solving the social and national question and constructing socialism in the USSR, the Soviet state became the pioneer of humanity's progress. Today still the USSR fulfils its role as the chief bastion of socialism history has assigned to it. The main trend of the world-revolutionary process that fully explains its effect is expressed through the qualitative advances the socialist countries have been making in the construction of socialism. The stronger socialism is, the more successfully we shall succeed in calling a halt to the peace-endangering designs of imperialism.

Friendship With the Soviet Union--A Matter Close to the Hearts of Our People

[Summary of article by Erich Mueckenberger, member, SED Central Committee Politburo; pp 1108-1117]

[Text] Among the greatest accomplishments of our socialist GDR and a guarantee for its continued successful advancing is the fact that our irrevocable friendship with the Soviet Union is both the principle for all state policy and a matter close to the hearts of the citizens. On the firm foundation of common class traditions and interests and of having been tested in many struggles, new dimensions are opening up today for the fraternal cooperation with Lenin's party and land in the struggle for the well-being of the people and for peace. Which new tasks arise from that for the 6 million members of the German-Soviet Friendship Society?

The Soviet Army--Mighty Bulwark of Peace

[Summary of article by Army General Heinz Hoffmann, member, SED Central Committee Politburo; GDR minister for national defense; pp 1118-1124]

[Text] What is the basis for the Soviet Union's military doctrine in which the strength and structure, training and strategy of the Soviet Army are aimed exclusively at turning back any possible aggression? Equipped with the most modern weapons, its actual strength yet lies in its unity with the people, the communist education of its members, and its training on the basis of the most up-to-date insights in Marxist-Leninist military science. In view of the growing aggressiveness of the United States and NATO, it watches over peace and socialism in close comradeship-in-arms with the other armies in the socialist defense coalition.

A Unified Multinational State of the Union

[Summary of article by M. Georgadze, secretary, presidium, USSR Supreme Soviet; pp 1126-1136]

[Text] How the October Revolution paved the way for founding the USSR. Lenin's principles for solving the national question. The strength of the Soviet land's peoples multiplied through merging into a unified union and the speed-up in its socioeconomic development. The importance of the results of the nationality policy successfully brought to realization in the USSR to the cause of peace, freedom and independence of all peoples on the earth. The new prospects indicated by the 26th CPSU Congress for shaping the multinational union.

On the Great October for the Founding of the USSR

[Summary of article by Prof Dr Johannes Zelt, lecturer, Institute for International Worker Movement, Academy of Social Sciences, SED Central Committee; pp 1147-1153]

[Text] What humanity at its best had been yearning for throughout the millenia, equal and friendly co-operation among the nations, for the first time in world history, with the founding of the multinational USSR late in December 1922, obtained its statehood on one-sixth of the earth. The way to it had been paved by erecting the Soviet power in October 1917. That was a tough but successful struggle against the internal and external counterrevolution, a struggle in socialist revolution.

In the Struggle for Peace

[Summary of article by Oskar Fischer, member, SED Central Committee; GDR minister for foreign affairs; pp 1154-1161]

[Text] The October triumph, the work of the first socialist state, gave the peoples a real chance to make peace. In its fraternal alliance with the USSR and the other states in the socialist community, the GDR proves a cornerstone of peace in the heart of Europe. It resolutely champions the common cause of the fraternal countries for ending the arms race and for disarmament and contributes actively to a constructive and peaceful cooperation among peoples and states. Together with all forces in the worldwide peace movement, the socialist states will do what they can to safeguard world peace.

Dynamics and Dialectics of the Development of Our Socialist Society

[Summary of article by Prof Dr Otto Reinhold, economist, member, SED Central Committee; rector, Academy of Social Sciences, SED CC; member, GDR Academy of Sciences; corresponding member, USSR Academy of Sciences; member, EINHEIT editorial board; pp 1162-1169. A translation of this article is published under the heading, "Greater Flexibility, Quicker Response to Market Changes Needed," in a recent JPRS issue of EAST EUROPE REPORT: ECONOMIC AND INDUSTRIAL AFFAIRS]

[Text] The challenges of the 1980's have significantly strengthened the dynamics of our social development. This raises the question about the character of this dynamics. From what does it derive? Is it of a short-range nature or a long-term societal form of motion? Are under such conditions economic stability, management and planning possible? What demands are made on men's abilities, modes of thinking and attitudes?

Creative Application of Lenin's Theory of Revolution by Our Party

[Summary of article by Dr Roland Bauer, member, SED Central Committee; representative of SED CC on editorial board of PROBLEMS OF PEACE AND SOCIALISM; pp 1170-1175]

[Text] In coming to grips with the bourgeois cliché of the purportedly enforced imposition of the "Soviet model," it is demonstrated how the SED has carried out the Leninist theory of revolution creatively and in accordance with the specific conditions in our country and how political practice confirms the universality of the inevitabilities in the socialist revolution and socialist construction in a developed

industrial country. Through its theoretical understanding and practical policy since the Eighth SED Congress, the SED at the same time has been making a contribution to the theory on the developed socialist society.

The Vitality of CEMA

[Summary of article by Horst Tschanter, department chief, SED Central Committee; pp 1176-1182. A translation of this article is published under the heading, "CEMA Summit Conference, Closer Ties Advocated," in a recent JPRS issue of EAST EUROPE REPORT: ECONOMIC AND INDUSTRIAL AFFAIRS]

[Text] CEMA, proven the most dynamic economic region in the world for years, commands solid positions for carrying on its successful development even under the new reproduction conditions within and under the changed foreign policy and foreign economy conditions--in particular, despite the economic warfare in which, primarily, the United States is engaged. How is our republic's continued fraternal cooperation progressing with the USSR, from R&D via rationalization measures down to export-import? What connections are there altogether between the implementation of our party's economic strategy and the further deepening of socialist economic integration?

Our Strength Lies in Our Partnership

[Summary of article by Dr Wilfried Deumer, economist, secretary for economic affairs, SED Halle Bezirk Management; pp 1183-1188. A translation of this article is published under the heading, "Halle Bezirk Ties to USSR Enterprises, Institutions Reviewed," in a recent JPRS issue of EAST EUROPE REPORT: ECONOMIC AND INDUSTRIAL AFFAIRS]

[Text] Through facts it is demonstrated how Halle Bezirk Management--proceeding from decade-old traditions--fosters with its political-ideological work the further deepening of economic and scientific-technical cooperation with the USSR, and directs working people initiatives at using the advantages of socialist economic integration for continued stable performance improvements in the combines. That implies, as a class obligation, the strict observance of all commitments to the Soviet Union.

MMM (Fair of the Masters of Tomorrow)--An Expression of Youthful Creativeness

[Summary of article by Gerd Schulz, secretary, Central Council, Free Democratic Youth (FDJ); pp 1189-1195]

[Text] The MMM movement, initiated by the FDJ, expresses our youth's rich traditional concern to cope with the scientific-technical revolution for the benefit of our society. What prerequisites have been created to ensure an ever more extensive participation by youths, especially from economic sectors, and so help enforce more effectively the economic strategy of the 10th party congress? How can we further reduce unacceptable disparities in involving working youths in comparable combines and kreises? What conclusions result for carrying on the movement in connection with the 25th Central MMM?

Lenin and the German Communists

[Summary of article by Dr Heinz Karl, sector chief, Institute for Marxism-Leninism, SED Central Committee; pp 1196-1201]

[Text] Lenin always paid great attention to the German workers movement. The German leftists around Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg were his closest allies in the struggle against imperialism and opportunism. What importance did the acquisition of Leninism have for the development of the German workers movement? How did Lenin support the KPD in preparing its strategy and tactics?

Contemporary Soviet Literature

[Summary of article by Prof Dr Anton Hiersche, research group director; and Dr Edward Kowalski, deputy program director; Central Institute for History of Literature, GDR Academy of Sciences; pp 1202-1209]

[Text] It is shown that socialist German literature gaining national prominence in the 1930's was most closely connected with the profound impact of the Great October and Soviet literature, and that it also was the militant humanism in that literature that helped German readers after fascism was crushed to focus on a new and meaningful life. What are the basic traits of Soviet literature today? What are the common basic features and the specific aspects as between Soviet literature and the literature of the GDR?

My Years in the Soviet Union, 1945-1955--Lessons for Us in Today's Socialism

[Summary of article by Prof Dr Manfred von Ardenne, Lenin Prize winner, director, Manfred von Ardenne Research Institute, Dresden; pp 1210-1212]

[Text] There are rich lessons and experiences the author gained while working in the Soviet Union. One that predominates and informs his political faith especially is that of the unconditional will for peace by the USSR and the peoples of this family of nations. Other aspects of the presentation are the stimuli his stay provided for organizing scientific-creative work and the promotion of gifted young scientists at the Dresden institute.

Proving Oneself in Joint Work

[Summary of article by Peter Neubert, social scientist, staff employee, SED Central Committee; pp 1213-1216]

[Text] Our party--in response to a request from the FDJ--has assigned the GDR's participation in building the natural gas pipeline in the USSR as a central youth project to the youth organization. What demands does this task make on the young builders, it being in its economic and political importance still more far-reaching than the construction of the Friendship Road? How have the experiences from previous projects been used and further developed for meeting this class mission with high educational and economic benefit?

Imperialist Wishful Thinking

[Summary of article by Prof Dr Goetz Dieckmann, director, history program, Karl Marx Party College, SED Central Committee; pp 1217-1221]

[Text] "To trample down Soviet Russia" has admittedly been the goal and wishful thinking of the most aggressive imperialist circles and their anticommunist spokesmen ever since the Red October. What do these unrealistic speculations count on and what are they like? Why are they especially dangerous in our time? What substantiates our certitude that for all the future these anti-Soviet and antisocialist imperialist designs are doomed?

5885

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RECENT AMNESTY LAW FOR 'ESCAPEES FROM THE REPUBLIC' REVIEWED

FRG Official's Discussion

Cologne DEUTSCHLAND ARCHIV in German Vol 15 No 10, Oct 82 (signed to press 27 Sep 82)
pp 1017-1019

/Text/ Commentaries and Topical Discussions' feature article by Jan Hoesch, chief, Law Department, FRG Permanent Representation in the GDR, 1974-1981; section chief, Political Department, FRG Ministry for Inner-German Relations, Bonn: "Success in the Shadows: The Partial Amnesty of 21 June 1982 for GDR Refugees." A translation of the official text of the "Decree of 21 June 1982 on Questions of Citizenship of the German Democratic Republic," i.e. the amnesty law discussed below, is published together with a Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE commentary in JPRS 81567, 18 Aug 82, No 2044 of this series, pp 9-10, under the heading, "Decree on Deprivation of GDR Citizenship Published." A translation of a commentary by the FRG Ministry for Inner-German Relations follows this discussion.

/Text/ When, after the German-German summit meeting at Werbellin in December last, Federal Chancellor Schmidt said we would see whether, in the course of the next year, there would be any movement in inner-German relations, few of the about 38,000 refugees who had illegally left the GDR since 1972 believed that their situation would change in the foreseeable future. Even experts and politicians did not really expect that there could be a solution in the short term for such a sensitive problem for the GDR, involving a partial amnesty for escapees from the republic and their post facto release from GDR citizenship.

True, in 1972 the GDR had already taken a similar step. An amendment to the GDR citizenship law at that time released from GDR citizenship and freed from criminal prosecution for unlawful flight from the GDR all persons who had left the GDR by 31 December 1971 without having permission to do so. Still, this amendment had been adopted in connection with the treaties crucial to recognition of the GDR and as a settlement of past problems indispensable to the pursuit of treaty politics. There was little reason to hope that, 10 years later and without a comparable incentive, the GDR would again be prepared to take such measures. Doubts seemed particularly well founded because, ever since Erich Honecker's Gera address, GDR attitudes in matters citizenship had definitely hardened, while the continuing readiness of GDR citizens to flee was certainly not conducive to the belief that the GDR would be prepared for even a limited abandonment of criminal sanctions against escapes.

It was not surprising, therefore, that the various efforts by the Federal Government initially fell on deaf ears. Not until June last, in the context of talks about an extension of the interest-free overdraft, was there any indication of possible GDR concessions in this matter. Ultimately these resulted in the GDR decree of 21 June 1982 (text in DEUTSCHLAND ARCHIV No 8/1982, pp 894f). This deprived of GDR citizenship and granted exemption from criminal prosecution for unlawful flight from the GDR to all persons who had left the GDR before 1 January 1981, with the sole exception of deserters. Properly to appreciate the significance of this measure we must understand the earlier situation of these persons: Escapees who had left the GDR after 31 December 1971 were considered by the GDR still to hold GDR citizenship and be subject to criminal prosecution in the GDR. Some people who, due to ignorance, carelessness or homesickness, found themselves in the grasp of the GDR, discovered that painfully and, in some instances, suffered several years of imprisonment. -- Travel to the GDR was therefore out of the question for escapees. Even travel to other Eastern Bloc countries involved a certain risk, due to the extradition agreements between these countries and the GDR. -- Contacts with relatives and friends could be maintained only with the greatest difficulty, if at all. -- Escapees were unable to look after their personal concerns and interests in the GDR, nor did they get any assistance from GDR authorities. Unless confiscated outright by the state, any property--whether held at the time of the escape or accruing later--was subject to state administration that precluded any possibility of personal disposal. -- Nor did they benefit from inner-German agreements concluded since 1971, such as the health care agreement or the transfer treaty. Our permanent representation could not act on behalf of refugees, not even in emergencies. -- At the same time family members residing in the GDR suffered serious consequences: Even in urgent family matters they were never permitted to visit the West, and many were subjected to discrimination in their personal and professional lives as well as to surveillance and controls.

The decree of 11 June 1982 has fundamentally changed this situation for the people affected. From 1 July these persons and their descendants domiciled outside the GDR are recognized by GDR law to have the full status and unrestricted rights of federal citizens. They need no longer fear criminal prosecution for unlawful escape from the GDR. Their applications for entry to the GDR may be approved. -- To the knowledge of the competent agencies here, far more of such applications are approved than rejected. -- The persons deprived of GDR citizenship may again assert (or have asserted) their rights in the GDR within the framework of the legislation in effect and, if need be, may call on our permanent representation. -- Property in the GDR may again be acquired--whether by inheritance or gift. Benefits arising from inner-German agreements may now be enjoyed by persons deprived of GDR citizenship. Within the framework of inner-German legal and official aid they are no longer disadvantaged. -- Visits from their GDR family are again possible within the framework of regulations in effect in the GDR.

Many people have thus been freed from psychological pressure and professional injury. The country where they grew up and to some extent still consider their homeland, no longer confronts them or their families with hostility and threats. An area of conflict has thus been removed not only for those immediately concerned but also for relations between the two German states, and some normalization has returned to a particularly sensitive area.

Up to now the public has not really appreciated this settlement. With few exceptions media comments have displayed skepticism or disregard. As is usually the case, most of those who said anything at all, were the ones still banned from entry to the GDR. The majority of those able to use the new opportunities for travel, remained a silent majority. Among the public not directly affected the impression predominates (reinforced for obvious reasons by a particular section of the press) that the Federal Government has once more paid a high price for something that should be a matter of course, was long overdue and therefore of not much importance to current inner-German relations.

In part this might be explained by the fact that the quite understandable disappointment about the failure to obtain a reduction in the minimum exchange tends to view all other GDR concessions as an inadequate substitute. However, it also once again demonstrates how much we have become accustomed to judge GDR concessions exclusively by our own wishes and expectations, consider all achievements a matter of course and fail to appreciate what it may have meant to the other side.

This includes the fact, for instance, that thousands of former GDR citizens who left the GDR in defiance of its laws and, sometimes, in spectacular circumstances, may now return to their former surroundings as visitors from the "golden West." We do not need much imagination to have an idea of the discussions and thought processes this is likely to arouse among the public and the official apparatus, and the problems arising therefrom for the authorities in the other German state.

It may well be claimed that it is none of our business to speculate about GDR problems that arise from the political system over there. That, though, would be correct only if this state, the GDR, and especially the people compelled to live there, were none of our concern. As long as we are willing (and obligated by the constitution and treaties) to constantly seek a peaceful settlement with the other German state--for the benefit of the people there as well as here--, we cannot help taking into account the elbow room available to the other side and the terms of their political action. If we were to disregard these aspects, we would all too easily run the risk of gambling that which is attainable for that which is not--or not yet--feasible. The way the settlement of 21 June--and not that one alone!--has been maligned and slighted here offers a warning example of how not to handle inner-German relations.

FRG Ministry's Commentary

Cologne DEUTSCHLAND ARCHIV in German Vol 15 No 8, Aug 82 (signed to press 26 Jul 82), pp 894-895

[^TDocumentation] report based on 30 June 1982 press release of FRG Ministry for Inner-German Relations: "Decree on Release from GDR Citizenship Goes Into Effect--Commentary by FRG Ministry for Inner-German Relations"

[^TText] As the Federal Government announced earlier, the GDR Government informed it in the course of the talks concluded on 18 June 1982, that the settlement to go into effect on 1 July 1982 does not apply to deserters. In these talks the GDR Government

also notified the Federal Government that entry to the GDR by persons designated in the settlement may be applied for and approved consonant with GDR legal regulations.

The Federal Ministry for Inner-German Relations takes the occasion of the settlement's going into effect on 1 July 1982 to additionally indicate the following:

In future the GDR will not prosecute for unlawful flight from the GDR those persons to whom the above mentioned settlement applies. On the other hand such persons may still be prosecuted for other crimes committed in the GDR. Nor does the statute of limitation apply to such crimes as long as the accused resides outside the GDR.

Persons accused by the GDR of desertion are excepted from the settlement taking effect on 1 July 1982. The GDR continues to claim them as citizens, and they must expect criminal prosecution in the GDR. Deserters are defined as former members of GDR military units, who have escaped while serving in the armed forces (active military service, military substitute service or reservist service).

Anybody who escaped from the GDR after 31 December 1980 or failed to return from the GDR from an approved trip, will continue to be claimed as a GDR citizen and must expect criminal prosecution in the GDR for the offense of unapproved emigration.

Persons to whom the settlement applies may apply for entry to the GDR, and entry may be approved. However, there is no legal claim to approval of entry in each single case. The competent GDR authorities will decide the approval of applications for entry.

Travelers who fear for personal reasons whether they may safely travel to the GDR, may apply for expert advice to the All-German Institute--Federal Institute for All-German Tasks--5300 Bonn 1, Post Office Box 1640, telephone (0228) 2071 or the Central Registration and Advisory Office for West-East-West Traffic, 1000 Berlin 31, Fehrbelliner Platz 2, telephone (030) 8 67 67 42.

The settlement does not apply to persons who left the GDR in recent years with the approval of the GDR authorities. It remains to be seen whether further effects on GDR approval practice with regard to travel will show up after 1 July 1982.

11698
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MORE TACTICAL EXERCISES SEEN FOR WORKER MILITIA UNITS

East Berlin DER KAEMPFER in German Vol 26 No 11, Nov 82 p 5

[Unattributed article: "On the Results of Tactical Exercises"]

[Text] As in all areas of our society, worker militia units worked very hard in 1982 in their earnest, continuous and creative attempt to fulfill the party's resolutions and economic plans. The development has shown and still shows a balance of success.

Upon successful completion of the 1982 training year for the worker militia, thus completing a 2-year training period, we are now approaching a thorough evaluation of the results achieved and are adequately preparing the 30th anniversary of the worker militia units. It is obvious that the tactical exercises highlight the completion of the training year and are therefore given special attention.

It should be recognized that the overall long-term and systematic preparation of the tactical exercises utilizing the various experience resulted in the fulfillment of the tasks, with which the units were faced, with overall good and very good performance.

It has paid off that the leading party bodies and the leadership of the party organizations in the plants conducted continued and systematic political-ideological work in all units throughout the year, starting by observing the "day of combat readiness" in all units, which was initiated due to the requirements decided on at the SED Central Committee consultation with the leading kreis secretaries. Manifold ways and methods, such as the presentations by responsible comrades before the units, periodic reporting to their party leadership, reports to the kreis leaderships, well-structured militia meetings and personal discussions led to exemplary moral attitudes and a high degree of combat readiness of all militiamen and commanders. The important results of this systematic political-ideological work are as follows:

A high turnout of the worker militia members, well exceeding 90%;

The more consistent implementation of the tactical exercises outside of the workers' working hours, without affecting their duties regarding the country's economy;

the exemplary political-ideological attitude and moral stamina of the militiamen and their strong will for top military performance, demonstrating combat attitude and utilizing their weapons and equipment more effectively;

the grown capability of commanders to apply the principles of individual command creatively by uniting political and military leadership, and to provide tight and continuous leadership for the collectives.

The central request for competition by the comrades of the "Ernst Thaelmann" Worker Militia Battalion (mot.), Rostock, the militia program prepared by the units on this basis, and the more concrete orientation of the competition toward content criteria of the tactical exercises, in particular, have, without doubt, contributed to motivating the militiamen and producing excellent performance and systematic leadership. Based on the high level of requirements and the difficult conditions which the tactical exercises were subject to, the work of the German People's Police, especially the tight control of its leaders, in proven cooperation with the party leadership, contributed to securing the overall preparation of the commanders and the staffs. It has been a proven procedure that the command groups and umpires of the German People's Police regard the preparation process of the commanders and the implementation as one unity, that they selected suitable training areas and concentrated on granting the commanders a large degree of freedom of decision in order to ensure independent and creative leadership of the units by the commanders.

The command staff exercises and group exercises conducted with the commanders, their substitutes and staffs concentrating on selected areas, the seminars on theoretical issues of tactics, and the potential to thoroughly evaluate the enemy--all these measures enabled the commanders to master the tactical exercises, which were, no doubt, difficult, with a high degree of quality. Examples demonstrating this include the Dresden, Karl-Marx-Stadt and Gera Bezirk offices of the German People's Police. Also, the impact of the "Ernst Thaelmann" Medical Aid Platoon and the "Ernst Schneller" Worker Militia School should be mentioned here, which familiarized the worker militia officers of the German People's Police and the commanders with theoretical and practical issues of worker militia operations and with issues on commanding such exercises by conducting informative training sessions.

If preparation is an important basis for future success, the great efforts undertaken to procure technical and medical supplies must not go unmentioned. They met all of the high-level expectations. Good maintenance as well as thorough technical checks resulted in a correspondence of weaponry, equipment and technology to operational coefficients.

The commanders' continued leadership was ensured by shining examples of individual responsibility by the communications personnel who kept their equipment in good condition and exhibited their skills to fully utilize the performance parameters. It also became evident that a more consistent preparation of the support service forces, especially of the food provisions, and the constant instruction of these comrades as to the overall framework of the tactical exercises has guaranteed better-quality rations and an improved plan for provisions. The demonstration of the medical forces operation was based on well-thought out plans.

Several decisive tendencies in the course of the tactical exercise showed that the long-term and overall preparation paid off. The large degree of commitment to combat readiness and performance sprang from the worker militia's sense of responsibility for the reliable protection of their socialist mother country, for the permanent security and defense of the plants, objects and facilities. It has been proven once again that the examples set by the communists, whether functioning as commanders or as militiamen, had a mobilizing effect and added strength to the collectives. The high degree of activity of the party's collectives secures the leading role of the party in all units, strengthened the morale and the belief in the victory of our just cause.

In the course of the tactical exercises the commanders' leadership showed that:

their capabilities to solve tactical tasks on their own and to fully understand their superior's ideas have grown further;

there was a better understanding of how to derive from the enemy's tactics necessary consequences for the political-ideological work as well as for the adequate structure of combat order and the utilization of forces and means;

they had more ideas and were more precise in formulating decisions, without overlooking that they have to work even harder to improve their skills to substantiate their decisions;

considerably more attention as devoted to the cooperation of the units; that the commanders had a better understanding of the potential course of combat; that they evaluated the situation without interruption and, as a result, were more flexible in their decisions to optimize utilization of forces and means in accordance with the specifications of the operational principles;

they increasingly influenced the creative translation of their commands by platoon and group leaders, ensured exact firing control and discipline, and guaranteed a high degree of discipline, order and watchfulness in their collectives.

The 1982 tactical exercises represented the highlight in all units. Fighting strength and combat readiness of the worker militia continued to grow according to plan. The units demonstrated high political stability, tight military collectives and the capability of successfully solving combat duties given to them. Special thanks and recognition are due to the leading party bodies, the party leadership in the plants and the officers of the German People's Police, especially the commanders and members of the workers militia. Their commitment to a further general strengthening of our force of workers and farmers and their help to secure socialism and peace with weapon in their hand is of particular importance now.

Now all of the commanders and respective officers of the German People's Police are undergoing an evaluation of the tactical exercises. This requires concentrating on the standards and requirements specified by the party's resolutions for each unit. In consideration of the international class struggle, the dangerous intentions of the NATO and, in particular, of the U.S. imperialists with

regard to socialism and progress, we cannot afford a standstill in our development and combat readiness; instead, we must evaluate in detail and with criticism all phases of the tactical exercises, the command activities of all commanders in each stage, the combat value of each collective, of individual specialists and militiamen and determine the consequences with regard to the 1983 contents.

The efforts should concentrate on conducting the political and combat training as of the "day of combat readiness" from the first day of training in 1983 according to plan, in a continuous and high-quality manner, on guarantying constant combat readiness and providing for an exemplary and successful fulfillment of the obligations entered into on the basis of the competitive program celebrating the 30th anniversary of the worker militia.

9544

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GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

NINETEENTH CENTURY 'BOURGEOIS DECADENT' AUTHOR REHABILITATED

Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 27 Dec 82 pp 7-8

[Article by Peter Jochen Winters, datelined Berlin, 26 December: "The GDR Discovers Karl May: The Writer of Adventure Stories and His Characters Are No Longer Nonpersons--Winnetou Films and the First Edition of One of His Books"]

[Text] Karl May, writer of adventure stories--born on 25 February 1842 in Hohenstein-Ernstthal in the Erzgebirge, died on 30 March 1912 in Radebeul near Dresden--this Christmas was repatriated by the GDR in his native country. Since the end of the war, the ruling communists considered Karl May a "bourgeois decadent" author. His works, much-read in former times, were accused of religious-sentimental and nationalistic tendencies. [According to them,] they were unrealistic novels of no artistic merit, characterized by external suspense effects. Old Shatterhand and Kara Ben Nems, like their creator, were considered nonpersons in the GDR; Karl May's works were not published in the "workers' and farmers' state. Youth had to be protected from such romantic and false imaginings. But Karl May's prewar editions became highly prized and highly priced rarities in the GDR and could be traded for many a useful object--such as soccer shoes, for instance. All this will probably change now. In the process of "preserving its heritage," the GDR has discovered the successful author and story teller who in his later years had chosen as his motto "Upwards to the realm of noble human beings." Noble human beings--they are also highly sought in socialism.

Karl May's repatriation in the GDR was carried out by GDR television with the active help of writer Hermann Kant; and since Kant is the president of the GDR Writers Union, Karl May's rehabilitation is being implemented, as it were, under the aegis of this political-cultural organization. On Christmas day, GDR television showed on their Channel 1 a 45-minute film about Karl May with the title, "I buried Winnetou"--"Way stations of his life." On the same day, and on the same channel, the first of three Winnetou movies made in the West in 1963--with Pierre Brice in the title role--were shown. The second was broadcast the following day, the third will follow on Sunday, 2 January. But if it is to be Karl May at all, then half-measures will not do: On 1 January, GDR television will also show the Karl May movie, "The Treasure in Silver Lake." What is sauce for the goose, is sauce for the gander: whatever is appropriate for television is also right for the East Berlin publishing

company, "Neues Leben [New Life]: it will publish the first volume of "Winnetou" in paperback, the first Karl May book in the GDR. One doesn't have to be a prophet to predict that additional Karl May volumes will be published.

"Oh magnificent Saxon fibber, praised be thy much-abused name! [My] thanks to you, oh brilliant story teller from Hohenstadt-Ernstthal, thanks for a thousand-and-one nights of gun smoke and thundering hoofs. Warm thanks for the equatorial sun and prairie wind and desert sand and steppe grass, for Shatterhand and Hadschi, for Winnetou and Geier-schnabel [Vulture Beak], limitless thanks, whatever is being said about you." This was written by Hermann Kant, born 1926, in his novel, "The Aula," which appeared in 1965. At the end of the TV film, "I buried Winnetou," he was permitted to quote these words in front of the TV screens of the "entire republic"--but, naturally, without the addendum: "Whatever is being said about you." For in today's GDR, "nothing [bad] is to be said" about Karl May. The TV film tried to arouse sympathy for the son of poor weavers in the Erzgebirge who, blind until age 5, was raised by his grandmother and was slated by his father to become "an educated man, and if possible, a highly educated man." But at that time, life wasn't like that. There is talk about the longing for a better life, of the stern schooling lacking all sense of poetry, of the "deepest perplexity" of his youth. The words failed schoolmaster, repeat swindler and con man appear almost as catchwords. The way stations of May's life since 1874, when he was released from jail, are paraded: the editor, the prolific writer who writes cheap sensational novels under a pseudonym, and then the travel writer Karl May who captivates millions of readers.

In the TV film, Herman Kant calls May's works the "gigantic wishful biography" of a man who had suffered extraordinary restrictions in real life. Hermann Hesse, Heinrich Mann and Erich Muehsam are cited as authorities who had kind words for Karl May and pleaded for understanding for the author. Self-revelations from the original version of Karl May's autobiography are quoted and rare photographic material is shown. Evidently, to whet the viewers' appetite for the Karl May renaissance about to begin in the GDR, the GDR TV film contains many clippings from Karl May movies made in the West.

In Radebeul near Dresden, on Hoelderlin Street, one can still see today "Villa Shatterhand" where Karl May spent the last years of his life. Today, it houses a social institution. In the garden behind "Villa Shatterhand" stands a block house, "Villa Baerenfett" [Bear Grease], built after May's death and which once housed the "Karl May Museum." Today it is the "Radebeul Indian Museum of the Karl May Foundation" which emerged from the "Karl May Museum" in 1956, which underwent another thorough revision in 1962. Now it is an ethnological museum dedicated exclusively to cultural objects pertaining to North American Indians. As the instructive museum catalogue points out: "The Indian Museum wants to present a truthful picture, not distorted by romantic ideas, of the former lifestyle of the native inhabitants of North America." In an anteroom, only three pieces still remind of Karl May: a genuine Henry rifle, and the legendary rifles "Bear killer" and "Silver rifle" made post factum by a Saxon gunsmith.

Not far from "Villa Shatterhand," in the cemetery of Radebeul one can visit Karl May's ostentatious tomb which resembles a temple of antiquity. He is buried there together with his second wife, Klara, who died in 1944. The tomb is entwined by Virginia creeper, and the slab, adorned with a cross, is decorated with three large bowls of fresh heather. On a relief in the temple interior, angels receive a human figure clad in a long gown. The inscription: "Hail to you! We, your earthly deeds, await you here at heaven's gate. You are the first of you own seeds and ascend with us to your true self." The two semicircular benches in front of the tomb with its winged lions are empty as yet. But who knows, perhaps the stream of pilgrims to Karl May's tomb will resume.

In his novel, "The Aula," Hermann Kant described how the hero, Robert Iswall, encounters at a GDR Autobahn gas station a functionary's limousine of the type "Sachsenring," in whose rear window lies a book "whose spine looked comfortably familiar." It is Karl May's "Treasure in Silver Lake." When Robert approaches the man in the car about the book, the latter covers it with a cushion and claims that it belongs to his driver. Kant writes: "A pity, thought Robert, that would really have been something, a Karl-May reader in an official Sachsenring, a "Vulture Beak" fan from a ministry, maybe from the Ministry for Public Education, or from the Ministry for Culture, that would have been too wonderful. But life simply isn't that way." That was in 1965. Today, it seems, it could happen that way in the GDR. What prospects!

9917

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GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

WORKER MILITIA UNITS' TRAINING TASKS FOR 1983 OUTLINED

East Berlin DER KAEMPFER in German Vol 26 No 12, Dec 82 p 1

[Lead article by Lt Gen Willi Seifert: "Creatively and Determinedly Toward the New Tasks"]

[Text] The year 1982 is drawing toward a close. This second year after the Tenth Congress of the SED, the second year of the current five-year plan, was a year full of dynamics, a successful year, but also a year of stepped-up class conflict on an international scale. The devoted and hard work of all our workers in the cities and on the farms is behind the positive political and economic results achieved by our socialist fatherland; defying imperialism's confrontation and embargo policy, the workers, in unshakable union with the class brothers in the countries of the socialist community, saw to it that the plans were carried out and thus helped strengthen socialism and preserve peace.

The observation that the situation since World War II has never been as serious as it is now, is visibly documented for everyone by an armament policy pursued by United States imperialism and NATO, never before seen in these dimensions, based on the dangerous illusion that it would be possible to achieve absolute military superiority over the Soviet Union and the countries of the socialist community. They are sounding assembly, politically, economically, and militarily, and they are once again unleashing a crusade against the chief power of socialism, the Soviet Union, with the insane strategic goal of once and for all and for all times wiping out socialism-communism on our planet. Oh, what fools they are, blinded by their anti-communism and anti-Sovietism! They have learned nothing from history. Like all crusades against the Soviet Union and socialism before, their latest one is even now lawfully doomed to failure. The wheel of history cannot be turned back.

Of course, we are by no means underestimating the possibilities which United States imperialism and the other NATO countries have at this time. They do indeed contain the hitherto greatest threat to peace, to all mankind, yes, to our entire planet. Their policy is the very height of inhumanity. And, nevertheless, these people have the nerve to pass themselves off as the apostles of justice, of humanity, and of peace!

In the GDR, the enemy is running into a working class which has been steeled in the fight against the imperialists, into workers who have learned the

correct lessons from history under the guidance of our Marxist-Leninist party, and who therefore are doing everything they can to multiply our social wealth and who are ready to protect and defend our socialist fatherland, our socialist achievements, with all means at their command. The factory militia units of the working class document this fact with particular clarity and they demonstrated this repeatedly with lasting effect during the time of their existence.

The great results achieved during the 1981-1982 training phase are renewed evidence of the fact that the readiness of the fighters and commanders is not just a platonic declaration. The tactical exercises once again convincingly documented that our fighters, commanders, and factory militia units have passed another exam and moreover passed it with honor. This reflects their high level of political consciousness, as well as their loyalty to the party of the working class and our socialist fatherland. Their great achievements were quite justifiably praised at numerous factory militia conferences by leading comrades of our party and our government and at the same time guidance was provided for the solution of the coming tasks. It is with satisfaction that we also agree that the members of the German People's Police carried out the mission assigned to them by the party regarding the political and military training of the factory militia units of the working class with a quality that deserves recognition.

As always, the important thing now is to analyze the 1981-1982 training phase in a differentiated and critical fashion, to draw conclusions, and to spell out the new major points. Everyone must clearly realize that, within the context of the current stepped-up international class struggle situation, there cannot be any standstill in our development, especially regarding the constant perfection of combat readiness.

A new year now lies ahead of us.

It is at the same time the year of the 30th anniversary of the factory militia units of the working class. This is why the fighters and commanders have established ambitious goals for themselves. The declared goal of each and every one is to guarantee a successful effort in honor of this anniversary.

The past 30 years of factory militia units enhanced the proud record of the revolutionary German working class by writing some more pages in that story. But the working class does not celebrate any of its anniversaries just for their own sake. Those anniversaries are also always an opportunity for the working class to look back and to look ahead, but especially they are an incentive for the attainment of more successes and victories. This is the way it should and will be also during the 1983 anniversary year.

The important thing is to make sure that, from the very first training day onward, political and combat training will be carried out according to plan, with a high degree of quality and effectiveness, that the differences in levels still existing between the units of a territory will be reduced faster, and that a further performance increase will generally be achieved in all units. The main effort should be aimed at the following tasks:

1. The further consolidation of the leading role of the party as the most important source of strength behind all of our successes. This at the same time means to achieve greater effectiveness in political-ideological work. Special emphasis must be placed on the immediate tie-in of political-ideological work for combat training and on the mastery of weapons, gear, and equipment.

2. Starting with the central competition appeal of the comrades of the Motorized KGB [Worker Militia Battalion] "Otto Buchwitz," in Dresden, it is necessary to use socialist competition even more effectively for the purpose of further improving the quality of political and combat training and to attain the best possible results.

3. Much attention must continue to be devoted to fostering the revolutionary traditions of the German and international working class as well as of the factory militia units themselves. The same applies to the establishment or improvement of firm partnership relationships with the other armed services of the GDR as well as the Soviet Army.

4. In view of the coming "Day of Combat Readiness," all units must critically and self-critically examine the extent to which all prerequisites were created so that combat training can be carried out from the very first day with a high degree of quality and without the impairment of production. Justified proposals must be submitted to the leading party organs in this connection in the resolutions of all commanders.

5. Maximum attention must constantly be devoted to the systematic intensification of combat training. A crucial issue here is and remains the preparation of the commanders and NCO's for the training effort as such.

6. Knowledge and skills ready for application must be imparted to the commanders, NCO's and specialists with even better quality at the worker militia schools.

7. The material and technical resources supplied for training must be used even more effectively. A high level of action readiness of armament, equipment, and gear must constantly be guaranteed and the material and financial resources of the state must be used economically.

Based on the high results and valuable experiences of the 1982 training year, the commanders, NCO's and fighters, under the proven leadership of the party of the working class, will do everything in their power in order to accomplish all tasks assigned to them by the Tenth SED Congress without falling short and with a high quality level. Here, the competent officers of the German People's Police will make their contribution within the context of the specified responsibility and with even greater personal commitment.

The guiding motive for our action is the reliable protection of our socialist fatherland and of peace. Through a large number of new initiatives and a high level of pledges, the members of the factory militia units of the working class underscore the fact that they are determined and able in the

future likewise to accomplish their class mission in an exemplary fashion. Toward that end, I wish us all much success, resoluteness, initiative, creativity, and good health.

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GASPAR ASSESSES MOOD OF LABOR IN CRISIS TIMES

Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 24 Dec 82 p 3

/Article by Sandor Gaspar: "Worker Power Today"/

/Text/ From the turn of the century to the liberation there has been present and operating in the Hungarian workers movement--perhaps not in the least under the influence of Ady and other representatives of progress--an idea which was also justified by historical science and which reflected reality: the belatedness and overdue nature of Hungarian social development. The centuries-old backwardness in Hungary, the late development of the middle-class capitalism. The undeveloped nature of capitalism was encumbered to the very end by feudal characteristics. The poet who wrote "We Who Are Always Late" fittingly looked to his "kinsmen," the "Hungarian proletarians," for hope that Hungarian backwardness would be remedied and that they would create a new world "on the Hungarian fallow" in place of the "county's threshing-floor."

In all certainty this consciousness of being late and this impatience contributed to the fact that in the period following the liberation, then the turn to socialism and the victory for worker power we were in too much of a hurry. We regarded our goals as being too near and too easily attainable, and we did one or two things too quickly. With power in our hands and most of the producer means on the soil of social property, and with the opening of the gates of social progress before the working masses, many believed--we believed--that with one revolutionary dash "we would turn the whole world around." We thought we could make up for centuries of economic backwardness through socialist industrialization with which--despite its indisputably great results--we also built structural problems into our subsequent future, into today. But in the area of social, political relations--having grasped the dialectics of the proletarian dictatorship and the people's democracy in a mistaken and faulty way--the well-known distortions occurred. At such times we confused our possibilities with our desires; reality with our goals; and there were those who by calling on worker power committed those crimes with which--whether from the right or the "left" it was all the same in its effect--we prepared the ground for a counter-revolution which in final analysis was against worker power.

Our Policy Is Unchanged

But our party, the Hungarian communists, our working class, the members of our working people committed to socialism had enough strength to defend worker power, and both in arms and ideology to overcome the counter-revolutionary attack. And what is more--we had the strength to face up to our mistakes, put an end to the distortions, regain the confidence of the masses to put our policy on new foundations and continue this policy now for more than a quarter of a century.

In essence this policy is unchanged. As in the past two and one-half decades, now and in the future, our goal is to assure worker power, the major guarantee of which has been the realization of the leading role of the party. Our policy remains based on mutual confidence between the party and the people; this confidence is characterized by openness and frankness. Unchanged are the direction and the socialist perspective, that is, the increasingly fuller development of the advantages and possibilities of the socialist social order. We continue to strive to serve the material and intellectual welfare of the workers, always amid the limits of given economic possibilities. Our policy is always realistic and based on reality, and it is from this latter constant feature that its changing elements derive. We flexibly adjust the means, the methods, the direct tasks--and thus the economic-political tasks--to changing circumstances in a world that is always changing.

In the consistent realization of this policy for over a quarter of a century, we have achieved results that are recognized not only by our friends but also our enemies. Perhaps it will be enough only to point to the continuing development of our industry, to the socialist reorganization of our agriculture and the level it has attained which is worthy of respect even by international standards, to the working out of an economic management method which is appropriate to our characteristics, and to the development thus far of our socialist democracy, which is by no means yet finished.

Or as far as the present is concerned, it will perhaps be enough to point to the fact that amid the prolonged capitalist crisis in the world economy which has caused uncertainty of existence and mass unemployment in the economically most developed capitalist countries and has let loose on the workers a far greater inflation than reflected in our price increases, not to mention the increasing poverty it has caused among the peoples of the less developed, former colonial and dependent countries--well even under such conditions the Hungarian economy was, and still is, able to stand on its own feet. And what is even more praiseworthy, the internal order of our country is stable and balanced in a world with international tensions, local wars, and political crises. And even if we are not free from worries and restlessness, the people's power is firm in our country. Or let us put it this way instead, for this is its essence and at the very core of its seed and substance: the worker power is firm.

The truth is that the illusion is lost that we could easily work off our historical drawbacks and build a socialist society in a short time. This raised, and still raises, certain "disappointment" in some people. The great

majority of our people support our policy actively and with understanding. Although there are more than a few--even among the workers and in the ranks of our party--who are losing their confidence with the present tense international situation and the difficult economic conditions. Sometimes they doubt the realization of worker power, and sometimes they feel a contradiction exists between our socialist principles and our practical work. They do not see the interrelationships between the constant and the changing elements of our policy. They do not understand how the present concrete economic and socio-political measures serve our unchanging socialist goals, and the interests of the working class and our whole people.

But the truth is that these also, by flexible adaptation to altered and stricter conditions, continue to serve our original socialist goals, the strengthening of worker power, and the interests of the workers and every working person. In accordance with the program of our party--which has been accepted by our people as their own program--we continue to travel on a socialist course; and this is true now also when the road is leading upwards at a slower pace--given the deliberately restrained economic growth.

The unfavorable effects for us of the capitalist world economic crisis have put, and are putting, the internal weaknesses of our economy in stronger relief. The same is true of the objective drawbacks and our subjective faults. And also of structural and technical weaknesses, and the level of our production and product structure which is by no means sound in every area, as well as the level of work and work organization; and in the wake of this, work discipline and cooperation among the economic units and the leadership which is less than satisfactory everywhere. It has become and is becoming clear about enterprises, in fact branches and sub-branches, that they are unable to compete in respect to quality and efficiency even though through no fault of their own. The tremendous burden of our international payments obligation has also increased, in part for this reason or the accompanying deterioration in the terms of trade, to several times what it was before.

To Keep Our Economy On a Firm Footing

Does the acknowledgement and admission of these unpleasant facts harm the interests of our working class? On the contrary, failure to acknowledge the facts, or to cover them up, or a delay in drawing unpostponable conclusions would be a violation of these interests. Uncertainty of life or unemployment does not threaten anyone in Hungary. Everyone has the right and the opportunity to work, both constitutionally and in reality. However, this does not mean the absolute right to a place of work according to one's pleasure and the unlimited possibility of holding it. We know it is not a pleasure to hear of the urgent need for unavoidable manpower regrouping. It is not pleasant to know that in some places excessive manpower resources have been accumulated; but even where there is an apparent shortage of manpower, there is an inefficient use of live work, relative backwardness, and an inadequate level of organization beneath the surface. It is not the covering up of reality but its recognition, change, improvement and action

that requires sacrifice and effort that express the actual interests of the workers. It is, in fact, the most basic interest of our working class and our working people not to restrain but to promote the transformation processes of our economy which is now going on sometimes under bitterly difficult conditions in order that by becoming more hardened, more modern and strong it may escape as a more developed economy from its present ordeals.

It is undoubtedly a great achievement that verifies the correctness of our policy and it can be ascribed to better work by our workers that we succeeded to the end of the 1970's in protecting the living standards we have already attained. It should also be stated here, of course, that there are broad sub-classes of workers whose living conditions have been affected by the consequences of the economic changes substantially more unfavorably than those of others.

But we must see clearly that for us, meanwhile, the international conditions have developed even more unfavorably than we could have foreseen. And we must also see what the domestic conditions were and remain to protect our living standards--making our work more efficient--are still by no means of the extent desired, and do not provide the necessary material cover for such protection. If we want to maintain our country's liquidity and the level of domestic supply, that is, to have an adequate commodity cover for our wages, or to put it plainly, to be able to make purchases as up to now with our money--then we must realistically reckon with the fact that there will be worker sub-classes whose wage increases will not be able to keep pace with the rise in prices. It is obvious that if we cannot meet the payment obligations of our country through better and more efficient work, we will have to find the way in our consumption.

It may be asked and in fact many do ask whether it is in the interest of the worker that we should protect the country's ability to pay rather than our rising living standards. Let us not avoid answering. Indeed, this is required by the interests of worker power and people's power. /Hungary is a state that belongs to workers, cooperative peasants, intellectuals, and working people. Its economic stability, its ability to keep and maintain its ground is of primary interest to us all./

On Living Standards

The complex of questions regarding working class power and our living standard policy also includes consideration of the fact that there are people who today /erroneously compare the wage and earnings relations of the Hungarian worker with those of workers in the most developed capitalist countries/. This is an unhistorical comparison because it does not take into consideration the above-mentioned, centuries-old disadvantages. And the illusion that these disadvantages can be easily and rapidly made up for also derives from the earlier, above-mentioned illusions and impatience.

Nor does it take into account a whole host of other factors. For example, the fact that the myth of the Western "affluent" state has been torn apart by the prolonged capitalist world economic crisis. Or for example, the fact

that the capitalist world does not consist of several really wealthy capitalist states but mostly of a less developed or underdeveloped mass of states, former colonies, and countries that are still economically dependent, the exploitation of which is precisely one of the resources of the other economies. Nor must it be forgotten that since the beginning the socialist world system has been forced to self-defense under threats, while on the other side it is exactly the existence of a socialist world system, the power of attraction exerted by socialism, and in its wake the vigorous workers movement which has developed in the capitalist countries that has forced acceptance there of measures which are also truly favorable to the broad working masses.

Finally, it is also worth considering that whether a society is good for the workers does not depend only on the level at which it meets material demands, which incidentally also developed historically. It also depends on what that level is as compared to its possibilities. In Hungary, the possibilities of the worker state that has set out on the path of socialism are still relatively modest, but working people receive--to put it more exactly, regain--maximum possibilities from the state. And if this maximum is less than what their class brothers enjoy in the more fortunate capitalist countries, it is actually still more, more valuable: it is our own.

Some people attribute our economic problems to our present economic relations with the capitalist countries, to the "factoring-in" of the capitalist world economic crisis. Well, actually we cannot fully defend ourselves from unfavorable influences to us. But it would be extremely naive to believe that a small economy with endowments like ours could do at all without these relations. And we must remember we are not only losers in these relations (because of the unfavorable terms of trade) but from the viewpoint of our economy's future we also gain vitally important benefits: more advanced techniques, technologies, engineering know-how and production structure; we are forced to produce better quality, learn better organization and discipline. Are not these things of importance to the Hungarian worker? Of course they are! Especially if we can contribute in this way to solving international tensions, guarding the cause of peace, and increasing the prestige of socialism in the Western world.

But when we promote, and on the basis of mutual advantages develop, our economic relations with the West, we cannot forget for a moment that the life of the Hungarian economy, its operational capability is basically linked to our cooperation with our socialist sister countries, above all the Soviet Union. Of course, in the present world economic situation there is no room even with the family for any kind of laxness, poor quality, lack of discipline, poor cooperation or delivery difficulties. The improvement of our work efficiency is a universal socialist interest, and an international obligation. We have to do this to strengthen the socialist world system and to improve the reputation of socialism.

Cooperative Activity

Those results which our socialist agriculture have achieved in the past two decades or more--having overcome the initial difficulties and the years of

struggle--cannot and in fact do not evoke any kind of sensitivity on the part of our working class. Indeed, the work of the industrial workers is also greatly represented in these results. These results do not weaken but strengthen and reinforce the political basis of our social order, the worker-peasant federation, and within this framework the realization of the leading role of the working class is emphasized. The radical social transformation which has taken place in the Hungarian village in the past two decades actually indicates that the work of these engaged in agriculture, their production culture, life style, and outlook has approached that of the workers, and their living standards have reached that level.

We are also finished with debates over the role of household plots which took place several years ago. By now it has become clear that creating material incentives for the household farming in final analysis also coincides with the interests of the workers both with respect to domestic supply and its contribution to agricultural exports. Today we want the agricultural workers to go beyond the successes attained in yields and production averages and to make progress in reducing costs and outlays and contribute more intensively to protecting the payment ability of our economy.

Not everyone sees clearly the relationship between realizing the interests of worker power and the making of small entrepreneurships possible. In respect to its economic weight, of course, this is not a measure of great importance, but the waves it makes are all the broader, and in some cases the debates over it even arouse emotions. Undoubtedly we must reckon, and in fact we do, that this kind of initiative brings exceptional remuneration in some cases, and large income differences as compared to the work performed. But let us consider the fact that some of these small enterprises make up for shortages in services, commercial supplies, the catering trades, and so forth which as indicated we ourselves caused in some instances at the beginning of our socialist course. We are creating a healthy competition with the small entrepreneurships in the service area, and also perhaps a stimulating example to reduce the bureaucratic overload.

And the main thing is that a large and important share of the small entrepreneurships is formed within the large enterprises and the participants are factory workers. It is true that the initiative surfaces a sharp contradiction, namely, the fact that in this way they can solve a task much more profitably--for the individual and the group--than in regular working time. But is it not useful for the entire worker collective, in the final analysis for the entire working class to surface the contradiction? Does it not compel and stimulate us to find more rapidly ways and means of making our work more efficient, productive and profitable within a large factory framework?

In every area of economic and social life we need actions to progress and solving our present problems. And as a matter of fact, we need unified, rational and thoughtful activity for better use of all the creative energy, all the talent, and all the intellect of our people. This is, as it were, the only unlimited resource that is available to us. Our society requires of the workers, of those engaged in agriculture, and of course of the intellectuals that they put their capabilities into the balance.

The interests of worker power, the working class, and all our people justify--even more than before--an increase in the social role of the intellectuals in the economy and other work areas, in leading and nonleading assignments alike. In principle, this is a question that is not disputed. But we cannot say that a correct principle is realized perfectly in practice. It is true that at the lower stages of socialist development, when the distributable benefits were not available in adequate quantity, we consciously modified for distribution purposes the value system of different-type jobs--physical and intellectual--in favor of the working class. But at the present stage of our development, the complicated tasks that face us require in the interests of all our people that the work of the intellectuals, who bring great benefits to the entire society, should be given increased moral and material recognition. Above all, it requires that every place of work--industrial and agricultural plants, the work places of science and culture--the intellectuals, including young intellectuals should be given serious and worthy creative work.

The condition for the further development of the socialist revolution and the operation of the existing forces in socialist society is the development of a socialist democracy. If we wish to get at the essence of democracy, we cannot be misled by the fact that in every social order, including capitalism, the ruling class seeks to create the impression that it exercises power by the will of the whole people. However, an actual democracy, that is, the democracy of working people, can develop only on the basis of social ownership of the means of production. Socialist democracy is the democracy of the working class that has the power, of the allied cooperative peasantry, of all the working, that is, all the people. It does not assume confrontation with power, some kind of bourgeois liberalism, not lack of discipline, not some kind of external interventions. But it creates for every citizen the possibility of active participation in dealing with public affairs.

Democratically

We have achieved results worthy of respect, to give an example, in one of the most important areas of socialist democracy, the development of work-place, factory democracy. Of course, it is by no means the trade unions alone that exercise this democracy; there are also other forums. But it is well known how broad in scope the rights of the trade union organs are, thus the steward and chief steward bodies. The task now is to see that the activists who are working in these organs perform their work with greater independence and that they use their rights more boldly and consistently.

With all this, we do not seek to maintain that our democracy is perfect or functioning without error. It is well known, for example, that important preliminary work is being conducted for the democratism of state life, including the further development of our election system. Our economic problems and the social tasks that await us are in no way prompting us to restrict socialist democracy, on the contrary they prompt us to deepen it and to exploit the tremendously great energies that stem from it.

Finally, we must speak of what is most essential from the aspect of importance: our party. The major guarantee of the welfare of worker power, the working

class and all our working people is that the leading role of our party should be consistently realized. Even among our difficult trials, mutual confidence exists between our party and our people. One of the main strengths of our party is in that capability of synthesis that could and can taken into account every creative view and proposal, in working out the program, task determination, and decisions, and giving Marxist-Leninist answers to the questions raised by development. Not only could and can it conceive goals properly, and the prevailing tasks, but it can also gain the active support of the large majority of our people to this end.

We know, because we have learned, that if matters are proceeding in an orderly way in the party, if ideological and political activity exists, if the party is true to the principles of Marxism and Leninism and its creative principles, if it regards service to the people as its historical calling, then we will succeed in coping also with the greatest tasks.

We do not live in an easy period. But freed now from the anguish of always having been too late we will carry out new tasks calmly in the knowledge of our strength, as possessors of power, and prepared for constant renewals, the task of more and more fully developing the tremendous possibilities in our socialist social order.

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REPORT ON IMPLEMENTATION OF NINTH PLENUM RESOLUTION PUBLISHED

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[Report, compiled by the PZPR Central Committee Team for Youth Affairs, on the implementation of the Ninth PZPR Central Committee Plenum resolutions--published in Warsaw on 14 January 1983]

[Excerpts] We published the report on the first stage of the implementation of the Ninth Party Plenum resolutions on 26 October 1982. This report covers the period after the 10th Plenum.

The individual party cells completed their programmatic and organizational work, focusing their attention more and more on implementation and control. Party cells' efforts were directed with increasing frequency to creating conditions for young people's political and economic militancy.

However, present appraisals and achievements indicate that the party cells' militancy in implementing the Ninth Plenum resolutions continues to be hampered. This is effected mainly by:

--Regarding the plenum resolutions as a collection of tasks for the state administration and the young people's movement and not for party cells and members;

--Taking only a seasonal interest in the work with young people;

--Regarding the issues of the work with young people as an area of the interest of the party's specialized units or groups and not of the entire party;

--The insufficient militancy of young people themselves, especially of those outside the youth movement.

The schedule, adopted by the Politburo on 27 July 1982, for the implementation of the party cells' and organizations' tasks stemming from the Politburo report and the Ninth Plenum resolutions contains 97 detailed tasks, including 32 standing tasks, seven tasks to be analyzed periodically and 58 tasks to be implemented by certain deadlines.

I. Resurrection and Enrichment of Young People's Ideological Life and Civic Training

1. All party cells and organizations promoted activities to show that the Ninth Plenum was an expression of the consistent implementation of the Ninth Party Congress' programmatic and political line.

The Ninth Plenum contents were reflected in the party's reporting campaign, in the all-Poland "Decade of ZSMP Clubs" and in the recent meetings of basic party organizations devoted to the issues of the Ninth Plenum. These issues were also included in school curricula and instruction-training plans.

Young people continued to meet veterans, representatives of party and state authorities as well as officers and soldiers of the Polish People's Armed Forces.

In many voivodships, including Radom, Leszno, Gdansk, Ciechanow and Lomza, youth courses were set up at evening universities of Marxism-Leninism on the strength of the special program for youth activists, which was devised by the Central Committee Ideological Department.

2. Party cells and organizations encourage the socialist youth unions to commit themselves to a greater extent to the activities of the echelons of the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth [PRON].

For example, some 500 young people below 30 are active in these echelons in Lodz and 257 in Kalisz voivodship. In Zielona Gora voivodship young people account for 15 percent of these echelons' membership and for 9.4 percent in Tarnobrzeg voivodship, where there are 170 such echelons. The Provisional Voivodship Council of the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth in Bydgoszcz set up a team for young people's affairs, which established contacts with non-organized young people, mainly those at school.

The ZSMP, ZMW, The Union of Polish Students [ZSP] and the Polish Scout Union [ZHP], assisted by the Central Committee Team for Youth Affairs, organized a seminar of young activists of the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth. The seminar adopted a resolution appealing to members of the socialist youth organizations and all other young people to participate actively in the movement's echelons.

However, voivodship committees take the view that young people's participation in the movement is still unsatisfactory, which is a result of a poor knowledge of the movement's aims and action principles and of one's disbelief that the movement is able to effect constructive and systematic solutions of the young generation's vital problems.

3. The consolidation of internationalist [unity] and solidarity with the forces of progress, freedom, peace and socialism is an important task resulting from the Ninth Plenum resolution. This consolidation should take place in the activities of all educational cells.

The cooperation of the socialist youth unions with the youth organizations in the fraternal socialist countries is of special significance. Crucial importance should be attached to the most recent initiatives of the youth movement, including such as the ideological seminar entitled "Activities of Youth Organizations in the Ideological Struggle" and the exhibition "The Road to Glory of the Leninist Komsomol."

Together with the newspaper SWIAT MLODYCH [WORLD OF YOUTH], the Polish Scout Union launched a competition on the occasion of the 60th anniversary of the USSR, which involved some 50,000 entries. Together with the Leninist Komsomol, the ZSMP, the ZMW, the Union of Polish Students, and the Polish Scout Union worked out a draft protocol on cooperation in 1983. The protocol will be signed this month.

4. The socialist youth unions actively participated in the celebrations to mark the 100th anniversary of the Polish workers' movement by organizing appropriate competitions, games, seminars and meetings. Particular attention was attached to the study of the ideological traditions of the predecessors of the present youth organizations. On 29 and 30 November an interorganizational seminar was held to discuss the influence of the workers' movement on the development of Polish young people and to stress the ties between young people's interests and aspirations of the Polish workers' movement's programmatic ideas.

5. Mass media have had a special place in the activity to resurrect and enrich young people's ideological life and civic training.

As of the beginning of this month television continues to present--mainly for young viewers--a series of programs on economic and political geography, entitled "The Dimensions of the World." Also this month study programs will be televised under the title "Workers as Images of Their Class." These programs will deal with the history, role, transformations, traditions and culture of the Polish workers' class. The programs entitled "With a Saber or a Trowel" will popularize constructive attitudes as well as work and its results. Historical education will be promoted by the scout magazine KRAG, and the series "historical Consciousness," both of which will help confront young people's knowledge of history with the older generation's views and experiences.

6. In line with the appropriate decisions, special television and radio programs were devised to demonstrate the structure and aims of the ideological subversive centers, the intelligence activities in Poland and the socialist countries and the true intention of the programs and encouragement addressed to Polish youth.

These issues continue to be presented in the television series entitled "Facts, Events and Allusions" and in the third radio program. On 17-18 January 1983 the Central Committee Information Department and the Central Committee Team for Youth Affairs organized another seminar for the propaganda activists of the ZSMP, ZMW, the Union of Polish students and the Polish Scout Union. These

seminars were devoted to the methods by which political enemies try to influence young people.

7. In line with the Ninth Plenum resolutions, a concept of consistent scientific research into the basic problems of the young generation was worked out. This concept was subjected to an initial discussion at the 6 January session of the Council of Ministers Committee for Youth Affairs.

II. Strengthening the Homogeneous Educational Front

1. Work on enterprises programs for ideological-educational activities has continued. Many voivodship committees take the view that the working out and implementation of these programs continue to meet serious obstacles.

For example, the enterprises in Lodz continue to report that aktivs are averse to working out separate programs because this is regarded as a return to old practices. The Walbrzych Voivodship Committee pointed out that the formulation and implementation of these programs depend mainly on the position of party organizations and the militancy of the ZSMP. Enterprise aktivs in Koszalin Voivodship take the view that young people's passivity is the main reason for the absence of initiative in this regard. Aktivs in Suwalki Voivodship take the same view. Only a few enterprises in Radom Voivodship (RADOSKOR and SPOLEM) formulated and implemented programs for ideological-educational activities. Attempts are being made in Katowice Voivodship to attract the closest allies of school-enterprises, inhabitants' self-management groups and social organizations--to the implementation of educational tasks. One example of this is the organization of the teacher-parent "trios," which take care of children and youths after school.

2. Implementation of the tasks resulting from the main instructions on educating children and youths at school, formulated by the Ministry of Education and Upbringing is continuing. These instructions are the basis of the plans for work to improve instructional and educational activities. These plans are produced by the individual schools and other educational and upbringing institutions to suit their conditions and needs.

Young people's participation in organizing trade unions varies. For example, in Olsztyn Voivodship this participation accounts for up to 25 percent, in Lodz Voivodship between 10 and 30 percent, in Kielce Voivodship between 7 and 22 percent and in Szczecin Voivodship between 5 and 10 percent. Last November the Central Committee Team for Youth Affairs and the ZSMP Main Board organized another seminar for young trade unionists.

V. Party Work With Young People, Cooperation With Youth Movement

1. Party cells and organizations support youth organizations' efforts to strengthen their role in the state's sociopolitical system.

For example, in Gorzow Voivodship the principle was adopted that representatives of the youth movement sit on advisory commissions to rural parish administrators and in enterprise managements. In all voivodships representatives

of the socialist youth unions have been coopted to the voivodship committee commissions. They also receive regular invitations to attend the sessions of party cells and executive bodies.

2. The contents of the Ninth Party Plenum were reflected in the party's reporting campaign. The reporting sessions of the departmental and basic party organizations as well as the reporting conferences of the first level party cells evaluated the implementation of the Ninth Party Plenum resolutions. However, in some cases these sessions confined themselves to criticizing the work of youth organizations, without critically analyzing the forms and methods of the work of basic party organizations with young people, including young party members.

3. On 10 December 1982 representatives of the ZSMP, the ZMW, the Union of Polish Students and the Polish Scout Union signed a declaration of principles concerning cooperation among the socialist youth unions, which is a crucial stride along the road to tightening the cooperation among youth organizations. The declaration lays down the aims and forms of this cooperation and envisages the establishment of a permanent institution to serve as a platform for cooperation, after positive decisions have been made by statutory bodies of the unions.

4. On 9 December 1982 the Communist Union of Polish Youth [KZMP] dissolved itself. On 10 December 1982 the mayor of Krakow decided to cancel the registration of the Democratic Youth Union [ZMD]. At the same time, the minister of science, higher education and technology signed a decree invalidating the legality of the registration of student organizations with the minister and higher school rectors. This included the Polish Academic Union [PZA], an all-Poland organization.

5. On 15 December 1982 the minister of science, higher education and technology allowed the registration of the Union of Polish Students, which had been set up at the founding congress last November. The union is a social and professional organization which is of a socialist character. The congress of the Union of Polish Students and the registration of the union completed the phase of structural changes in the student movement.

6. The results of the discussion on the institutional and legal adjustments of the state policy toward young people are used in the work to formulate a bill concerning young people. A working draft of this bill has been worked out and will be subjected to public discussions.

7. Instructions for party organizations and cells on making it possible for the socialist youth unions to promote economic activities will be issued when the Council of Ministers has adopted a resolution on this matter. A draft of this resolution was adopted by the Council of Ministers Committee for Youth Affairs.

8. In line with the Ninth Party Congress resolution, instructions were sent out to the field concerning the establishment of bodies corresponding to the

Council of Ministers Committee for Youth Affairs in the local echelons of state administration. Such bodies are already active in 30 voivodships.

9. In line with the Ninth Party Plenum resolution the voivodship committees have received the evaluation of the implementation of the resolution of the 1982 plenum. The evaluation was made by the Central Committee Youth Commission.

10. Last November the Central Committee Youth Commission studied in Gdansk the implementation of the Ninth Party Plenum resolution in Gdansk Voivodship and took a stand on training children and youths in maritime matters.

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ORZECZOWSKI INTERVIEWED ON NATIONAL REBIRTH MOVEMENT

PM211011 Krakow GAZETA KRAKOWSKA in Polish 24-26 Dec 82 pp 1, 4, 9

[Interview with Marian Orzechowski, secretary of the PZPR Central Committee and secretary general of the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth (PRON), by GAZETA KRAKOWSKA correspondent Olgierd Jedrzejczyk--date, place not given]

[Text] [Question] What is the idea of national accord based on? What are its chances, and what hopes can we pin on it?

"The idea of national accord," says Marian Orzechowski in answer to the first question put to him by the GAZETA KRAKOWSKA interviewer, "is based on the fact that there are always things in the life of a nation that unite people, despite any generation, world outlook, or class divisions. The situation does not exist--except for the extreme cases of civil war or revolution--in which there is nothing at all to unite the divided nation. The thing is to be able to define, in the most accurate terms possible, within the language of politics, propaganda, and ideology, the things which bring people together and those which divide them. They should be so articulated that the divided society may comprehend the nature of the values which unite. It is an historical imperative: The accord, as the expression of unity, is of existential significance, deciding the national 'to be or not to be' and the nation's future. The majority of the nation has always been united--as regards any vital endeavors of the nation as a whole--by its historically variable goals. In the final years of the second republic the principle aim was the defense of Poland's sovereignty; during the war, the fight against the invader; after the war, rebuilding the country after the ravages of war, reuniting the western and northern territories with the motherland and resettling them, and reconstructing the country's capital. It is obvious that when we formulate the goals that unite us we realize that they unite us over and above the things that divide us. We do this in order to find a common language and to realize those common goals. Toward the end of the 1930's both the political right and left agreed that Poland's sovereignty was the question of supreme importance. But the two camps differed in their answers to the question of what had to be done to realize that goal. It was the same after the war. There was no disagreement among the Polish people about the need to include and assimilate the western territories into the body of our reborn state. Questions only began to arise when we were defining the ways of reaching that goal. Therefore, the foundations of national accord contain the goals which unite the nation, along

with the strategy and the tactics of their realization. But the chance of accord represents something more than just a dictate, an imperative, an historical necessity created simply by the fact that, if the divergent group tendencies do not find a common platform and a common denominator, the nation will cease to develop. The accord offers a real chance of unblocking our thinking and, in consequence, permitting social, economic, and cultural development. We pin our hopes on the great chance of national agreement. The only problem is to make these hopes find their real expression in our action. We are not the only ones to speak of agreement. Reagan speaks of it, and so does the underground. But the agreement spoken of by Reagan and proposed by the underground would in fact mean the capitulation of one side, that is, the capitulation of power and the placing of the authority in a position which it cannot accept and which the state cannot accept. The solution proposed by the authorities offers an honorable way out, suggested not in the interests of the authorities as such but in the interests of society and state. It is honorable in that the authorities themselves reject the notion of victors and vanquished and the notion of retaliation. The concept of honorable agreement means that we are trying to create bridges not only for those who were not against us and who were thus with us but only for those who were against us, those who lost and have drawn conclusions from their defeat, who believe that there are indeed certain causes of supreme importance for the nation and the state which must take precedence over the disappointed hopes of various groups and individuals, over the bitterness of failure and disillusionment. The authorities are building bridges for those who were against them but who do want to work in a constructive manner toward lifting the country out of the crisis. There are, of course, certain limitations here. There can be no misunderstanding: Those who have lost and who remain adversaries of socialism, as well as those who committed offenses against the system, can count on no bridges. They can count on our just law and on a fair judgment on their activities.

[Question] PRON is, as it were, an institutionalized expression of the idea of agreement. What possibilities of the movement's development do you see at the present moment, and what dangers are there?

[Answer] A decided majority of the Poles do indeed--let me repeat--acknowledge certain common causes and let themselves be directed by those in their striving for the common goal. Let me again stress that there are things which unite us despite all that divides us now and will continue to divide us. The PRON is not a tactical move on the part of an authority that has been enfeebled and cornered and that is desperately searching for ways of salvaging itself, but the expression of the deep conviction and belief that socialism--as a system for people--can only be built by the majority of any society. Lenin often stressed that any attempts to build socialism solely with the hands of party members, of communists, of workers, are mere daydreams. Socialism can come into being only if the majority of society accepts it, if it corresponds to its own notions of human dignity and justice. As regards the PRON, I am a moderate realist. In anticipating whatever can happen to the PRON, I fear excessive optimism. When such optimism collapses, it becomes a bad political counselor. It whispers to us that we are steeped in apathy, that it is a sick society which has not understood the greatness of our ideas and our

proposals, that the whole nation is sick. On the other extreme it can lead to activities running off at right angles which do not take into account the wishes and aspirations of society. I am a moderate realist also because the PRON constitutes a chance for the Poles, and taking advantage of that chance is not an automatic thing: it depends on those who belong to the movement, who are its activators, and on those who will perhaps join the movement tomorrow. I am also a moderate optimist because I can see that the movement has made noticeable progress in the past few months and become an element of our political landscape. It is already possible to define its successive development stages at this movement: the movement as an idea; the movement coming into being in the process of emerging as a movement; the movement at work, operating in concrete forms, and continuing to develop. In its beginnings, the movement was preoccupied with itself. At the same time, almost from the start it began to operate on a national scale. In the beginning there were the Citizens' Committees for National Rebirth [OKON], then the aims of the movement for national rebirth came to be defined more clearly. The movement is not a static one. That is the reason for my realism and my moderate optimism. At this moment a new opportunity for development presents itself to the PRON, as the situation in the country is changing. We are emerging from martial law and building a whole new philosophy of normality, that is, the thing which we have always lacked most of all. Building it becomes a great new value of our lives. Now, when we are leaving martial law behind, the enemies of the idea of our movement raise a multitude of doubts: that the PRON is introduced only as a series of screens to protect the government during the period of martial law, that it is a political ephemeral. But I see the movement for national rebirth in broad terms, as a constant element of political life. Because of its open character and broad political capacity I see in it the final crowning of the Polish political system. Are there any dangers facing the movement? There are, and it is necessary to realize this. They are inherent in the movement itself, and there are also external dangers which are all too obvious. After the session of the PRON Inaugural Commission on 24 November this year, and after its appeal to end the state of martial law, we have been observing certain distinct changes in the tactics of both the opposition and the anti-Polish centers in the West. They came to realize that the movement is by no means a mere facade, that it contains great possibilities, that it is becoming a common ground for cooperation between party members and those outside the party, that it is a challenge and an attractive offer addressed to all who have been bruised and intimidated. This is becoming a serious threat for the political adversaries. All those attacks on the PRON, attempts at weakening its position, disrupting it and belittling the role it plays, defaming the movement and harping on the natural differences of opinion occurring within it, defining socialism as a system promoting a schematized unification of thought--all this serves to prove that our movement defines such schematization. This being so, it is necessary to play it off against the party and against socialism. The PRON is a prosocialist movement, not one aiming to undermine socialism. It enriches socialism with our national traditions and our common national experience. In this way the movement defines its way into society and wins its approval. The movement's internal dangers stem from the process of expansion of the movement's formal structures (without which it cannot, after all, exist) brings with it the danger of its work itself becoming formalized. If the movement is accepted as an

organization, it could lose its fundamental capability for causing a perpetual renewal of social thinking. But this had been pointed out, by the movement's enthusiasts, right at the very start of its existence. The thing is not to allow the movement to become too uniform: if some of its base cells function under the name of Citizens' Committees for Accord, let them be; if there are also Citizens' Committees for National Salvation, or National Rebirth, let them be too. In each case, the name reflects the people's sense of what the situation requires, of what they themselves need. It is necessary to fight with equal energy against the danger of overformalization and bureaucratization as against the principle of hieratical subordination. The higher echelons should become platforms for consultations and coordination of operations, for collecting and synthesizing the results of experiments, rather than formations in a system of dependence and subordination. Another danger zone is the adherence to certain accustomed patterns of political operation. These are by no means quick to disappear. But the movement represents something other than the political habits of people who think along the orthodox formulas. The movement is a forum where opinions clash, where it is the superiority of argument and ability to defend one's reasoning that count more than one's official position. The dangers must be neutralized.

[Question] People often talk about the so-called "silent center" which exists in our society. How would you estimate its extent?

[Answer] The "silent center" is that part of our society--perhaps even its greatest part--which for a variety of reasons, regards the authority with distrust but also has fundamental reservations about the opposition. It groups the people who are not against us and who, in this sense, are with us. We do not take offense at their stand. To take offense would be the most foolish of all policies. It is all a phenomenon of our political life. The authorities have been giving expression to this belief ever since 13 December last year, saying that they understand the distrust but do not approve of it in the long run, since in the long run it becomes suicidal. People cannot live in society, off society, and at the same time as it were on the margin of society. One not, on the other hand, turn one's back on the silent center. If there is a thinking center, then there are also a right side and a left side. That is why the movement directs its attention to the "silent center" and addresses itself to it in a comprehensible language. But even that part of society is undergoing a change and becoming more dynamic. The "silent center" was different in February this year, different again in October, and it changed yet again in December 1982. Today it is much less numerous and undergoing an important process of change. Individual people and individual groups are leaving it, for it is not possible to take umbrage at the authority or to quarrel, in effect, with society itself. And in any case I would say that the definition of the "silent center" is none too clear. This is due to differences in the opinions held by different groups in our society. In the first place it is quite clear that the intelligentsia, and in particular the technical intelligentsia, is quickly emerging from that twilight of silence. Another obstacle is the existence of a certain tendency to generalize the opinions held centrally, in Warsaw. Opinions current in Warsaw's coffeehouses and Warsaw's gossip seem to superimpose themselves on the overall picture of the country, using the "silent center" formula quite arbitrarily to describe the

overwhelming majority of the intelligentsia. Nothing could be more wrong. But obviously it is not a part of society that can be ignored and given up for lost. The movement for national rebirth employs the strategy of maximum tolerance and--as already mentioned--the building of bridges. This strategy is still in force, along with the authorities' right to intervene in a firm and uncompromising way wherever this might be necessary in the interests of the state's integrity. Some people associate power solely with pressure, coercion and the application of legal and administrative measures. It is a one-sided view of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Lenin spoke about the nature of power after the victory of the socialist revolution and he very strongly stressed the educational, agitational and ideological functions of power. The so-called winning over, persuasion and bridge building. The authorities in power employ precisely these methods of peacefully winning over their previous adversaries. They constitute the authorities' strength, not its weakness. It is exclusive application of coercive measures that constitutes proof of the authorities' weakness. The strength of a state, on the other hand, lies in persuasion through practical action.

[Question] Is a compromise, the concept of compromise, equivalent to dialogue, negotiation and national agreement?

[Answer] The crux of the matter is that the result of dialogue, negotiation, agreement is a compromise. In our political language compromise has, as a rule, a bad reputation. The essence of great politics is the ability to achieve compromise. What is wanted and desired can become reality as a result of talks: it could be tomorrow or the day after tomorrow, even if it is not possible today. Negotiations can lead to three possible solutions: We can either abandon the goal we wanted to achieve, or realize it by force, by fair means or foul, or follow Lenin's way and consider what we are able to achieve today by juxtaposing all the realistic possibilities as well as the interests of various social groups while retaining the right to realize our basic goals. That is the way to a true compromise. Our strategic goal is to build socialism. Hence the moves in Lenin's strategy that are incomprehensible to the "hurrah-revolutionists." It is necessary to take a step back, to retreat, before moving onto the offensive. Lenin never abandoned the strategic goals and he always defined their political limits. In this respect the principles of the sociopolitical system of the Polish People's Republic--that is, social ownership of the means of production, the alliance between workers and farmers, the leading role of the party and Poland's membership in the socialist community--constitute the foundations of all social and political activity.

[Question] What is the role of the PZPR in the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth?

[Answer] It is at the same time simple and complex. It is simple because the PZPR plays the leading role, its right to do so being based on historical reasons, on having accomplished a social revolution, on the actual concrete work it is doing that has elevated Poland to its definite position in Europe and in the world, on the social and cultural transformation of our country which it has brought about: It is all these that underpin that right, which is enshrined in the constitution. But this does not mean that this historical and

legal warrant held by the party is granted automatically. The party as a whole, and through its individual members, must confirm its role of serving society and the nation. Its modest attitude must testify to the fact that the party is not a goal in itself but the means of reaching the desired level of development for the nation and the state. Its serving role is relation to society and its working class continues to be the main task of our party. We must bear this out by our participation in the PRON. It is not easy, and we have to learn how. The process of learning is of considerable social significance. It is relatively easy at the central level, but extremely difficult down at the bottom: in the factory, the school, the institution. The role played by party members in the PRON lies in the quality of their arguments, in their methods of persuasion and of winning people over to our party's cause, which is at the same time the cause of the whole nation and society. The thing is to point out the substantive value of this cause. Party members can fulfill their leading role only when their reasons win in the final reckoning: their reasons, enriched by the arguments of others who think differently but proceed from the same principle of the need to strengthen socialism. That is why I repeat, and will continue to repeat: It is necessary to learn, and we are learning, to draw conclusions from the experience of our work in the PRON that will be of crucial significance for the whole of the authority and the nation. The leading role of the party is also in learning.

[Question] We hear that the PRON will have its own weekly publication. What will be the role of that public publication?

[Answer] Naturally, the weekly will strive to win society's trust for the PRON. It will serve the movement itself, but it must not lose sight of society as a whole. Hence the special tasks for the publication, which will be free of the pressures exerted by hieratical structures and can--together with the movement and the people remaining outside the movement--search for ways of strengthening our socialist state: the Polish People's Republic.

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ROMANIA

ROMANIAN CHARACTER OF TRANSYLVANIA REAFFIRMED

Bucharest MAGAZIN HISTORIC in Romanian Nov 82 pp 12-17

/Article by Maj Gen Dr Ilie Ceausescu: "Transylvania. An Ancient Romanian Home"/

/Text/ As the great scholar High Steward Constantin Cantacuzino said about 300 years ago, "The Romanians understand not only those here and in Transylvania, who are also native, but the Moldavians and all those who live elsewhere and speak that language."

And so it was clear to Romanian scholars centuries ago that the Romanians, living throughout ancient Dacia, were one and the same people with one and the same origin regardless of the unnatural boundaries set by the vicissitudes of the times or the strength of one of the great powers. Their unity of kinship, apparent in their common language, customs, beliefs and traditions including affairs of state, was strongly felt by the masses, who were proud to call themselves Romanians and to say that they spoke Romanian regardless of which part of the country they inhabited. Chroniclers, historians and foreign travelers who traversed the Romanian lands from end to end ascertained this fact and recorded it in their writings.

Our Patriotic and Freedom-Loving Dacian Ancestors

From the most ancient times Romanian soil favored the appearance and development of society. Archeological studies, especially the recent ones, have proved that Romania was one of the centers of man's ethnogenesis back in the remote dawn of mankind, where paleolithic and mesolithic peoples found the necessities of life and made tools and other material products as well as artistic ones, within the limits of the skills of the time of course. The appearance of agriculture in the neolithic period (Romania was one of the first lands in Europe where a number of plants were raised) and the development of handicrafts were new steps in the development of society in the regions of present-day Romania. The communities that created cultures like Vadastra in Oltenia, Cucuteni in Moldavia and Cris in the Banat and Transylvania were among the most advanced in the contemporary world in their material and cultural production.

With the bronze age, the population of farmers and herders permanently settled on that land begins to be known from the historical and literary sources as well. It composed the northern branch of the great family of Thracians, among whom the Geto-Dacian people were to play a particularly important role toward the middle of the first millennium B.C.

The Geto-Dacians inhabited an extensive area, and from their earliest mention in the historical sources they proved to be a bold, freedom-loving people staunchly defending their ancestral land. In describing the expedition of Darius, the king of Persia, the ancient author Herodotus, the father of history (1), says that the Getae, whom he calls "the bravest and most honest of all the Thracians," were the only ones who opposed the Persians by force of arms. All the other military engagements mentioned by the ancient sources indicate to us that the Geto-Dacians were formidable defenders of their nation and their independence. On every occasion they fought fierce battles in defense of their ancestral land against the Scythians of King Ateas and the Macedonians of Alexander of Macedon and Lysimachus or against the Celts. Thus a thirst for freedom and love of country were basic characteristics of the Geto-Dacians from the earliest times, explaining their permanence on this land and the fact that none of the hostilities against the country could budge them from their native soil.

The freedom-loving Geto-Dacians loved culture and civilization just as well. The handicrafts they developed and the art they created ranked them among the most advanced peoples of Europe at the time. Alongside the Greek, Persian, Roman and other ancient civilizations, the civilization our ancestors created was the priceless treasure of the culture of the ancient world.

The steady development in the heart of Geto-Dacian society naturally led to the appearance of the state that reached its apogee over 2,050 years ago, when the independent and centralized state under King Burebista was formed.

After King Burebista's death in 44 B.C. the Geto-Dacians were engaged in increasingly frequent conflicts with the Roman Empire, which considerably extended its frontiers in that period and gradually conquered the whole territory of the Balkan Peninsula. For a century and a half the Geto-Dacians were in a constant state of heroic struggle to defend their country against this new and grave danger. The Daco-Roman conflict reached its climax in the reign of King Decebal, who succeeded in restoring the unity of the Geto-Dacian state, the center of which remained in Transylvania with the cities in the vicinity of Sarmisegetuza Regia.

During the two wars in 101-102 and 105-106 the Dacian people astonished contemporaries by their heroism and the dedication with which they fought and sacrificed themselves in defense of their dignity, civilization and right to live in freedom. (2)

The conquest of Sarmisegetuza and the conversion of a part of Dacia to a Roman province brought radical changes in the evolution of society in the Carpatho-Danubian-Black Sea area. The combination of the two civilizations, that of the Dacians (who continued to live without interruption in the new province but also in the free territories) with that of the Roman colonists produced the new synthesis, the Romanian people, who were the direct continuers of the Dacian

people. In the period of direct contact with the Roman civilization the Dacians permanently assimilated the Latin language, which circulated in the area for several centuries, as well as elements of that civilization which, in combination with the indigenous one, gave rise to the Romanian civilization. The latter first emerged as a separate entity in the third century, when the Roman authorities felt compelled to withdraw their army and administration to the shelter of the natural boundary of the Danube, under pressure from the free Dacians and migrant populations and the internal state of the empire. The wealthy colonists also left the province of Dacia along with the army and the administration, but the great mass of the population remained on the land where they lived and worked, where they had their settlements, and where they knew and felt themselves to be safe. However troubled it had been by the ravages of the invaders, for the people newly formed by the combination of the two civilizations, Dacian and Roman, this was their native fatherland. That is why it is clear to us that the Dacians were the basic ethnic element of the Romanian people. The fact clearly indicates the indigenous people's stability, which also determined the Romanian people's relations with the various peoples who passed through here or lived alongside them in the first centuries A.D. If we were to believe the "theory" that the Romanian people had not yet been "formed" at that time, it would mean they were formed every time they came in contact with other peoples with whom they lived for longer or shorter periods of time. And as we know the Romanians did not become Goths, Huns, Avars, Slavs, Pechenegs, Kumans, Tatars, Turks or any other peoples who succeeded each other on Romanian soil! On the other hand they were more or less influenced by each of those peoples and derived more or less from them depending on each one's level of culture and civilization, just as they unquestionably gave of their culture to all the peoples with whom they came in contact, especially since the Romanians were more civilized than any of the migrant populations, including the Ottoman Turks.

The Fatherland of the First Voievods

But if the migrant peoples, being on a less advanced level of cultural and social development, could not change the structure of the Romanian people they did somewhat retard their social and political development, a fact particularly apparent in the long delayed formation of a united Romanian state. But as Nicolae Iorga commented decades ago, the Romanian people "always thought of their country in connection with their entire past and all of its land that they inhabited." In the consciousness of the masses on both slopes of the Carpathians, the idea of "a Romanian country" meant all the lands on which the Romanian people were formed and developed and created their entire material and spiritual culture.

The first voievodates attested by the literary sources of the time appeared in Transylvania, an ancient Romanian land. Transylvania had emerged as an integral part of the Dacian state and the heart and main center of its resistance back in the period of its formation and development, by virtue of the string of fortresses in the Orastie Mountains grouped around the capital city of Sarmisegetuza.

During the Roman occupation an intensive material and spiritual culture developed in Transylvania and throughout all Dacia. Later on, after Aurelian's withdrawal, Transylvania was a powerful center of resistance to the migrant populations. From the regional community wherein every member was obligated to take

up arms in defense of the ancestral land (the basis of "the great army" in the classical feudal period) it came to principalities and then to the voievodates mentioned for the first time under the political circumstances of the ninth century. But at the time of their mention in the historical sources they showed an advanced structure and organization leading us to believe they had been formed a few centuries earlier. And so from ancient times to the threshold of the second millennium A.D. the territory north and west of the Carpathians and washed by the waters of the Mures, the Tirnavas, the Somes and the Crises was continuously inhabited, worked and defended by Romanians who braved fierce attacks and lived through times of great distress under various invaders but who were never defeated and never left their native ancestral homes.

As the fatherland of the first Romanian voievods, Transylvania was a *terra blacorum* (a "Romanian land") with all the attributes our ancestors lent that idea, and the masses never for a moment lost the feeling of their roots in the nation's past. "We belong here" is an expression to be found in all parts of Transylvania, summing up the awareness of uninterrupted continuity. Nicolae Iorga also said, "Some Hungarian documents mention the country or the forest of the Romanians. We should not think of them as local in nature but in connection with that so ancient, so vast, so correct and so fertile conception of the Romanian country, of a national character and a natural geographic form."

Awareness of the inseparable unity of all Romanians and the lands inhabited by them did not come out of a clear sky but was the fruit of a tradition transmitted orally for centuries. It was unequivocally stated by the Austrian emperor Joseph II, who said that "These poor Romanian subjects, who are undoubtedly the oldest and most numerous inhabitants of Transylvania, are mistreated by everyone, whether Hungarian or Saxon, and overwhelmed by all injustices." (3)

Three Centuries of Resistance

These Romanians, whom the Hungarian Count Teleki recognized in 1791 as "the oldest inhabitants of Transylvania" (4), created their history in a complex and contradictory environment characterized by a fierce struggle lasting about three centuries with Hungarian feudalism. As we know, after a migration made in several stages and under pressure from several peoples, toward the end of the ninth century or more precisely in 896 the Finno-Ugrian population of Magyars passed from Atelkuz on the steppes between the Dniester and the Dnieper through the Vereczke Pass onto the Pannonian Plain. But their expansion toward Transylvania was long after the conquest of Pannonia and not until the second half of the 10th century, after the Magyar tribes' attempt to make their way to Western Europe was checked at the Lech River by the German Feudal Lords. After these events, which occurred in 955, the Hungarian feudal lords, who were beginning to organize, started the expansion to the east into "the country beyond the forests," called *Ultrasylvania* or *Transylvania* in the Latin documents of the Hungarian chancellery. The action was conducted in stages, extended over several centuries and gave rise to fierce battles fought by the Romanian people against the new invaders. These battles are noted at length in old Hungarian chronicles like *Gesta Hungarorum*, written by King Bela's anonymous scribe, which is why it is also known as the *Chronicle of the Anonymous Scribe*. In recounting the deeds of the Hungarians, *Gesta Hungarorum* also describes the indigenous people of Transylvania and their way of life, organization and economic and cultural

development. A number of so-called historians contest these statements as well as other passages referring to Romanians, regarding them as "legends," "fables" etc. But when it comes to other events, the anonymous scribe's statements cease to be mere tales and become statements of "one of the most distinguished Hungarian historians, a "peerless geographer," or a "very learned historiographer," as some Hungarian and other historians assert.

But regardless of the opinion of these pseudohistorians, *Gesta Hungarorum* as well as Simon de Keza's *Chronicon Hungaricum*, the *Illuminated Chronicle of Vienna*, and the *German Chronicle of Hildesheim*, along with many official documents, and papers, contain extensive references to the existence of the Romanians in Transylvania and to their organization and heroic struggle for independence.

There was a limited number of Magyars when they penetrated Pannonia, about 250,000, due to the fierce battles they had fought on their way from the Volga and the Kama where they originated. Therefore the leaders of the Magyar tribes gave up actual occupation of the territories and adopted a policy that Dr Mihaly Horvath, author of a *History of Hungary* published in 1860, considered "a wise tactic." They left the former masters of the territories with their possessions and merely collected certain revenues in products and other resources, thus reducing them to a state of nominal submission (This procedure, also found among the Avars and Tatars later on, was peculiar to the migrant tribes who were too limited numerically to administer large areas effectively, which was also true of the Avar kaganate or the Tatar khanates).

As Dr Mihaly Horvath says, the former masters remained in possession of their lands and became friends instead of enemies of the Magyars. The Magyar tribes followed this procedure in their passage through Kievan Russia, Halicz, Galicia and Ruthenia, territories through which they passed on the way to Pannonia without annexing them.

In the first decades after their settlement in this part of Europe, the number of Magyars, who were decimated in the wars with the western feudal lords, continued to decline to such an extent that shortly after he ascended the throne King Stefan I tried to increase the number of inhabitants of the Hungarian kingdom by inviting foreigners "of any people" to settle in his country, as well as mercenaries whom he promised a good reception, paying them generously or granting them land and various privileges. As Dr Mihaly Horvath says on the basis of reports in Simon de Keza's chronicle, the Szeklers living in the Cigla district (in northeastern Hungary of today) when Arpad's tribes arrived were among those who entered into such relations with the Hungarians. The Szeklers had already submitted to the Magyars when the Hungarian tribes were in Ruthenia (a region in eastern Galicia), in the USSR today, but they preserved their individual nationality "until the present time" (that is until 1860 when the Hungarian historian finished his work). Moreover many medieval sources, historians' writings, testimony of foreign travelers, and especially the official documents (certifications, privileges etc.) record that the Szeklers were a distinct nationality, so that the statements made later by some Hungarian historians, especially after 1918, about a so-called complete identity of Szeklers and Hungarians are contradicted by the documents of an entire historical period.

Mihaly Horvath goes on to say that "In the occupation of the new country between the Tisza and the Danube, Menumorut was in the district of Bihor with Wallachians

and Khazars as subjects, while in the Banat Voievod Glad had an army of Romanian troops. Transylvania proper (the Transylvanian plateau) was under the leadership of the Romanian Gelu." After a stubborn resistance, Menumorut performed the act of submission and his daughter was married to Arpad's son. Gelu fell on the battlefield in the war with Tuhutum, one of the Hungarian chieftains, while Glad also became a vassal of the Hungarian king and remained in possession of his voievodate thereafter. Accordingly all three of the Romanian voievodates accepted vassalage to the Hungarian kingdom but without falling under its actual rule.

The events of somewhat more than a century later bear out the fact that the Romanian voievodates continued to maintain their autonomy. At the start of the 11th century, in 1002-1003, King Stefan I fought fierce battles with the Transylvanian voievodate of Ghiula (Giula or Julia as he is called in other sources of the time), whose residence was in Alba Iulia (5), and Voievod Ahtum, a successor of Glad's, also fought a fierce war with the feudal Hungarian forces under Canadinus (6).

After Stefan I died in 1038, the Romanian voievodates in Transylvania and the Banat profited by the weakness of the Hungarian kingdom due to its internal crisis to regain their sovereignty. Therefore in the 11th century the Hungarian feudal lords' rule over Transylvania is not attested by a single document, and as the Illuminated Chronicle of Vienna mentions, the boundary was at Portile Mezesului, where the Szeklers (traditional defenders of the border areas) first settled.

Toward the end of the 11th century and the beginning of the 12th the Hungarian feudal lords resumed the offensive and met with the same stubborn Romanian resistance, so that the Hungarians did not penetrate the far southwest of Transylvania, into the Romanian country of Birsa, until the beginning of the 13th century, over 100 years later! The Romanians' heroic resistance was noted, moreover, in a document that cannot be suspected of partiality to Romanians. On the contrary, it is the memorandum addressed to Emperor Joseph II in 1784 by the Hungarian nobility after the defeat of the revolt under Horea, Closca and Crisan, wherein the nobles said, "Our forefathers who came from Scythia conquered this precious fatherland (Transylvania) with victorious arms and their blood, and after they subjugated and made serfs of the forefathers of the Romanians who rebelled against us today, they ruled over them in peace and kept them always in a strict discipline but left their way of life intact."

The Romanian population's resistance to the occupiers went on even after the so-called submission of Transylvania, and its importance was greatly increased by the large number of Romanians. In order to counteract the Romanians' opposition the Hungarian royal feudal lords populated various areas with Szeklers and Saxons of German origin, and in order to extend their domination beyond the Carpathian chain they appealed to the Teutonic Knights. In 1437 the three privileged "nations" (Hungarian nobility, Szekler nobility and the Saxon patricians) agreed to form the famous Unio Trium Nationum and the Capilna Convention against the Romanian people who had revolted because they were unwilling to accept the situation to be tolerated on their own land that they held from time immemorial. Shortly afterward, this pact was supplemented by "the pact of the four religions" (Lutheran, Unitarian, Reformed and Roman Catholic), which were decreed state religions, while Orthodoxy (as well as its adherents, the Romanians) was considered tolerated.

Tradition of the Voievodate.

Despite these measures, Transylvania continued to maintain its separate existence, autonomy and institutions thanks primarily to the Romanian population's resistance. The Hungarian kings' attempts to place Transylvania under the rule of a prince soon failed. In 1111 the documentioned the first prince of Transylvania, Mercurius, but 65 years later it reverted to the Voievodate, the traditional form of administrative organization.

The power of the voievod of Transylvania was considerable, frequently equalling that of the king, with whom he was sometimes treated on a footing of equality. For example, in the time of Voievod Roland Borsa (1282-1293) Transylvania was a regnum (kingdom) like Hungary. The voievod's autonomy was even more pronounced in the time of Borsa's successor, Ladislau Kan (1293-1307), who laid claims to the royal crown (left vacant at the demise of the last representative of Arpad's dynasty).

But this process is best illustrated by the persistence of such indigenous institutions as the Romanian principalities and "countries" with their organizational traditions and customs of the land, the unwritten laws whereby the cases between the members of such a community were adjudicated. Considerable independence was also acquired by the newcomers, the Szeklers organized in "seats" and the Saxons, whose units formed the so-called "Saxon University" (uniting all the Transylvanian land held by Saxons).

Transylvania's independent development has been recognized by many historians, beginning even in the Middle Ages. Thus Laszlo Kovacy pointed out that as contrasted with Hungary, which was already primarily oriented toward the West in the time of Stefan I, Transylvania was oriented toward the East.

In this period there were instances where the voievodate, under capable men, carried Transylvania's fame far into Europe. Especially in the time of Iancu de Hunedoara, a representative of an old Romanian family, the anti-Ottoman actions carried into the heart of the Balkan Peninsula and the defense of the city of Belgrade against Mahomed II, the conqueror of Constantinople, were historic moments of European renown.

The internal crisis of the Hungarian kingdom, increasingly evident after the death of Iancu de Hunedoara's son, King Matei Corvin (1458-1490), as well as the constantly growing power of the Ottoman Empire, brought the two forces into an open confrontation. After the Ottoman victory at Mohacs (1526) and especially after the disaster sustained by the Hungarian feudal lords at Buda (1541), the Hungarian kingdom's fate was sealed. In 1541 it became a pashalik with the residence in Buda. But the Voievodate of Transylvania continued its independent existence under the suzerainty of the Porte, paying an annual tribute like the two Romanian voievodates.

After 1571 the voievods of Transylvania began to be called princes. But it was rather a mere change of titles, for the nature of their rule was the same as that of the princes of the Romanian states Moldavia and Wallachia. Moreover the Wallachian chronicler Radu Popescu summed up this situation by saying that "Emperor Suliiman, after the death of King Ianos (Zapolya) of the Hungarians,

took Buda from his son Ianos (Ioan-Sigismund), who was still young, with his mother Queen Ezavela. He also took Belgrad (Alba Iulia)..., which is the capital of Transylvania, and the queen with her young son made peace with the Turks and surrendered Transylvania to the Turks and gave their emperor the rule of Transylvania. And from the king's son people were accustomed to call all the princes of Transylvania kings, but they are not kings but princes, that is voievods, like the Romanian (prince of Wallachia) and the Moldavian (prince of Moldavia)."

But the highest point in the existence of the Transylvanian voievodate was the unification accomplished in 1599-1600 by the prince of Wallachia, Michael the Brave. The unification of Wallachia with Transylvania and later, in the spring of 1600, with Moldavia as well met an age-old need of the Romanians and also inaugurated a decisive stage in the creation of the Romanians' national unity. For the first time since the Dacian state in the time of Burebista and Decebal the Romanian principalities, freed of Ottoman suzerainty by the bold and vigorous action of the great Michael, were united under a single voievod. The unification of the Romanian lands in a single state did not last long (from October 1599 to September 1600). But that interval was enough to kindle the flame that was to light the Romanians' way to their complete unity for centuries, marking a turning point in the development of the Romanian people's consciousness of unity. From that point on, every great political action in the Romanian lands preserved the seed of the idea of unity. Whether it was Gabriel Bethlen's plan (7) to restore the Dacian kingdom or the effort to establish a common anti-Ottoman front (in the time of princes Mihnea III, Gheorghe Stefan and Gheorghe II Rakoczy) (8), the whole 17th century was influenced by Michael the Brave's unification.

FOOTNOTES

1. MAGAZIN ISTORIC, Nos 11, 1975 and 1, 1978.
2. MAGAZIN ISTORIC, Nos 9, 1976 and 7, 1980.
3. MAGAZIN ISTORIC, No 5, 1978.
4. MAGAZIN ISTORIC, No 10, 1982.
5. MAGAZIN ISTORIC, No 11, 1981.
6. MAGAZIN ISTORIC, Nos 5, 1979 and 7, 1982.
7. MAGAZIN ISTORIC, No 12, 1979.
8. MAGAZIN ISTORIC, No 3, 1974.

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REVIEW OF BOOK BY HUNGARIAN POET IN ROMANIA

Bucharest ERA SOCIALISTA in Romanian No 22, 20 Nov 82 p 39

[Review by Buia Simion of book "A Hittol az Eszmeletig" [From Belief to Lucidity] by Szasz Janos, Kriterion Publishing House, Bucharest, 1981]

[Text] In the volume of essays and studies "From Belief to Lucidity,"* Szasz Janos, one of the most renowned Hungarian writers in Romania, tries--in the age of syntheses--to elucidate problems of public, civic interest, deeply rooted in the human, moral and spiritual conduct of his generation. It is a question of the generation to which also belonged that contingent of intellectuals, of creators engaged in the struggle to achieve the great social transformations after the Liberation, present as militants, as cultural activists in impelling the events, in molding the intellects and souls of their fellow men, in accordance with the imperatives of the period. Dealing deathblows to the "cruel and unjust" old order, the revolution unfolded before the Romanian people bold prospects of economic and social progress, prospects also decisive for the fate of the Hungarians in Romania.

Among other things, the author dwells closely on the contemporary, socialist juridical and constitutional coordinates of the existence of the Hungarian population in Romania, finding a multidimensional and complex reality in which are affirmed--in the fullness of rights and on the basis of absolute equality--the spirituality, the authentic culture, the historical, civic consciousness of this nationality united like brothers with the Romanian people. The democratic and humanistic essence of this age-old union and cooperation is reflected by belles-lettres, sociology, political science, historiography, by other branches of the social sciences, there going to journalism, in this context, the role of interdisciplinary synthesis. Basing his convictions on the social realities, Szasz Janos formulates a message taken, in essence, from Balcescu and Petofi: "Where freedom is, there is the homeland." The present freedom of the Hungarians in our country--he writes--results in a lawlike and logical manner from the struggles of the revolutionary predecessors, from the militant, consistent action of the working class, which, from the beginnings of its movement, spoke out against all forms of oppression. It is thus a natural result of the victory of socialism.

The expression of the national dignity of the Romanian people and the cohabiting nationalities, who are experiencing in the new socialist society in Romania a

* Szasz Janos, "A Hittol az Eszmeletig" (From Belief to Lucidity), Kriterion Publishing House, Bucharest, 1981.

veritable rebirth, is manifested in, among other things, the effervescence of culture in the mother tongue, the promotion of progressive traditions, the deepening of self-knowledge. Thus--the author indicates--the long efforts made by Romanians and Hungarians, in a brotherly alliance, to put an end to the political, social and national enslavement of those who work have borne fruit. In these Romanian parts, active cooperation between the Romanian people and the cohabiting nationalities constitutes a basic characteristic of interhuman relations. Such cooperation is possible since, under the conditions of socialism, the existence of the national specific character does not lead to isolation. In Romania, the respecting and cultivation of the formative and spiritual traditions, the vitalization of culture and education in the mother tongue, in institutionalized forms, and the free use of the mother tongue in public administration and in all spheres of existence of society are structured not on nationalistic chauvinism but on the principles of socialist democracy, of participation with equal rights in the work for the prosperity of the common homeland.

In the essay "Specific and Universal," Szasz Janos judges that in our century national existence has become a basic attribute of social existence. "Today already we see clearly that this state of affairs is a natural consequence of the struggle of universal dimensions to gain equal rights for the nations, to eliminate from the historical practice of humanity the privileges of the great powers, the competition to impose the interests of the great powers." He feels that full equality among nations, be they small or big, must also find expression in the elimination of the growing and more and more alarming gaps between the rich countries and the poor ones of the world, as a mandatory condition for maintaining the existence of humanity. The adversaries of the aspirations of free affirmation of all peoples and nations--the author writes--are attempting to accredit the idea that the preservation of the national specific character is obsolete and useless, but, in fact, such attempts serve the unhindered flourishing of the transnational monopolies and the alliances of interests among the promoters of the policy of power and dictation. Due to the imperialist, neocolonialist policy, many peoples of the world, hundreds of millions of persons, are kept in a state of economic backwardness that does not allow even the satisfaction of the basic human needs. This--the author concludes--profoundly affects national dignity, the natural aspirations toward free, independent development of all nations.

In some essays, Szasz Janos addresses himself to man, who, in the era of the "acceleration of time," of the information explosion, is the witness to more and more complex everyday phenomena, being, in consequence, confronted with the necessity of clarifying them, of distinguishing the laws, the interdependencies that cannot be envisaged at first sight. The connections pointed out by the author invite meditation. "Certain phenomena that are produced," he writes, "can become obstacles to understanding the realities if we do not discover their substrata, their lines of force, their essence and their operating mechanism." Therefore, a continual theoretical investigation of these phenomena is necessary, avoiding, however, any distortion of them for the purpose of serving to illustrate, that is, to support, preconceived theses. The theoretical investigation has the mission of deciding about the validity of the theses. For this reason, general theoretical research always has a critical character as well. The essay "A Few Considerations Regarding the Dialectics of Error" contains interesting considerations regarding electronic automation, the computerization of production, a process that lightens the physical labor,

complicating, however, the mental activity, requiring from the supervisors high qualifications "so that the work may be done well." The fact that even under the conditions of the current automation errors appear and rejects are produced demonstrates the necessity of further improvement in the technologies, calls for even better preparation of the human factor, to which the rational orientation of production is entrusted, because, in the final analysis, the mind and skill of the personnel also have the main role in the overdeveloped industrial societies.

Pointing out the current process of maturation of Hungarian literature, Hungarian culture in Romania, poet and prosaist Szasz Janos notes with satisfaction that, besides the rich belletristic creation, the interest in the preparation and publication of original scientific works is also increasing. In our country, the talents of the Hungarian nationality are asserting themselves without hindrance, gaining new fields and forms of presence and expression. One confirmation of this truth is also the volume of essays reviewed, a volume that reflects eloquently the community of the concern of the Romanian and Hungarian writers for participating in the discussion of the great national and international problems, for finding their proper attitude and place in a world in turbulent change.

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