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EAST GERMANY

SPECIAL 'EINHEIT' ISSUE HAILS OCTOBER REVOLUTION'S 60TH ANNIVERSARY

[Editorial Report] In honor of the 60th anniversary of the "Great Socialist October Revolution," EINHEIT, the SED Central Committee's monthly "Journal for Theory and Practice of Scientific Socialism," has published a special double issue (Vol 32, No 10/11, October-November 1977, signed to press 13 September 1977, pages 1137-1328). A total of 16 major articles, covering the bulk of the issue's 192 pages, is devoted to this historic event.

Headed by Erich Honecker, the list of authors includes the names of top party leaders, government ministers, academicians and literary luminaries. The one foreign, i.e. Soviet, contribution comes from Prof M. T. Yovchuk of the USSR Academy of Sciences.

Translations and/or summaries of the 16 articles are published in the pages following this report.

The remaining pages of this EINHEIT issue contain the following items:

- "Inquiry: What Are the Impulses Provided by the Cooperation With the Soviet Partners?" (pp 1277-1287); comments given at EINHEIT request by Wolfgang Junker, minister for construction, member, SED Central Committee; Guenter Berger, secretary, SED Leipzig Bezirk management; Prof Dr Claus Grote, secretary general, GDR Academy of Sciences; and Dieter Ostertag, chief, Drushba-Trasse (Friendship Road) staff, Free German Youth (FDJ).
- "Chronology: Days That Shook the World--A Historic Appendix" (pp 1288-1296); covers the period of 3 (16) April through 25 October (7 November) 1917; by Prof Heinz Abraham, Karl Marx Party College, SED Central Committee.
- "Recollections"
- "Lenin in Smolny" (pp 1297-1298); by A. M. Kollontai, from "Vom Februar zum Oktober, Erinnerungen an Lenin aus dem Jahre 1917" (From February to October, Recollections About Lenin in 1917), published by Dietz, East Berlin, 1977, pp 171 ff.

- "A Young Worker From the Erz Mountains Goes to the Red Army" (pp 1299-1300); by Fritz Grosse, from "Weltenwende--wir waren dabei" (World Turning Point--We Were There), published by Dietz, East Berlin, 1962, pp 62 ff, slightly abridged.
- "Report: 'KOMMUNIST'--in the Front Line of the Ideological-Theoretical Struggle of Our Era" (pp 1301-1307), a background report on the CPSU theoretical journal by Prof Dr Gerhard Powik, deputy director, Institute for International Workers Movement, Academy of Social Sciences, SED Central Committee; and Dr Peter Stechmesser, political researcher, SED Central Committee.
- "Facts and Figures: Sixty Years of Soviet Power" (pp 1308-1313); by Prof Dr Otto Raus, head, department of correspondence course studies, Karl Marx Party College, SED Central Committee.
- "Books: Erich Honecker--An Outline of His Political Life" (pp 1314-1319); review by Prof Dr Lene Berg, member of and department head in SED Central Committee, of "Erich Honecker--Skizze seines politischen Lebens," published by Dietz, East Berlin, 1977.
- "Publications on the Occasion of the 60th Anniversary (Selection)" (p 1320).

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EAST GERMANY

HONECKER DISCUSSES LESSONS OF OCTOBER REVOLUTION

East Berlin EINHEIT in German Vol 32 No 10/11, Oct-Nov 77 signed to press
13 Sep 77 pp 1139-1147

[Article by Erich Honecker, SED general secretary, chairman, GDR State Council: "The Great Socialist October Revolution--A Turning Point in the History of Mankind"]

[Text] The victory of the October Revolution initiated the worldwide transition from capitalism to socialism. In accordance with the laws governing that process have all essential decisions of the class struggle and of historic development been made since, the international balance of power has been altered, and the mightiest bastion of peace in our days has arisen. The vitality of our GDR counts among the historic proofs for the universal validity of the laws of socialist construction and of the fundamental experiences gathered by the Soviet Union, which we have been creatively applying to our own conditions. We are advancing along the road charted by the Ninth Party Congress.

The 60th anniversary of the Great Socialist October Revolution is at hand. All attention, not only by our friends but also by our enemies, is concentrated on this important anniversary, for what happened on 7 November 1917 and what the effects of it were has altered the course of the history of mankind. The victory of the Red October is the main event in our century. With the worldwide transition from capitalism to socialism it initiated the fundamental renewal of the existence of the peoples. All essential decisions of the class struggle and of historic development have since been made in accordance with the laws of that process.

I

In those "days that shook the world" the revolutionary workers, soldiers and sailors, the Russian proletariat under Lenin's leadership, and under the leadership of the Bolshevik party, overthrew the power of the

capitalists and landowners and, in the form of Soviet power, established their new, socialist state. They thereby executed the judgment of history on the exploiter system in their own country while they at the same time carried out an imperishable internationalist act. The heroic struggle of the workers and peasants of Russia, as Lenin rightly remarked, showed "all countries something, something exceedingly significant, of their own inescapable and not too distant future."¹ It showed how the peoples may surmount their own social past and how they may enter life of true human dignity in socialism.

Since that time, in several countries the workers class has seized power, socialist and communist society has formed, and the humanistic ideals of liberty, justice and fraternity have been brought to realization. The community of the states of socialism rallied around the Soviet Union is the most stable and dynamically progressive region in the world. A strong power current in the struggle for peace and numerous new initiatives for making it permanent are coming from there. Especially under the effect these facts have had the national and social liberation movement of the peoples is developing ever more powerfully. The ranks of the anti-imperialist fighters are broadening and gaining in strength. And the road signs set by progress do not only mark the successes achieved thus far, the present successes and the future goals, but they also explain the enormous scope of the Red October.

While this century still began under the aegis of omnipotent imperialism, that omnipotence was all finished in 1917. The victory of the October Revolution, the imperishable act of liberation by the heroes of the Soviet Union, inspired with their ideas, in World War II, against Hitler fascism, and the genesis and growth of the socialist world system are showing clearly for anyone to see that the wheel of history is moving incessantly forward. Imperialism, to be sure, still has a considerable potential and is ready to use it at any time, as experience has shown, whenever it sees a promise of success in stopping the progress of mankind. Yet even today, this is definite: the beginning of the next century, only a few decades hence, will fully and completely be under the aegis of socialism and communism, witnessing the doom of the residual bastions of the old world of capitalism.

On the occasion of the 60th anniversary of the Red October, our party, the government and the people of the GDR reiterate their deep satisfaction and pride in being fraternally allied with the CPSU and the USSR. This eternal friendship undergirds our successes thus far and our future successes in the construction of socialism, in the implementation of the policy as resolved by the Ninth SED Congress for the good of our people. Our fraternal alliance also embodies the live legacy of the Red October. The best sons of the workers class and the humanistic and progressive forces of our people have always dreamt of it, and they always have fought for it.

The chairman of the KPD, our unforgettable comrade Ernst Thaelmann, passionately welcomed the victory of the Red October as the "start of the

greatest turning point in the history of mankind." "For the first time," he wrote, "the proletariat seized power, on 7 November 1917, not only for one world historic second, but for good. For the first time the proletariat has won, not a battle but a whole war, against the exploiters of the whole world."² That indeed distinguishes the Red October from all previous revolutions. The workers class solved the basic question of power in its favor, in the interest of the working people. All previous revolutionary uprisings had only been able to replace an old exploiter system by a new. But the October Revolution was the first one to eradicate the exploiter system totally. It embodied--to quote Marx and Engels--the triumphant movement of the overwhelming majority in the interest of this majority.

The heat of the Red October tested the party of the Bolsheviks, supplied with the doctrines of Marx, Engels and Lenin, as the guiding force of the workers class, the working peasants and the popular masses in their struggle for peace, democracy and socialism. This party of a new type, loyally dedicated to proletarian internationalism, was nourished from the rich arsenal for the means of class struggle. It relied on its deep insight into the laws governing social development, on the historic initiative of the workers class and the revolutionary creativity of the masses. Applying Marxism-Leninism to the concrete conditions, it extended it further.

Lenin's party, the CPSU, has proven itself, time and again, as the most battle-tested and experienced vanguard in the construction of socialism and in the international class struggle. It has been the ideological inspiration, the political leader and organizer of the workers class as of all the other working people in all the gigantic and pioneering achievements marking the progress of the Soviet country since the Red October and amounting to the strength of its example. And the CPSU has always and consistently followed the Leninist principle that a revolution consolidates its victory only when it also knows how to defend itself. Soviet power thus smashed both the internal counterrevolution and the external intervention. The working people of the country successfully managed to solve the most important and complicated tasks of the socialist revolution and to cope with the work of construction, a work no one had ever achieved before and one, as Lenin said, about which one can find nothing printed in books.

The predatory assault by Hitler fascism presented the Soviet Union with the harshest test. It destroyed the aggressor, preserved mankind from a relapse into barbarism and initiated that phase of the world revolutionary process in which socialism transcended the framework of one or only a few countries and developed as a world system. By this second act of liberation with its historic magnitude, the USSR also opened for our people the way into a new future. To that end, 20 million of its sons and daughters sacrificed their lives, man's highest good, and they will never be forgotten. In the harshest global struggle that the history of warfare knows, the heroic Soviet people defended the realities and ideals of the Red October. Socialism then had most emphatically proven its strength, vitality and superiority.

Today again the Soviet people is accomplishing pioneering achievements, as charted by the 25th CPSU Congress, which serve not only its own material and cultural well-being. They are, simultaneously, of crucial importance to the international overall interests of socialism, progress and peace. The developed socialist society is established in the Soviet Union. Party and people are engaged in creating the material-technical base for communism, gradually transforming the socialist relations in society into communist relations and educating the people in the spirit of communist consciousness. That combines with tasks never heretofore encountered, or solved, in any other country.

The new draft constitution elaborated under Leonid Brezhnev's leadership reflects the profound historic changes in the life of the USSR as it points to the new shores of communist development. It significantly documents the creative application of the science of Marxism-Leninism to revolutionary practice. Explaining the draft to the CPSU Central Committee plenum in May 1977, Leonid Brezhnev said: "Altogether it may be said that the main tendency of what is new in the draft amounts to an expansion and deepening of socialist democracy."³ This democracy fully and completely brings to realization the interests of the working people, in contrast to bourgeois democracy, which is constrained by its class character. Through its unity of rights and duties it makes every citizen actively participate in the management and planning of public affairs on a high level.

In socialism, democracy and freedom are not empty words, as they are under the conditions of capitalist rule, but a reality. The new USSR Constitution testifies to the fact that in Lenin's country all human rights for which all peoples and all forces of progress are struggling have been fully realized. That includes the rights to work, recreation, health protection, education and culture, freedom of speech, of the press, assembly, proclamation and demonstration. Socialism as it really exists more and more clearly emerges as the society of humanism, which finds the chief value in working man and finds the purpose of all its efforts, in his well-being. It opens all possibilities for the free development of personality which, as one knows, has time and again been withheld from, or curtailed for, the overwhelming majority of the people under capitalism.

Six decades after the triumph of the Great Socialist October Revolution, the world of socialism is presenting a more impressive example than ever of the most just organization of society in the interest of the working people. Stable and dynamically progressing, this society offers social security and clear prospects to everyone. Meanwhile, the world of capitalism is getting enmeshed in constantly new crises. There, social insecurity, unemployment, inflation and stagnation are the order of the day. The monopoly system is demonstrating itself as being anti-human precisely by depriving large segments of youth of all its vital opportunities, withholding education, occupations and jobs, even calling youth a "superfluous generation." This shows all the more clearly that socialism is the only historic alternative to capitalism. It is ever more strongly affecting the development of the present on this earth, and the future belongs to it.

II

The reality and ideas of the Red October have also always given structure to the revolutionary process in our GDR--from the time that the antifascist-democratic order was established down to the shaping of the developed socialist society at present. The internal stability and international currency, the whole vitality of our workers and farmers power, are among the historical evidence testifying to the universal validity of the laws of socialist construction and of the fundamental experiences gathered by the Soviet Union. We too had to apply them while taking account of the concrete conditions of our struggle. The SED has developed creative practical politics in fulfillment of it. And precisely that is why it was able to make its contribution to what has once again been confirmed: The essential truths about establishing a socialist society are standing up not only under some conditions or others, but under all conditions.

The GDR grew strong in constant interchange with the ever stronger forces of socialism and peace on a world scale. The development of our workers and farmers state was from the very beginning accompanied by the assistance from, and cooperation with, the Soviet Union. The steady development of this cooperation has always gone hand in hand with our domestic socio-economic development. That such conjunction enhances and accelerates the continuity of historic progress in our own country has been an undeniable experience.

Now and forever the GDR is a firm component of the socialist community of states. It has acquired and maintains on the international scale a position among the ten leading industrial states.

Life in our country is more and more clearly defined by the fact that we are continuing in the shaping of the developed socialist society in accordance with the Ninth SED Congress decisions. The more we are advancing in this, the more deeply and diversely are the advantages of socialism becoming effective. This does not mean, of course, that the path into the communist future is smooth and level. The present phase of social progress, as our party program states, is a historic process of penetrating political, economic, social and intellectual-cultural changes. The mastery of it makes high demands on creativity and innovator spirit, the sense of responsibility and the willingness to serve. The results, however, which are at the same time being obtained in improving the life of the working people are particularly far-reaching. That ultimately all efforts serve the well-being of the people in an all-inclusive manner can be seen most clearly.

Especially in the last decade, the relationship of trust between the working people and our SED has strengthened. The influence by the leading workers class on social processes has steadily deepened. Its alliance partners, the class of the cooperative farmers and the socialist intelligentsia, are making a great contribution to the well-being of our republic. The cooperation among the main classes and strata of our country in the reproduction process is becoming closer. Decisively affected by the party's

ideological work, that rapprochement is taking place on the basis of the revolutionary ideology of the workers class. It also is becoming apparent that such processes which are of a long-term nature like the surmounting of the essential differences between town and countryside, or between mental and physical work, are increasingly affecting our practical efforts and are being applied to reality through innumerable separate steps.

The main task, as one knows, aims at steadily raising the people's material and cultural standard of living based on a high developmental speed in socialist production, the improvement of efficiency, scientific-technical progress and a growth in labor productivity. The current five-year plan again bears the stamp of our program for growth, well-being and stability.

While in 1975, the GDR's national revenue amounted to M 142.4 billion, by 1980 it will increase to M 182.2 billion according to our plan.* Industrial commodity production, which amounted to M 233 billion in 1975, will reach M 312.2 billion in 1980. For the annual volume of retail trade, plans are that it will rise from M 81.9 billion in 1975 to M 99.5 billion in 1980. In the last year of the five-year plan, 164,500 apartments will be newly constructed or modernized. In 1975, that figure was 140,800. In the total five-year plan period--that much is certain already--850,000 apartments will be newly built or modernized--an unprecedented scope. After the successful first year of the current five-year plan, the steady and dynamic development has continued in 1977. Millions of working people apply themselves to it with all their strength through the socialist competition in honor of the Red October.

The continued revolutionary transformation of our society heading for the gradual transition to communism is in full swing in all domains of life. And we find confirmed in practice that raising the political consciousness of the citizens and their willingness to serve are matters of crucial importance to our consolidating the material-technical base of socialism and the steadiness and tempo of social progress. For the long haul, the concentrated attention of society and its leading force, the Marxist-Leninist party, is required for steadily assuring the unity of politics and economics. Yet any success of any noteworthy importance in the national economy, even in the various industrial branches and combines, ultimately depends on great political-ideological work and a penetrating production intensification. Only when the qualitative production targets are realized on a higher level can volume increases reach the required tempo and can, in particular, the concrete needs of the people in our whole society be better satisfied.

The acceleration of scientific-technical progress and greater economic effectiveness are crucial to this. Our party is engaged in extensive efforts at more effectively combining science with production and bringing the advantages of socialism to bear on it more and more. Precisely this objective requirement it is which at present greatly determines the further perfecting of our socialist plan economy.

*All figures quoted are based on the 1975 price index.

Our social policy, especially its social targets, is based clearly on an acceleration of scientific-technical progress. That is all the more important in that the effects of the higher prices on the imperialist world market, shaken by a deep crisis, as well as the price increases in the CEMA countries, can be counterbalanced only by significantly higher performance. Scientific-technical results therefore must be applied especially for the benefit of the export capability of our national economy, on which our steady economic growth depends more and more.

Since the early '70's it has been possible to improve the working people's living conditions in the GDR more rapidly than ever before. Each individual could sense more clearly here the shaping of the developed socialist society. The population's take-home pay has increased annually by an average of 4.7 percent since 1971. Retail trade turnover also rose while prices remained stable. But above all it has been the scientific-technical standard of commodities, their use value and their attractiveness to buyers' needs that have been of greater importance. A greater conformity to the needs of the people, a better quality--these thus are the matters that govern the main trend of all economic efforts on behalf of satisfying the working people.

It is characteristic of our social policy that a number of matters have purposefully been resolved which play a key role in satisfying the needs of the people and in the development of their personalities. The most important example is the housing problem, which is meant to be resolved systematically as a social problem in the GDR by 1990. From early 1971 to the end of July 1977, approximately 846,430 apartments have been newly built or modernized, which has improved housing conditions for approximately 2,540,000 GDR citizens. Today--given territorial differences--the favorable effects of this increased speed are already noticeable. And these effects are diverse, inasmuch as better housing also improves the conditions of family life, training and many aspects of leisure activities.

An interesting fact is becoming noticeable: social achievements attained in earlier stages of socialist construction are being significantly perfected, brought to realization on a higher level, as it were. School education for all children of our people, formerly consisting of eight grades, is based today on the 10-grade general-education polytechnical secondary school. We now have more favorable conditions for working women and their assuming equal rights in life, mainly by being able better to combine their needs for jobs with their maternity. Also the resurgence in the number of births reflects our society's receptivity to more children as well as the fact that our measures are more and more in line with the requirements of life.

Social security has been a mark of socialism from the outset. But along with society itself the preconditions also are further developed which give rise to such security. Putting the achievements of socialism into effect on a higher level always means of course spending more for them. Here also applies what the SED once again emphasized at its Ninth Party Congress: everything that we consume must first be produced.

Our main task is derived from the nature of socialism: to do everything for the good of the workers class, for the good and happiness of the people. From the outset one has been pointing to the interconnection between end and means, between a better life and increased production. Social progress both demands and fosters increased performance. Finding out how everyday improvements took place evidently benefited the working people's enthusiasm for work. Thus the strategic orientation on which our economic policy is based brought the impulses of socialism more strongly to bear and accelerated socioeconomic progress.

In contrast to the capitalist countries, a great upswing in all domains of public life is in evidence in the states of the socialist community. They have coordinated the main trend in their economic strategy for the current period of development. All have announced as their priority the steadily better satisfaction of the people's material and cultural needs and the intensive production development needed for it. Such harmony once again confirms the universal validity of the fundamental inevitabilities and experiences in the current period of development too. That such concurrence expands the field for fruitful cooperation is obvious.

Our party has always considered the internationalist cooperation with the USSR and all members of the socialist family of nations an objective necessity. All our experiences are telling us progress in our own country will be all the more stable and dynamic, the more thoroughly we are making use of that favorable condition. Guided thereby, the SED is making an active contribution to the development of mutually advantageous cooperation. Science and economy in the GDR are more closely interlinked than ever with our partners in the fraternal countries. Important processes, in particular, such as coping with the scientific-technical revolution, or the long-term safeguarding of stable raw material supplies, are possible only through collaboration within the community of the fraternal socialist countries.

Wholly in this spirit, in the meeting I had with Leonid Brezhnev in the Crimea on 19 July 1977, arrangements were made for working out a specialization and cooperation program between the USSR and the GDR for the time from 1980 to 1990. That combines with long-term target programs worked out within the CEMA framework. In the decades ahead, socialist economic integration will have an increasing effect on the well-being of all participating nations as well as on the blossoming and strengthening of the entire community.

III

Sixty years have passed since the victory of the October Revolution. Six decades of enormous class battles and worldwide changes these have been. Along with it, the Soviet Union has been engaged in tenacious struggle throughout these years on behalf of safeguarding peace. That great objective has from the very beginning been running like a red thread through all the actions of its socialist foreign policy. "An end to wars, peace among nations, no more predacity or violence--that indeed is our ideal,"⁴ Lenin wrote. And particularly he stressed the need for combining the struggle for peace with the revolutionary class struggle.

When the Leninist "Peace Decree" was issued, it found an enormous response in the various languages in the world, for it expressed the basic interests of every peaceful person. Time and again have peace appeals "to all" been issued by the Soviet Union since. They have appropriately conformed to this kind of state which was the first to construct socialism whereby, up to our own days, it also erected the first and most powerful bastion in the struggle for putting this ideal of humanity into effect.

The possibilities for this struggle and its success have now become much more favorable. Above all, the international balance of power has considerably changed in favor of socialism. Not last, the Soviet Union commands a defense capability, in view of which anyone is bound to comprehend the inevitability of the destruction of any potential imperialist aggressors. A reliable guarantee for the protection of the revolutionary achievements of our peoples lies in the strength of the Warsaw Pact military coalition.

And it is precisely the community of socialist states which follows an equally constructive and consistent course toward peace, security and detente. It threatens no one but does what it can to eliminate forever the actual risk threatening the peoples in the danger of another world war. Especially in Europe the combined efforts of the Soviet Union, the GDR and the other fraternal countries are concentrated on replacing the condition of the absence of war by a stable order of peace, which is of benefit to the construction of socialism and communism and, with it, benefits all nations.

The principles of peaceful coexistence have become a key concept for organizing the relations between states with disparate social systems. These relations must be developed in such a way that it will be possible to settle controversial issues without resorting to war, promote mutually advantageous cooperation and turn peace into a natural mode of life among the nations. Realistic politicians in governments of capitalist countries, as one knows, have also become receptive to this idea, recognizing that peaceful coexistence allows for no reasonable alternative. Some of them, to be sure, adopt such better insight not without vacillations and hesitancy, not without also yielding to the pressures from the enemies of peaceful coexistence.

The fact that Europe lives in peace 30 years after the end of World War II persuasively reflects how effectively socialism is affecting the course of international affairs in our days. There certainly has been no lack of opposite imperialist concepts and operations, especially during the period of the "cold war," and more than once has peace been acutely in jeopardy on our continent. All attempts, however, at barring the road to historic progress and throwing the peoples back into their past and also, above all, at eliminating the GDR as a sovereign, independent, socialist workers and farmers state and at incorporating it within the power sphere of the monopolies, have failed ignominiously. Mainly thanks to the efforts of the Soviet Union and the other countries of our socialist community, the European continent has turned toward detente.

CSCE in Helsinki marked an important milestone in this whole process. Much that was positive has since been achieved on behalf of Europe's peaceful present and future. That, however, does not meet with the interests of those reactionary imperialist circles which are promising themselves the greatest advantages for their own plans and targets from proceeding along the edge of nuclear world war. And so they are launching massive attacks against detente. All the more necessary are the efforts of all realistic forces for rendering the political climate on our continent still healthier.

According to the Ninth SED Congress decisions, the GDR is making a constructive contribution to peace, security and peaceful coexistence. It advocates the implementation of the Final Act of Helsinki as a whole and seeks to participate actively in more advanced results of the subsequent meeting in Belgrade. If the international law principles of the inviolability of borders, sovereignty and territorial integrity, and noninterference in internal affairs are recognized and applied, the relations formed in line with them, among states with disparate social systems, can become normal, and cooperative relations can be of mutual advantage. That applies in every respect also to GDR-FRG relations.

Making an end to the arms race and adopting concrete arms limitation and disarmament measures has become a focal point in international politics. It may be said that it is the struggle for solving these problems which shows how harsh the struggle has become over the nature, substance and goals of peaceful coexistence. Once again NATO, with record expenditures for military purposes, is twisting the armaments spiral, and the United States, by developing "neutron weapons" and "cruise missiles," is evoking the peoples' determined protests. All the deplorable immorality of those who cherish profit more than anything becomes apparent in that they, in addition, praise such mass annihilation weapons because they would "only" kill people yet leave material undamaged. With it, they are belittling the peril of nuclear conflict. Preventing it, solidifying peace and security, disarmament or, in other words, the protection of the life of the peoples and the safeguarding of their peaceful future are basic precepts of our times and the touchstone for any foreign policy.

Our party and our people would be delighted if the PRC were to reoccupy its place in the struggle for the consolidation of peace and international security. This, unfortunately, is not the case. An analysis of the materials of the 11th CCP Congress available finds lacking any realistic approach to the questions that have to do with the preservation of peace. And what is even worse: the party congress not only reiterated the old theses on the alleged unavoidability of a third world war but combined them with massive attacks against the Soviet Union, the main force of peace. This hostile course against the USSR gives visible satisfaction to all enemies of peace and detente in the world. That is not astonishing, since antisovietism is the chief element in all hostility to detente, an ancient component of the imperialist war arsenal. It must be served a resolute rebuff. All experiences since the Red October have unequivocally shown that the Soviet

Union is worthily continuing the work of Marx, Engels and Lenin. Anti-sovietism can do nothing about that, but it does do great harm to the interests of the peoples. We have indicated our readiness at the Ninth SED Congress for normalizing our relations with China in accordance with the principles of equality, respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity, nonintervention and other international law principles. If China returns to a policy truly based on Marxism-Leninism, abandons its hostile course vis-a-vis the socialist countries and takes the road of cooperation and solidarity with the world of socialism, our side will make the appropriate response.

Together with the Soviet Union and the other fraternal states, the GDR, unabating, seeks a deepening of detente, a taming of the arms race and disarmament, and the elimination of the hotbeds of war danger still existing in various parts of the world. And we are convinced the resistance of the enemies of detente, of disarmament and of the consolidation of peace can and has to be overcome. That conforms to the principles in the policy that was decided on at the Ninth SED Congress, and that is how things appear to us from the vantage point of those far-reaching changes in the international arena for which the upbeat came from the Red October and which have, thanks to socialism, increasingly accelerated.

We shall continue to advance toward strengthening our socialist GDR on the road of the October Revolution, in accordance with the course of the Ninth SED Congress. We are constantly making life in our country better and more beautiful and are showing on our part what socialism is and what it achieves, and we are acting as patriots and internationalists. We are affiliated in solidarity with all anti-imperialist fighters, wherever they may be struggling for the cause of freedom and progress.

With the continued shaping of the developed socialist society we are also creating the fundamental preconditions for the gradual transition to communism. That is a great and enthralling task. It is pervaded by the breath of the Red October.

FOOTNOTES

1. V. I. Lenin, "Left Wing Radicalism, an Infantile Disorder in Communism," "Werke" (Works), Vol 31, Dietz, East Berlin, 1959, p 6.
2. Ernst Thaelmann, "The 7th November--A New Epoch in World History," "Ueber proletarischen Internationalismus" (On Proletarian Internationalism), Reclam, Leipzig, 1977, p 17.
3. NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 6 June 1977.
4. V. I. Lenin, "The Question of Peace," "Werke," Vol 21, Dietz, East Berlin, 1960, p 292.

EAST GERMANY

AXEN ON PROLETARIAN INTERNATIONALISM IN LIGHT OF OCTOBER REVOLUTION

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[Article by Hermann Axen, member, SED Politburo; secretary for international relations, SED Central Committee: "The Great October and Proletarian Internationalism Today"]

[Text] This article deals with the connection between the development of socialism, of the entire revolutionary world process and proletarian internationalism. It takes a position on topical questions in the discussion on the substance and forms of proletarian internationalism in the communist movement. It explains the validity and currency of proletarian internationalism and emphasizes its growing importance. The organic unity is shown between national and international aspects in the class struggle. And it is demonstrated with conviction that and why the relationship with the CPSU and the USSR is the criterion for proletarian internationalism.

In talking about the importance of proletarian internationalism in our time there is indeed no more convincing proof for the objective necessity and victoriousness of proletarian internationalism than the Great October and these last 60 years of a new epoch for humanity which it initiated and so markedly imbued with its ideas. When one says that one does not merely offer a historic reflection. There is a timely urgency today in discussing the organic connection between the October Revolution, the 60 years of Soviet power and proletarian internationalism because a vivid debate is going on within the international communist movement and the entire revolutionary movement beyond it on the substance and forms of proletarian internationalism. There are objective causes for this debate which stem from the process of the international class struggle itself, from the struggle between socialism and imperialism.

There first of all are the gigantic advances made in the international revolutionary processes. The strengthening of socialism, the upswing in the national liberation movement and in the workers and antimonopolist popular movement in the capitalist countries have caused the fundamental change of the balance of power in the international arena and are accelerating the spread of the national and socialist revolutions. Socialism now has a firm footing on three continents; the transition from capitalism to socialism now also has, with irresistible force, taken hold of the fourth continent, Africa. The growth and cooperation among the three great revolutionary main streams in our time, the increasing variety of roads toward socialism, and the heavy and bitter defeats as well (for instance in Indonesia or Chile), are bringing up many new problems and questions, especially those that concern the validity and criteria of proletarian internationalism today.

At the same time this debate on proletarian internationalism to a certain extent also has to do with the intensified ideological counterattacks by imperialism against the successful policy of peaceful coexistence and the advances made by the revolutionary forces. The turning to detente brings about an intensification of the class struggle, particularly in the ideological field. Imperialism, forced into withdrawal, is making greater efforts to split and weaken the three revolutionary main streams and their revolutionary vanguard, the communist world movement. Consequently, the political representatives and agencies of international monopoly capital are directing the weapons of their ideological and diplomatic struggle with special zeal against the ideas and practices of proletarian internationalism.

The lessons taught us by the 60 years of the Great Socialist October Revolution constitute a scientific experience confirmed by history which serves us as a sound basis for an objective discussion of the questions of proletarian internationalism in our time.

Validity and Currency of Proletarian Internationalism

One of the discussion questions coming up in the international debate touches the essential substance of proletarian internationalism itself. Here and there the opinion is being voiced that, in view of the colossal growth of the anti-imperialist movement and the inclusion of hundreds of millions of people from nonproletarian classes and strata, the concept of proletarian internationalism had become "narrow and obsolete" and should have to be replaced by a "new internationalism."

No doubt the Great Socialist October Revolution and the revolutionary world process that was powerfully accelerated by it have led to the further development, to enriching the theory, of Marxism-Leninism and hence, also of the content of proletarian internationalism. In the times of the Communist Manifesto and of the First and Second International, when the workers class had not yet triumphed in any country, the idea of proletarian internationalism first and foremost reflected the common international class interests and the international campaign operations of the proletariat and the relations

among its parties. Today proletarian internationalism has a much broader meaning. Through the October Revolution and the totally changed world situation because of it, leading to the development of the socialist world system, the ideas of proletarian internationalism today pervade working class relations in all countries, the relations between the communist and workers parties in the world, between the parties, state and peoples in the socialist countries, and between the revolutionary workers movement and the forces of national liberation.

Granted, the ideas of proletarian internationalism do not as yet dominate all revolutionary main streams. Nor could they do so. The source and pillar of the ideas and practice of proletarian internationalism are the class struggle of the workers class, the socialist world system and the workers movement in the capitalist countries. In the national-revolutionary liberation movement, the parties, peoples and movements of socialist orientation are appropriating the ideas of proletarian internationalism through a lengthy and often very contradictory process.

In view of that, the international workers class and its Marxist-Leninist parties have the task to conclude a broad, sincere, equal and long-term alliance with all the forces seeking freedom and progress. That calls for the highest degree of understanding for, and sympathy with, the national liberation forces and the partners in this antimonomopolist alliance. It implies flexibility and compromises in the interest of the anti-imperialist and antimonomopolist struggle.

When hundreds of millions of people are joining the revolutionary process in general, and the workers class in particular, and given the fact that the revolutionary world process for many nations begins with their national liberation, the consequence of such significant progress however also is that petty bourgeois and bourgeois ideologies filter into the ranks of the international workers class and the revolutionary movement on the whole.

Given the fact that proletarian internationalism has not yet gathered together today all the revolutionary forces of our times and that, moreover, constant conflict is carried out within the international revolutionary movement between the internationalist class line of the workers class and the stubborn petty bourgeois, reformist and nationalistic notions and prejudices, it would be fatal to place in doubt today the validity of proletarian internationalism. One reason for that is that only thanks to the victorious advance of the ideas of Marxism-Leninism and of proletarian internationalism initiated by the October Revolution this great upswing in the national liberation movement, the decay of the colonial system and the broad anti-imperialist, antimonomopolist alliance in the capitalist countries became possible in the first place. You do not block up the source of your strength.

Another reason is that the international revolutionary movement will be able all the more successfully, and with the least amount of reversals, to achieve national and social liberation in the briefest period of time,

the more all three main streams of our times are inspired by the ideas of proletarian internationalism. For it is the historic mission of the workers class, the only consistently revolutionary class, to bring about, together with its own liberation, the liberation of all other classes and strata of society suppressed by monopoly capital. Or, in other words: Surrendering the idea of proletarian internationalism would come down to abandoning the historic vanguard role, the hegemony of the workers class in the revolution and in the construction of socialism and communism. Thus the expansion of the revolutionary processes to more and more countries necessitates a maximum propagation and practical application of the principles of proletarian internationalism as an indispensable prerequisite for bringing to realization the greatest possible unity among the anti-imperialist forces in the world.

It was precisely in this sense of defending and enriching the principles of proletarian internationalism that the international conference of the communist and workers parties in June 1969 coined its main slogan: "Peoples of the socialist countries, proletarians, democratic forces in the capitalist countries, liberated as well as suppressed peoples--unite in the common struggle against imperialism, for peace, national independence, social progress, democracy and socialism!"¹ And the communist and workers parties of Europe declared at their Berlin conference in June 1976: "The communist and workers parties are aware that a Europe of progress and peace can be the outcome only of manifold efforts, the outcome of rapprochement, understanding and cooperation among the broadest political and social forces."²

Proletarian Internationalism--National and International Interests

Currently, in the discussions about the content and criteria of proletarian internationalism, the relation between national and international interests plays an important role too. There are objective grounds for that. Marx and Engels already pointed out that the revolutionary struggle of the workers class would first take place within the national framework. In some countries it is the national revolution which subsequently leads to the socialist. The deepening of the general crisis of capitalism causes a creative search by the communist and workers parties for concrete ways of transition to socialism in the nonsocialist countries. That search calls for the proper regard for the national and international factors in the revolution, for the careful consideration of the situation and the national specifics in any given country. The Marxist-Leninists are of the opinion that the socialist revolution and the construction of socialism and communism in their own country amount to the main contribution by their workers class and people to the cause of international revolution. It would therefore be harmful to underrate the importance of the national factor.

Yet it would be extremely one-sided, were one to confine the struggle and responsibility of a Marxist-Leninist party exclusively to the struggle for the revolution or the construction of the new social order in its own country. Every liberation struggle, for various reasons, is determined by national and international conditions for the struggle. The national and social

liberation struggle by the workers class and broad popular masses in any given country is significantly affected, during the phase that leads to the victory of the revolution as well, and particularly, as in the construction of socialism, by the international balance of power, the effects of internationalist solidarity and the counterattacks by national and international monopoly capital. History knows of no "purely national" revolution. The national and international character of the liberation struggle by the workers class, as Marx and Engels have shown, results from the laws, internationally at work, of capitalist economy and class rule. It follows from the character of our epoch, the main content of which lies in the transition from capitalism to socialism and the main contradiction of which, in the struggle between socialism and imperialism.

The conditions of the complicated class struggle may at times give rise to contradictions between national and international interests. In this regard we share the view that those contradictions must not be allowed to give rise to any fatal opposition and that it is an important task of the communist and workers parties to combine the national and international in their activities as a dialectical unity.

At times there also is debate about which would have to have primacy, the national or the international. If one takes account of the national and international interests in their organic unity, one will neither rigidly postulate the primacy of the international before the national, or of the national before the international. The primacy belongs to the class interest of the workers class which always includes the national and international aspects. The proper assessment of all national and international factors in the struggle of any given concrete situation from the vantage point of overall workers class interest, of the overall interests of socialism and communism--that is the principal criterion for loyalty to proletarian internationalism and its successful transfer to action.

Precisely from this overall interest of the workers class it was that the bolsheviks acted in the Great Socialist October Revolution under Lenin's command: "Bolshevik tactics were correct, the only possible internationalist tactics, for they were not based on any cowardly fear of the world revolution, not on the petty bourgeois 'lack of faith' in it, not on the dumb nationalistic desire to defend 'one's own' fatherland (the fatherland of one's own bourgeoisie), while not giving a damn for anything else--but based on the proper . . . assessment of the European revolutionary situation. Therein lay the only possible internationalist tactics, maximizing all that which was feasible in one country for developing, supporting and sparking the revolution in all countries. These tactics were justified by their enormous success, for bolshevism became . . . world bolshevism."³

The 60 years of revolutionary practice since the Great October have confirmed Lenin's definition of proletarian internationalism, that is to say, in making the principal contribution to international revolution by constructing socialism in Russia and, secondly, in bringing to realization "the closest

fraternal alliance and greatest possible unity in the revolutionary actions taken by the workers class."⁴ Let us merely recall a few facts of these 60 years which will bring vividly to mind the exemplary loyalty of the CPSU and the Soviet people to proletarian internationalism as well as the skill by **Lenin's** party and state in properly and consistently applying his principles, especially in the class-bound combination of national with international elements in international affairs: the Brest-Litovsk Peace Treaty, the construction of socialism in one country amidst capitalist encirclement; the destruction of fascism and the liberation of the peoples of Europe and Asia through victory in World War II; the consolidation of the socialist world system and the crucial support given to Vietnam, Laos, Cuba, Angola and the GDR.

By defeating Hitler fascism, the Soviet Union created favorable external fundamental conditions for the socialist revolution on German soil, which led to the formation of the socialist GDR. Postwar developments on German soil especially demonstrate with particular cogency that in combining the national with the international, one must let oneself always be guided primarily by class-bound analysis. Ever since it was founded, the SED has done what it could to bring about democratic, progressive and thus, peaceful developments in all of Germany. Our party has been fighting for it consistently and stubbornly. To achieve such progressive developments in the interest of the entire German people proved impossible then however because of the concerted resistance by international monopoly capital on the basis of the balance of power between socialism and imperialism. Nor was it possible for the imperialist side, however, to reimpose its exploiter system on all of Germany. Its conclusion was the establishment of a separate FRG. The most important result of the class struggle on German soil was the great historic progress in establishing socialism in the GDR. Two states with opposite social systems, two peoples and nations, the socialist GDR and the capitalist FRG, are facing each other today on German soil. And so historical practice throughout the last quarter of a century on German soil teaches us too how much class interest, the power ratio between the classes, ultimately determines the development of the national question.

The panorama of the international class struggle makes vivid not only the great victories of proletarian internationalism, crucial as they are of course in terms of history. The negation and suppression of proletarian internationalism and the petty bourgeois deterioration of the national into the nationalistic are found today, in an extreme fashion, in the big power chauvinism, the hegemonism of China's Maoist leadership. Maoist ideology and practice constitute a perilous embodiment of the betrayal of Marxism-Leninism, proletarian internationalism and the cause of peace and socialism. The clearest expression of it is the line which has now once again been confirmed by the 11th CCP Congress, which means to throw the rest of the world into an "unavoidable world war between the superpowers," while China wants to keep out of it and then dominate the whole world as the only superpower. That is a policy of petty bourgeois chauvinism which is diametrically opposed to the revolutionary, humanistic liberation ideals of Marxism-Leninism and to proletarian internationalism.

Growing Importance of Proletarian Internationalism

At times one encounters the notion that nowadays the unity of the revolutionary movement actually was reflected only in the variety of paths and movements toward progress, that it existed only in this variety.

Such notions, it seems to me, are merely a mechanical interpretation of the fact that the worldwide transition to socialism--as Lenin predicted--produces an ever greater variety of roads toward socialism, of forms of the dictatorship of the proletariat. The truth of the Leninist prediction has been brilliantly confirmed through revolutionary practice in the 60 years since the Great October. That was demonstrated by the development of socialism in the Soviet Union, where various nations and nationalities of Central Asia and the East, based on the dictatorship of the proletariat, chose specific ways of transition to socialism, at the Union's scale, for example, that of the noncapitalist way of development. The victory of the MPR, the genesis and extension of the socialist world system to Indochina and Cuba, the national-democratic revolutions in some African states and, far from last, the socialist revolution in the GDR too, each one of these revolutions in this phase of transition from capitalism to socialism that was initiated with the Great October has documented in real life the correctness of the universally valid inevitabilities of the socialist revolution and of socialist construction and, doing so, enriched the theory of Marxism-Leninism with something novel and valuable.

The victories of the people's democratic revolutions and the development of the national-democratic ones principally of course were the work of the peoples themselves, led by their vanguard. But no revolution in the epoch initiated by the October Revolution could have triumphed without being favored by a particular international power ratio, and without international solidary action preventing the export of the counterrevolution.

The 60 years since the Great October have proven, by the victories as well as the defeats of the revolutionary forces, not only how correct the Marxist realization has been that the exploiter class never gives up voluntarily, without a struggle, but also that imperialism is organizing the export of the counterrevolution on an international scale. The Soviet people had to defend itself against the furious assault in unison by the 14 imperialist powers during the intervention. Nor was the "cold war" anything else but an attempt by imperialism, organized worldwide, at defeating the revolutions in Europe and Asia, in accordance with the notorious "roll back" doctrine, and at once again encircling, and threatening with aggression, the land of the Great October. Especially the world historic successes of the forces of socialism and peace in recent years, in Vietnam, Laos, Cuba, and in breaking through the international blockade of the GDR, vividly testify to the need and correctness of the international solidary actions taken by the workers class and all anti-imperialist forces.

The formula of "unity in variety" alone does not exhaust the dialectic of the revolutionary movement in present times. The world revolutionary process, on the one hand, comprises the transition mentioned of more and more nations, by more and more diverse ways, toward socialism and, on the other, and more and more so, factors international in character which significantly affect the course and results of our revolutionary epoch.

The following worldwide social processes, which are enhancing the importance of proletarian internationalism in our time to an extraordinary extent, are affecting the international revolutionary process more and more. First we have the internationalization in production and trade processes. Socialism is as much confronted with this objective economic process as imperialism is. The mastery over this task goes a long way toward affecting economic competition, the struggle between socialism and imperialism. Problems such as the protection of the natural environment, the earth, the oceans, the air, the atmosphere and space, the matters of energy supply, of overcoming underdevelopment, hunger, diseases and so forth are truly assuming a global character today. Imperialism turns out to be the main obstacle for resolving these crucial issues. Only the joint international struggle of all anti-imperialist, peace-loving and realistic forces can resolve these tasks in the peoples' interest.

A second factor of worldwide importance decisively affecting international revolutionary development is the struggle for world peace and the prevention of thermonuclear war. The struggle for arms limitation and disarmament is increasingly turning into the central task of world politics, which can be resolved only through joint and consistent international actions taken by the adherents to peace in all countries.

As explained in the documents of the 1969 international conference and of the 1976 Berlin conference of the communist and workers parties of Europe, the international balance of power turns into a real task today the prevention of thermonuclear war, arms limitation and disarmament, and the establishment of permanent peace. This struggle, no doubt is harsh and long. But there is every good reason for us to say even today that its success will be mainly determined by forming a unity of action within the international workers class, by making all anti-imperialist forces work together, in short, by the implementation of the ideas of proletarian internationalism on the broadest scale. In the sense of proletarian internationalism and loyally dedicated to the historic peace mission of the workers class, the communist and workers parties of Europe, through their document, and through the recommendations made at the Berlin conference of June 1976, are seeking the broadest conceivable alliance among all forces of peace, national independence, democracy and socialism, for assuring permanent peace. This is the sense in which recently communist and workers parties appealed to the peoples for jointly fighting for the cancellation of the neutron bomb.

Finally, the class struggle itself is becoming more internationalized. That is inevitably part and parcel of the social progress and the growth in power and in international influence by the socialist world system, and of the deepening of the general crisis of capitalism and the swell of the national and socialist liberation revolutions, of the internationalization of the production and trade processes and the worldwide struggle for peace. That was the reason for Comrade Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee, to emphasize in his status report to the Ninth Party Congress: "It is impossible to ignore that many of the new tasks confronting the communists today can only jointly be resolved by them, through coordinated struggle and on a common action platform. All experiences from the revolutionary struggles of the past and present confirm this realization, as formulated by Marx, Engels and Lenin: As the class enemy is organized internationally, the revolutionary workers movement likewise can reach its goal only if it works together across the boundaries of countries and continents."⁵

It is clear that proletarian internationalism in our time is assuming an ever greater and truly crucial importance in each country's liberation struggle and in the worldwide struggle by the three main revolutionary currents of our times.

Relationship With the CPSU and the USSR--The Criterion for Proletarian Internationalism

A discussion of the content and criteria of proletarian internationalism would remain incomplete and unscientific without emphasizing the role of the Soviet Union as the vanguard and pioneer of the progress of humanity. As a section of the international communist movement, the SED always lets itself be guided by the ideas of proletarian internationalism. As Comrade Erich Honecker announced at the Ninth Party Congress, our party greatly honors Thaelmann's legacy and regards the fraternal solidarity with the CPSU as the crucial criterion for proletarian internationalism.

This conviction of ours is derived, first, from the universally valid experiences of the Great Socialist October Revolution and the revolutionary processes of the last six decades. It follows, second, from the experiences of the socialist revolution in the GDR, the growth and consolidation of the socialist German workers and farmers state and the construction of the developed socialist society in the GDR. It finally is based on the Marxist-Leninist prospect of a joint communist future shared by our socialist countries, as contained in the SED program the Ninth Party Congress adopted. Holding this view, we are not alone. It has been and is an important component of communist world movement ideology and policy. Not all comrades in our movement, as we know, share this view right now. Therefore we may explain it here.

Based on the doctrines of historical materialism, we are proceeding from the following three fundamental aspects in assessing the role of the CPSU and of the USSR: Which degree of social progress was reached in the Soviet

Union? Which role are the party and the country of Lenin's fulfilling within the revolutionary movement? What power and influence is the Soviet Union exercising on the international balance of power, on the destiny of mankind? And to all that the 60 years of October Revolution are supplying a clear answer confirmed as objective truth by the criterion of practice.

For assessing the USSR role it no longer suffices today to recall to mind, time and again, the magnificent fact that the Soviet Union was the first country to have taken the road to socialism. Nor is it sufficient today to mention--though one must never ignore it--that the Soviet power for once and for all did away with the typically capitalist ills and deformations like social and national exploitation, racial discrimination, economic crises, unemployment, homelessness, hunger, misery, illiteracy and ignorance. In addition to those great accomplishments one must also, absolutely, stress and explain today that the 60 years of Soviet power have produced the thus far highest achievement of social progress in the form of developed socialism.

Real socialism in the USSR gave rise to an unprecedented tempo in social progress in all domains of life. That is being demonstrated by such achievements as the development of the highest, the socialist, democracy, the socialist mode of production, the grandiose accomplishments of Soviet science, the powerful material-technical base, the complete change in the class structure of society by the elimination of the class antagonisms, the gradual formation of an ever greater homogeneity in the social composition of society through a growth in the leadership role of the workers class, the accelerated increase in the people's well-being, the blossoming of Soviet culture, and the friendship among the peoples of the Soviet Union. Even in the remotest corners of the earth it has become known that the USSR with its Leninist nationality policy--imbued with the ideas of proletarian internationalism--is the first land on the earth to have solved the national question in the sense of liberty, equality and progress.

These enormous accomplishments of real, developed socialism in the USSR are practical proofs, persuasive for the broad popular masses in all countries, of the correctness of Marxism-Leninism, of the universal validity of the doctrines of the socialist revolution and of socialist construction in the land of the Great October.

It would be false to question this universal validity by the totally unsubstantiated claim that Leninism, the experiences of 60 years of Soviet power, had no universally valid importance but had emerged from the specific historical and national conditions of Russia in 1917 and from the Soviet Union's being the only socialist country then. Fundamentally different roads would presumably be needed for Western Europe. It may also be pointed out in this connection that this anniversary year also means that 60 years have passed since Lenin authored his famous essay "State and Revolution." In this book, which defended the Marxist theory on revolution and creatively extended it further, Lenin in particular defended Marx' interpretation of the Paris Commune against any reformist distortion and extended them further in the era of imperialism and the proletarian

revolution. But that only means that Leninism is the heir and continuation of the best revolutionary spirit, not only of Russia, that is, but of all of Europe and beyond. And as Leninism is the defense, further extension and triumphant application of Marxism, so one also should never forget that Marxism itself is heir to the three great trends in the intellectual life of Western Europe: classical German philosophy, English political economy, and French utopian socialism.

The universal validity of Leninism, of the 60 years since the Great October, is making a particularly concrete showing these days in the form of the new Soviet Constitution. The CPSU and the Soviet people, who are preparing the great October anniversary by more great new deeds, are also making an important contribution to the creative further development of scientific communism through preparing this new Constitution. This new USSR Constitution, the constitution for developed socialism and the construction of communism, not only confirms in a brilliant manner the correctness of the theory on socialist revolution Lenin set down in "State and Revolution." By means of drawing general scientific conclusions from the Soviet power's 60 years of practice, the new constitution documents the universal validity of the fundamental Soviet experiences in the construction of the new social order.

Talking of the universal validity of the lessons of the 60 years of Soviet history finally also means that one take the following into account: This universal validity must logically become ever more evident, the more the communist society is constructed in Lenin's country. The 25th CPSU Congress decisions indicate the enormous efforts the Soviet people is making in advancing along the road of communist construction. The 25th Party Congress has explained a far-reaching program for the long-range implementation of three organically connected tasks. They consist of the further development of the material-technical base of communism, the formation of communist production relations and the development of communist social relations, and the education of man in communist society. The experiences and advances the Soviet people is gathering on the road into this historic virgin territory will doubtless enrich the treasure of Marxism-Leninism with new significant insights.

And now the second aspect: the role of the CPSU within the revolutionary movement. Everyone knows the Soviet communists always rejected formulations such as "leading party" and the like. No one can cover up the historic fact, however, that history, the revolutionary struggle of the international workers movement itself, assigned Lenin's party to the role of being tested as the most experienced and qualified column of all sectors of the communist world movement. The bolsheviks' loyalty to Marxism and proletarian internationalism--that was one of the fundamental conditions for this first victorious socialist revolution in history. The party of Russian communists under Lenin's leadership produced this unequivocal proof by means of the victorious October Revolution: Only a party which--like the bolsheviks--held high the banner of the proletarian class struggle, of proletarian

internationalism while the barbaric carnage of World War I was going on, defying imperialism, its harassment of the people, and the treasonable social chauvinism, and which had rigorously been defending the class interests of the international proletariat, only that kind of party was in the position to be the first to lead the masses in the overthrow of the capitalist exploiter system and in successfully constructing the new socialist society.

The October Revolution in turn became the most powerful point of departure, basis and bulwark of the revolutionary liberation movement of the workers class and the suppressed peoples all over the world. Proletarian internationalism, having brought the Russian workers and peasants to power, pervades the domestic and foreign policy of the Soviet Union and with every day that the Soviet power asserted itself it would then gain in state power and international radiation. Through the triumph of the October Revolution, the creation of the developed socialist society in the USSR, the victory of the Soviet Union in World War II and the emergence of the socialist world system our world has been totally changed. And we reiterate that in one respect a special distinction attaches to the CPSU and the USSR. They remain the pioneers of socialism and communism, the main force of social progress. They accomplished the pioneering achievements and at the same time suffered the greatest physical and material sacrifices on behalf of the cause of the world revolution. And this continues to be so.

At times one also finds the view expressed that internationalist solidarity was presumably no longer necessary today because the USSR no longer lives, as it used to be the case, as the only socialist country amidst capitalist encirclement. The development of the socialist world system, the existence of the Warsaw Pact, all that does mean historical progress. Yet despite all the development of the socialist world system, the international class struggle has by no means become weaker; it has assumed new dimensions of a global scope. In this increasing struggle between the two opposing social systems imperialism is, more than ever, aiming its main attacks precisely against the main force of world socialism, the USSR. No one will seriously dispute today that the arms efforts of the NATO states, especially those of the United States, mainly are aimed at regaining their lost military superiority over the USSR. Here one may quote Shakespeare: "Though this be madness, yet there is method in it!" Except for the Maoists, no one will deny that the SALT talks on disarmament measures, in which the Soviet Union has been engaged with tenacity and a great sense of responsibility, largely determine the safeguarding of peace and international security. That should explain to anyone why imperialism is aiming its biggest guns in the ideological struggle at the land of the Great October.

Those who think that 60 years after the Great October antisovietism is no longer a risk are putting up a superficial argument. Such judgments completely miss the main contradiction in our epoch, the harsh reality of the intensification of the class struggle and the aggressive nature of imperialism. Precisely because imperialism is being forced to pull back,

it is seeking to regain political territory through intensified political-ideological struggle against socialism, against the USSR and against the revolutionary forces. That gives full validity to this statement made at the 1969 international conference of the communist and workers parties: "The emergence of the socialist world is a component of the worldwide class struggle. The enemies of socialism are not abandoning their attempts at undermining the foundations of socialist state power, thwarting the transformation of society and reconstituting their own rule. A resolute defense against such attempts is a necessary function of a socialist state relying on the broad popular masses led by the workers class and its communist vanguard. The defense of socialism is the international duty of the communists."⁶

And this then also answers the third question concerning the strength of the Soviet Union and its influence on the international power ratio and the destiny of mankind.

When there at times is a lot of talk about "bloc notions" or "bloc logic," there are two things one must not forget. For one thing, the communist and workers parties always have advocated a future that will rise above the military blocs. Secondly, however, one must not approach this question in a sense of class indifference either. It has not been due to the existence of two military blocs as such but thanks to the might of the socialist military coalition of the Warsaw Pact, the main force of which is the Soviet Union, that it was possible to avert a world war for more than 30 years and that the longest period of peace in this century could be insured in Europe. But principally it has been the might and policy of the USSR which must get the credit for introducing in world politics the turning point from the cold war to detente. Class-conscious workers, communists, also find Peking's term "superpowers" unacceptable. How fortunate it is for peace-loving humanity that socialism and peace, as embodied in the Soviet Union, today have a potential that is great enough to keep the imperialist aggressor in check! What a blessing for the revolutionary forces all over the world that thanks to world socialism, to the power and policy of the Soviet Union, the export of the counterrevolution can more and more be frustrated! How encouraging for all revolutionary and peace-loving forces in the world that because of the strength and peace strategy of the Soviet Union in our time, a real possibility and task did arise for preventing thermonuclear war and establishing permanent peace.

The SED finds the fraternal alliance with the CPSU basic to its own work. The friendship among our parties, states and peoples emerges as a mighty impulse in our advancing toward our communist future. "The firm solidarity with Lenin's party and country," Erich Honecker said at the Ninth SED Congress, "is a question of principle for our class point of view and the crucial criterion for every revolutionary and internationalist. That has been so since the Great October. That applies in our own days and will apply all the more so in the future."⁷

FOOTNOTES

1. "International Conference of the Communist and Workers Parties in Moscow, 1969," Dietz, East Berlin, 1969, p 55.
2. "For Peace, Security, Cooperation and Social Progress in Europe--Conference of the Communist and Workers Parties of Europe, Berlin, 20 and 30 June 1976--Documents and Speeches," Dietz, East Berlin, 1976, p 25.
3. V. I. Lenin, "The Proletarian Revolution and Renegade Kautsky," "Werke" (Works), Vol 28, Dietz, East Berlin, 1959, pp 292-293.
4. V. I. Lenin, "Draft of the CPR(B) Program," "Werke," Vol 29, Dietz, East Berlin, 1961, p 107.
5. Comrade Erich Honecker, "Bericht des Zentralkomitees der Sozialistischen Einheitspartei Deutschlands an den IX. Parteitag der SED" (SED Central Committee Report to the Ninth SED Congress), Dietz, East Berlin, 1976, p 135.
6. "International Conference . . .," op. cit., p 28.
7. Comrade Erich Honecker, op. cit., p 12.

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EAST GERMANY

DEFENSE MINISTER ON MILITARY-ECONOMIC POWER, PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE

East Berlin EINHEIT in German Vol 32 No 10/11, Oct-Nov 77 signed to press
13 Sep 77 pp 1177-1185

[Article by Army Gen Heinz Hoffmann, minister for national defense; member,
SED Politburo: "Defense of Socialism Is Guarantee of Peace"]

[Text] The elimination of war among nations was turned from a century-old dream into a realizable program by the first socialist state in the world by means of the victorious October Revolution. Through the Leninist Peace Decree the Soviet power demonstrated that socialism and peace exist in inseparable unity, condition each other. On the basis of the Leninist principles of peaceful coexistence the Soviet power has since then been fighting consistently for peace, democracy and socialism and achieved successes of world historic importance doing so. It has always paid adequate attention to the protection of socialism.

Unveiling a memorial plaque for the fighters of the October Revolution on 7 November 1918, Lenin said: "The best from the ranks of the working masses gave their lives when they rose in rebellion on behalf of liberating the peoples from imperialism, eliminating wars among peoples, overthrowing capitalist rule, and socialism."¹

The "elimination of wars among the peoples" is indeed one of the greatest and most humane goals the workers class has posed for itself. It is a goal that, through the October Revolution, was turned from a millenia-old dream of the peoples into a realizable political program of the socialist state. The first decree issued by the Second All-Russian Soviet Congress right after the victory of the armed uprising was the Peace Decree, by which the Soviet power proposed to all warring countries to start negotiations at once about concluding a just and democratic peace, a peace without any annexations and indemnities. For the bolsheviks--in terms of the inseparable unity between socialism and peace--the destruction of bourgeois rule, the revolution,

also meant at once a solution of the fundamental task of "leading Russia, and all mankind along with it, out of the imperialist carnage and setting an end to all wars."²

It is truly a blessing for mankind that in the past six decades, when the destructiveness of the weapons and the aggressiveness of the extremist reactionary circles in the imperialist camp at times grew by leaps and bounds, the Soviet Union also grew strong, the socialist camp was formed, and the strength of all social forces increased that are advocating the prevention, and ultimately the elimination, of wars from international relations. The struggle against imperialist war has been successful, and in the matter of war and peace it was possible to initiate a new epoch of human history because the October Revolution and the Soviet power had come into being. Lenin's prophetic words occasioned by the fourth anniversary of the October Revolution are being fulfilled: "The first bolshevik revolution rescued the first hundred million people on the earth from imperialist war, from the world of imperialism. Subsequent revolutions will rescue all mankind from those wars and that world."³

The imperialist bourgeoisie tried everything to subjugate anew the workers and peasants of Russia who had been freed from their chains and to re-establish its world domination. Even in the fall of 1916 Lenin had predicted that the victory of socialism, for the time being only in one country or in a few countries, would "produce an immediate endeavor by the bourgeoisie in other countries to destroy the victorious proletariat of the socialist state."⁴

The big imperialist powers, in view of the yearning for peace burgeoning in their own countries, could not reject the Peace Decree lock, stock and barrel. The states of the Entente responded to it, however, first by secretly and then openly assisting the counterrevolution and, eventually, by undisguised aggression, by their intervention. Imperial Germany, the main force of the central powers, combined a number of extortionist peace conditions with sending in its troops, and with enthroning counter-revolutionary regimes in the Ukraine, the Baltic states and Finland.

From 1918 to 1920, the Soviet power had to defend itself constantly--except for some short pauses--against a whole ring of White Guard and foreign armies. The peace yearned for did not come. What did come was an especially cruel and particularly stubborn struggle, the war of all "civilized" countries against an exhausted, tortured, backward and fatigued Russia. That forced the victorious proletariat of Soviet Russia to organize for the defense of the socialist fatherland. It was supported in this struggle by the solidarity of the revolutionary workers and other anti-imperialist forces in the world.

Lenin had not only drawn the one conclusion from the likely victory of socialism in only one country at a time saying that aggressive bourgeois wars against victorious socialism would be unavoidable. At the same time

he had developed the peaceful coexistence policy as the sole alternative to more world wars and defined as the only proper way out of the chaos and the danger of war "real equality between the two property systems, at least for the time being, as long as the whole world has not yet proceeded from private property, and the economic chaos and wars produced by it, to the higher form of property."⁵

This policy also implies the possibility of removing from the life of society the wars between states with differing social orders even before, with the elimination of capitalism, the most important social causes for war can be eliminated forever--profiteering and the power drive, the compulsion by the exploiter classes to subjugate their own peoples and foreign peoples, and their greed for raw material sources, production capacities and markets.

For 60 years, the Soviet power has consistently pursued the Leninist policy of peaceful coexistence between states with differing social orders while, at the same time, consolidating its own defense capability. It thereby assured the first workers and farmers state in the world of an increasing support by the peace-loving forces in the international arena--not excepting the more realistic circles in the imperialist states--in the most complicated international situations, as on the eve and in the first period of World War II. The CPSU succeeded in preventing the threat of a united front of all imperialist states against the Soviet Union and in successfully defending the bastion of peace and progress in the world against all aggression, even against the heaviest and most malicious attack, the invasion by fascist German imperialism.

In summarizing by a few sentences the Soviet Union's world historic achievements in the struggle for peace and socialism, mainly the following must be remembered:

The October Revolution and its most important outcome, the Soviet power, have a significant share in ending World War I, the outbreak of which the international workers class had not been able to prevent. Soviet Russia was, however, not yet strong enough to enforce a democratic peace and perforce had to accept the imperialist Diktat of Brest-Litovsk.

The CPSU, working together with antifascist forces in other countries, was able to delay the outbreak of World War II and the surprise attack on the Soviet state, to be sure, but not able to prevent it because of the Munich plot of the Western powers. However, in the two decades since the end of the civil war and the war of intervention, the Soviet Union had become so strong, and the unity of its party, people and army had become so firm, that it resisted the most powerful and aggressive assault any state ever had to endure and had the most decisive share in the destruction of the fascist states and their armed forces.

The Soviet Union and the states of the socialist community allied with it have had the crucial share in preventing, thus far, a third world war, although the most aggressive circles of imperialism have conjured up extremely dangerous situations several times, for instance in 1950, 1956, 1961-1962, and 1967-1968.

The Soviet Union has done immeasurably much in assisting the international workers class, the fraternal socialist states and the young national states, and the anti-imperialist liberation movements all over the world: politically, morally, economically, and militarily as well. The MPR would hardly have been able to stand up under the attacks by the Chinese and Japanese militarists without Soviet aid. Extensive Soviet aid was given the Chinese people before and after the establishment of the people's republic, and the same applies to the peoples of Korea, Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia in their struggle against the U.S. aggressors. It has liberated the peoples of Central and Southeast Europe from fascist barbarism and shored up their people's democratic revolution against all threats and intentions of intervention from the main imperialist powers.

The GDR, the first workers and farmers state in German history, would have been inconceivable without the Soviet Union's act of liberation. Without its protection it could not have stood up against all imperialist machinations, without its support, it could not have enforced its full international recognition nor could it have steadily brought to realization its economic upswing.

These observations, set down here in the form of theses, lead to a recognition reflected in all these world historic achievements of the Soviet Union: Its influence on safeguarding socialism and consolidating peace for its own land and for the fraternal states depended mainly on the economic and military power of the Soviet state and not so much on geographic factors.

Let us demonstrate this capability by using as example aid given to states threatened by attack or already under attack: Soviet Russia was not in the position to prevent German imperialist intervention against the Baltic states and Finland in 1918 and 1919, and it even had to sign the Brest Peace, because it had no strong and effective army. Nor could it help the Hungarian Soviet Republic in 1919 when it, on orders by the Entente, was attacked by troops of the Romanian and Czech reaction. Not even quite two decades later, the Spanish Republic was able to hold out for years against the assault by the fascist troops of Franco, Mussolini and Hitler, and against the strangle hold of the "nonintervention policy" of the Western powers, because it received weapons and ammunition from the Soviet Union and solidary assistance from the communists and antifascists in all countries.

After the victory of the anti-imperialist people's revolution in Cuba in 1959, the United States unleashed an extensive "covert war" against Cuba--from infiltrating its agents and terrorist commandos and the landing at Playa Giron to the total trade embargo and the preparation of armed intervention by the U.S. armed forces.

The Soviet Union made it possible for socialist Cuba to endure many years of blockade thanks to the greater military and economic strength of the Soviet Union. This example shows the close connection between the economic and military power of socialism in our times, for without the Soviet tanker

fleet and without Soviet petroleum Cuba's economy could not have been maintained, and without the Soviet armed forces and defense industry, the Soviet tankers could not have been protected nor could the Cuban people's army have been equipped with modern weapons.

One only has to stop and think to see what enormous efforts the Soviet workers, farmers, engineers and scientists have had to undertake in the last 60 years in order to turn the Soviet Union into a modern industrial power. In 1913, the industrial production of tsarist Russia amounted to a mere 2.7 percent of world output--that of France, to 6 percent, England, 14 percent, Germany, 16 percent and the United States, 36 percent. In 1938, as the result of the First Five-Year Plan, the Soviet Union had already managed to move up to the first place in the European, and to second place in world, industrial production.

The following table shows the production trend for selected commodities for the period 1913-1975 (in million tons)

		1913	1938	1955	1975
Petroleum	USSR	9.2	30.2	70.8	481.8
	U.S.A.	32.3	164.1	335.7	412.5
Pit Coal	USSR	29.1*	114.8	276.7	484.7
	U.S.A.	517.0*	355.2	442.4	567.8
Raw Steel	USSR	4.2	18.1	45.3	141.4
	U.S.A.	31.8	28.8	106.1	116.6
Cement	USSR	1.5	5.6	22.4	122.1
	U.S.A.*	20.6	47.9	55.3	58.3
Electric Energy (in billion kilo- watt-hours)	USSR	1.9	39.4	170.1	1,038.6
	U.S.A.	24.7	141.9	629.0	1,999.7

The Soviet Union's great distinctions, its pioneering achievements in the struggle by all the working people in the world against exploitation and imperialist war, among them, particularly, its ability in reliably organizing the military protection of socialism, have had a decisive share in that the power ratio has fundamentally changed in favor of socialism and peace, a powerful and worldwide anti-imperialist and national liberation movement is gaining new victories year after year, wars are no longer fatefully unavoidable, and the cold war could be turned into international detente. Thus today the task of the limitation of strategic and other arms could be posed and taken on with success, and the initiation of disarmament measures no longer is some nebulous wishful dreaming about the future. Helsinki and Belgrade, Geneva and Vienna--these names represent a whole chain of steps taken, or still to be taken, for consolidating international security.

*The "Pit Coal 1913" data comprise total coal production. U.S. cement production 1913, 1938, 1955 is given in gallons in U.S. reference works and differs from the data in the GDR Statistical Yearbook. Compiled in accordance with the GDR Statistical Yearbook 1958, Staatsverlag der DDR.

What has been achieved up to now--more than 30 years of peace in Europe, increasing well-being and social security in the socialist countries-- is due to labor freed from exploitation and the combative energy of the workers class. It has been achieved thanks to the outstanding, truly gigantic, efforts made by the Soviet Union under the leadership by Lenin's party and the other socialist countries in the fields of labor and military protection. On these two pillars ultimately rest all other domestic and foreign policy successes of the socialist community of states, and so does their political-moral cohesiveness as well as their intellectual-cultural blossoming or their authority in the diplomatic field.

In looking for the causes for these achievements it becomes evident that the Soviet people's capacity in defending its revolutionary accomplishments primarily is due to the direct leadership in all areas of national defense by the CPSU. Building a modern defense industry, developing a scientific-technical national defense potential that now, in scope and effectiveness, is on a par with the strongest imperialist states, equipping and training an army and navy which could meet any possible tactical and operational-strategic requirements of armed struggle--all that has only been possible because the party, as advised by Lenin, did not permit even the slightest fluctuation in implementing the established principles for a socialist military policy and has always taken into account the concrete conditions of the imperialist threat and of the country's economic and political development.

In the command principle for national defense, especially the armed forces, maintained by the working class party, developed by Lenin and implemented in an exemplary fashion by the CPSU for six decades, therein indeed are crystallized the crucial reasons for the strength and superiority by socialist armies over imperialist aggressors, as in a prism. That may be called the fundamental, universally valid principle of the military policy of the ruling workers class in our epoch. Leadership for national defense by the Marxist-Leninist party means: Preferential assignments in national defense command functions for representatives of the workers class, the officers corps composed of class-conscious workers and sons of workers, farmers and other working people; scientific analysis, that is, one that meets objective conditions, of the overall situation of the class struggle and, particularly, of the concrete military-political situation; the well-balanced orientation and planned development of the personnel as well as the material and scientific-technical resources with respect to national defense; a consistent political-ideological and moral-combative education for all army personnel in the spirit of Marxism-Leninism and working class party policy, the steady improvement of the level of ideological and organizational work by the party organizations and political organs of the army;

Berlin, 1959; "Statistisches Taschenbuch der DDR," 1977, Staatsverlag der DDR, Berlin, 1977; "Historical Statistics of the United States," Washington, 1960; "International Statistical Year-Book 1926," Geneva, 1927.

class-bound education on the basis of Marxism-Leninism for providing the working people, especially youth, with a defense capability and defense preparedness; uniform organization, equipment, education, training and leadership for the armed forces and the other protective and security organs, based on the most up-to-date military science data; and a steady improvement in the energy and initiative, conscious discipline and concentrated action by the mass of army personnel--mobilized and led by the basic party organizations in the units and troop components and by the personal example of thousands of communists in uniform.

Proletarian internationalism in unity with socialist patriotism is one of the most important principles of Leninist military policy. From the permanent threat against the first socialist state and the entire international workers movement by the international monopoly bourgeoisie, Lenin drew this conclusion: All peoples moving toward socialism, along with their stable economic alliance also need a close military one, lest the capitalists overwhelm them one by one.

The history of the formation and mighty development of the community of the socialist states and their defense coalition, of the construction of our national defense and of each national army in our alliance are a vivid reflection of the universal validity of the Leninist principles of socialist military construction.

It belongs among the historic distinctions of the SED and its Central Committee to have recognized and utilized, in their class and arms alliance with the Soviet Union, their commitment to their own effective national defense, the indispensable basis for their own creative contribution to the collective protection of socialism.

The NVA was able to become a modern socialist army always fulfilling accurately and honorably its tasks within the alliance only and exclusively because our party has organized the national defense of the GDR in accordance with the Leninist principles, never surrendered the leadership over the armed forces, enabled the sons of workers and farmers to master the military trade, and educated our army to put faith in our workers class and feel love for the working people and friendship and comradeship in arms with respect to the Soviet Union and the Soviet Army and the other states and armies of our community.

The ever closer cooperation with the Soviet comrades, in all areas of national defense, the study of their theoretical understanding and practical experiences in fully exploring all advantages developed socialism has for a high defense capability for the whole country--ranging from protecting the population from the effects of enemy weapons to the skilled advanced training given to reservists--will determine in the years to come how the GDR carries on the military legacy of Lenin, the legacy of the October Revolution. We will be able more and more to add our own experiences and data to the common fund of knowledge.

The socialist states have to make united efforts to implement the peace programs of the 25th CPSU Congress, the Ninth SED Congress and the congresses of the fraternal parties. As every other member of the alliance so also the GDR has to provide for the all round strengthening of socialism, including the military. We are helping in the task of depriving imperialism of any gains in the military-strategic field. For we are after a lofty goal, as Comrade Leonid Brezhnev put it at the 25th CPSU Congress: "Permanent peace has to become the natural form of life for all European nations."⁶ Therefore, jointly with the Soviet Union and the other fraternal states we are struggling for any success obtainable, even the smallest, by negotiations. And so the NVA and the GDR border troops together with the glorious Soviet Army and the other allied armed forces are seeing to it that the balance of power does not get altered to the detriment of socialism and that the enemy gets no chance for any surprise attack.

As in the past so also in the future, the imperialists will let themselves be compelled to move toward arms limitation and military detente only by an ever broader swelling of the main revolutionary streams of the present, a successful scientific-technical, economic and political-moral development of the Soviet Union and socialist community of states, an improved effectiveness of socialist national defense and an increased fighting strength and combat readiness on the part of the socialist armed forces.

Also in the future one must expect the most stubborn resistance against this solely reasonable course from the military-industrial complex and its agents in the imperialist states. The enormous armaments efforts as endorsed and confirmed at the last NATO Council session testify to that. And so does the continual modernization of the NATO armed forces, the development and production of neutron weapons, the new and stronger warheads placed on U.S. ICBM's, and the new rockets and submarine cruisers of the U.S. nuclear submarine fleet. The numerous exercises of the NATO troops and their staff war games--like "Wintex 77"--as well as the series of 31 maneuvers with 300,000 men this last autumn alone are like explosive aimed against the Helsinki Conference and its stipulations for strengthening security and cooperation in Europe.

By means of this compulsive armaments course the most reactionary imperialist circles are intent on torpedoing the further detente as much as through their worldwide organized ideological diversion under the hypocritical banner of concern for human rights in the socialist countries--coming from the very circles, incidentally, that have put the finishing touches on their traditional inhumanity by their snappish propagation of the neutron weapons.

Through the arms race and their long-range war preparations--including their ideological diversion--they mainly seek to improve their strategic conditions for a war against the socialist camp, with some new conditions to be created even now. What they are after at the same time with their armaments efforts is using the military instrument for political blackmail, using the means of

force to maintain the imperialist system of domination in the regions still left to them, and expanding their power sphere in the areas of the so-called third world which threaten to escape their grip or have already done so. They always want to paralyze the strength of the socialist states and repress their chances for faster socialist construction. In negotiations they seek their own military advantages and are trying to cut down the security of the socialist states.

Along with it, and particularly so, the arms race strengthens the role played by the big monopolies and the so-called military-industrial complex in the state monopoly government system. The armaments monopolies and the military bureaucracy that sticks with them as well as the armed forces general staff are becoming the most influential fraction of the ruling class--let alone all the super profits that come out of the large-scale armaments projects and the research and development needed for them to begin with.

The most important goal, however, pursued by these circles by means of their enforced arms race continues to be their getting set for a military confrontation with socialism, the destruction of the workers and farmers power in the Soviet Union and in the countries allied with it in Europe, Asia and Latin America.

If we are asked whether the most reactionary imperialist forces are still prepared and willing to start a war in Europe or a strategic assault or military expedition for acquiring pawns, our answer, unfortunately, must be in the affirmative. The undeniable fact is that the most aggressive U.S. and NATO forces are aiming their main military efforts at getting set for a rocket and nuclear weapons war against the socialist camp.

This compels the socialist states and their armed forces to keep strengthening their national defense and to pay much attention to the activities of NATO and its aggressive land, air and naval forces. The historic certitude that no power in the world can any longer extinguish socialism, either in reality or in theory, and that the Soviet Union and the other socialist states managed noticeably to contain the danger of war, must never seduce us into reducing our defense efforts.

The Central Committee status report to the Ninth Party Congress states: "Any slackening in vigilance, any unilateral reduction in the military strength of socialism would directly encourage the imperialist adversary in his aggressive intentions." By that we let ourselves be guided, together with our comrades-in-arms in the glorious Soviet Army and the other fraternal armies. And also those words are a guideline for action to us which Comrade Erich Honecker directed at the members of the seven Warsaw Pact armies on 12 October 1970 at the large demonstration during the "Comradeship-in-arms" maneuvers: "The rigorous protection of socialism also is the best guarantee for peace. We are acting in realization of the fact that success in the struggle for socialism and permanent peace can only be achieved through the all round strengthening of the socialist community of states."⁸ And what

he then added, about the crucial role of the Soviet Union and Soviet Army in the struggle for peace, is as true today as it was at that time: "For more than five decades the Soviet Union has stood in the forefront of the struggle against imperialism, for peace and security. Its experiences, its powerful potential and its consistently Marxist-Leninist policy are crucial for the strength and influence of the socialist alliance of states."⁹

FOOTNOTES

1. V. I. Lenin, "Speech at the Unveiling of a Memorial Plaque for the Fighters of the October Revolution," "Werke" (Works), Vol 28, Dietz, East Berlin, 1959, p 162.
2. V. I. Lenin, "All-Russian Congress for Extracurricular Education," "Werke," Vol 29, Dietz, East Berlin, 1961, p 329.
3. V. I. Lenin, "For the Fourth Anniversary of the October Revolution," "Werke," Vol 33, Dietz, East Berlin, 1962, p 37.
4. V. I. Lenin, "The Military Program of the Proletarian Revolution," "Werke," Vol 23, Dietz, East Berlin, 1968, p 74.
5. V. I. Lenin, "Draft Resolution by the All-Russian Central Executive Committee on the Report by the Delegation to the Genoa Conference," "Werke," Vol 33, p 343.
6. L. I. Brezhnev, "25th CPSU Congress--CPSU Central Committee Status Report and the Next Party Tasks in Domestic and Foreign Policy," Dietz, East Berlin, 1976, p 25.
7. Comrade Erich Honecker, "Bericht des Zentralkomitees der Sozialistischen Einheitspartei Deutschlands an den IX. Parteitag der SED" (SED Central Committee Report to the Ninth SED Congress), Dietz, East Berlin, 1976, p 118.
8. Erich Honecker, "Zuverlaessiger Schutz des Sozialismus, Ausgewaehlte Reden und Schriften zur Militaerpolitik der SED" (Reliable Protection of Socialism--Selected Speeches and Essays on SED Military Policy), Militaerverlag der DDR, East Berlin, 1972, p 123.
9. Ibid., p 124.

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EAST GERMANY

PARTY TASKS, MEMBERSHIP DISCUSSED IN LIGHT OF OCTOBER REVOLUTION

Membership Figures Summarized

Bonn IWE-TAGESDIENST in German No 193, 10 Oct 77 pp 2-3

[Report from Berlin: "SED Membership Not To Increase Any Further--at Present Nearly 2.1 Million Members and Candidates"]

[Text] The membership of the SED, according to Horst Dohlus, secretary for party organs, SED Central Committee, essentially is to be kept at the present strength. In terms of its "class structure" instead, the party intends to strengthen its ranks in the future. Many basic organizations for that reason were concentrating on admitting the "best workers" with outstanding work achievements who were active socially and enjoyed great respect in their work collectives. The SED, according to Dohlus, has 2,077,262 members and candidates at present, barely 43,000 more than at the time of the Ninth Party Congress last year. Since then, more than 93,000 GDR citizens had applied for admission to the party. Some 32 percent of the SED comrades is made up of women (31.1 percent in 1976), 21.7 percent, of persons under 30 (20.1 percent in 1976).

The social composition of the SED hardly changed last year, according to Dohlus. The proportion of workers is holding steady at 56.1 percent, and 36.6 percent of all members and candidates is directly engaged in material production. The proportion of cooperative farmers (5 percent) and of salaried employees (11.1 percent) has dropped slightly. A steadily increasing group within the SED, however, was that of the "intelligentsia," its share being 20.7 percent, or barely 430,000 comrades. It was this trend which Dohlus regarded as especially important. It testified to "the close relationship of trust between party and intelligentsia" as to the steadily increasing influence of the party in the fields of science and research. One out of every three college and vocational school functionaries in the GDR working as scientists, engineers, physicians, and creators of literature and art belonged to the party. Some 28.3 percent of all SED members and candidates had graduated from a college or vocational school.

Party Secretary's Commentary

East Berlin EINHEIT in German Vol 32 No 10/11, Oct-Nov 77 signed to press
13 Sep 77 pp 1186-1193

[Article by Horst Dohlus, secretary for party organs, SED Central Committee:
"The Party--The Leading Force in the Successful Advance"]

[Text] When the fundamental lessons were drawn from the Red October and from the history of the German workers movement, the unity of the workers class was established and a unified revolutionary party was formed, the SED, under the leadership of which, and in firm alliance with the masses, it was possible to lead the socialist revolution to victory. Proceeding from the increasing leadership role of the party, the article discusses what the new demands are that are being placed on the party organs, party collectives and the work of every communist, how the level of leadership activity is being raised and what strengthening the party ranks in terms of class structure means.

The 60th anniversary of the most important event in our century, the Great Socialist October Revolution, is being celebrated by the international workers movement and all progressive forces in the world as a shared holiday. They are combining the ideas of the October Revolution with the search for peace, social security, justice and human dignity, ascertainable only through socialism.

Consistently pursuing the Leninist course along the lines of the Red October, the Soviet Union has done enormous pioneering work for progress and all of humanity. The Soviet people it is that is producing the decisive contribution to the consolidation of the socialist community of states. The Soviet Union it is--the main force of world socialism--and the CPSU--the most experienced and battle-tested party within the international communist movement, which for 60 years now have honorably been fulfilling the task assigned to them by history of paving the way for mankind into historic virgin territory, the communist future.

The Central Committee report by Comrade Leonid Ilyich Brezhnev to the 25th CPSU Congress and all the resolutions taken at this party congress have impressively demonstrated the gigantic criteria for the revolutionary work of the CPSU, the ideological, political and organizational unity of its ranks, and the party's consistent implementation of the Leninist doctrine. The first victorious proletarian revolution in history and the historic course of the revolutionary world process have confirmed this: the most important prerequisite for the victory of the Red October was the leadership provided for the Russian proletariat and the broad popular masses by this new type of party Lenin had created in implacable struggle against capitalism and

opportunism. It alone represented the fundamental interests of the proletariat and of all working people. Only that kind of a party was in the position to fulfill, and consolidate, its role as the vanguard of the workers class and leader of the masses through its selfless struggle for the interests of the working people throughout all phases of the revolutionary movement. Thus the whole heroic history of the Soviet people, its victories in the struggle and in labor and its outstanding accomplishments are inseparably connected with the work of the CPSU, the leading and guiding force of society.¹ The leading and guiding role of the CPSU in Soviet society and its growing responsibility are firmly vested in the new USSR Constitution.

Party and Masses Firmly Allied

In the experiences and historic successes of the CPSU, of our party and of the other fraternal parties, universally valid inevitabilities have time and again proven themselves in the construction of socialism through being creatively applied to any given particular national conditions.² A prominent place among them was assumed by the leadership role of the workers class and its Marxist-Leninist party, it being the fundamental universally valid inevitability in the transition from capitalism to socialism and in socialist and communist construction. The relationship between party, class and mass, scientifically explained by Lenin and brought to realization and defended throughout the revolutionary struggle, is a doctrinal cornerstone of the Marxist-Leninist party.

A fundamental lesson was drawn in our country from the Red October and from the history of the German workers movement once the Soviet Union had defeated fascism and the united workers class and the unified revolutionary party had been established. It told us that the workers class can fulfill its historic mission only when the cleavage in its ranks is eliminated, its unity is based on a revolutionary foundation, and it is led by a clear-sighted and cohesive, battle-tested Marxist-Leninist party that is deeply rooted in the masses.

The unified revolutionary party and its firm alliance with the working people proved the most important precondition for bringing the antifascist-democratic transformation to realization, through a creative application of the Leninist revolutionary theory, and through bitter conflict with imperialist reaction and its accomplices, and for leading the socialist revolution to victory.

And in this, the strategy and tactics developed by Lenin for producing and strengthening the alliance between the workers class and the farmers, the intelligentsia and the other working people, under the leadership of the Marxist-Leninist party, were creatively applied to our concrete conditions from the outset. And so also the SED's bloc policy--proven from the start and, at the Ninth Party Congress, vested as a principle in SED alliance policy for the future--made possible the unification of the broad popular masses around the workers class and led to the emergence of close and permanent relations of comradely and creative cooperation between the workers class, the class of the cooperative farmers, the intelligentsia and the other working people.³

As the result of the successful implementation of the party's alliance policy a strong socialist state came into being. Fraternally allied with the Soviet Union and firmly rooted within the community of the socialist countries, identical features of great significance, socioeconomic, political and ideological ones, formed among the friendly classes and strata, and a maturation process took place in the working class, the class of the cooperative farmers, the intelligentsia and the other working people of the GDR, which was leading at the same time to a further social rapprochement among them and to the consolidation of the political-moral unity of the people.

This process of social rapprochement among the classes and strata is, as Comrade Erich Honecker has said, a process of reciprocal give-and-take⁴ in which all classes and strata of our society are participating through their own active contributions, whereby they themselves develop further qualitatively. In this, the growing leadership role of the workers class forms the essence of this social process, and the workers class appears as the main political and social force from which the decisive ideological impulses come for having the further rapprochement among the classes and strata take place on the basis of the Marxist-Leninist world-outlook and the ideals of the workers class. That also confirms in our own development the Leninist realization that the alliance policy of the revolutionary working class party is needed for establishing and consolidating socialism for once and for all.

In contrast to reformist, social democratic parties, which in their policy of making deals, and of "class reconciliation," nowhere in the world have overcome capitalism, it is the Marxist-Leninist parties which, following the example of Lenin's party, are successfully leading the struggle of the proletariat and its allies to victory. The communists and working people in our country are proud that their party, the SED, is among them, under the leadership of which a fundamental change in German history was introduced in the GDR, the shift toward socialism. The party always keep in mind that the further shaping of the developed socialist society calls for increasing the role of the workers class and its party as the leading force of society and for steadily consolidating its alliance with the class of the cooperative farmers, the intelligentsia and all other working people.

The purpose of socialism--to do everything for the good of people, for the happiness of the people--is impressively being brought to realization in this 60th anniversary year of the Red October. The great developmental prospects of Soviet society charted by the 25th CPSU Congress open enormous possibilities and tap new potentials for the construction of communism in Lenin's country. The creative deeds and great initiatives and accomplishments of the Soviet people once again underscore Lenin's thought that "socialism is not created by decrees from the top. Live and creative socialism is the work of the broad popular masses themselves."⁵

Our results and experiences in implementing the policy of the Eighth and Ninth Part Congress, consistently oriented to the well-being of the people, also provide the evidence that the advantages, values, accomplishments and achievements of socialism are becoming more and more prominent, the strength of the workers class depends on the leadership by its Marxist-Leninist party, and the strength of the party is rooted in its close alliance with the workers class and working people. Our party, therefore, in all it does, constantly leads to the realization that not the people exists for the sake of the party, but the party for the sake of the people. The interests of the workers class and all the people form the point of departure and criterion for party action.

The Main Task--High Demand Placed on Party Collectives

The increasing role of the workers class and of our party is directly connected with the struggle for further improving the people's material and cultural standard of living based on high speed in the development of socialist production, greater efficiency, scientific-technical progress and growth in labor productivity. For that reason, and because solving the economic tasks is crucial in the class conflict between socialism and imperialism, the party is directing its leadership activities more strongly at having every party collective further increase its responsibility in implementing the main task in its unity between economic and social policy. The greater demands connected with it are formulated in the new party statute, for it is quite sure that it becomes evident, by including the main task in the party statute, that everything that is to be achieved in our economic and social policy is decisively affected by the mobilizing influence the party collectives exercise on the working people and by the level of the mass-related management activity of the party organs.

Of fundamental importance for the successful implementation of the main task here is that the five-year plan be turned more definitely into the campaign program of the basic party organizations and of all the working people. Campaign program--that means that kind of an attitude in the basic organizations, and such concrete tasks and concepts, that will aim at improving the quality and efficiency of production, perform scientific-technical peak achievements, make the intensification factors highly effective all around and keep tapping new reserves. All that decisively depends on how the creative abilities of the working people are mobilized and guided and how in this struggle more and more creativity, initiative, collectivity, aspiration for education, a social sense of responsibility, mutual aid and a cultured way of life are formed. That calls for a clear understanding of the size and scope of the tasks as much as for a mass-related work by the party organizations and their leaders, exemplary work done by the communists in the socialist competition managed by the trade unions, and effective political-ideological work and thorough information for the working people.

Turning the five-year plan everywhere into a campaign program--that also makes it necessary for the political-ideological indoctrination and the

consistent fulfillment of the economic tasks to become more and more the criteria for all aspects of party work, and for the party organizations to exercise political leadership in this process by a great variety of proven as well as novel methods. That includes, for example, concrete leadership in plan discussion, enterprise conferences, organization of party controls and all of those methods that help the working people in applying themselves comprehensively and creatively.

An active participation by the working people in enterprise management and planning, in the activities by state organs, the mass organizations, and the commissions, and regular accounting sessions for enterprise managers, conscious discipline and a sense of responsibility more than ever demand the central attention of the party organizations. It is right to proceed from the consideration that the further development and perfection of socialist democracy are prerequisite to arousing creative initiatives and to making them useful.

Political-Ideological Work--Centerpiece of Party Work

Our party is bringing to realization the principle, in its activities, that the formation and constant development of the working people's socialist consciousness is the decisive precondition for their creative actions. And this is a principle that has been confirmed by the October Revolution and, time and again, by all that happened afterwards. That conforms to the Marxist-Leninist realization that socialism, in contrast to all previous social orders, can be created only through conscious and planned actions by the workers class and all working people. For that reason, our party, in solving the strategic assignments decided on by the Ninth Party Congress, attributes special value to offensive, purposeful ideological work, the centerpiece of party work.

And here we find time and again that the quality of our ideological work crucially depends on the level of intraparty life. Thus it is all the more important for each and every party organization to shape party life in such a way that every comrade always assumes a class-bound position, everywhere advocates the party policy in its entirety, represents it passionately and explains it with conviction. For mass solidarity has been and will always be an essential feature of our party, a basic principle of its activities.

Our Ninth Party Congress furnished political mass activities with strong impulses and produced another upswing here too. Continuing this purposefully and steadily improving the quality of our political-ideological work--that conforms to the requirements of our new developmental phase and to the conditions of the international class struggle, which has intensified particularly in the ideological field. Thus it is necessary, in view of the increasing activities by reactionary, militarist, neo-Nazi forces in the FRG and their hostile campaigns against the GDR, to counteract still more fundamentally the imperialist ideology and those forces that would like to render the detente process null and void.

The direction which political-ideological work has to follow was sounded in the remarks by Comrade Erich Honecker at the conference the Central Committee secretariat held with the first secretaries of the kreis executive boards, which then also entered the Central Committee Politburo resolution on "the further tasks in the party's political mass activities," and where this was said: It is important to enhance the combative character of the party's political-ideological work further. It should distinguish itself still more by ideological depth and closeness to life. The main thing that has to be done is to illumine the achievements of socialism and its superiority over capitalism and to beat bourgeois ideology with the theoretical weapon of our world-outlook and the practical results of socialism.

An important prerequisite for conscious and systematic action on the part of the workers class and all working people is the steady improvement of their political and technical skills. In this sense the party program focuses on satisfying the growing and ever more differentiated intellectual needs of the working people through a higher educational level, through disseminating the scientific world-outlook of the workers class in a vivid and interesting manner, and through still more strongly tying in this advanced type of education with the solution of our concrete tasks. That is why it is especially important for the educational work to pervade all our party work in becoming a primary task for each basic organization, the party organs and every executive in the state and the economy.

The all-inclusive political and technical educational process taking place, under party leadership, throughout the entire workers class and the people also becomes apparent by the fact that late in 1976, some 65.5 percent of all working women in the socialist economy had completed specialized vocational training as specialists. In 1971, that figure had only been 48.2 percent. Millions of working people are deepening, year after year, their political knowledge through training in the mass organizations, adult education and various other courses, curriculas and seminars.

Further Shaping the Party's Leadership Role

The confidence the GDR working class and the other working people have in their revolutionary party which lets itself be guided consistently by Marxism-Leninism, applies it creatively and therefore is in the position to guide the whole people on the scientifically charted road to communism, has noticeably been further reinforced on the basis of the Eighth and Ninth Party Congress decisions and their systematic manner of implementation. For the party has turned out to be firmly and confidently connected with the masses, a party the total efforts of which serve the well-being of working man, a party of proletarian internationalism.

That hurts the imperialist enemy the most. That is why he aims his main thrust against the power of the workers class and its leading force, the Marxist-Leninist party. Such hostile and pseudoscientific theses as that party leadership had become "obsolete" in socialist society, or that the

party ought to "open up," "stand above the classes," or should have to be "unideological," aim at driving a wedge between the party and the running of the state, the economy, science and culture, as well as the masses.

There is nothing new about the struggle of the enemies of the revolutionary workers class against the party's leadership role, even if some theses and slogans may have changed, may have become more "modern." Yet all these attempts at depriving the revolutionary movement of its leadership force are doomed to failure. Our party's posture on that is one of principle, is unshakeable. The matters of workers class power and of the leadership role of its Marxist-Leninist party, the basic matters of the class conflict, will remain in the center of our party activities.

Any further step toward shaping the developed socialist society remains inseparably connected with further elevating the party's leadership role and with consolidating our state power as a form of the dictatorship of the proletariat, representing the interests of all the people of the GDR.

Thus the SED program decided on by the Ninth Party Congress endorses the continued shaping of the party's leadership role in all domains of life as an objective necessity. "In it," Comrade Erich Honecker has said, "we see an essential precondition for the further shaping of the developed socialist society and for the gradual transition to communism."⁶

Greater awareness and organization are necessary mainly in order to cope successfully with the greater dimensions of the national economy, with combining the achievements of the scientific-technical revolution with the advantages of socialism, the increasing complexities of social processes, the ever greater international tasks in party activities, and the close combination between current and long-range tasks for the good of the workers class and all the people. The implementation of the decisions of the Eighth and Ninth Party Congress demonstrates that the SED is facing any higher responsibilities early enough and is constantly getting set for increasing requirements, for the party's leadership role is inseparably connected with the further consolidation of its fighting strength and with elevating the level of its management activities in all public domains.

For that reason the party is paying attention to further perfecting democratic centralism in its ranks, for that is and remains a vital law for the party, a precondition for its ideological and organizational unity and its fighting strength. The greater tasks in the political management of society call for bringing the Leninist principle of democratic centralism to bear on the party to an ever greater extent--the unity of will and action by all communists, intraparty democracy, discipline, electoral eligibility and accountability, high degree of organization, criticism and self-criticism.

The party organs and managements of the basic organizations in particular are facing the task of reaching a still greater complexity in management activities and thus of elevating their levels. That calls for protecting

the unity of politics, economics and ideology and for insuring a high degree of efficiency in party work. Prerequisite to a high degree of complexity and efficiency is that the Central Committee decisions are fully comprehended by the managements and party collectives and rigorously fulfilled. Creative, concrete applications and thorough assessments of results and effects are as crucial for implementing the party decisions as is our avoiding any formal approaches to the implementation of the decisions.

The unity of the implementation and control of the decisions becomes all the more effective, the more all management and, to a wide degree, the members and candidates of the party organization get involved in it. The managements also will have to use more intensively still such forms and methods of party work as can yield the best results and greatest effects in the implementation of the decisions. To that end, the exchange of experiences in the basic organizations and among the kreis executives will have to be turned more strongly yet into an element of management activity.

The complexity and efficiency of the currently higher demands placed on party work altogether call for a working style that systematically proceeds from the substance and nature of the party decisions, is scientific and creative, and makes high demands on one's own activity. The tasks posed in the decisions of the Ninth Party Congress and the Central Committee present the criterion for organizing and assessing our work that is valid for all. In short: this is a matter of still more rigorously and creatively applying the Leninist working style. The more consistently it is brought to realization in all managements and party organizations, the firmer and more confident becomes their relationship with all working people.

The effectiveness of party work, its complexity and efficiency, also mainly depends on the cadre. For that reason, the steady elevation in the level of the work with the cadre turns into a key problem for the further implementation of the Ninth Party Congress decisions. Practice has confirmed time and again the success of our work is crucially determined by having the cadre get purposefully prepared for management functions and receive the proper tasks at the right moment. That makes cadre work an inseparable component of management activity. The whole point is that they get properly trained and educated for the new tasks in time to be up to the demands placed on them, so that they will distinguish themselves through their knowledge in Marxism-Leninism, their great political and technical skills, a creative working style, solidarity with the masses, discipline and humility. The efforts the party is making in constantly training and educating its members and cadre politically remain a factor that is essential for uniform action taken by the entire party.

Our Party Ranks Are Firm

The SED has 2,077,262 members and candidates organized in 75,411 basic organizations and departmental party organizations.

As the party, through its scientific policy, lends expression to the interests of the workers class and the working people and thereby is closely tied up with the masses, so it also preserves and deepens its roots in the workers class and the masses through an appropriate composition in its ranks. That is why the party always sees to it that in terms of its social composition, the distribution of party forces and the activities of each and every communist, it will do justice to its own nature as the conscious and organized vanguard of the workers class and the working people of the socialist GDR.

A sound premise for that is that the proportion of workers in the party amounts to 56.1 percent and that 36.6 percent of all members and candidates is engaged directly in material production. The firm confidence the workers class of the GDR--the main political and social force and the strongest class--is showing its vanguard also is reflected by the fact that since the Eighth Party Congress 86,500 more workers have joined the SED. In terms of social origin, 74.4 percent of all party members and candidates comes out of the workers class.

Again in the future our party will continue to strengthen its ranks in terms of class structure, without significantly increasing the membership in numbers. For that reason many party organizations are concentrating on admitting the best workers from vital areas of material production. These are workers with outstanding achievements in socialist competition who are active socially and therefore enjoy great respect in their work collectives.

At the same time the party is seeing to it that, in accordance with its tasks and with social development, the composition of its membership also reflects, and reinforces, the close and permanent relations of comradely and creative cooperation between the workers class, the class of the cooperative farmers, the intelligentsia and the other working people. At present, 5 percent of the SED members and candidates is made up of cooperative farmers, 20.7 percent, of members of the intelligentsia, and 11.1 percent, of salaried employees. The proportion of women in our party has risen since 1971 from 28.7 percent to 32 percent--something which to an ever increasing degree takes account of the social position of women in our socialist society.

The following developmental trend also demonstrates the positive development of the composition of our party: The proportion of members of the intelligentsia in the party since 1971 rose from 17.1 to 20.7 percent. That shows the qualitative growth of the workers class and testifies to its alliance with the intelligentsia, to the close relationship of confidence between the party and the intelligentsia, and to the steady increase of the party's organizational influence on areas such as science and research, which are making an ever greater contribution to social progress. One out of every three college and vocational school cadre in the GDR working as scientists, engineers, physicians, and creators of literature and art belongs to the party. Some 28.3 percent of all SED members and candidates has graduated from a college or vocational school.

The party is closely connected with the young generation. That is shown by the fact that of the more than 93,000 candidates to have entered the party ranks since the Ninth Party Congress, 87.2 percent belongs to the age-group below 30. The men and women in that age-group comprise a share of 21.7 percent of the total number of party members and candidates today.

The party insures a higher level of leadership activity also through furnishing its members and candidates with Marxist-Leninist and technical training and skills. For example, more than 1.4 million comrades, male and female, and 218,600 unaffiliated persons are studying under the 1977/78 party study year program. Some 26.7 percent of the members and candidates gets more extensive training in party schools. Of the managerial personnel in the basic organizations and departmental party organizations of the SED in industry, 70 percent already has been trained at party schools, and of the party secretaries in this field, more than 84 percent.

However, the communists' political education and training primarily comes through party work itself, in the struggle for implementing the party decisions, the struggle for plan fulfillment and through the political-ideological work. That includes interesting and vivid membership meetings, a confident atmosphere in the party collectives, broad voluntary activities by the communists in party activists groups and party commissions, the fulfillment of party assignments and many other aspects of intraparty life by which the comrades, male and female, get ready for their tasks, are furnished with the best experiences and work out for themselves the best arguments for their everyday political work.

The SED is creatively applying the Leninist principle that, in order to win and to construct the new society, genuine reciprocal relationships are needed "between the leading communist party, the revolutionary class, the proletariat, and the mass, that is, the totality of the working people."⁷ Our party's solidarity with the masses, which stems from its nature as the conscious and organized vanguard of the workers class and the working people of the socialist GDR, remains a fundamental principle of its activities in line with the road charted by the Ninth Party Congress. It is an obligation for all party organs and party organizations, incumbent on every communist, to reinforce and deepen, time and again, this close relationship of trust.

FOOTNOTES

1. Cf. "For the 60th Anniversary of the Great Socialist October Revolution," NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 4 February 1977.
2. Cf. "Appeal for the 60th Anniversary of the Great Socialist October Revolution," NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 25 February 1977.
3. Cf. Erich Honecker, "On a Safe Course," EINHEIT, No 4, 1976, p 411.
4. Cf. Erich Honecker, "Die Rolle der Arbeiterklasse und ihrer Partei in der Sozialistischen Gesellschaft" (The Role of the Workers Class and its Party in Socialist Society), Dietz, East Berlin, 1974, p 226.

5. V. I. Lenin, "Session of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee," "Werke" (Works), Vol 26, Dietz, East Berlin, 1961, p 283.
6. Comrade Erich Honecker, "Bericht des Zentralkomitees der Sozialistischen Einheitspartei Deutschlands an den IX. Parteitag der SED" (SED Central Committee Report to the Ninth SED Congress), Dietz, East Berlin, 1976, p 123.
7. V. I. Lenin, "Theses on the Main Tasks of the Second Congress of the Communist International," "Werke," Vol 31, Dietz, East Berlin, 1959, p 175.

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EAST GERMANY

FOREIGN POLICY EVALUATED IN LIGHT OF OCTOBER REVOLUTION

East Berlin EINHEIT in German Vol 32 No 10/11, Oct-Nov 77 signed to press
13 Sep 77 pp 1229-1238

[Article by Oskar Fischer, minister for foreign affairs: "Peace Policy
From the Very First Day"]

[Text] The existence and foreign policy of the Soviet land caused a fundamental change in international relations. Crucial factors for it were the successful socialist development and the great strength of the Soviet Union and its policy aimed rigorously, for 60 years, at the struggle for peaceful coexistence among states with differing social orders and based on the principles of proletarian internationalism, pursued today in community with the fraternal socialist countries. On that basis the safeguarding of peace today--despite harsh resistance from anti-detente forces--has become the real main task.

Since the Great Socialist October Revolution the strength and international influence of socialism as it really exists have been at the service of the peace policy of the workers class which is as goal-oriented as it is persistent. Historic events testify to that, and so do the campaign slogans of the present as well as the target of seeing to it "that mankind may enter the 21st century under conditions of peace."¹ After peace had been rare throughout millenia and permanent peace, a utopia, because the ruling exploiter classes would be looking at war as a continuation of politics by "permissible" different means, the fundamental change in international affairs came when the proletariat took action. It was first in emphatically opposing the antihuman "right to war"--as recognized in the bourgeois international law doctrine--by the right to peace. As theoretically established by Karl Marx, Friedrich Engels and V. L. Lenin and proven in practice time and again by the October Revolution and the subsequent world-changing years, the workers class is the most consistent proponent of the peace idea and, above all, of the struggle for peace. When it seized power, peace received its stable, unshakable material foundation. That is being reinforced in accordance with the laws of the revolutionary struggle.

Peace policy is a policy for the broad masses. It coincides with the communists' revolutionary goals. "The workers' revolution against war!"-- this Leninist formula² embodied in 1917 the Marxist position on the matter of war and peace. Not empty phrases, but the eradication of the social, economic and political roots of war, not some abstract pacifism, but active struggle for democracy, national liberation and socialism, those are what constitutes the enormous power for peace.

It was under the slogan of peace that the October Revolution triumphed. The first state law of the newly born Soviet power was the Peace Decree. When Soviet Russia quit World War I, its conclusion was speeded up. It helped stop senseless bloodshed. Right there the socialist revolution manifested its peace-promoting potentials, its deep humanism. Since socialism established a society which prospers best in peace, it could, in each phase of its historic development, take the kind of foreign policy initiatives that would make peace for all more secure, not only for the peoples of the socialist countries, and will eventually banish war from the realm of human existence. Not just anyone but the Soviet Union and the socialist states have been the ones to have pointed the way and have shown the unflinching will for it. A logical path thus leads from the Leninist Peace Decree up to the all-embracing peace programs of the 24th and 25th CPSU Congress.³ Socialism and peace belong together.

Turning Point in International Relations

Socialist peace politics always combines with conflicts about advances in our epoch. Since 1917 the Soviet power has been engaged in what today all fraternal states are engaged in, the struggle "for the liberation of the peoples from imperialism, for the eradication of wars among the peoples, for the overthrow of capitalist rule, for socialism."⁴ The radical transformation in international relations introduced into world history by the first successful socialist revolution continues today through the continuing democratic transformation of these relations.

Previously, foreign policy, despite all the variety of changing social and political systems, had always been exclusively the tool of a small exploiting minority. Only rarely, and if at all, then only for brief periods, did the interests of the ruling class coincide with the overall national interests of a people. The axis of rotation in international politics had been the antagonisms between suppressor states on account of their loot, their division, their profits, their markets and spheres of influence, in other words, predacity and war in whatever form. Even on the eve of the Red October the biggest imperialist powers of Europe and the United States imagined they were the only ones that counted. Only to a few dozen states did they grant the right to codetermine international political affairs. Excluded were the millions, the masses all over the world, not only those in the colonies and semicolonies.

What the bourgeoisie had held to be impossible became true: Through the October Revolution, those that had thus far been exploited--hence, for the first time, the representatives of the interests of the majority of working people--took the world stage as the state power. Thereby socialism assumed its place irrevocably and with it, the peace policy inevitably inherent in it. And so the whole axis of rotation in international politics shifted. The SED Central Committee General Secretary Erich Honecker said at the Ninth Party Congress: "With all the variety of international relations among states in the world today, the conflict between the two social systems is the central axis in international development."⁵

For six decades socialist foreign policy has successfully negotiated an enormous and complicated stretch of the road. As a result, peace has noticeably become more secure for all peoples. That is the most important socialist foreign policy achievement. Not a single international problem can be settled any longer without the Soviet Union and the socialist community. Even so, peace is not yet definitely assured. A lot remains to be done for that. And it is being done.

The fighters for peace are becoming more numerous day after day, and their forces are multiplying. The realization is growing everywhere that a better world cannot be built by cruise missiles or neutron bombs. Constructive and realistic politics, peaceful and just solutions for international problems, cooperation in the interest of security, detente and not "cold war" and confrontation help resolve the vital issues posed by history. And that is exactly what socialist foreign policy is aiming for.

No longer a few dozen but almost 160 states are equal partners in determining international politics today. That was confirmed by the 32nd UN General Assembly now in session. And it was the Red October which actually made international relations truly international. To the same degree, international law has become more democratic. The principles proclaimed in the Peace Decree have become authoritative basic principles of international law which must also be respected by the imperialist states. And actually--today and for the future--the Nurnberg Trials are a warning no one had to worry about prior to 1917. Aggression and genocide rate as the greatest crimes against humanity carrying with them the accountability, in terms of international law, of their initiators.

Irrespective of differences in their political, economic and social systems, it has become the obligation of all states to work together democratically and on equal terms. That obligation is vested in the UN Charter, the 1970 human rights declaration and, far from least, the Final Act of CSCE. The Final Act, for example, sets down the areas, the direction and also the forms of this cooperation. The unchangeable point of departure for it is and always will be the strict respect for every state's sovereign rights. That the basic principles of the Final Act were vested in the new USSR Constitution is something unique thus far, which turns it into a model to be followed by all countries.

There is a scientific basis to socialist peace politics. The basic principles to be pursued in our epoch were contained already in the Peace Decree: proletarian internationalism and the peaceful coexistence among states with differing social orders. There is a dialectical interrelation between the two; they are working simultaneously and in juxtaposition. They are the outcome of the socialist system and are thus not subject to economic fluctuations, everyday politics, let alone to any "disguise of aggressive intentions." The class enemy, against his better knowledge, is imputing that to socialism to this day. Perhaps they ought to look up Lenin to find out what this great theoretician with his practical experience in socialist-communist construction had to say about it.⁶

Proletarian Internationalism--Proven Principle of the Workers Movement

Through the victorious October Revolution the principle of the international workers movement--proven now for over 100 years--became state policy. As the struggle of capital against the proletariat is of an international nature--most clearly evident in our times--the proletariat's united action is an extremely important and effective factor for the safeguarding of peace. It is at the same time an important prerequisite for the victory of the workers class in its countries. The internationalist obligation the working people who have come to power have toward their class brothers in other countries is satisfied mainly--according to Lenin⁷--by making a maximum contribution to the communist cause all over the world through a successful construction of socialism in their own country. That goes hand in hand, understandably, with effective solidarity. Yet it has nothing to do with any forceful "export of the revolution," a contention still maintained by Western propaganda organs now, 60 years of Soviet power behind us. Marxism "always has rejected 'whipping up' revolutions." They develop "to the extent that the class antagonisms that bring about revolutions become more and more intense."⁸

The same bourgeoisie which, eager to weaken socialism severely, gets excited about proletarian internationalism is forging its own antisocialist "internationalism," in order to gain strength. That eventually is to turn into the "export of the counterrevolution." That was testified to by the counter-revolutionary activities, especially in the early years of Soviet Russia--when 14 capitalist states intervened militarily--but also by later attempts. The Hungarian Soviet Republic could still be smashed by imperialism in 1919, but in 1945, let alone later, such efforts were hopeless.

The principle of proletarian internationalism was proven in the construction of socialist society in the Soviet land and in the unification of the multinational Soviet people. It was embodied in Soviet Russia's selfless aid in the struggles for creating the MPR in the early '20's. It formed the basis for the appeals to the peoples, social forces and mass movements to engage in common action in the struggle for peace, collective security and against the threatening war dangers. It also formed the basis for the effective aid and support provided for all peoples struggling for the social and national

liberation. The workers class of the world coined the slogan "Hands off Soviet Russia" and aided the struggle of the young Soviet power as best it could. In times of direst need Soviet comrades sent grain to their German class brothers. They stood by the side of the struggling Spanish people.

The principle of proletarian internationalism was as basic to the Soviet Army's liberation mission in World War II as to the aid given to the peoples of East and Southeast Europe and of Asia and Latin America taking the path toward revolutionary transformation after World War II. It is only natural that the principles of proletarian internationalism are the basis for the reciprocal relations among the countries in the socialist community.

The GDR too has received and given solidarity. The proletarian internationalism of the communist parties--the leading and guiding force in all fraternal socialist countries--is the heartbeat of the interstate activities embracing all fields. Voluntary cooperation as joint efforts for reaching common goals have been made exemplary for all peoples. At the same time there have developed in the workers movement principles that are familiar as well as new such as mutual comradely help, close political and foreign policy coordination, solidarity in international concerns, consolidation of the joint defense, united efforts in defense against imperialist machinations, the pooling of efforts and resources for jointly dealing with economic problems and, not last, the development of ideological cooperation.

All fraternal socialist states consider as their most important foreign policy task the consolidation of their peace alliance. This league of action facilitates each people's economic and cultural advance, contributes to rapidly improving the material and cultural standard of living and makes possible a secure protection of its achievements. The practical experiences evident for anyone demonstrate that the united stand they are taking in the international arena always leads to new successes in consolidating peace and security. Thus socialist foreign policy is of benefit to all peoples. This has been underscored anew by the proposals on reinforcing and continuing detente as initiated in November last year at the Bucharest conference of the political consultative commission of the Warsaw Pact.

Deepening and Strengthening the Fraternal Alliance with the USSR

The fraternal alliance between Soviet and German communists grew strong in the days of the Red October and in the defensive struggle against the imperialist German policy of aggression against the young Soviet power. In firm combat alliance with the Soviet Union, the socialist GDR found its strength--an undeniable proof that the inevitabilities of the Red October were of vital strength on German soil too.

GDR experience confirms that progressive social development also deepens and strengthens the fraternal alliance with the USSR and the other socialist states. The 7 October 1975 Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance Treaty raises the cooperation between our parties, states and peoples onto

a new and higher level. Our orientation now comes from this document. It amounts to a closer interlinking of material and intellectual potentials and a gradual rapprochement of the peoples for jointly solving great tasks that already envision the far distant future. The Crimean accords of 19 July 1977, signed by the general secretaries of both parties, the highest representatives of our states, Erich Honecker and Leonid Brezhnev, on a USSR-GDR specialization and cooperation program for from 1980 to 1990 spell this spirit of continuity, long-term planning and certitude about the future.

The treaty, at the same time, guarantees the effective protection of the historic achievements of socialism. Its stipulations on insuring, jointly and in alliance with the other Warsaw Pact member states, the inviolability of the borders that have formed as a result of World War II and postwar developments in Europe take equal account of historic experiences and up-to-date requirements. The alliance with the Soviet Union is a sure bolt against any aggressive and revanchist policies and guarantees peace, happiness and well-being. The analogous GDR treaties with the other Warsaw Pact states and the friendship and cooperation treaty with the MPR concluded in the 60th anniversary year of the Great Socialist October Revolution likewise are, in spirit and letter, documents of the Leninist peace policy. That also applies to the GDR-Romania treaty of 12 May 1972.

All GDR successes thus far and in the future depend on the fraternal alliance with the Soviet Union and the entire socialist community. Therefore our party "in Thaelmann's spirit sees to it, indefatigably, that the process of rapprochement among our peoples and states advances further."⁹

Peaceful Coexistence--A Historically New Principle

An unprecedented international situation came about with the October Revolution. Was it possible for states with antagonistic social orders to establish relations in the first place, and peaceful ones at that? What were they going to be like? The Peace Decree right then gave clear answers to such questions: It was recommended to all nations and governments involved in the war to start immediate negotiations on a democratic and just peace.

In explaining this decree to the Second All-Russian Soviet Congress of 8 November 1917, V. I. Lenin expressed his view that it would be useful and desirable to live peacefully together: "We reject anything pertaining to rapacity and rape, but all that pertains to good neighborly relations and economic agreements we are happy to accept."¹⁰ This V. I. Lenin saw, and found it confirmed in practice: If the struggle between the two social systems proceeds on the level of peaceful competition, it is of benefit to all mankind. In peace one should have to find out which of the two systems was the better one. What a humanism!

By now the peaceful coexistence policy has had a 60-year history. Through harsh conflicts, time and again surmounting the obstructions placed before us by capitalist states, the peaceful coexistence principle is unflinchingly being introduced in practical affairs step by step. In the early years it was the chief Soviet foreign policy concern to establish firmly the inviolable right to the existence of socialism. The Brest Treaty of 3 March 1918 was rapacious but gave the Soviets a breathing spell. But only after the military interventions in Soviet Russia had completely failed in 1920, the Western governments found themselves prepared to recognize the Soviet land diplomatically and also to establish trade relations.

In the barely two decades of peaceful development up to World War II, the Soviet Union repeatedly had to frustrate antisoviet plots by imperialist states. Yet its being invited to the international conference in Genoa in 1922 also proved that Soviet Russia then already had to be asked to participate in the settlement of international problems.

There the Soviet delegation proposed a program on the peaceful cooperation of states with differing social orders, based on sovereign equality and noninterference in domestic affairs. In Rapallo (16 April 1922) Soviet Russia signed with what was then Germany the first treaty taking account of these principles. Dozens of treaties with other states followed later. And already the first proposals were then made for worldwide disarmament.

When in the '30's imperialist contradictions in Europe intensified, the USSR, to tame the aggressive drive of German fascism, at once proposed a system of collective security. The assistance pact between the USSR and France that was signed in 1935 pointed in that direction. Parallel motives induced the treaty at the time with the Czechoslovak Republic. That--as also the invitation to join the League of Nations--demonstrated the international authority of the USSR had already risen so much that the Western governments were compelled to make agreements with the USSR on security matters. However, with the power ratio being what it then was, the outbreak of World War II could not be prevented.

During the war years the Soviet people, doubtless, made the chief contribution to saving Europe and the whole world from fascist enslavement and still more bloodshed. Twenty million Soviet citizens lost their lives in this struggle. Irreplaceable material and spiritual values were destroyed. Tolerating no delay, Soviet foreign policy arduously engaged in forming and reinforcing a broad anti-Hitler coalition among the states and nations. At that time and in the postwar period thereafter it became irrefutably clear that states with different social orders can and must work together. Important treaties with Great Britain, the United States and France, the documents of the Yalta Conference (February 1945) and of Potsdam (July/August 1945), the UN Charter (October 1945) and many other accords arrived at that conclusion, signed with the peoples' blood. They envisaged the safeguarding of permanent peace once the war would end.

The time after 1945 once again confronted Soviet foreign policy with difficult tasks. The capitalist encirclement of the USSR was finished, the socialist world system emerged and the colonial empires began to disintegrate. The imperialist states refused to accept the altered power ratio. They meant to get ready to enforce a "roll back" of everything progressive by means of the "cold war," a forceful arms race, sharp confrontations, economic blockades and, as usual, antisoviet hysteria. The task was by no means easy: resolutely rebuking at one and the same time all the hostile attacks against the sovereignty of the people's democratic states--which included the GDR--, remain at the side of the young, nationally liberated states, defend the peace and implement the peaceful coexistence principle. Ultimately the Western doctrines had to run aground against the realities of the power ratio further changing in favor of socialism, the consequence of socialist peace policy and its effects on the peoples.

Late in the '60's and in the early '70's it was possible to bring about the turn from "cold war" to detente. In these changes the peace policy of the USSR, doubtless, played the outstanding role. The thus far most important results, cornerstones, are the important agreements, mainly between the USSR and the United States, the European network of treaties and, briefly thereafter, CSCE and its Final Act. The all round recognition of the GDR in terms of international law also is part of it; we and our allies and friends had been fighting for it for 25 years.

New Forms and Methods in Foreign Policy Struggle

Right after the storming of the Winter Palace, class-conscious workers and Red Guard men, in revolutionary enthusiasm, started working in the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs. They quickly learned what is called the art of diplomacy. The negotiating partners from the capitalist countries could soon see they could not hope to rely on any ignorance or unfamiliarity with international law terms and with the whole orchestration of diplomacy on the part of the Soviet diplomats.

Lenin conceived the forms and methods of Soviet foreign policy and gave model examples for tactical maneuvers. Peace policy from the very first day--that meant and means truthfully informing one's own and the world's public about international politics and its interconnections. Soviet diplomacy has always done that. "The people must be told the real situation: how great the secret is out of which war gets born."¹¹ By those words Lenin sent the Soviet delegation to the International Peace Congress in the Hague in December 1922.

Sailor Markin and other Red Guard men, who had just become associates in the new People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs, at once, in November 1917, opened the safes of the tsarist foreign ministry and had the secret documents printed--rapacious and unfair treaties among imperialist governments. They came out in the daily press and in seven special volumes.

They were reprinted abroad. These and other publications made an indelible impression on the broad popular masses. The diplomatic documents were given the public tone that had been lacking before 1917. Governments and parliaments in other states had to deal with that, whether they wanted it or not.

In August 1975--to give an example of our own days--the socialist countries disseminated the full text of the Final Act of Helsinki--in over 2 million copies in the GDR alone. No Western participating country has done anything like it. The text of the Final Act is accessible there only to "specialists," for all practical purposes. One may also be reminded of the stand taken by the socialist states in the United Nations and other international forums, of important press conferences--such as the one held by A. A. Gromyko in March this year about the status of the U.S.-USSR negotiations--and the declarations, communiques and accords, and of the appeals to the parliaments and peoples in other countries.

V. I. Lenin demanded of foreign policy that it would boldly present new tasks at hand and be persistent and vigilant too with regard to the true intentions of enemies. That always includes objective analysis of the international situation and its possible development, firmness in principle in the resolution of basic issues and flexibility in the choice of ways and means. What patience and tenacity--and how much up-to-date relevance--are revealed by Lenin's words at the 11th Party Congress of 27 March 1922, that one could take issue indeed, quarrel, come apart in various combinations, but that ultimately the fundamental necessity, that is, peaceful coexistence, should have to prevail.¹²

The history of Soviet foreign policy naturally also is rich in examples of compromises. No state can (or may) impose its own will on others. Interstate relations, if they are to be fruitful, have to do justice to all sides. Thus possible concessions and accommodations in the interest of the security of all peoples as well as socialism are a method established by V. I. Lenin in the early years of Soviet power and practiced to this day. The Yalta and Potsdam Agreements, the Quadripartite Agreement on West Berlin, the GDR-FRG Treaty on the Basis of Relations, and many other accords between states with differing social orders, including also the Final Act of Helsinki--to mention only some examples--are the outcome of such compromises. They are useful to all peoples. No doubt, such conduct is implicit in the successful peaceful coexistence policy. The success with it is clearly apparent: Europe is experiencing its fourth decade of peace.

Peace--the Real Task of Our Struggle

Anyone knows it is not enough to drop a few words about peace and then expect it will be served to us on a silver platter. For as long as imperialism exists there also remains the basis for it--being aggressive by nature--to be spoiling for a fight. Socialist foreign policy, the practical safeguarding of peace with it, requires a strong "hinterland,"

that is, a well organized solid state where the people works with awareness, and good friends and allies and the internationalist solidarity of the working people in all countries. Therein lies indeed the strength of the socialist states. The capitalist world is seeking it in military power.

Today's balance of power, however, makes it possible for socialism and all peace forces to give permanence to the detente that was started, prevent the outbreak of another world war and, in the future, eradicate war completely from the life of human society. Peace is threatened with danger as long as anti-detente circles of armaments capitalism, militarism and revanchism do not have to abandon their resistance to a peaceful development of international relations. Of late they have even been seeking confrontation again, almost like in the days of the "cold war," even kindling the arms race. Accords serving detente and cooperation are meant to be misused for intervention in the internal affairs of socialist states. That resistance can and must be broken.¹³

This turning to detente is not the goal but "only" the starting point for further advances. Bertold Brecht--whose 80th birthday will be celebrated next year--said in his notes on his opera "Rise and Fall of the City of Mahagonny": "Real progress/is not being progressive/ but progressing./ Real progress is/ what makes progressing possible/ or compels it."

Is it not this kind of progressing that the peace program of the 25th CPSU Congress focuses on? The long-term strategic peace concept of the socialist community of states does not merely set down tasks but those tasks that can be resolved! It is the security program on a global scale. It at once orients and mobilizes all progressive forces because it conforms to their very own interests and expectations. Progressing means today above all: Deepening, and providing permanence for, detente, as any distortion of this idea, any violation of the balance of interests arrived at through lengthy negotiations, for instance the European network of treaties and the Final Act of Helsinki, would mean reversal; urgently supplementing, and thereby reinforcing, political by means of military detente and, with it, working for general and complete disarmament, with strategic arms limitation being of the greatest importance and a world disarmament conference placed on the agenda; defusing and abolishing international hotbeds of conflict and preventing the emergence of new ones, making most timely and realistic the world treaty on the renunciation of force as proposed by the Soviet Union; and further developing the cooperation in the economic, scientific-technical, cultural and humanitarian fields in accordance with the principles of peaceful coexistence, that is, the Final Act of Helsinki, as an ongoing recovery of a healthy political climate is perfectly feasible on our continent, provided the other side shows good faith.

The proposals made in the Bucharest Declaration by the Warsaw Pact states, titled "For new results on the road of international detente, for the consolidation of security and the development of cooperation in Europe," amount to signing a treaty among all states that attended the Helsinki Conference

on not being the first to use nuclear weapons against others; and avoiding actions that could lead to an expansion of existing groups and military-political alliances or to the formation of new affiliations like them.

The proposals were made. Picking them up and implementing them would mean an improvement in security even beyond Europe.

The socialist states seek cooperation of benefit to detente, not confrontation for its detriment, as it has been solemnly and authoritatively confirmed in writing by representatives of 33 European and two North American states who signed the Final Act of Helsinki. Peace and mutual advantageous cooperation, which benefits all peoples, prosper the most when relaxation and confidence exist and are being fostered among the states.

The principles, forms and methods of the socialist peace policy have proven themselves from the very first day and, by now, through 60 years of practice. The road since 1917 has shown how the victorious workers class can make ever better use of its leverage and means of power to work for the peace, liberty and a better life of the peoples. As a bastion of peace and social progress in the world, the Soviet Union in its 60 years of history has become the bulwark of socialist power. It is as honorable as it is categorical to work on its side for a better and more peaceful life.

GDR foreign policy is based on the Leninist guideline principles. It is being conceived and directed by our party, as our Ninth Party Congress resolutions make evident. As an inseparable component of the socialist community of states and of world socialism, the GDR has, ever since it was founded, helped, with initiative and tenacity, in the promotion of peace and security. In accordance with the Ninth Party Congress resolutions, we are making our contribution to it by strengthening the GDR and the socialist community, developing, on a priority basis, our relations with the fraternal socialist states, aiding the nationally liberated states and liberation movements in their just struggle, exercising solidarity with the workers class in countries not yet liberated from capitalism, and doing what we can in making the peaceful coexistence principles prevail.

FOOTNOTES

1. L. I. Brezhnev, "Mankind Needs a Stable Peace," NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 9/10 July 1977.
2. Cf. V. I. Lenin, "The Tasks of the Revolution," "Werke" (Works), Vol 26, Dietz, East Berlin, 1961, p 46.
3. Cf. Erich Honecker, "Sixty Years of Struggle for Peace and the Happiness of Mankind," PROBLEMS OF PEACE AND SOCIALISM, No 7, 1977, p 867.
4. V. I. Lenin, "Speech for the Unveiling of a Memorial Plaque for the Fighters of the October Revolution," "Werke," Vol 28, Dietz, East Berlin, 1959, p 162.

5. Comrade Erich Honecker, "Bericht des Zentralkomitees der Sozialistischen Einheitspartei Deutschlands an den IX. Parteitag der SED" (SED Central Committee Report to the Ninth SED Congress), Dietz, East Berlin, 1976, p 21.
6. Cf. V. I. Lenin, "The Soviet Power's Successes and Difficulties," "Werke," Vol 29, Dietz, East Berlin, 1961, pp 50-51.
7. Cf., e.g., V. I. Lenin, "The Proletarian Revolution and Renegade Kautsky," "Werke," Vol. 28, p 293.
8. V. I. Lenin, "Things Strange and Monstrous," "Werke," Vol 27, Dietz, East Berlin, 1960, p 56.
9. Comrade Erich Honecker, "Aus dem Bericht des Politbueros an die 5. Tagung des ZK der SED" (From the Politburo Report to the Fifth Session of the SED Central Committee), Dietz, East Berlin, 1977, p 11.
10. V. I. Lenin, "Second All-Russian Congress of the Soviets of the Workers and Soldiers Deputies," "Werke," Vol 26, p 245.
11. V. I. Lenin, "Remarks on the Tasks of Our Delegation in the Hague," "Werke," Vol 33, Dietz, East Berlin, 1962, p 433.
12. Cf. V. I. Lenin, "Eleventh CPR(B) Congress," "Werke," Vol 33, p 251.
13. "Friendly Meeting Between Leonid Brezhnev and Erich Honecker," NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 20 July 1977.

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EAST GERMANY

SOCIALIST ALLIANCE ASSESSED IN LIGHT OF OCTOBER REVOLUTION

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[Article by Paul Markowski, graduate in political science, department head
in SED Central Committee: "Community of Socialist Countries--A New Type
of International Alliance"]

[Text] The article describes the nature of the alliance of the fraternal socialist countries, the new type of their interstate relations, and the organic connection between the principles of proletarian internationalism and the general democratic principles of international law. Presented also are the importance of the parties' combative alliance and important aspects of their cooperation. Also described is their joint foreign policy, and it is being shown that peace is all the more secure, the stronger the positions of socialism are.

"In recent years," so says the CPSU Central Committee resolution on the occasion of the 60th anniversary of the Great Socialist October Revolution, "the world community of the fraternal peoples in the socialist countries-- a new type of international alliance--has become still stronger. The socialist states, united through their identical social order and their dedication to peace, socialism, democracy and national independence, are voluntarily developing among each other all round cooperation on the basis of the principles of Marxism-Leninism and international solidarity, respect for the equality and sovereignty of each state, noninterference in internal affairs and comradely mutual assistance."¹ That statement reflects the nature of the development, going on already for more than three decades, of a completely novel type of community of sovereign states in the whole history of international relations.

Coalitions and alliances between states and governments have existed in all epochs of history ever since there was a state. As state alliances

of the exploiter system they were always means for enforcing the will of the ruling class, for the protection of its power and privileges, the conquest of foreign territories, the subjection and despoliation of foreign nations, and the collective suppression of the revolutionary aspirations of their own and foreign peoples. That is demonstrated by all known coalitions in previous history, the Holy Alliance, the Commonwealth of Nations, the Entente Cordiale or the imperialist NATO. As long as the law of the exploiter system rules there also rules in these mostly military coalitions the stronger over the weaker, and equality and sovereignty are infringed continuously.

Only the victory of socialism in a larger number of countries after World War II and the emergence of the socialist world system made possible the formation of a fundamentally new type of relations among nations and states: relations of complete equality, all round cooperation, fraternal solidarity and mutual aid, serving only one goal, the well-being of all nations, which can prosper only in peace and socialism. These are new relationships in terms of quality. They conform to the socialist character of the social order, their common Marxist-Leninist ideology, and the identity of communist goals and interests. They are decisively determined by the leading force within the system of mutual relations among the socialist countries, the workers class and its Marxist-Leninist parties. The development of socialism into a world system is the greatest achievement of the international communist and workers movement after World War II. It reflects an inevitable historic process, the transition to socialism, made by more and more nations as the result of their liberation from imperialist domination and capitalist exploitation.

The worldwide process of revolutionary renewal initiated by the Red October reached a qualitatively new level in the formation of the socialist world system. The capitalist encirclement of the first socialist state, the USSR, was ended, for once and for all, through the victory of the socialist revolution on one-third of the globe. A fundamental, qualitative change in the international power ratio was brought about. The capitalist system was weakened. The historic contest between the two opposing socio-economic and political systems, socialism and capitalism, entered a new phase. With the power of socialism increasing, there arose the real possibility of preventing the outbreak of another world war, forcing the imperialist states to recognize the norms of peaceful coexistence between nations and states, and effectively supporting the peoples that were struggling for their national liberation. The political and economic rise of world socialism benefited the political and social liberation struggle of the workers class in the capitalist countries. All these factors in turn created more favorable external conditions for the construction of socialism and communism.

Today the socialist states are advancing securely and dynamically in constructing their new social order. Their international influence becomes greater every day. To come to that point, a long and difficult path had

to be traversed, and tasks of truly historic scope had to be coped with. It was necessary consistently to bring to an end the uniform revolutionary process in the people's democracies, secure the political rule of the workers class and its allies, repair the national economy and set up the material-technical base of socialism, defend the young socialism against imperialist assaults and strengthen the international positions of socialism. A halt had to be called to the imperialist circles' pushing for war, which had unleashed the cold war and had struck in Korea and Vietnam. At the same time the socialist countries, from the very first day of their existence, fulfilled their internationalist obligations to all revolutionary, democratic and anti-imperialist movements of our times. The fact that socialism succeeded in settling the fundamental internal and external problems in the previous developmental stage and became the decisive force in the anti-imperialist struggle proves its inexhaustible vitality and its superiority over capitalism. No people's democracy could solve these tasks on its own. To do so, many prerequisites had to be met.

Pioneer of the Progress of the Peoples

The decisive prerequisite for this triumphant advance of socialism, fought out against the bitter resistance from imperialism and reactionary forces of all shades, and under the most difficult economic conditions, no doubt was that there was the Soviet Union with its internationalist CPSU policy. The Soviet workers class, its communist party, which had initiated a new chapter of world history with the Great Socialist October Revolution, in every phase lived up to their responsibility as the pioneer of human progress and of socialism and communism. They, after the victorious October, performed gigantic feats in defending the revolution, uniting the Soviet peoples, building the material-technical base of socialism under the greatest sacrifices, and safeguarding the victory of socialism in only one country amidst hostile encirclement. They had to pass the heavy tests of World War II. By destroying Hitler's fascism they brought liberation to the peoples of Europe and thereby, to many peoples, the historic opportunity of their complete liberation from the fetters of capitalism.

In order to be able to use this historic opportunity it was a crucial matter for the people's democracies that, along with mobilizing their own revolutionary forces, they could rely on the enormous material potential of the Soviet Union, its military protection and the excessively rich experiences it had gathered throughout its socialist construction in all fields of domestic and foreign policy ever since October 1917. "The example of the CPSU and the selfless solidarity of the Soviet communists were a valuable aid to us and the source of proven insights,"² Comrade Erich Honecker stated with regard to socialist construction in the GDR. Especially under the conditions of the continued existence of strong imperialist powers and their counterrevolutionary policy of pressure, interference and blockade, our confident cooperation with the USSR was from the very start the essential and indispensable element in external conditions for the young people's democracies' advancing on the road of socialism.

Of great importance for the transition to the socialist revolution also were the mobilization of the peoples for the antifascist liberation struggle under communist leadership and the immensely increased trust the people felt, due to the heroic, sacrificial struggle by the Soviet Army against Hitler fascism, in the first socialist state in the world and in socialism as a social order.

If today the socialist social order has already found a firm footing in many countries and was able to advance in the last three decades so successfully, that amounts to a direct continuation of the Great Socialist October Revolution. The Soviet Union today occupies an outstanding position in the bilateral relations of the various fraternal socialist countries. The socialist states' uniting around the first and most important socialist power at the same time also promoted the formation of the collective alliance of socialist states and nations, and this, as it were, in a natural manner that conforms to the internal and external conditions of socialist construction. In that manner alone were the socialist countries able to bring about their transition to socialism within a historically brief period.

New Type of International Relations

The fraternal socialist countries today, precisely because of their voluntary rallying around the USSR, meet all the political material and intellectual prerequisites and enjoy all the reliable military protection for advancing safely toward socialist and communist construction. Through the party congress resolutions, the joint developmental programs within the CEMA framework, their foreign and security policy arrangements within the framework of the Warsaw Pact, and through the system of reciprocal friendship and assistance treaties and the agreements on political, ideological and theoretical cooperation with the fraternal parties, all aspects of their joint strategy based on voluntary cooperation have been worked out.

Stable political, economic, cultural and scientific-technical relations have formed on this basis among the socialist states. And thus, in the struggle for the victory of socialism, that new, socialist type of international relations has emerged for which the principles of proletarian internationalism form the centerpiece. For the first time states and nations are developing an all round, fruitful and completely equal cooperation, fraternal mutual aid, solidarity in the struggle against imperialism and the willingness to strengthen and defend world socialism because for the first time the antagonism of the exploiter system had to give way to the identity of interests on the part of working men. Making such relations prevail requires for each socialist country to make its decisions while taking into account not only national but international concerns as well, in the sense of consolidating their friendship, unity and cooperation. The fundamental aspects of the relations among the fraternal socialist countries are spelled out in the bilateral and multilateral treaties concluded among them. Many socialist countries also have vested in their constitutions the principle of membership in the socialist community of states.

Characteristic for the new type of interstate relations is the organic connection between the principles of proletarian internationalism and the general democratic principles of international law like equal rights, sovereignty, nonintervention, territorial integrity and mutual advantageous cooperation. In the relations among the socialist states these general democratic principles receive a new content as they, conforming to the nature of socialism, are for the first time realized without constraints in socialist foreign policy, where also such aspects as mutual aid, fraternal assistance, comradely exchange of experience, a joint foreign policy aimed at peace and security, the rapprochement among the nations in conjunction with the international socialist division of labor, and others are becoming ever more prominent. This harmonious combination is an extremely important aspect of the interrelations within the socialist family of states. It serves each individual socialist country while it at the same time strengthens the community of socialist states as a whole.

As under socialism with its political, economic, intellectual-cultural and social development, the real preconditions have for the first time been created for bringing to realization the principles of equality, liberty and fraternity, which had been proclaimed by the bourgeoisie, so also under socialism for the first time there arise the real possibilities for implementing the democratic principles of international law. No contradiction exists in socialism between close cooperation, joint alliance obligations and a joint foreign policy, on the one side, and sovereignty, equal rights and independence, on the other. On the contrary: only mutual assistance guarantees real independence, real sovereignty--as much as the joint economic strategy, in accordance with CEMA's complex program, develops the material premises for genuine equality. Renouncing the close fraternal political, economic and military cooperation would expose the various socialist countries, one by one, to the confrontation with imperialism and weaken the socialist community as a whole.

The supreme objective of socialism is peace and a high material and intellectual-cultural standard of living for people freed from exploitation. Only socialism, through developing all its potentials and its successful peace policy, infuses the general democratic principles of sovereignty and equality, permanently violated under capitalism, with real social substance. In revolutionary practice, through socialist construction, the dialectical connection became ever more evident that exists between the blossoming of each sovereign socialist nation through its socialist development and the emergence of more and more common elements in its politics, economy and public life. In the Soviet Union, the developed socialist society has been created. It continues the construction of the material-technical foundations of communism and devotes itself to organizing communist social relations. A large group of socialist states--after the victory of the socialist production relations and the creation of the appropriate material-technical base--proceeded toward the construction of the developed socialist society.

The characteristically socialist dynamics of political, economic and intellectual development becomes ever more prominent in this process. And more prominent also become, with it, such inevitable manifestations as the increasing role assumed by the workers class, the further rapprochement of the socialist classes and strata, the development of socialist democracy and the socialist way of life, the outstanding position of science and technology, and the unity of economic and social policy. At the same time a process of rapprochement is taking place among the socialist peoples and states to the extent that in their social development they produce more and more basic elements they all have in common and their friendship and cooperation expand and deepen. When each socialist country then adds its own specific experiences to the joint Marxist-Leninist treasure of experiences, the universally valid inevitabilities of social development in socialism crystallize ever more clearly. Simultaneously, new inevitabilities develop, in line with the objective requirements of socialist economic integration, the gradual interlinking among the national economies, the assimilation of the levels of development and the rapprochement of the peoples. The communist and workers parties in the countries of the socialist community thus supply valid answers, through their practical efforts on behalf of socialist and communist construction, to new questions asked by life itself. That also includes the question about harmoniously combining the national and the international factors on the various levels of social development.

The SED always seeks to learn from the experiences of the fraternal parties. It proceeds from the consideration that, in particular, the experiences of the CPSU contain fundamental, universally valid insights the attentive study and creative exploitation of which are of great help to coping with its own tasks. That follows not only from the fact that Lenin's party was the first one to have made the historic turn to socialism and, since October 1917, has constantly been advancing into virgin territory, historically, in shaping the most progressive social order. The universal validity of Soviet experiences is also attributable to the great variety of political, economic, scientific-technical and cultural problems the CPSU has to resolve under the conditions of the USSR--a country ranging over two continents and owning a potential large enough to prevail with success in all decisive areas of communist construction and foreign policy. If one then also takes into account that the peoples of the USSR have had to meet the harshest tests in the 60 years of socialist and communist construction, struggling against imperialism, and still today bear the main burden in the international class conflict, their pioneering historic achievements stand out all the more clearly.

The process of the world historic development since the beginning of our century has charged the Soviet workers class and its communist party with truly historic responsibility as the pioneer leading into the communist future. These are the only criteria by which the world historic role of the USSR can be properly evaluated. "The experiences of the CPSU as the most tested and experienced party of our communist world movement, summarized in the documents of the 25th Party Congress, are of fundamental importance

to the transition from capitalism to socialism in any given country. The more the Soviet Union is advancing on this road to communism, the more clearly apparent becomes the universal validity of this treasure of experience."³

Importance of Economic Cooperation

The historic advantages of socialism appear most persuasively in its capacity for planned international economic integration, international specialization and cooperation, and the joint solution for complex economic and scientific-technical matters. If the socialist countries cooperating within CEMA have admittedly become the most stable and dynamic economic region today, where approximately 9 percent of the world population and 18.5 percent of the earth's territory produce approximately 35 percent of the world's industrial output, this all only confirms that it was right for our joint economic strategy to follow the road of socialist economic integration through our complex program. All CEMA member countries have achieved great successes in socialist industrialization while relying on their peoples' creativity and on close economic cooperation in developing a highly productive agriculture and improving the working people's material and cultural standard of living. Here again practice has become the criterion for what was the right thing to do.

Now the CEMA countries are about to work out long-term target programs for cooperation in the most important branches of material production for a period of from 10 to 15 years. They aim at the long-range solution of raw material, fuel and energy problems, at improving the national economies' supplies with highly productive machinery and equipment, the further development of agriculture, an expanded consumer commodity production for satisfying the growing needs of the population and an accelerated development of transportation. The realization of these long-range target programs will speed up socialist and communist construction in the fraternal countries and contribute to the assimilation of their stages of economic development at a steadily higher level. With it, the realization of the target programs initiates a higher phase of cooperation within CEMA. Thus the further deepening of socialist economic integration for the period up to 1980 and beyond will be marked primarily by a gradual formation of an integrated fuel and energy economy, an expansion of production specialization and cooperation, mainly in the branches of machine building, and an ever greater fusion of the CEMA countries' science and research potentials. Great reserves will be tapped this way that will strengthen in the necessary tempo and scope the material-technical base of each country and of the socialist community as a whole.

Socialist economic integration no doubt is a novel and exceedingly complicated process of a gradual, step by step, interlinking among the national economies involved. The point will be to combine their common far-reaching targets with the concrete reproduction conditions in the various socialist countries. That imposes on the CEMA member countries a shared obligation

to make the cooperation mechanism still more effective and to work still more closely together in their joint interests for optimizing the solution of economic problems. The more comprehensive and complicated the processes become that are involved in socialist economic integration, and the more the national economies of the CEMA countries complement each other in this specialization and cooperation process, the greater also becomes the responsibility assumed by each of these countries for fulfilling the obligations assumed. All round economic cooperation within the CEMA framework is of great political importance. With the fulfillment of the complex program, adopted in 1971, and with the gradual realization of the collective achievements aimed at by the long-range target programs, the material base of the political unity and cohesion of the socialist league of states are strengthened.

The Communist Party Alliance

For the socialist countries' cooperation and for a united posture taken by them in international politics, the alliance between the communist and workers parties is of inestimable value. As the construction of socialism in any given country can only be the outcome of the conscious action by the workers class and its allies, led by the Marxist-Leninist party, so also the many-sided and complicated process of shaping ever more extensive mutual relations and the coordination of a joint foreign and security policy control a confident and planned cooperation of the communist and workers parties. The unbreakable combative alliance of the communist parties in the socialist countries and the unity of the world-outlook, their goals and their will therefore are the motor and directional force in the alliance of the socialist states.

The relations among the fraternal parties in the socialist states present a picture of comprehensive, manifold and close contacts on all levels, from the top party executive down to the enterprise party organizations. Bilateral and multilateral encounters make possible a thorough exchange of experiences and foster the solution of shared tasks. A standard procedure of recent years has been the practice of regular meetings of the central committee secretaries in all areas of responsibility, as forums for the exchange of opinions and experiences seeking the solution of new political and economic problems and dealing with the theory and ideology and elaboration of methods for coordinating collective measures.

The leaders of the communist and workers parties in the socialist society are in constant contact with one another. The proven multilateral and bilateral meetings of the general secretaries or first secretaries of the central committees in the Crimea, at the party congresses of the various fraternal parties and during visits by party or government delegations facilitate consultations and the coordination of positions on all essential matters of the international situation and mutual cooperation in the spirit of fraternal solidarity.

In the Warsaw Pact and CEMA organs and the liaison network of the governments, ministries and other state organs as well as a whole scale of bilateral and multilateral organizations, the states of the socialist community possess a well tested total aggregate for elaborating and realizing their common targets in all areas. It is being further developed and perfected in accordance with requirements. The relations among the socialist countries are indeed relations among friendly peoples. They are assuming more and more of a mass character. Not merely hundreds of thousands, but millions of citizens in the fraternal countries are visiting one another every year. Such meetings occur in consequence of the cooperation among enterprises, research facilities, universities, schools, that is, all places where problems are solved jointly. Millions get to know the fraternal socialist countries as tourists. And so the development of the community of socialist states proceeds as an objectively necessary, inevitable process of all round cooperation among equal and friendly peoples and states in the political, economic, military, scientific-cultural and ideological fields. This multilayered process is systematically being directed by the governing Marxist-Leninist parties. Its realization is the work of the workers class and all working people, the work of the peoples becoming more and more alike, and more and more firmly united through their great common cause, the construction of communism.

Socialism Represents the Interests of All Peoples

The outstanding successes of world socialism testify to the vitality of scientific socialism, the theory and world-outlook of Marxism-Leninism. They are the answer given by the most progressive part of mankind, by its revolutionary vanguard and main force, to the problems of today, and to the failure of capitalism and its idolizers. They also are an answer to all those who, pretending to be looking for new ways, are aiming their fire against real socialism. They are an unequivocal rebuke to the untenable, adventurous theses of Maoism.

The fact is that the socialist world system has become the decisive force in the anti-imperialist struggle, the struggle for peace, the peoples' security, national independence and social progress. No one can any longer deny that the unprecedented rise of socialism, which is speeding up the victories in the anti-imperialist liberation struggle by the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America, and is lending a strong impulse to the struggle of the international workers class, has brought about a new world political situation. Relying on its great economic and military potential and on the model effect real socialism would have on the peoples seeking a way of peace, freedom and social progress, the USSR, with its allies, succeeded in achieving results in the field of international politics which truly are of historic importance to the fate of mankind and to bringing to realization the peoples' right to self-determination.

The joint foreign and security policy of the socialist community of states, based on the Leninist principles of international policy, became a strong impetus in the struggle for the highest good of mankind, world peace, arms limitation and disarmament, the enforcement of peaceful coexistence among states with differing social orders, and the political settlement of all controversial issues in the interest of the peoples concerned. In the consciousness of nations the realization has now deeply been implanted that they have to thank, above all, the gigantic efforts undertaken by the socialist states, in particular by the USSR, for the longest peace period in our century, the avoidance of an atomic world conflagration and the detente in international relations.

The Helsinki Conference, the victories of the peoples of Cuba and Vietnam, of Mozambique and Angola, the successful defense of the national independence of many countries in Asia and Africa and their progress toward economic independence and overcoming the serious consequences of imperialist colonial policy while seeking a socialist way of development--all these enormous changes would have been inconceivable without the solidary aid from the socialist countries, their world political influence and their political-diplomatic struggle. "The socialist countries are playing an outstanding role in preventing another world war, consolidating international security and continuing the process of detente because of their development, their steady economic growth, which results from the nature of socialist society and serves the interests of the working masses, and their foreign policy, which is aimed at peaceful coexistence and exercises more and more influence on international relations,"⁴ so it was stated unanimously by the 29 communist and workers parties at their Berlin Conference in June 1976.

The sources of all the results achieved in foreign policy derive from the character of the socialist social order itself, from the great material potentials the socialist countries rallied around the USSR can use for the purposes of their foreign policy, from the coordinated stand taken by the Warsaw Pact states on all fundamental matters, from the progressive and realistic character of their foreign policy program and, above all, from the fact that the foreign policy goals and tasks of the socialist community of states fully and completely coincide with the peoples' interests. Today the Leninist principles of the Soviet Union's international policy, Comrade Erich Honecker has said, "have become the common property of the socialist community's foreign and security policy."⁵

It has turned out to be a fact that peace is all the more secure the stronger the positions of socialism are in the world. The accomplishment of important foreign policy tasks, for instance in connection with European security, became possible only after the imperialist governments had to realize any military adventure against the Warsaw Pact states would conjure up great dangers for them themselves. By that fact alone the course that aims at strengthening the positions of world socialism conforms, without any reservation, to the interests of the peoples, and

any change in the international balance of power in favor of socialism, in any struggle against imperialism, on behalf of the goals of national and social liberation, creates more favorable conditions and often is crucial to success to begin with. World political development makes evident the armed protection of socialism is absolutely necessary. It is tantamount to the protection of peace and is in the interest of all peoples.

Great and invincible power lies in this conformity between the destiny of socialism and the future of humanity. Eventually it will be strong enough to break down the resistance from the most reactionary imperialist circles against the continuation of the detente process and against disarmament and the peaceful coexistence of nations and states. The challenge from socialism and its political and ideological radiation have made the international bourgeoisie respond by a counter-offensive in various areas. In the field of ideology, it has been intensifying its anticommunist and antisoviet propaganda, seeking to undermine the peoples' trust in socialism, in order to carry out its measures against peace and progress. He who places new armaments burdens on the peoples, would wish to do away with detente, gag the workers class and shift all burdens of crises on its shoulders, block the road to social progress for the liberated peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America and adopt still more reactionary, authoritative methods of domination, and he who puts neutron bombs and cruise missiles in production, someone like that must create the appropriate atmosphere for it and must try to mislead the popular masses so they will not obstruct the implementation of such designs before measures are taken that will make that struggle so much harder. That is only another reason why the defense of real socialism remains an important task for all communist and workers parties and all revolutionary forces; first and foremost, it serves their own interest.

International development demonstrates great and protracted efforts will still be necessary to call a halt to the dangerous arms race and initiate disarmament. This is of concern to all nations. As early as in 1864 Marx and Engels wrote it was the duty of the workers class in the capitalist countries to penetrate the secrets of international politics and counteract the reactionary foreign policy of their governments.⁶ How much easier that has become today in view of the crystal clear anti-imperialist foreign policy of the socialist states. And how much more important it also has become in view of the continuing dangers coming from imperialism and threatening the peace and life of the peoples. Especially at the present time, when aggressive forces in the imperialist NATO states seek to escalate the arms race and to block the detente process, special importance attaches to the initiative of the socialist states in terms of their common peace program.

Thus one finds confirmed time and again what Comrade Leonid Ilyich Brezhnev stated at the 25th Party Congress: "The development of the socialist countries, the growth of their power and the reinforcement of the positive influence of their international policy--therein lies the main direction of the progress of mankind today."⁷

FOOTNOTES

1. "On the 60th Anniversary of the Great Socialist October Revolution," NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 4 February 1977.
2. Erich Honecker, "The Treasure of the Historic Experiences of Lenin's Party," NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 26/27 February 1977.
3. Comrade Erich Honecker, "Bericht des Zentralkomitees der Sozialistischen Einheitspartei Deutschlands an den IX. Parteitag der SED" (SED Central Committee Report to the Ninth SED Congress), Dietz, East Berlin, 1976, pp 12-13.
4. "Fuer Frieden, Sicherheit, Zusammenarbeit und sozialen Fortschritt in Europa, Konferenz der kommunistischen und Arbeiterparteien Europas, Berlin, 29. und 30. Juni 1976, Dokumente und Reden" (For Peace, Security, Cooperation and Social Progress in Europe, Conference of the Communist and Workers Parties of Europe, Berlin, 29-30 June 1976, Documents and Speeches), Dietz, East Berlin, 1976, p 20.
5. Erich Honecker, "The Treasure . . .," loc. cit.
6. Cf. Karl Marx, "Inaugural Address of the International Workers Association," Marx/Engels, "Werke" (Works), Vol 16, Dietz, East Berlin, 1962, p 13.
7. L. I. Brezhnev, "25th CPSU Congress--CPSU Central Committee Status Report and the Next Party Tasks in Domestic and Foreign Policy," Dietz, East Berlin, 1976, p 35.

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EAST GERMANY

SOCIALIST HUMANISM DISCUSSED IN LIGHT OF OCTOBER REVOLUTION

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[Article by Prof Dr Hans Koch, SED Central Committee candidate; director,
Institute for Marxist-Leninist Culture and Art Studies, SED CC's Academy
of Social Sciences: "The Humanism of the Socialist Society"]

[Text] Socialism is the society of liberated labor--
its main value is working man. This marks the deepest
source of the real humanism of the socialist society.
The growth of socialism brings with it greater needs
for historic creativity on the part of the broad
popular masses. That also implies the release of
individual creative forces. Socialism is the
society of the most advanced science and culture.
Its true humanism shows itself, above all, also in
the active peace policy of the USSR and the
socialist community of states.

Since the storming of the Winter Palace, the question about the humanism
of the victorious proletarian revolution has become one of the cardinal
questions in all value judgments about socialism. John Reed, the incor-
ruptible chronicler, refuting the antibolshevist torrents of words in
bourgeois papers, for a while felt he had to answer that question with
reference to how the Red Guard men dealt with the riches they found stored
in the Winter Palace, and with the members of the women's battalion im-
prisoned there.¹ And it was surely valid to say "that no revolutionary
period smells of attar of roses, to be sure. Either-or."² Even so, in
literally the first hour of a new age already, they passed their test in
honors. Remarks Lenin made in those weeks clearly indicate how large the
range is of realities and real goals of socialist humanism on the basis
of the dictatorship of the proletariat's seizure of power. The very first
revolutionary measures taken made sure that the working people could
"straighten their backs a bit and get up."³ Lenin, talking with Lunacharsky,
said it was a matter of "opening the gates to a social order capable of
producing a beauty surpassing all dreams of the past."⁴ Such prospect

had to be protected, socialism had to be defended. It was not the bolsheviks' fault that this called for harsh militant measures. When Lenin heard about "humanitarian" complaints about the civil war, he would refer to the humanistic experiences among the people itself. He did not have to be "afraid of the man with the rifle, for he was defending the working people."⁵ Socialist humanism calls for unmasking the "humane" hypocrisy that always is an especially disgusting characteristic of the antisovietism of the bourgeoisie and its train-bearers--"the same bourgeoisie which, in the 4 years of imperialist war, destroyed almost all of European culture and pushed Europe into a state of barbarism, savagery and famine."⁶

Since the Great Socialist October Revolution the Soviet peoples, and later also the peoples of the other states of the socialist community, have been following a path which the CPSU Central Committee, in retrospect, described by saying: "Socialism is the society of real humanism."

Unlike any other society, the socialist society preserves the humanistic legacy, the values of humanism of the past. In spite of that, the society of real humanism develops in accordance with its own law. In that process it also is solving tasks in the struggle for bourgeois freedoms which the bourgeoisie itself has long betrayed and "forgotten." It insures the freedoms won, however, by consistently infusing them with its own proletarian and socialist class content. Historically speaking, the real humanism of socialist society is not being developed by any means as the "realization" of the 1789 declaration on "natural, sacred, inviolable" human and civic rights or any other humanistic, libertarian and revolutionary ideas of the past, no matter how significant they were historically or exciting in a human sense. It is following its own law--and this all the more consistently the more it can develop on its own foundations. The notion of such a "realization" of historically transmitted programs either still is wholly a part of utopian communism that has not yet become developed theoretical science or, at least, points back to it.

Society of Liberated Labor

"If it is the circumstances that form man, the circumstances one forms must be human."⁷ Materialist doctrines of Marx' humanist thought led up to that thought, which forever remains preserved within the treasure of ideas of socialist humanism; and it also is shared by the goals of the most radical groups in the bourgeois revolutions. If such a goal remained a utopia, because the social premises had not yet matured and the ways to it were still unfamiliar, it nonetheless was not merely a dream. It worked as ferment in the practical revolutionary struggles of the plebeian masses.⁸

This humanistic thought had a long historic tradition in its manner of orienting to social reality. Scientific communism provided it with secure foundations. Theoretically they lie, for one thing, in the discovery of the historic role of the workers class, its objective, real, humanizing

and liberating mission executed in the overthrow of the capitalist exploiter system and in the construction of socialism and communism. Furthermore, in the discovery, simultaneously, of the historic developmental road of social labor and its fundamental importance to the "development of the capabilities of the human species" and to the "development of the wealth of human nature."⁹

Socialism is the society of liberated labor -- its main value being working man. This marks the deepest source of the real humanism of socialist society. "To be exploited and to be free," Comrade Erich Honecker has said, "are two things that are mutually exclusive. Freedom for the working people only arises through the end of exploitation, through socialism."¹⁰ Bringing to realization the humanism implied in the abolition of exploitation means more than barring the capitalist appropriation of the fruits of social labor. The new society also has to deal with the specific mechanisms that came with it: the degradation of the worker into an appendage of the machine, the excessive drive and torture of labor, the ugly working conditions, the "petty and vicious despotism" in labor organization, and the alienation of the worker from the intellectual potentials of the production process.¹¹ The work of liberation includes irrevocably doing away with all traditional forms of social suppression and servitude, be it by landed property or the regulations governing the rights and duties of servants, by usury and other parasites, or by the organized forces of militarism or racism. The whole point is, as Marx and Engels wrote, "to get all the junk off one's neck and be placed in the position to provide a new justification for society."¹² The centerpiece of real humanism, as Lenin put it, is "the most enormous replacement in human history of unfree labor by labor for oneself."¹³

That includes, first of all--though hardly necessary to explain at this point once again--the realization of the fundamental human right, the right to work. Socialism thereby attacks the roots of the worry over subsistence, material misery, pauperism, slums and so forth. Its social therapy has everywhere cured the ills in very short order that capitalism had always carried around on its body even though it sometimes was hiding them under lily white shirts. Only the right to work made real affirms the reality of all basic human rights.

Favorable material and cultural living conditions are categorical for the complete and free development of all abilities and creative capacities, as characteristic of socialism. Here the parameters of material consumption, growing steadily, and for all classes and strata, play an important part. Equally important are the actual rights to free health care, social security and illness and age subsidies, assistance for leisure and recreation and for adequate housing at rentals anyone can afford. (The solution of the housing problem, as a social problem, sought in the GDR, for instance, is a humanism in action which no capitalist country, regardless of how rich it is, has any chance of emulating.) Our society is trying very hard to turn the legally completely guaranteed equality of women more and more effectively into a factual and true equality. Based exclusively on

consistently humane principles in personal companionship--love, mutual respect and assistance between the partners, and their shared responsibility for the children--, it benefits the marriage and the family. Our society guarantees to each person a genuine culture and advanced education, an education of the highest degree through the intellectual principles of socialist humanism. It emphatically encourages every citizen in taking part in all values of human culture.

Through all that pillars were erected for the new way of life, the supreme precept being: "All for the good of man, for the happiness of the people."

What is crucial is that liberated labor itself becomes the most important act of genuine humanism--live, human labor, about which Gorki wrote it should have to cause miracles on earth, and which made him solemnly realize "how rich the world of man is in powerful forces,"¹⁴ and the socialist liberation of which makes possible that the workers can sense the world "as countless sequences of various kinds of realities created through their own energy" and that they finally live in a world "which to call their own is their perfectly legitimate right."¹⁵

The character of labor is based on the socialist production relations. They in turn increasingly develop as "relationships of comradesly cooperation and mutual assistance among the working people and among the work collectives."¹⁶ The objectively real character of labor as now established is being confirmed, formed and carried out by the working people--that is to say, by skilled, industrious, thinking and sentient human beings to whom their main activity in life has long stopped being a means only for a livelihood, with its actual human purpose lying entirely outside of this activity. These are people for whom their position within the process of social labor has become a significant component of their own personality value and who feel confirmed in this value through their successes at work for the good of society, and who may also suffer from failures, at times reaching personal despair. In the movement of socialist labor competition and its productive results, the innovator movement, the Fair of the Masters of Tomorrow and many other forms there is being materialized what Brecht has called a "new passion," new characteristics in people who develop on the basis of socialist society, and which place those who have them into entirely different relations with their fellowmen from what the old ones did--such as "the passion for harvesting more crop from the soil, or the passion for welding people together into active collectives."¹⁷

Historic Creativity

"Gross" anticommunism continues to frighten with stereotypes equating "revolutionary" with chaotic, destructive, or apocalyptic. It paints the socialist image of man with features in accordance with it. And there is, in particular, no room there for capability, initiative,

bravery and practical talent presumably--all characteristics which are presumed to be reserved exclusively to the self-evaluation of individuals with an anticommunist bent. The point is to put a prejudice filter in front of all the unavoidable information about "positive," "constructive" revolutionary achievements of socialism that will prevent any unprejudiced and fairly independent intellectual reading of such information.

As already suggested, the socialist transformation comes with a completely different dialectics than the bourgeois revolutions as far as the role of the broad popular masses is concerned. There, the destruction of the old order was the basic revolutionary task of the masses. But then came the bourgeois minority with the "positive and creative work of organizing the new society." Lenin proved that in every socialist revolution, vice versa, the "positive or (also) creative work" of providing the state, economic and social organization for the new society is the most important task of the workers class and the working peasants. "Such a revolution can successfully be carried out only through the independent historic creativity of the majority of the population, mainly the majority of the working people."¹⁸ With socialism growing on its own foundations, in the shaping of the developed socialist society, all the requirements for historic creativity become larger and more complicated.

Its "organization" on all levels of social and government life, without any exception, is one of the most important real and humanistic processes in socialism. The self-realization of the masses of the workers class and of all working people, which connects with it, is a characteristic process of socialist culture (and that also, far from last, includes the birth of a socialist intelligentsia as a historically novel stratum of the working people). How Marxism-Leninism understands true democracy mainly has to do with the development of creativity within the broad popular masses.

It would be no trouble at all to put together a wealth of impressive data showing how many million citizens in our total population of 17 million have been elected into the executive organs of state and society--the people's representations, jurisdictional organs, party executives and social organizations, and in advisory capacities in economic affairs, popular education and culture and social affairs. Yet that would amount only to one dimension of historic creativity and true democracy. Even back in 1918 Lenin pointed out the main requirements would lie in the economic field.¹⁹ Historic creativity is in essence a social, that is "supra-individual," process (and without that kind of a social quality no real humanism would exist at all). In the name of its criteria, however, the question also will have to be raised to what extent it implies the release of individual creative forces, personal creativity. With respect to this, interesting indications come from more recent developments in socialist competition. The various exemplary innovator achievements referring to the names of outstanding workers, male and female, like Karl-Heinz Huebner, Horst Franke and Gerd Pfeiffer, Margarete Koch

and Erika Steinfuehrer, Manfred Boettcher and many others, all, among other things, have this in common: they achieve a qualitatively new level of an individual, personal, creative contribution to highly productive quality-grade labor, or to production organization and management. It is imperative to find out to what extent general rules can be drawn from this.

Creativity, aiming at the shaping of the developed socialist society, usually applies itself in fairly specialized activities within a modern socialist collective entity that is highly organized and works according to the division of labor. Particularly now under the conditions of the scientific-technical revolution we hear anticommunist ideologists make the claim that the historic movement no longer is up to the masses of the workers, cooperative farmers and the socialist intelligentsia in their entirety, under party leadership, but to some functional elite or another.²⁰ What is to be denied thereby is not only the class and mass character of progress on socialist foundations. First of all, "functional" is an irritating term (originally coined by the crippling effect of the division of labor that capitalism had organized) which is meant to signal the incompatibility with any idea of humanism and humanity. Someone who "functions" on behalf of any kind of interest and free personal creativity--how could those two matters be compatible? There surely is not only an actual dialectical contradiction but sometimes even painful friction.

Our society is making no secret of the fact that it cares for the release of all personal creative forces and abilities for the benefit of socialism. Neither is that a constraint on humanism nor does it render humanism pragmatic. The frequently abused "functional" involvement of the individual in the whole is a necessary developmental manifestation of humanism--necessary also for the individual himself. It constitutes the real main relationship between the individual and the society as a whole. Without it the universality of the socialist personality would not even be conceivable. And it is a form of the historically indispensable "development of the social character of personal talents, abilities, capacities, activities,"²¹ without which development one may perhaps still find petty bourgeois, individualistic personality values and structures, but socialist-humanistic ones one will not find.

Superb authentic memoirs of experienced comrades of the workers movement have been published in recent years. They prove it. They make apparent, often in an affecting manner, how much of an increment in humanity and creative personality values had come from their revolutionary fulfillment of duties, from their dedication to--if you wish--their "function" within the common struggle for socialist society.

Most Advanced Science and Culture

Socialism, as is stated in the CPSU Central Committee resolution on the occasion of the 60th anniversary of the Great Socialist October Revolution, is the society of the most advanced science and culture. That is a magnificent credit entry on the side of real humanism. It is not necessary at this point to prove the scientific supremacy of Marxism-Leninism over the different schools of bourgeois social sciences and humanities. The Marxist-Leninist social sciences, steadily enriched with new insights, are more and more effectively becoming an instrument for the shaping of the developed socialist society. That is to say, they help bring about a social condition in which--as Engels put it--men for the first time, in full awareness, make their own history, and the causes they have set in motion will principally, and more and more, have the effects which men had intended them to have.²² There is no gainsaying the natural science and technical peak performances with which the researchers, engineers and technologists of highly developed capitalist countries have come to the fore. But could one possibly designate as a society of most advanced science a system that uses science and technology not for but against social progress, that hurls the discoveries of human genius against mankind, turns them into ever more dangerous tools for a war of annihilation and, by means of most recent science data, places at stake all accomplishments and even the existence of human civilization itself?

A society of most advanced science can only be a social system that knows how to apply science--this general product of social development, this most "solid form of wealth"²³--also in the interest of the further social progress of mankind and the material and cultural wealth of the nations.

The construction of socialist culture brings up many novel problems that have not yet been solved. And yet it may be said socialism, for all intents and purposes, is already pointing to ways of solution, in principle, for fundamental matters now on the agenda of cultural history, which capitalism is totally unable to solve. That pertains to the twofold process in which, on the one side, completely free access has been assured for the broad popular masses to all values and treasures of culture (for which all objective conditions have long been ripe) and, on the other, the cultural-creative forces can freely develop in all classes and strata of the people. It is typical of anticommunist critics of our culture that they hardly ever dare to point out what imperialist society itself did produce (by and large as reaction to the mass processes of the socialist cultural transformation): the bourgeois "mass culture." In contrast to imperialism, socialist society has found ways for cultural progress that make possible a "humanist-cultural mastery" over the scientific-technical revolution, and that obviate any cause for bewailing a steady economic growth as a "deterioration of the quality of life." In the world of today only socialism can preserve the historic continuity in the cultural development of mankind. Only it can combine the continued efflorescence of each individual national culture with the reciprocal rapprochement and mutual

enrichment among the various cultures. And it has, in particular, produced, by giving rise to the multinational Soviet culture, an unprecedented progressive type of relations between the national and international in culture.

The more socialism is maturing, the more it shows itself capable of fusing every step taken in culture with improvements in social living conditions and with shaping a new way of life, with the all round development of the socialist personality in a uniform process of growth.

Peace Policy and the Will to Peace

The attitude toward peace is one of the core issues of humanism in the world today. Thanks to the Soviet Union and the other countries of the socialist community, the target can be set for banishing war from the life of the peoples. "As proponents of the most humane and affirmative world-outlook," the communists--as Comrade L. I. Brezhnev emphasized at the Berlin Conference--are convinced it is indispensable to pave the way to military detente and call a halt to the arms race.²⁴

"Termination of wars, peace among men, and end to rapacity and violence--that indeed is our ideal," Lenin wrote in 1915. At the same time he issued a warning the masses could be taken in by bourgeois ideologists who were separating that ideal from the propagation of revolutionary actions.²⁵ The mendacious contradistinction between socialism and peace would become the most important feature of anticommunist propaganda, psychological warfare preparations and warfare.

The humanist nature of socialism is greatly conditioned by the fact that here, "in contrast to the old society with its economic misery and political madness, a new society is being born, with peace being its international principle because the same principle would rule in each nation--that of labor."²⁶

The reality of that is given its concrete expression by the active and steadfast peace policy of the USSR and the socialist states fraternally allied with it. At the same time, the aspiration for peace is rooted deeply in personal feelings and thoughts of people and in their everyday civic actions.

There is a passage in Juij Brezan's novel "Adult Years" which says: "If the war does not take place and peace actually comes at last, then it will be that the Russians have dragged peace into the world. And they did drag it, working as hard as the Volga boatsmen in Repin's painting."²⁷ No one has, on behalf of socialism and peace, borne such burdens of struggle and work, such sacrifices in blood and deprivations, no one has released such passions and capacities, as have the people and peoples of the Soviet Union. A burning will for peace, an active yearning for peace, wholly in accord with the willingness to defend the socialist

foundations of life and achievements against any assault, are the quintessence of the historic experiences of several generations of men who established socialism. It is more than a personal position taken but it is the people's own experience when--in a short story by Vasil Bykau--a dying soldier may believe: "No human suffering surely would be meaningless in this world, least of it the agonies of soldiers and the blood they have shed on this inhospitable, frozen yet native earth. It did have a meaning!"²⁸ From the literary simile, speaking of the meaning of dying at that time, comes the meaning given to life today. That calls for energy in the will for peace, for active efforts on behalf of peace. And time and again, this becomes strongly felt whenever one meets with people from the Soviet Union.

This ethos of great humane social goals and essentials does not automatically mold persons' characters, characteristics and attitudes. Authentic responsibility for oneself, a personal conviction and world-outlook, firmness in principles, allegiance to ideas, the individual attitude to war and peace, to heroism and duty to one's own conscience and to history create and condition a man's criteria for humanity.

Though much has not yet been solved and remains to be done--socialism has proven itself as the society of real humanism. Envisioning the dynamics of this humanism, Karl Marx has predicted that it will never "seek to be what it has become but remain in the absolute motion of becoming."²⁹ And it is in this sense of becoming that fulfillment comes: "A man grows up in Lenin's great abode, proud and without a lord: lord of the earth."³⁰

FOOTNOTES

1. Cf. John Reed, "Zehn Tage, die die Welt erschuetterten" (Ten Days That Shook the World), Dietz, East Berlin, 1957, pp 150 ff and 473 ff.
2. Marx to Ferdinand Freiligrath, 20 February 1860, Marx/Engels, "Werke" (Works), Vol 30, Dietz, East Berlin, 1964, pp 491-492.
3. V. I. Lenin, "How to Organize a Competition," "Werke," Vol 26, Dietz, East Berlin, 1961, p 405.
4. Cited from Nyota Thun, "Das erste Jahrzehnt. Literatur und Kulturrevolution in der Sowjetunion" (The First Decade--Literature and Cultural Revolution in the Soviet Union), Akademie-Verlag, East Berlin, 1973, pp 20-21.
5. V. I. Lenin, "Third All-Russian Congress of the Soviets of the Workers, Soldiers and Peasants Deputies," "Werke," Vol 26, p 463.
6. V. I. Lenin, "Letter to the American Workers," "Werke," Vol 28, Dietz, East Berlin, 1959, p 57.
7. Friedrich Engels and Karl Marx, "The Holy Family," Marx/Engels, "Werke," Vol 2, Dietz, East Berlin, 1957, p 138.

8. Cf. Joachim Hoepfner and Waltraud Seidel-Hoepfner, "Von Babeuf bis Blanqui. Franzoesischer Sozialismus und Kommunismus vor Marx, Bd. 1: Einfuehrung" (From Babeuf to Blanqui--French Socialism and Communism Before Marx, Vol 1: Introduction), Reclam, Leipzig, 1975, pp 11 ff.
9. Karl Marx, "On Surplus Theory, Part II," Marx/Engels, "Werke," Vol 26.2, Dietz, East Berlin, 1967, p 111.
10. Comrade Erich Honecker, "Bericht des Zentralkomitees der Sozialistischen Einheitspartei Deutschlands an den IX. Parteitag der SED (SED Central Committee Report to the Ninth SED Congress), Dietz, East Berlin, 1976, p 111.
11. Cf. Karl Marx, "Das Kapital," Vol 1, Marx/Engels, "Werke," Vol 23, Dietz, East Berlin, 1962, p 674.
12. Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, "The German Ideology," "Werke," Vol 3, Dietz, East Berlin, 1958, p 70.
13. V. I. Lenin, "How to Organize a Competition," loc. cit.
14. Maxim Gorki, "My Universities," Aufbau-Verlag, East Berlin, 1961, p 43.
15. Maxim Gorki to V. V. Ivanov, 10 January 1936, "Maxim Gorki--Letters, a Selection," Aufbau-Verlag, East Berlin, 1960, p 543.
16. "Programm der Sozialistischen Einheitspartei Deutschlands" (SED Program), Dietz, East Berlin, 1976, p 20.
17. Bertold Brecht, "'Katzgraben'-Notate," "Schriften zum Theater" (Writings on Theater), Vol VII, Aufbau-Verlag, East Berlin and Weimar, 1964, pp 187 f.
18. V. I. Lenin, "The Next Tasks for Soviet Power," "Werke," Vol 27, Dietz, East Berlin, 1960, pp 230-231.
19. Ibid.
20. On elite theory in anticommunism cf. F. D. Ryshenko and O. Reinhold, eds., "Der gegenwaertige Antikommunismus--Politik und Ideologie" (Contemporary Anticommunism--Politics and Ideology), Dietz, East Berlin, 1974, pp 146 ff.
21. Karl Marx, "Principles of the Critique of Political Economy," Dietz, East Berlin, p 80.
22. Cf. Friedrich Engels, "Anti-Duehring," Marx/Engels, "Werke," Vol 20, Dietz, East Berlin, 1962, p 264.
23. Cf. Karl Marx, "Principles . . .," loc. cit., p 439.

24. L. I. Brezhnev, "Conference of the Communist and Workers Parties of Europe," Dietz, East Berlin, 1976, p 78.
25. V. I. Lenin, "The Question of Peace," "Werke," Vol 21, Dietz, East Berlin, 1960, p 292.
26. Karl Marx, "First Address of the General Council on the Franco-German War," "Werke," Vol 17, Dietz, East Berlin, 1962, p 7.
27. Jurij Brezan, "Mannesjahre," Neues Leben, East Berlin, 1964, p 296.
28. Vasil Bykau, "Holding Out Until the Morn," "Novellen" Vol II, Volk und Welt, East Berlin, 1967, p 423.
29. Karl Marx, "Principles," loc. cit., p 387.
30. Kuba, "Poem About Man," "Gedichte. Eine Auswahl" (Poems--A Selection), Bibliothek fortschrittlicher deutscher Schriftsteller, East Berlin, 1952, p 174.

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EAST GERMANY

SUMMARIES OF OTHER MAJOR 'EINHEIT' ARTICLES

East Berlin EINHEIT in German Vol 32 No 10/11, Oct-Nov 77 signed to press 13 Sep 77, "For Documentation' addendum

Policy for People's Benefit Being Implemented in Inviolable Fraternal Alliance With Soviet Union

[Summary of article by Guenter Mittag, member, SED Politburo; pp 1160-1168]

[Text] The complete agreement between the SED and the CPSU in all political matters is based on the common foundations of the social system in the GDR and the Soviet Union. Its roots lie in the Great Socialist October Revolution, the 60th anniversary of which we are solemnly celebrating as an expression of socialist internationalism. The October Revolution initiated a turn in the history of mankind which shapes the appearance of our days and controls the future. Building on its world historic achievements, we also are carrying out in our republic today, with success, our policy for the people's benefit.

The Leninist Cooperative Plan--Foundation of SED Agrarian and Alliance Policy

[Summary of article by Gerhard Grueneberg, member, SED Politburo; secretary for agriculture, SED Central Committee; pp 1169-1176]

[Text] Proceeding from Lenin's observation that the relationship between the workers class and the peasantry is of fundamental and crucial importance to the construction of socialism and communism, the universal validity and pertinence of Lenin's cooperative plan are persuasively shown in the development of our socialist agriculture. It becomes clear that the successes in agrarian and alliance policy and the prospects shown were possible only through the close liaison with the Soviet Union and its help in the construction of socialist society in the GDR.

Youth Continues Revolutionary Work of Red October

[Summary of article by Egon Krenz, first secretary, Free German Youth (FDJ); pp 1194-1202]

[Text] The Red October summoned youth to an unprecedented social responsibility. The Leninist Komsomol took it on as the first youth organization in the world in an exemplary manner. Through its work under the leadership by the CPSU the historic truth was confirmed that the communist education of youth is an important root for the future of the socialist revolution. This realization also governs the youth policy of the SED. The Ninth SED Congress resolutions are the youth's action program. They demonstrate how the SED is confidently charging the young generation with increasing responsibility. The FDJ is proving itself here as the SED's helper and militant reserve.

Great October and Ideology of Society of Developed Socialism

[Summary of article by Prof Dr M. T. Yovchuk, CPSU Central Committee candidate; corresponding member, USSR Academy of Sciences; rector, CPSU CC's Academy of Social Sciences; pp 1204-1210]

[Text] Enormous changes have taken place in the Soviet land since the Red October, especially also in the field of ideology, which caused all the successes of the Soviet Union and today decisively affect the intellectual life of progressive mankind. The increasing role of the scientific world-outlook demands of the Marxist-Leninist scientists in the fraternal countries an increase in joint projects for investigating basic questions of developed socialism, the dialectics as science and methodology, the history of the Marxist-Leninist world-outlook and the critique of bourgeois ideology.

V. I. Lenin--Genius of the Socialist Revolution

[Summary of article by Prof Dr Guenter Heyden, director, Institute for Marxism-Leninism, SED Central Committee; member, EINHEIT editorial board; pp 1211-1220]

[Text] Lenin's name is forever associated with those social transformations which have changed the world so fundamentally since the October Revolution. The general inevitabilities in the proletarian struggle and the socialist revolution which he uncovered by creatively further developing Marxism, and in uncompromising struggle against opportunism, have met their historic test.

The creative application of the universally valid doctrines of the October Revolution and of the experiences of the CPSU to the construction of socialism and communism is an irrevocable bond also in our own successful advances.

Power is of Utmost Importance

[Summary of article by Dr Klaus Sorgenicht, department head in SED Central Committee; member, GDR State Council; pp 1221-1228]

[Text] In creative application of the universally valid experiences of the victorious October Revolution, our party has always regarded the safeguarding and consolidation of the power of the workers class as the central concern of its policy. It is the prerequisite to our successful advance, to our insuring our work of construction. The greater role played by the socialist state and the perfecting of our socialist democracy exist in inseparable unity. For solving the tasks of socialist intensification and territorial rationalization, the advantages of socialism, especially democratic centralism, must be used to the fullest.

Sixty Years Red October

[Summary of article by Anna Seghers, president, GDR Writers Union; pp 1249-1252]

[Text] "Sporadically and slowly the news of an unheard-of event in the east came to my small town on the left bank of the Rhine." Anna Seghers tells of how she experienced the October Revolution and of her various meetings with the Soviet Union and Soviet literature. She mentions the names of Soviet writers and titles of works that had a part in this historic development and told their readers that nothing could shake the power that emerged out of those 10 days that shook the world.

Soviet Literature in Sixth Decade of Revolutionary Society

[Summary of article by Prof Dr Anton Hiersche, research group director in Central Institute for History of Literature, GDR Academy of Sciences; pp 1260-1267]

[Text] Contemporary Soviet literature, relying on a rich store of artistic experience, faces up to the demands of developed socialism and of the transition to communism, where the creation of favorable material and intellectual conditions for developing human personality are the order of the day. It thereby also, as it were, dedicates itself to the most important problems of mankind--the safeguarding of peace, the liberation of all men from national and social suppression, the rational use of the goods of the earth and the preservation of our vital environment.

The Great Socialist October Revolution and Capitalism's General Crisis

[Summary of article by Prof Dr Otto Reinhold, member, SED Central Committee; rector, SED CC's Academy of Social Sciences; corresponding member, USSR Academy of Sciences; member, EINHEIT editorial board; pp 1268-1276]

[Text] With the October Revolution and the construction of the socialist society on one-sixth of the earth's surface, the disintegration of capitalist society began, for all intents and purposes. The successful development and growing international weight of real socialism more and more determine capitalism's conditions of existence and significantly affect the movement of its internal contradictions, the course of the working class struggle in the developed capitalist countries against the bulwarks of monopoly rule, and the struggle by the anti-imperialist liberation movement against neocolonialism and for the economic independence of the nationally liberated states.

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