

Spotlight on TUSD's Raza / Mexican-American Studies

Research by D. Niwa (June 7, 2011). This is a work in progress.

This is a supplement to previously distributed material
(TUSD's "classical showpieces of Marxist oriented indoctrination" online:
http://www.channelingreality.com/Niwa/classical_showpieces_of_Marxist.htm)

This collection of information focuses on the Tucson Unified School District department/program that over the years has been referred to by various names including: “Hispanic Studies,” “Raza / Mexican-American Studies”, “Mexican American / La Raza Studies”, “Raza Studies”, “Mexican American Studies”, and “Mexican American/Raza Studies”. See “Section 1”.

IMPORTANT: issues that open the floodgates for criticism are not isolated to just this one department/program. Criticisms include: inefficient and wasteful use public education money; inadequate, offensive and inflammatory course materials; and use of schools as a forum to promote special-interest political agendas. Plus there are problems such as: fomenting resentment (take your pick of targets); sowing seeds of divisiveness; transmitting false information; cultivating “victim” mentality; and promoting a collectivist/communitarian worldview. Many of these same issues may be found elsewhere in the district in varying degrees, as well as in other schools/districts around the nation and in other countries that also promote “**progressive**” education. Charter schools and private schools are not necessarily exempt.

At the center is Marxist education theory and praxis – present in the use of *critical theory*, *critical pedagogy*, “*whole child*” development objectives, etc.,,,. -- that address so-called *critical-thinking*, so-called *problem-solving*, so-called *communication*, so-called *tolerance* and *diversity*, so-called *real world relevance*, etc. They may be found in various “programs” marketed to attract particular “groups” especially those based upon race/ethnicity, gender, sexual orientation, etc.,,,.

See “Section 2” for more about the pedagogy. “Section 3” includes what history can tell us about the consequences of using such theory and practice.

*Note: the information herein touches on many but not all of the issues.
You are encouraged to do further research.*

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SECTION 1

1. Department/program title changes

According to TUSD's Multicultural Student Services, in "1998 . . . a **Hispanic Studies Department was created.**" [1] Prior to the existence of "Hispanic Studies", overlapping issues were present in TUSD via **Bilingual Education** (see following page).

The minutes for the March 30, 2004 TUSD Governing board "special" meeting show there was unanimous approval to make "**Raza/Mexican-American Studies the official name of the department formerly known as Hispanic Studies.**" [2] Since then, other titles have appeared on TUSD documents though it is not clear if Board action was taken to sanction use of other variations.

Fiscal Year	DEPARTMENT	DESEG/OCR				Total*
		FTE	Salaries & Wages	Employee Benefits	Supplies Services	
02-03	Hispanic Studies [3]	?	\$?	\$?	\$?	\$500,000
03-04	Hispanic Studies [4]	?	?	?	?	?
04-05	Mexican American/La Raza Studies [5]	11.0	479,383	?	49,244	528,627
05-06	Mexican American/La Raza Studies [5]	7.4	429,991	?	46,896	476,887
06-07	?	?	?	?	?	?
07-08	Raza Studies [6]	9.7	560,778	145,513	44,396	750,687
08-09	Raza Studies [7]	10.2	522,317	138,381	57,425	718,123
09-10	Mexican American Studies [8]	9.2	507,712	133,221	57,425	698,358
10-11	Mexican American Studies [9]	8.4	\$577,185	\$138,489	\$102,425	\$818,099

* In some cases, the total is likely higher since it is not clear that all costs linked to the program – e.g., travel, conference fees, meals, lodging, consultants, speaker fees, stipends, etc., – were included in the above budget totals or if additional dollars were used from other budget categories.

Endnotes:

- [1] TUSD Multicultural Student Services (handout, no date) <http://www.tusd1.org/contents//depart/mss/Documents/overview.pdf>
- [2] TUSD Governing Board Special Meeting, March 30, 2004. | MINUTES, p.3. <http://www.tusd1.org/contents/govboard/gbminutes/03-30-04Special.pdf>
- [3] Reference: Tucson Unified School District No. 1, Governing Board Regular Meeting, July 9 2002, 6:30 p.m. | MINUTES, p.4-6. <http://www.tusd1.org/contents/govboard/gbminutes/070902r1.pdf>
- [4] TUSD Multicultural Student Services (handout, no date) <http://www.tusd1.org/contents//depart/mss/Documents/overview.pdf>
- [5] MEXICAN AMERICAN/ LA RAZA STUDIES, Multicultural Studies -- Student Services, Office of Academic Excellence - Adopted Budget FY 05-06, pdf p.22: <http://www.tusd.k12.az.us/contents/distinfo/budget/pdfs/section10.pdf>
- [6] Office of Academic Excellence, Adopted Budget Summary FY 07-08. pdf p.86: <http://www.tusd.k12.az.us/contents/distinfo/budget/pdfs/0708BudgetBook.pdf>
- [7] Section 12: ACADEMIC LEADERSHIP, Adopted Budget Summary FY 08-09. pdf p.125: <http://www.tusd.k12.az.us/contents/distinfo/budget/pdfs/0809BudgetBook.pdf>
- [8] DESEG/OCR - MAINTENANCE & OPERATION FY 09-10, Section 10: ACADEMIC LEADERSHIP, Adopted Budget Summary FY 09-10, pdf p 2: <http://www.tusd.k12.az.us/contents/distinfo/budget/pdfs/section10.pdf>
- [9] DESEGREGATION / OCR SUMMARY FY 10-11, pdf p.5: <http://www.tusd1.org/contents/distinfo/budget/pdfs/section14.pdf>

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2. In the beginning: Bilingual Education

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TUSD's "Hispanic Studies" surfaced against the backdrop of Bilingual Education. Hector Ayala's 1999 Congressional Hearing testimony shows that a number of criticisms of TUSD's Raza/Mexican American Studies (formerly "Hispanic Studies") had existed many years ago under the guise of "Bilingual Education." In 1999, Ayala, a high school English teacher in TUSD, explained

... When bilingual education started out in 1968, it began with a focus of teaching non-English speakers the English language as quickly and as well as possible. **Since then, bilingual ed. has been taken over by political groups bent on indoctrinating young children into their political agendas, the Spanish language, the Mexican culture, Mexican history, which are, in fact, what is being taught in most bilingual education elementary schools, at least in Tucson and Nogales Arizona.**

The result has been that **bilingual education has then turned into native language instruction for all Hispanic students**, often for up to 7 years, to the detriment of these students' success. (emphasis added)

In a written statement, Ayala describes a student's investigations into bilingual education (emphasis added):

... she found upon interviewing about 20 teachers around the Tucson area that even if the bilingual teachers were angry at what bilingual education had become -- and it **had not become the teaching of English**, but it had **become an establishment that refuses to teach anything in English; that refuses to teach oftentimes American history, they teach Mexican history instead**, and it is a system that is decidedly against any form of evaluation.

More of Hector Ayala's testimony follows.

EXAMINING THE BILINGUAL EDUCATION ACT

Hearing before the Subcommittee on
Early Childhood, Youth and Families of the
Committee on Education and the Workforce

House of Representatives
One Hundred Sixth Congress, First Session
Hearing held in Washington, DC, June 24, 1999
<http://commdocs.house.gov/committees/edu/hedcew6-50.000/hedcew6-50.htm>

Excerpts follow (emphasis added):

STATEMENT OF MR. HECTOR AYALA,
DIRECTOR, ENGLISH FOR THE CHILDREN, TEACHER,
TUCSON UNIFIED SCHOOL DISTRICT,
TUCSON, ARIZONA

... My name is Hector Ayala, and I have taught English, including advanced placement English for the last 12 years at Cholla High School in Tucson, Arizona. I am also codirector of a group called English for the Children-Arizona, an organization designed to abolish bilingual education in that State.

I also was immigrated into America when I was 9 years old, and I was actually submerged as opposed to emerged because for the first 2 years in elementary school, I had Anglo teachers who spoke absolutely no Spanish. And I am here to provide some rationale for having started the organization and what it is, what it was that finally moved us in Arizona to do something about bilingual education.

To make a long story short, bilingual education can mean several different things to several different people. It depends on who you talk to. In fact, that I believe is one of its main drawbacks. **One of the common mistakes people make is to confuse bilingual education with making kids bilingual.**

Bilingual education does not provide bilingualism. When bilingual education started out in 1968, it began with a focus of teaching non-English speakers the English language as quickly and as well as possible. Since then, bilingual ed. has been taken over by political groups bent on indoctrinating young children into their political agendas, the Spanish language, the Mexican culture, Mexican history, which are, in fact, what is being taught in most bilingual education elementary schools, at least in Tucson and Nogales Arizona.

The result has been that bilingual education has then turned into native language instruction for all Hispanic students, often for up to 7 years, to the detriment of these students' success.

Among the several bilingual education theories, the most popular one has been what Canadian researcher Jim Cummins and others of his ilk have espoused, which is that children must be taught in their native language and slowly weaned into the English as they become more academically proficient. Now these researchers claim it takes children anywhere from 7 to 10 years to learn academic English adequately, for **this plays right into the hands of separatist political groups and their agendas since it forces Mexican children to retain their Spanish, again, at the expense of not learning English.**

The argument of Jim Cummins and these people is that nonnative children must have a command of academic English before they can be taught in English. But one doesn't teach academic English. A child develops academic English by doing academics in English. What they say is equivalent to saying that a child cannot become a concert pianist until he can play piano like a concert pianist. . . .

All a child really needs to develop is enough proficiency in English to understand what the teacher is saying. He can then develop the academic English with experience in the classroom, but not if he is taught in his native language which, as I said, is what is currently happening.

In the meantime, **our Hispanic children do languish all those years in bilingual education classrooms only to discover not only have they not been prepared academically but neither has their English progressed.**

As high school teacher in a bilingual feeder pattern, I have experienced what many of my colleagues in similar positions have experienced by **freshmen students who come through a feeder pattern coming in reading in about a fourth grade reading level. Every year we receive about 640 freshmen students in our high school; 4 years later around 200 graduate.**

The experience of 12 years that I have has shown me that these students drop out because they find themselves tragically challenged in their ability to speak English or do academics, both of which bilingual education claims they teach better than anyone.

One of the principle ironies is that the movement in favor of bilingual education is generally limited to bilingual ed. educators. **The movement was neither started nor continued by the desire of Mexican parents to make their kids bilingual, which bilingual education cannot do any way,** as I said already, but by Anglo university professors and perfectly assimilated professional Hispanics **who never went through bilingual education themselves,** but now they feel perfectly secure that this is a program that must be thrust on all Mexican parents and their children regardless of what their opinions are.

Our organization, English for the Children, first, decries the ineffectiveness of **a system that is generally undefined, arbitrary, and capricious. More often than not it has become patent racism. Children placed in bilingual education classrooms without their or their parents' consent or knowledge. Often monolingual English-speaking children are placed in bilingual ed classes where they are taught in Spanish simply based on their Hispanic surname. And generally when parents do find out their children are in bilingual ed classes, they are not allowed to remove these children from these classes.**

[. . .]

WRITTEN STATEMENT OF MR. HECTOR AYALA,
DIRECTOR, ENGLISH FOR THE CHILDREN,
TEACHER, TUCSON UNIFIED SCHOOL DISTRICT,
TUCSON, ARIZONA – SEE APPENDIX F

Excerpt:

. . . Since we started the organization last June, **we have been enlisted by several parents who want their kids removed from bilingual education but haven't been able to do so,** and traditionally what happens is they go down to the school, and they ask the teacher and the principal to please have their kids removed. The parents are then showered with research that very few people understand, about the efficacy of bilingual education, after which -- a parent is generally timid on approaching the school -- a Mexican immigrant parent is much more timid.

So what essentially happens, **the parent walks away without having accomplished anything, but our organization has been called to help them remove children,** and we have done this a good 10 times, I believe, around 10 times already. And what happens then is when we walk in, we are greeted by the teacher, the counselor, the principal, and the district Bilingual Education Director so that they can help the parent make a decision; and we eventually have to put our foot down and say he wants out, get him out. And it is not until then that the kids are gotten out.

Of course, in the process we also have to help the parents draft a letter, make three copies, and send them to three different departments.

We also found in canvassing the Mexican American neighborhoods in Tucson over the last summer we must have spoken to 500 or more families. Only two people that we spoke with agreed with bilingual education. . . .

Excerpt:

. . . One of my students at Cholla High School also writes for the school newspaper, and she wanted to do some investigative work because of who I am. I am the director of English for the children. I was also her teacher, and she found upon interviewing about 20 teachers around the Tucson area that even if the bilingual teachers were angry at what bilingual education had become -- and it had not become the teaching of English, but it had become **an establishment that refuses to teach anything in English; that refuses to teach oftentimes American history, they teach Mexican history instead, and it is a system that is decidedly against any form of evaluation.**

I mean, we evaluate every other educational program in some way or the other, but these people tend to say that evaluations don't work with bilingual education because **bilingual education tends to teach things that don't necessarily show up on tests or so for the first year; that an Mexican immigrant is in America he is granted an exemption from taking a standardized test in English. The second year they begin to take standardized tests, and the results are exceptionally dismal.**

Excerpt:

The biggest issue here I think is that we need to have somebody define what they think is bilingual education. I have noticed that most proponents of bilingual education tend to define it as what we would like to happen, which is immersion. Technically, any system that uses a foreign language to teach as minimal as that intervention is could be considered a bilingual approach, because you use two tongues, two languages; but what has actually become bilingual education is **native language instruction.**

Excerpt:

I think we must first decide on what we mean by success for these **Hispanic kids who are the majority that comprise bilingual education,** and once we define what we want for them as far as success is concerned, can we achieve it through native language instruction. I think it is also very important to tell the public that that is what you will be doing, native language instruction, and then let the public decide whether they want this or not. **I know that Mexican immigrant parents don't want that.**

Now, if they feel that through native language Spanish instruction the kids are being successful, given the definition of success, it certainly hasn't shown up in any test score that I have seen. **The last year's test scores, for example, in the Tucson area placed at the lowest, level of the lowest scoring 25 elementary schools, 23 were bilingual education schools. The last 18 on the list were bilingual education schools. The lowest 10 scoring middle schools were bilingual middle schools. The lowest three scoring high schools were at the end of bilingual feeder patterns.**

This doesn't show even a trend or a tendency towards success regardless of how you measure it. There is, in fact, a principal in one of the elementary bilingual schools in Tucson who has said openly that **there will never be any English-only classes in her school; that the moment our initiative passes, she is going to open a charter school where she will teach in the native language,** which is fine; but she will then advertise the fact that it is native language instruction which she is not currently doing. . . .

3. Bilingual Ed./Hispanic Studies, then Raza/Mexican American Studies

Mexican American studies advocated

By Mary Bustamante, *Citizen Staff Writer*, **March 7, 1998**

A committee formed by TUSD in an attempt to decrease the dropout rate recommends that teachers receive training in multicultural education

<http://tucsoncitizen.com/mark-evans/archives/490>

Excerpts:

Tucson Unified School District should create a Mexican American Studies program separate from its current Bilingual Education Department, a committee formed to study the issue will recommend Tuesday.

Within five years, TUSD also should provide every teacher instruction in multicultural education so that students could study cultural awareness concepts and take courses in ethnic studies.

The multicultural courses should be available throughout the district curriculum – from kindergarten through 12th grade – according to the 15-page report, which is being finalized today.

A full-time curriculum writer would be required, the report says.

The Bilingual Education/Hispanic Studies and Second Language Acquisition Review Committee was formed last year by the TUSD school board.

[. . .]

Academics should be the focus of the program, the report states.

But it goes on to say TUSD also must provide "appropriate funds to ensure implementation of effective academic intervention and student support services for Hispanic students . . . which should include mentoring, career planning, college counseling, tutoring and dropout prevention."

Committee co-chairwoman Barbara Benton said it would be good, but not essential, for such support services to be included in a new Mexican American Studies program.

[. . .]

The academic portion would include a multicultural education program at the elementary school level; an introduction to Mexican American Studies course at the middle school level; a freshman year History of Mexico class; sophomore year literature/humanities/fine arts of people of Mexican descent class; junior year History of Mexicans in the Southwest class; and senior year Contemporary Issues Affecting Mexican Americans class.

The proposed freshman and sophomore classes would be a semester long; the junior and senior ones a year long.

The classes must be able to meet the requirements for social studies or English credits, rather than electives, for high school graduation.

Teachers would have to be trained in Mexican

American studies and a multicultural curricula would need to be established, the report states.

[. . .]

Other recommendations include having Superintendent George García form multicultural oversight committees to develop "accurate, comprehensive and non-biased" information about different cultures.

And it says the superintendent would be accountable to the school board and the community for quarterly reports on the progress of implementing multicultural education, which the board already has voted to do.

In addition to suggesting an academics focus for the Mexican American program, the committee says that component should be added to African American and Native American departments, which currently deal almost solely in student support services.

In the report, board members explain that they looked at several programs nationally, especially at universities. In the ones that have Hispanic, Chicano or Mexican American programs, most are divided into two parts: support and academic.

It pointed out the University of Arizona, which has a Mexican American Studies and Research Center dealing with curriculum and academics, and a Chicano/Hispano Student Affairs and Resource Center, which does tutoring, mentoring, advising and career planning, among other things.

[. . .]

As for bilingual education, the report states that there should be more monitoring of schools to make sure it's working.

It also suggests a public relations strategist be hired "to effect change in the public's perception of bilingual education/English as a second language and foreign languages classes, which members hope can be taught at the elementary school level."

Co-chairman Conrado Gomez said the recommendation would strengthen the bilingual education program in TUSD, ensuring that any student who needs bilingual education would get it. And, he said, "It keeps a closer eye on schools that have bilingual education.

5 Year Plan [2001]

[Tucson Unified School District, Hispanic Studies]

<http://web.archive.org/web/20010527070854/http://instech.tusd.k12.az.us/hispanic/Mission/five.htm>

Phase I

January 1999 through August 1999

Plan and Implementation

- Establish educational partnerships with Denver Public Schools, The Metropolitan State College of Denver, University of Arizona, Pima Community College, and Tucson area Charter Schools
- Establish a Hispanic Studies Curriculum Advisory Committee to review the Alma Project's curriculum

units through the Hispanic Studies Curriculum Review Committee

- Sponsor a Hispanic Studies Teacher Training Institute
- Acquire Hispanic Studies materials and resources
- Advocate for Hispanic students' needs

Phase II

August 1999 through July 2000

Plan and Implementation

- Implement the Hispanic Studies Unit Review Committee's approved Alma Curriculum units for use in TUSD
- Work with schools to integrate Hispanic Studies in the K-12 curriculum
- Develop and staff the Student Support Service component
- Expand the Teacher Training Institute
- Continue to nurture educational partnerships through collaborative activities with national, state and local agencies
- Acquire Hispanic Studies materials and resources

Phase III

August 2000 through July 2003

Plan and Implementation

- Develop Hispanic Studies curriculum units to support the CORE curriculum
- Work with schools to integrate Hispanic Studies in the K-12 curriculum
- Continue to develop and staff the Student Support Service component
- Expand the Teacher Training Institute
- Acquire Hispanic Studies materials and resources
- Continue to nurture educational partnerships through collaborative activities with national, state and local agencies
- Incorporate technology to deliver the Hispanic Studies curriculum on the TUSD Intranet
- Dialogue with the University of Arizona, Arizona State University, Northern Arizona University, and Pima Community College to promote teacher training coordination
- Research trends in the Hispanic Studies by attending national and state conferences

Tucson Unified School District No. 1 Governing Board Regular Meeting

Board Room, Morrow Education Center

July 9 2002, 6:30 p.m. | MINUTES

<http://www.tusd1.org/contents/govboard/gbminutes/070902r1.pdf>

Excerpts from "ACTION ITEM" 2. Fiscal Year 2002-2003 Tucson Unified School District Annual Budget, in accordance with A.R.S. § 15-905 (emphasis added):

Stan Paz [*TUSD Superintendent. – Ed.*] and Pat Beatty presented information to the Board.

[. . .]

ACTION:

Rosalie López moved that \$500,000 be set aside in the new budget for Hispanic Studies, Carolyn Kemmeries seconded.

Rosalie López called for the question, Judy Burns seconded, motion failed 2-3.

Joel Ireland, Carolyn Kemmeries and Mary Belle McCorkle voted no.

Carolyn Kemmeries moved to continue debate, Joel Ireland seconded. Not voted on.

Rosalie López amended original motion that would **set aside a minimum of \$1,000,000 for Hispanic Studies;** amendment died for lack of a second.

Following a roll call vote, **the main motion to set aside \$500,000 for Hispanic Studies was approved unanimously.**

Joel Ireland moved approval of the FY 2002-2003 TUSD Budget which includes \$500,000 for Hispanic Studies, seconded by Carolyn Kemmeries.

After no objection to call for the question, the main motion to approve the budget including \$500,000 for Hispanic Studies was unanimously approved.

TUSD Governing Board Regular Meeting

Board Room, Morrow Education Center

January 13, 2004, 6:30 p.m. | MINUTES

<http://access.tusd.k12.az.us/contents/govboard/gbminutes/01-13-04Regular.pdf>

Excerpt from "STUDY/ACTION ITEM" 10. Leadership Structure for Ethnic Studies Departments (emphasis added):

Stan Paz [*TUSD Superintendent. – Ed.*] provided information to the Board including a recommendation for phase-in of positions. Board members commenting and/or asking questions were Adelita Grijalva, Judy Burns, Mary Belle McCorkle, Joel Ireland, and Bruce Burke.

ACTION: Judy Burns moved approval to continue with the two budgeted director positions (African American and Native American) and the budgeted executive director position (Multicultural Studies) and **add the Director of Raza/Mexican-American Studies and Pan Asian Studies,** Bruce Burke seconded.

Adelita Grijalva offered an amendment to the motion to say all the vacant positions would be advertised at the same time and in a timely manner; amendment accepted by maker and second, Judy Burns and Bruce Burke, respectively.

Approved unanimously.

TUSD Governing Board Special Meeting

Library, Rincon/University High School

March 30, 2004 5:00 p.m. | MINUTES

<http://www.tusd1.org/contents/govboard/gbminutes/03-30-04Special.pdf>

Excerpt p.3 under "STUDY/ACTION ITEM" (emphasis added):

5. Hiring Process for the Positions of Executive Director of **Multicultural Studies** and the Directors of African American, Raza/Mexican-American and Pan Asian Studies

Stan Paz [*TUSD Superintendent. – Ed.*] presented information and asked for direction from the Board.

Board members commenting and/or asking

questions were Joel Ireland, Judy Burns, Adelita Grijalva and Mary Belle McCorkle.

Judy Burns moved to affirm a hiring process for all positions in this item, Adelita Grijalva seconded.

The maker and the seconder of the motion accepted a friendly amendment from Joel Ireland to include **making Raza/Mexican-American Studies the official name of the department formerly known as Hispanic Studies.**

Approved unanimously.

Tucson Unified School District Post-Unitary Status Plan

As Adopted by Governing Board, **July 30, 2009**
<http://tusd1.org/contents/distinfo/pup/Documents/pusp.pdf>

Excerpt p.31-32:

V. Mexican American Studies Department

A. Purpose

To position the Mexican American Studies Department as an organizational contributor to TUSD's commitment to greater academic and social equity **for Hispanic students.**

B. Action Plan

1. The **Mexican American Studies Department** will be expanded at the middle and high school levels to more adequately meet the needs of the student population, **as the budget permits.** Within the Elementary level, the department will expand its services by developing systems of support to schools towards the elimination of disparities for Hispanic students in the following areas: achievement, discipline, special education placement, grade retention, GATE placement and IB enrollment, as the budget permits.
2. The Mexican American Studies course capacity established by 2010–2011 course expansions will be maintained and expanded **as requested by students each year.**

1. Course Offerings

a. High School Level

In the 2009–2010 school year and thereafter, the department will offer these **elective courses:**

- 11th-grade **American history/Chicano perspectives** courses at Cholla, Pueblo, Rincon, and Tucson High Schools
- 12th-grade **American government/social justice education project** at Cholla, Rincon, and Tucson High Schools
- 11th-grade **English/Latino literature** courses at Pueblo and Tucson High Schools
- 12th-grade **English/Latino literature** course at Tucson High School
- In the 2010–2011 school year, the following **additional elective courses** will be offered:
- 11th-grade **English/Latino literature** at Rincon and Catalina High Schools

- 11th-grade **American history/Chicano perspectives** at Catalina High School
- 12th-grade **English/Latino literature** at Catalina, Pueblo, and Rincon High Schools
- **American government/social justice education project** at Pueblo and Catalina High Schools

b. Middle School Level

- In the 2009–2010 school year and thereafter, Mexican American Studies will offer sixth- through eighth-grade courses at Hohokam, Mansfield, Wakefield, and Pistor Middle Schools.
- In the 2010–2011 school year, Mexican American Studies will expand its sixth- through eighth-grade course offerings to Maxwell, Roskruge, and Valencia Middle Schools.

c. Elementary School Level

Beginning in 2009–10 with annual review for continued improvement, the department will provide elementary direct instruction offerings based on the critically compassionate intellectualism model **as requested by teachers and site administrators.**

Post-Unitary Order

Signed by David C. Bury, United States District Judge
December 17, 2009

http://tusd1.org/contents/distinfo/pup/Documents/pup_order.pdf

Will TUSD lose “post-unitary” status?

On April 29, 2011, the U.S. Department of Justice (Civil Rights Division, Appellate Section) filed a brief “in response to this Court’s order of April 18, 2011, inviting the United States to file a brief expressing its views in these consolidated appeals”:

Nos. 10-15124, 10-15375, 10-15407
ROY FISHER, et al., and MARIA MENDOZA, et al.,
Plaintiffs-Appellants/ Cross Appellees v.
TUCSON UNIFIED SCHOOL DISTRICT,
Defendant-Appellee/ Cross Appellant.

The “ISSUE PRESENTED FOR REVIEW” was “Whether the district court erred in granting the defendant school district’s petition for a declaration of unitary status and releasing the district from federal judicial supervision.”

Basically, it was deemed that: “The district court failed to follow Supreme Court precedent governing termination of court oversight of a desegregation decree in reaching its decision to grant unitary status and terminate this case.”

http://www.justice.gov/crt/about/app/briefs_educ.php

Download pdf of the brief:

<http://www.justice.gov/crt/about/app/briefs/fishermendozabrief.pdf>

4. Political backdrop

International/national political currents impact local issues – including education. In looking at activities at the different levels, the relationship becomes clear.

For example, what is taking place today in TUSD under the guise of Raza/Mexican American Studies has roots that can be traced to political movements from the late 60's. Hence it should come as no surprise to find that TUSD's Raza/Mexican American Studies and forerunner (perversions of) bilingual education curriculum are Marxist-leaning. Nor a surprise that students in such programs are being trained to be the next generation of revolutionaries who are mobilized to change anything that does not fit within the "social justice" paradigm of a communist society.

National level

“1968: U.S. RADICALISM EXPLODES AND TRANSFORMS” by Max Elbaum

This article appears (in French translation) in the French journal *Contretemps*, Number 22/May 2008.

<http://www.revolutionintheair.com/histstrategy/USA1968.html>

Excerpt (emphasis added):

TRANSFORMATION WITHIN THE LEFT

Within the left, the new militancy exhibited by workers at the point of production had an immense impact. Malcolm X, Martin Luther King, the Vietnamese struggle, and their own experience had already put internationalism/anti-imperialism and the connections between war, poverty, racism and capitalism on young activists' agendas. The success of the Black Panther Party - a disciplined, cadre group - was leading many to re-examine New Left aversion to highly structured organizations. The role of workers in the French May (and in 1969 Italy's "Hot Autumn") tantalized young U.S. radicals: perhaps the working class in the imperial heartlands was not hopelessly "bourgeoisified" after all? And now workers were stirring right here in the U.S.! As this realization set in, **engagement with Marxism accelerated rapidly, and it became common to find prominent New Leftists who in 1966 had dismissed Marxism as "old left dogma" now calling themselves "revolutionary communists."**

A dedicated but relatively small proportion of those turning toward Marxism gravitated toward the Communist Party USA. The 1968 Soviet military intervention in Czechoslovakia discredited "pro-Soviet" communism for most of a generation whose **radicalization** was bound up with support for national self-determination.

Various **Trotskyist tendencies - with their sophisticated critiques** of Soviet society (as well

as their tenacious work within the antiwar movement) attracted more young militants. **But the most explosive growth of all was that of new currents that identified with revolutionary parties in the Third World.** China's Cultural Revolution (promoted as grassroots socialism-from-below) and Che's "create two, three, many Vietnams" internationalism were tremendous poles of attraction. Hence **a current most accurately described as "Third World Marxist" (and sometimes self-described as a "new communist movement") took shape beginning in 1968. By the early 1970s it was the fastest-growing and most multi-racial trend on the U.S. socialist left.** It was no accident that Detroit's League of Revolutionary Black Workers which emerged out of DRUM was roughly identified with this current. Layers of 1968 radicals of all racial backgrounds believed the League had the most advanced on-the-ground experience yet organizing at the intersection of class exploitation and racial oppression. And success at that pivot was widely regarded as the key to unlocking the revolutionary potential of the U.S. working class as a whole.

All these **Marxist tendencies** had high hopes. Polls taken in fall 1968 showed more college students (20%) identifying with **Latin American revolutionary Che Guevara** than with any candidate for the U.S. presidency. More than one million students saw themselves as part of the left. Among African Americans revolutionary sentiments contended not just for influence but for pre-eminence, at least among those 30 years old and under. **All other communities of color had growing radical currents.** And for the first time since the anticommunist purges of the late 1940s, radicalism was on the upswing within the trade union movement.

This popular upsurge drove an expansion of important radical currents well beyond those that self-identified as Marxists. Dynamic nationalist currents with varying political viewpoints expanded among activists of color, African Americans and Chicanos in particular. A host of seasoned 1960s activists plunged into and **revitalized the community organizing tradition.** Many Civil Rights veterans and others brought their **progressive outlook** into electoral politics, winning office on the local level and in some cases beyond. Michael Harrington, a layer of talented New Leftists and others took the first steps that led to a **1970s renewal of U.S. "democratic socialism."** The year **1968 was pivotal** in various ways for the ensuing explosion in the size and reach of the left in academia, the expansion of a **faith-based left and liberation theology**, the surge of many activists into health care professions, teaching, social work and related fields. **The work and legacies of all these trends, and others, are of vital importance to the new reshaping of U.S. radicalism that is underway today.**

[Brown Beret members are often seen at national and local protests.]

Brown Berets

Philosophy and Influences, Development, Young Citizens for Community Action, La Causa, La Conciencia, Regeneración II
<http://www.jrank.org/cultures/pages/3667/Brown-Berets.html>

Excerpt:

"The Brown Beret National Organization emerged initially from the progressive politicization of a group of East Los Angeles high-school and college students during the Chicano/a movement of the 1960s and 1970s. This group, first organized as Young Citizens for Community Action (YCCA), sought to improve its community through civic involvement. During 1967, YCCA was renamed Young Chicanos for Community Action to acknowledge the climate of social change and positive ethnic identification. But a growing list of incidents of police abuse and harassment, the gathering power of the Chicano/a movement, and the development of a militant consciousness among various ethnic groups influenced another shift in YCCA's purpose and ideology. Members of the group no longer identified as "young citizens" conforming to the self-help paradigm of assimilation or as "young Chicanos" who blended into the community. Rather, after a change in leadership and membership, the group advocated social change through radical political action and heightened visibility. It reflected a cadre approach to social change centering on a smaller grouping of well-trained and disciplined militant individuals who would serve as community guardians and leaders in collective actions. "

Local level

"SAVING THE LIVES, THE CULTURE AND THE HISTORY OF OUR CHILDREN: TELLING THE TRUTH IN ARIZONA'S CULTURAL WAR"

Augustine F. Romero, Ph. D. and Sean Arce, Directors, Mexican-American / Raza Studies, Tucson High. Published in *Regeneración*, Association of Raza Educators Journal, Vol 2, No 1, Winter 2011

http://www.t4sj.org/clientimages/39669/regeneracion_vol2issue1_final%201%201.pdf

Excerpt pg 5 (emphasis added):

TUSD's Mexican American Studies [MAS] Department was created in July of 1998 as a result of a grassroots movement for greater levels of academic achievements for the Chicana/o children in the district. For many Chicana/os in Tucson the **establishment of the MAS was a victory for battles fought nearly 30 years earlier when community organizers such as Raul Grijalva, Guadalupe Castillo, Salomon Baldenegro, and Eduardo Olivas led a series of school walkouts in 1969.** The creation of **Chicano Studies was one of the primary demands** of community and student activists. . .

Despite the issuance of a federal desegregation order in 1978, the social and education condition for Chicano in Tucson Unified School District would change very little. As a result, in 1996, a group called **Communities and Neighborhoods for Mexican American Studies** led by the likes of: Lorraine Lee, Gustavo Chavez, Martin Sean Arce, Rosalie Lopez, Anna Maria Chavez, Essence Arce, J.J. Rico, Leanne Hernandez, Tomas Martinez, Edgar Reyes, Patrick McKenna, and Salo Escamilla were united with some of student organizers from the 1969 walkouts. The unification of these two groups of community and educational advocates was instrumental in the realization of a community dream, the creation of MAS . . .

Excerpt pg 5-6 (emphasis added):

In the spring of 2002, Dr. Julio Cammarota from the University of Arizona's Mexican American Studies and Research Center and I (the then Director of TUSD's Mexican American Studies Department) proposed a course that would use the Arizona State Standards, **Critical Pedagogy, Critical Race Theory**, and authentic caring as the foundation of an equitable educational experience to the District's leadership. . .

In the early summer of 2002, Dr. Rebecca Montano, Deputy Superintendent gave approval for **The Social Justice Education Project**. Dr. Cammarota, Dr. Romero, and Lorenzo Lopez Jr. established the Project in the Fall of 2002. The Project a collaboration between the University of Arizona and Tucson Unified School District originally offered students the opportunity to **replace their traditional 11th grade and 12th grade social science courses with an 11th grade U.S. History course that was centered on historical contributions of Mexican Americans, and a 12th grade U.S. Government course that uses the principals of critical race theory as a lens through which to examine** the functions and actions of our government, the precedents established in the Declaration of Independence, the U.S. Constitution, the Amendments, and relevant supreme courts decisions and State laws . . . Since the Fall of 2002, the program has expanded to five other high school. . .

. . . the Project required that students engage in participatory action research that focuses on the social realities of our students. . .

. . . over the course of the last eight academic years we have designed and developed courses that offer students an advanced level **social science curriculum** from the fields of **critical race theory, critical pedagogy, and social theory**. Simultaneously, our students have developed the anthropological skills needed to name, assess, and engage the injustices of their social realities . . .

5. MEChA (Movimiento Estudiantil Chicano de Aztlán)

MEChA + TUSD

Sean Arce TUSD's Mexican American Studies Director since October 2008 [1], has a history of involvement with MEChA beginning as a University of Arizona student. As explained in a biography on Arce:

"At his wife's suggestion he began to take Mexican American studies classes, and his world changed. . . . It really inspired me, along with a lot of my peers who were at UA at the time. **We were Mexican American Studies majors but we were also part of MEChA (Movimiento Estudiantil Chicano de Aztlán) and we began planning for this thing.**"

"In short time they created the current Ethnic Studies program at Tucson Unified School District at the K-12 levels. . . ." [2] (Emphasis added)

Prior to being named Director of the Mexican American/Raza Studies Department, Sean Arce was a "Curriculum Specialist" in TUSD's Mexican American/Raza Studies Department. He taught "American History from a Chicano Perspective courses at Tucson Magnet High School." Additionally he served as "co-advisor of the Tucson Magnet High School MEChA." [3] [4]

Another TUSD educator and MEChA proponent is Alexandro Salomón Escamilla. In 2006 Salo was identified as "a project specialist with the Mexican American/Raza Studies Department. He teaches Chicano Studies at Hohokam Middle School. He is also the advisor of the Wakefield [Middle School] M.E.Ch.A." [5]

Endnotes:

- [1] On October 7, 2008, then-TUSD Superintendent Elizabeth Celania-Fagen "recommended Martin Sean Arce" as Director of the Mexican American/Raza Studies Department. According to meeting minutes, "Adelita Grijalva moved approval; Joel Ireland seconded. Approved 3-0. Judy Burns was not present for the vote." Source: TUSD Governing Board Regular Meeting, Oct. 7, 2008, 6:30 p.m. | MINUTES, "ACTION ITEM" #6. p.6. <http://www.tusd1.org/contents/govboard/gbminutes/10-07-08Regular.pdf>
- [2] Sean Arce's bio on the [saveethnicstudies.org](http://www.saveethnicstudies.org) website (accessed 4/30/11) http://www.saveethnicstudies.org/meet_us.shtml
- [3] 7th Annual Mexican American/Raza Studies Teacher Institute (July 25- 27, 2005) program material, p.7. <http://www.tusd1.org/contents/depart/mexicanam/documents/Institute2005.pdf>
- [4] Presenters, 8th Annual Mexican American / Raza Studies K-12 Teacher Institute, July 25-28, 2006, pdf p.8. <http://www.tusd1.org/contents/depart/mexicanam/documents/Institute2006.pdf>
- [5] Presenters, 8th Annual Mexican American / Raza Studies K-12 Teacher Institute, July 25-28, 2006, pdf p.8. <http://www.tusd1.org/contents/depart/mexicanam/documents/Institute2006.pdf>

Philosophy of MEChA

As previously established, MEChA influences exist in TUSD. A closer look at MEChA Philosophy is helpful with understanding the nature of those influences.

The following excerpts are from the Official National MEChA website, < <http://www.nationalmecha.org/philosophy.html> > accessed 4/30/2011. This is from the document that "was last changed or amended in whole or in part by a 2/3 vote at the 1999 National M.E.Ch.A. Conference at Phoenix Community College".):

Preface

Movimiento Estudiantil Chicano de Aztlán (M.E.Ch.A) hereby establishes the following principles based on our knowledge, ideas and opinions to enhance the progress of MEChA In order to have an understanding of MEChA, we bring forth this document to **guide Mechistas in their principles, values and conduct.**

Historical Foundation

The **Chicano Movement of the late 1960's** helped spark cultural and historical pride in our people. Chicanas/Chicanos demanded to be treated as equals and **denounced acculturation and assimilation. Brown pride** began to express itself through poetry, literature, art and theater. The contributions of the Chicano Movement are numerous and continue to be very valuable to our society.

Movimiento Estudiantil Chicano de Aztlán (MEChA) is a student organization that promotes higher education, cultura, and historia. MEChA was founded on the principles of self-determination for the liberation of our people. We believe that political involvement and education is the avenue for change in our society.

In March of 1969, at Denver, Colorado the Crusade for Justice organized the National Chicano Youth Conference that drafted the basic premises for the Chicana/Chicano Movement in **El Plan de Aztlán (EPA)**. A synopsis of El Plan stipulates: 1) **We are Chicanas and Chicanos of Aztlán reclaiming the land of our birth (Chicana/Chicano Nation);** 2) **Aztlán belongs to indigenous people, who are sovereign and not subject to a foreign culture;** 3) **We are a union of free pueblos forming a bronze (Chicana/Chicano) Nation;** 4) **Chicano nationalism, as the key to mobilization and organization, is the common denominator to bring consensus to the Chicana/Chicano Movement;** 5) **Cultural values strengthen our identity as La Familia de La Raza;** and 6) **EPA, as a basic plan of Chicana/Chicano liberation, sought the formation of an independent national political party that would represent the sentiments of the Chicana/Chicano community.**

In April of 1969 over 100 Chicanas/Chicanos came together at UC Santa Barbara to formulate a plan for higher education: **El Plan de Santa Barbara**. With this document they were successful in the development of

two very important contributions to the Chicano Movement: **Movimiento Estudiantil Chicano de Aztlán (MEChA)** and **Chicano Studies**.

The fundamental principles that led to the founding of **Movimiento Estudiantil Chicano de Aztlán** are found in **El Plan de Santa Barbara (EPSB)**. The Manifesto of EPSB sees self-determination for the Chicana/Chicano community as the only acceptable way for our people to gain socioeconomic justice. El Plan argues that a strong **nationalist identity** is a necessary step in building a program of self-determination. Self-determination, in this regard, challenges those involved in principle struggle to respect the rights of all Chicano and Chicanos. EPSB stresses that in organizing MEChA every opportunity must be taken to **educate Raza**. At the same time, El Plan exhorts Mechistas to preserve Chicana/Chicano culture in this culturally diverse society, both in community and on campus. Thus, a Chicana/Chicano Nation is a necessity defined as an educational, socioeconomic, and empowered Chicana/Chicano community. The Manifesto of EPSB warns us in part:

We recognize that without a **strategic use of education**, an education that places value on what we value, we will not realize our destiny. Chicanos [and Chicanas] recognize the central importance of institutions of higher learning to model progress, in this case, to the development of our community. But, we go further: we believe that higher education must contribute to the **formation of a complete man [and woman]** who truly values life and freedom. (p.10) EPSB

Both El Plan de Aztlán (EPA) and El Plan de Santa Barbara (EPSB) served as the historical foundation for the establishment of a viable Chicana/Chicano **Movimiento** and are therefore fundamental to the **MEChA Philosophy**.

MEChA's Philosophy

The Chicana/Chicano student movement has been plagued by opportunists that have sought to rechannel the energies of our people and divert us from our struggle for self determination. The educational plight of Chicana and Chicano students continues to be ignored by insensitive administrators. Overall, Chicana/Chicano junior high, high school and college pushout rates have risen since 1969, forcing many Chicanas and Chicanos to a life of poverty. These factors along with a **growing right wing trend in the nation** are combining to work greater hardships on Chicanas and Chicanos. New repressive and racist immigration laws are continuously directed at our Gente. Along with this, the current administration has started the process of dismantling Affirmative Action and Civil Rights protections. Just as **Hispanics seeks to deny our indigenous heritage, so does Latino**. The terms Hispanic and Latino further ignore our unique socioeconomic and historical aspects of our Chicana/Chicano Gente. This cannot be ignored. We cannot coin terms for unity sake when these terms fail to fully represent our diverse communities. **Chicanismo does not seek to use the word "Chicano" as**

an umbrella term when representing all of "La Familia de La Raza". Rather, Chicanismo seeks to educate our barrios and campos about our history y cultura to further **create a movement** of self-determination for the **Liberation of Aztlán**, something that Hispanic and Latino has yet to represent or recognize. These factors have made it necessary for **Movimiento Estudiantil Chicano de Aztlán** to affirm our philosophy of liberation (i.e. educational, socio-economic, and political empowerment) for our Chicana/Chicano Nation.

We, as Mechistas, see the **process of Chicanismo** as evolutionary. We recognize that no one is born politically Chicana or Chicano. **Chicanismo results from a decision based on a political consciousness for our Raza, to dedicate oneself to building a Chicana/Chicano Nation**. Chicanismo is a concept that integrates self-awareness with cultural identity, a necessary step in developing political consciousness. Therefore **the term Chicano is grounded in a philosophy**, not a nationality. Chicanismo does not exclude anyone, rather it includes those who acknowledge and work toward the betterment of **La Raza**.

Chicanismo involves a personal decision to reject assimilation and work towards the preservation of our cultural heritage. Recognizing that all people are potential Chicanas and Chicanos, we encourage those interested in developing a **total commitment to our movement for self-determination for the people of Aztlán** to join **Movimiento Estudiantil Chicano de Aztlán**.

Thus, by all means necessary, We Chicana/Chicano estudiantes or Aztlán, dedicate ourselves to taking our educational destiny into our own hands through the **process of spreading Chicanismo, in the spirit of carnalismo**.

MEChA is committed to ending the cultural tyranny suffered at the hands of institutional and systematic discrimination that holds our Gente captive. We seek an end to oppression and exploitation of the Chicano/Chicana community.

As Mechistas, **we proclaim that we are the people of Aztlán** and that we recognize our indigenous unity with our brothers and sisters of Ixachitlan (Alaska to Tierra del Fuego). We declare that we are the **descendants of El Quinto Sol**. Our fundamental drive is to organize and challenge Chicana/Chicano estudiantes to maintain self-respect and dignity to overcome historical prejudices and discrimination against the Chicana and Chicano Gente. The historic mission of MEChA involves an educational plan of action that builds an educational ladder for the advancement of our people. Recognizing that the strength of our movement is rooted in our barrios, MEChA pledges itself to reach out to the community and schools, to establish new educational opportunities. We also recognize that our MEChA chapters are much stronger when they are rooted in and accountable to the Chicana/Chicano community. Consequently, We, Mechistas commit ourselves to return to our community and contribute to the **development of the Chicana/Chicano Nation**.

Background documents

"In March of 1969, at Denver, Colorado the Crusade for Justice organized the first National Chicano Youth Liberation Conference that drafted the basic premises for the Chicana/Chicano Movement in **El Plan de Aztlán**.

The following month, in April of 1969, over 100 Chicanas/Chicanos came together at University of California, Santa Barbara to formulate a plan for higher education: **El Plan de Santa Barbara**. With this document they were successful in the development of two very important contributions to the **Chicano Movement: Movimiento Estudiantil Chicano de Aztlán (MEChA) and Chicano Studies.**"

-- Excerpt from "About Us", MEChA website, <http://www.nationalmecha.org/about.html>

"Both **El Plan de Aztlán (EPA)** and **El Plan de Santa Barbara (EPSB)** served as the historical foundation for the establishment of a viable Chicana/Chicano Movimiento and are therefore fundamental to the MEChA Philosophy".

-- Excerpt from "The Philosophy of MEChA," MEChA website <http://www.nationalmecha.org/philosophy.html>

"It is true that **Raza Studies** generally have provided access and has even required the reading of material which point to revolutionary and nationalists movements which deny the legitimacy of the US, and which have even risen violently against the US. These movements include, the Cortina and Murrieta uprisings, **El Plan de San Diego**, the Tijerina Reactions, and **La Raza Unida Party**. The reading and analysis of this 'material' is usually known as 'history' and 'political science.'"

-- Hector A. Chavana, Jr., "Raza Studies Loss, A Revolutionary Gain?," *Our New Anahuac*, May 13, 2010 <http://www.ournewanahuac.net/raza-studies-loss-a-revolutionary-gain/2010/05/13/>

"Since **El Plan de San Diego** in 1917 largely radical separatist ideas for regional alliances have centered around **pre-Columbian myth as Aztlán** or general Mexican civil rights as **La Raza** and have waxed and waned with probably their highest visibility in the 80's. One of the most recent ideas called **La Republica Del Norte** was described by Dr. Charles Truxillo, professor of Chicano Studies at the University of New Mexico. . . ."

-- Don Guillermo, *Shorts and Opinions* <http://www.tamu.edu/ccbn/dewitt/mckshorts4.htm>

Documents of the Chicano Struggle (1971)

by Antonio Camejo | Publisher: New York, Pathfinder Press, <http://www.archive.org/details/DocumentsOfTheChicanoStruggle>
Download pdf: http://ia600100.us.archive.org/4/items/DocumentsOfTheChicanoStruggle/DCS2_text.pdf

Contains: -- **El Plan de Aztlan**

-- **Oakland Area Raza Unida Party Program**

Excerpt from the **Introduction**. p.3:

The first of the two documents presented here, *El Plan de Aztlán* was adopted at the first National

Chicano Youth Liberation Conference in Denver, Colorado, March 1969. *The plan* presented for the first time a clear statement of the growing nationalist consciousness of the Chicano people. It raised the concept of Aztlán,* a Chicano nation, and the need for Chicano control of the Chicano community.

Referring to the Democratic and Republican parties as "the same animal with two heads that feed from the same trough," the *plan* pointed out that to achieve the goal of self-determination, would require an independent political party with Raza nationalism as its "common denominator."

Although the *Plan de Aztlán* has appeared in some Chicano publications, many Raza activists and others interested in the Chicano struggle remain unfamiliar with it. This edition will for the first time make the *plan* readily available to all.

The second document, intended as a general guide to action is the basic programmatic statement adopted by the Oakland-Berkeley, California Raza Unida Party in November 1970. Building upon the ideas propounded in the *Plan de Aztlán*, it outlines a program for mobilizing **La Raza** around the key issues that affect their lives.

[. . .]

*Aztlán – The ancient Aztec name for what is now the Southwest.

Excerpt p.4

EL PLAN DE AZTLAN

El Plan Espiritual de Aztlán

In the spirit of a new people that is conscious not only of its proud historical heritage but also of the brutal "gringo" invasion of our territories, we, the Chicano inhabitants and civilizers of the northern land of Aztlán from whence came our forefathers, reclaiming the land of their birth and consecrating the determination of our people of the sun, *declare* that the call of our blood is our power, our responsibility, and our inevitable destiny.

We are free and sovereign to determine those tasks which are justly call for by our house, our land, and the sweat of our brows, and by our hearts. Aztlán belongs to those who plant the seeds, water the fields, and gather the crops and not to the foreign Europeans. **We do not recognize capricious frontiers on the bronze continent.**

Brotherhood unites us, and love for our brothers makes us a people whose time has come and who struggles against the foreigner "gabacho" who exploits our riches and destroys our culture. With our heart in our hands and our hands in the soil, we declare the independence of our mestizo nation. We are a bronze people with a bronze culture. Before the world, before all of North America, before all our brothers in the bronze continent, we are a nation, we are a union of free pueblos, we are **Aztlán**

Por La Raza todo. Fuera de La Raza nada.

[Translation: "For The Race everything. Outside The Race nothing." –Ed.]

Program

El Plan Espiritual de Aztlán sets the theme that the **Chicanos (La Raza de Bronze) must use their nationalism as the key or common denominator for mass mobilization and organization**. Once we are committed to the idea and philosophy of El Plan de Aztlán, we can only conclude that social, economic, cultural, and political independence is the only road to total liberation from oppression, exploitation, and racism. Our struggle then must be for the control of our barrios, campos, pueblos, lands, our economy, our culture, and our political life. El Plan commits all levels of Chicano society – the barrio, the campo, the ranchero, the writer, the teacher, the worker, the professional – to La Causa.

p.5:

Nationalism

Nationalism as the key to organization transcends all religious, political, class, and economic factions or boundaries. Nationalism is the common denominator that **all members of La Raza** can agree upon.

Organizational Goals

1. **UNITY** in the thinking of our people concerning the barrios, the pueblo, the campo, the land, the poor, the middle class, the professional – **all committed to the liberation of La Raza**.
2. **ECONOMY**: economic control of our lives and our communities can only come about by **driving the exploiter out of our communities**, our pueblos, and our lands and by controlling and developing our own talents, sweat, and resources. Cultural background and values which ignore materialism and embrace humanism will contribute to the act of cooperative buying and distribution of resources and production to sustain an economic base for healthy growth and development. **Lands rightfully ours will be fought for and defended**. Land and realty ownership will be acquired by the community for the people's welfare. Economic ties of responsibility must be secured by nationalism and the Chicano defense units.
3. **EDUCATION** must be relative to our people, i.e., history, culture, bilingual education, contributions, etc. Community control of our schools, our teachers, our administrators, our counselors, and our programs.
4. **INSTITUTIONS** shall serve our people by providing the service necessary for a full life and their welfare on the basis of restitution, not handouts or beggar's crumbs. **Restitution for past economic slavery, political exploitation, ethnic and cultural psychological destruction and denial of civil and human rights**. Institutions in our community which do not serve the people have no place in the community. The institutions belong to the people.
5. **SELF-DEFENSE** of the community must rely on the combined strength of the people. The front line defense will come from the barrios, the campos, the pueblos, and the ranchitos. Their involvement as

protectors of their people will be given respect and dignity. They in turn offer their responsibility and their lives for their people. Those who place themselves in the front ranks for their people do so out of love and carnalismo. Those institutions which are fattened by our brothers to provide employment and political pork barrels for the gringo will do so only as acts of liberation and for La Causa. For the very young there will no longer be acts of juvenile delinquency, but revolutionary acts.

p.6:

6. **CULTURAL** values of our people strengthen our identity and the moral backbone of the movement. **Our culture unites and educates the family of La Raza towards liberation with one heart and one mind**. We must insure that our writers, poets, musicians, and artists produce literature and art that is appealing to our people and relates to our revolutionary culture. Our cultural values of life, family, and home will serve as a powerful weapon to **defeat the gringo dollar value system** and encourage the process of love and brotherhood.
7. **POLITICAL LIBERATION** can only come through independent action on our part since the two party system is the same animal with two heads that feed from the same trough. Where we are a majority, we will control; where we are a minority, we will represent a pressure group; **nationally, we will represent one party: La Familia de La Raza!**

Action

1. Awareness and distribution of El Plan Espiritual de Aztlán. Presented at every meeting, demonstration, confrontation, courthouse, institution, administration, church, school, tree, building, car, and every place of human existence.
2. September 16, on the birthdate of Mexican Independence, a national walk-out by all Chicanos of all colleges and schools to be sustained until the complete revision of the educational system: Its policy makers, administration, Its curriculum, and its personnel to meet the needs of our community.
3. Self-defense against the **occupying forces of the oppressors at every school**, every available man, woman, and child.
4. **Community nationalization and organization of all Chicanos: El Plan Espiritual de Aztlán**.
5. Economic program to **drive the exploiter out of our community** and welding together of our people's combined resources to control their own production through cooperative effort.

El Plan de Santa Barbara

(National MECha document)

<http://www.nationalmecha.org/documents/EPsB.pdf>

El Plan de San Diego

“The spirit of **el Plan de San Diego**, an abortive violent uprising which erupted in 1917, provided the inspiration for a number of nationalist movements from then until the 1980s, all focused on **Aztlan** and **la Raza**, . . .”

-- Brent Nelson, “El Republica del Norte – The Next American Nation,” The Social Contract Press, Vol 11, No 1 (Fall 2000)
http://www.thesocialcontract.com/artman2/publish/tsc1101/article_717.shtml

PLAN OF SAN DIEGO

Texas State Historical Association

<http://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/PP/ngp4.html>

Excerpt:

PLAN OF SAN DIEGO. With the outbreak of revolution in northern Mexico in 1910, federal authorities and officials of the state of Texas feared that the violence and disorder might spill over into the Rio Grande valley. The Mexican and Mexican-American populations residing in the Valley far outnumbered the Anglo population. Many Valley residents either had relatives living in areas of Mexico affected by revolutionary activity or aided the various revolutionary factions in Mexico. The revolution caused an influx of political refugees and illegal immigrants into the border region, politicizing the Valley population and disturbing the traditional politics of the region. Some radical elements saw the Mexican Revolution as an opportunity to bring about drastic political and economic changes in South Texas. The most extreme example of this was a movement supporting the "Plan of San Diego," a revolutionary manifesto supposedly written and signed at the South Texas town of San Diego on January 6, 1915. The plan, actually drafted in a jail in Monterrey, Nuevo León, provided for the formation of a "Liberating Army of Races and Peoples," to be made up of Mexican Americans, African Americans, and Japanese, to "free" the states of Texas, New Mexico, Arizona, California, and Colorado from United States control. The liberated states would be organized into an independent republic, which might later seek annexation to Mexico. There would be a no-quarter race war, with summary execution of all white males over the age of sixteen. The revolution was to begin on February 20, 1915. Federal and state officials found a copy of the plan when local authorities in McAllen, Texas, arrested Basilio Ramos, Jr., one of the leaders of the plot, on January 24, 1915.

“The Plan de San Diego: the border raids of 1915-1916; storms brewed in other men's worlds, or a very local story: the Laredo connection”

By Robert Mendoza, *LareDOS* -- A Journal of the Borderlands, June 2003

http://web.archive.org/web/20080531090856/http://www.laredonews.com/archives/june2003/local_02.htm

Excerpt:

Prologue

Exactly 88 years ago this June, the United States and Mexico careened onto the brink of war. Laredo (population 16,000) was inundated by more than 20,000 US Army and National Guard troops deployed to protect the border and to invade Mexico. Sinister agents of the German and Japanese empires plotted in downtown Laredo hotel

rooms while fiery saboteurs terrorized the local population. A few miles south of the Rio Grande, a Laredo-born Carranzista general prepared to invade the US, beginning with the city of Laredo. Laredo and the Rio Grande Valley were forever transformed by the tumultuous events of 1915-1916, inspired by the notorious Plan de San Diego.

The following claims to contain 15 points of El Plan de San Diego -- this is the most detail I could find in English. These need to be checked against other sources:

“Maoism-Third Worldism on the Death Penalty under JDPEN: On the original ‘Plan de San Diego’ in a contemporary context”

By Internationalist Jacobin Club

<http://jacobininternationalism.wordpress.com/2009/09/12/maoism-third-worldism-on-the-death-penalty-under-jdpem-part-1/>

Excerpt: . . . Here are the original 15 points of ‘El Plan de San Diego’ grouped by relevant subject matter:

1. On the 20th day of February, 1915, at 2 o'clock in the morning, we will rise in arms against the Government and country of the United States and North America, on as all and all as one, proclaiming the liberty of the individuals of the black race and its independence and segregation of the States bordering on the Mexican nation, which are: Texas, New Mexico, Arizona, Colorado, and Upper California, of which States the Republic of Mexico was robbed in a most perfidious manner by North American imperialism.

Genuine anti-imperialists uphold the proclamation of this first point in the main.

2. In order to render the foregoing clause effective, the necessary army corps will be formed under the immediate command of military leaders named by the supreme revolutionary congress of San Diego, Texas, which shall have full power to designate a supreme chief who shall be at the head of said army. The banner which shall guide us in this enterprise shall be red, with a white diagonal fringe, and bearing the following inscription: “Equality and Independence,” and none of the subordinate leaders or subalterns shall use any other flag (except only the white for signals.) The aforesaid army shall be known by the name of “Liberating Army for Races and Peoples.”

3. Each one of the chiefs will do his utmost by whatever means possible, to get possession of the arms and funds of the cities which he has beforehand been designated to capture in order that our cause may be provided with resources to continue the fight with better success, the said leaders each being required to render an account of everything to his superiors, in order that the latter may dispose of it in the proper manner.

4. The leader who may take a city must immediately name and appoint municipal authorities, in order that they may preserve order and assist in every way possible the revolutionary movement. In case the capital of any State which we are endeavoring to liberate be captured, there will be named in the same manner superior municipal authorities for the same purpose.

9. All appointments and grades in our army which are exercised by subordinate officers (subalterns) shall be examined (recognized) by the superior officers. There shall likewise be recognized the grades of leaders of other complots which may not be connected with this, and who

may wish to co-operate with us – also those who may affiliate with us later.

12. None of the leaders shall have the power to make terms with the enemy without first communicating with the superior officers of the army, bearing in mind that this is a war without quarter, nor shall any leader enroll in his ranks any stranger unless said stranger belongs to the Latin, the Negro, or the Japanese race.

13. It is understood that none of the members of this complot (or anyone who may come in later) shall upon the definite triumph of the cause which we defend, fail to recognize their superiors, nor shall they aid others who with bastard designs may endeavor to destroy what has been accomplished with such great work.

14. As soon as possible each local society (junta) shall nominate delegates, who shall meet at a time and place beforehand designated, for the purpose of nominating a permanent directorate of the revolutionary movement. At this meeting shall be determined and worked out in detail the power and duties of the permanent directorate, and this revolutionary plan may be revised or amended.

[. . .]

5. It is strictly forbidden to hold prisoners, either special prisoners (civilians) or soldiers; and the only time that should be spent in dealing with them is that which is absolutely necessary to demand funds (loans) of them; and whether these demands be successful or not, they shall be shot immediately, without any pretext.

6. Every stranger who shall be found armed and who cannot prove his right to carry arms, shall be summarily executed, regardless of race or nationality.

7. Every North American over 16 years of age shall be put to death, and only the aged men, the women, and children shall be respected. And on no account shall the traitors to our race be respected or spared.

[. . .]

8. The Apaches or Arizona, as well as the Indians (redskins) of the territory, shall be given every guarantee, and their lands which have been taken from them shall be returned to them, to the end that they may assist us in the cause which we defend.

10. The movement having gathered force, and once having possessed ourselves of the States above alluded to, we shall proclaim them an independent republic, later requesting, if it be thought expedient, annexation to Mexico without concerning ourselves at that time about the form of government which may control the destinies of the common mother country.

11. When we shall have obtained independence for the Negroes, we shall grant them a banner which they themselves shall be permitted to select, and we shall aid them in obtaining six States of the American Union, which States border upon those already mentioned, and they may from these six States form a republic, and they may therefore be independent.

15. It is understood among those who may follow this movement that we will carry as a singing voice the independence of the Negroes, placing obligations upon both races, and that on no account shall we accept aid, either moral or pecuniary, from the government of Mexico, and it need not consider itself under any obligations in this, our movement.

El Plan de San Diego . . . El Republica del Norte

El Republica del Norte – The Next American Nation

By Brent Nelson

The Social Contract Press, Vol 11, No 1, Fall 2000

http://www.thesocialcontract.com/artman2/publish/tsc1101/article_717.shtml

Excerpt:

The Albuquerque Tribune in its issue of January 31, 2000, reported at length on one man's plan for a Republica del Norte. The new republic, according to its herald, Dr. Charles Truxillo, an adjunct professor of Chicano Studies at the University of New Mexico, should be brought into existence 'by any means necessary.'⁽¹⁾ Despite this impatient tone, Truxillo admits that the new Republica del Norte will probably not come into being until toward the end of the century. When it does take its place among the nations of the world, **it will be a sovereign Chicano nation straddling the present U.S.-Mexican border. North of the border, it will comprise the present states of California, Arizona, New Mexico, Texas, and part of Colorado.** South of the border, it will include the present Mexican states of Baja California, Sonora, Chihuahua, Coahuila, Nuevo Leon, and Tamaulipas.

Excerpt:

. . . **The spirit of el Plan de San Diego, an abortive violent uprising which erupted in 1917, provided the inspiration for a number of nationalist movements from then until the 1980s, all focused on Aztlan and la Raza, . . .**⁽⁵⁾ Political and legal developments fully accepted and even welcomed by U.S. governing circles are preparing the way for a triumph of Chicano nationalism without any recourse to armed militancy.

Excerpt:

[At the time Mexican President] Fox lost little time in **proposing that the U.S., Canada, and Mexico work jointly to achieve an economic union patterned after the European Union.** He asked that the U.S. immediately increase visas for Mexicans entering the U.S. to 250,000 a year. Fox admitted that closing the gap in wages between the U.S. and Mexico, which is 7 to 1 in the U.S.'s favor, might take decades.⁽⁷⁾ Since 1994, when the North American Free Trade Agreement was implemented, average wages in Mexico have in fact fallen, largely as a result of the 1994 peso crisis. ⁽⁸⁾

[. . .]

The adoption of a **European Union model for economic integration** would be especially significant given the increasing acceptance of dual citizenship. **The oath taken by newly naturalized citizens in which they "renounce and abjure all allegiances and fidelity to any foreign prince, potentate, state or sovereignty" was by 1998 rendered legally moot.** Since a U.S. Supreme Court decision in 1967, the U.S. no longer finds a second citizenship to be legally problematic. Supposedly, the oath no longer requires a citizen to give up a previous citizenship. In its report delivered at the end of 1997, the U.S. Commission on Immigration Reform called for "modernizing" the language of the oath.⁽¹¹⁾

6. Peddling Marxist education theory

In Andrew Montalbano's "TUSD La Raza studies are lessons in Marxism" (*Tucson Conservative Examiner*, Feb. 19, 2010), the author writes in part:

The La Raza studies program is administered under the Mexican American Studies Department. Here is the model that is provided on the TUSD website:

Developed from research within the **Social Justice Education Project**, the model fosters Critically Compassionate Intellectualism. This model includes the following components:

- A counter-hegemonic curriculum.
- A pedagogy based on the theories of Paulo Friere
- Student-teacher interactions centered on authentic caring.

First, what is "counter-hegemonic curriculum"? It is educating children about the control or dominating influence by one person or group, especially by one political group over society or one nation over other. The program also promotes "Social Justice", a greater degree of economic egalitarianism through progressive taxation, income redistribution, or even property redistribution. These are all policies aimed toward achieving that which developmental economists refer to as more equality of opportunity and equality of outcome.

Second, what is pedagogy based on the theories of Paulo Friere? In 1968 Friere wrote a book titled, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, it is the most widely known of educator Paulo Freire's works. It was first published in Portuguese in 1968 as *Pedagogia do oprimido*, and the first English translation was published in 1970. The book examines the struggle for justice and equity within the educational system and proposes a new pedagogy, in layman's terms, a new way of educating children. Friere was dedicated "to the oppressed, and to those who suffer with them and fight at their side," Freire includes a detailed Marxist class analysis in his exploration of the relationship between the colonizer and the colonized.

Sean Arce, director of TUSD's Mexican-American studies department, disputes that, saying the courses are strictly historical analysis and students are allowed to formulate their own opinions. But, from whose perspective? Paulo Friere a devoted Marxist?

Tucson's children are being educated by committed Marxists that want to fundamentally change education and history into one that fits their ideology . . .

<http://www.examiner.com/conservative-in-tucson/tusd-la-raza-studies-are-lessons-marxism>

TUSD Mexican-American Studies Department's Conferences

12th Annual Institute for Transformative Education
July 13-16, 2010

Sponsored by:
Tucson Unified School District:
Mexican American Studies Department
&
The University of Arizona - College of Education

This four-day conference will provide participants with the opportunity to listen to and dialogue with leading scholars in the areas of: Chicana/o Studies, Cultural Responsiveness, Ethnic Studies, Critical Multicultural Education, Urban Education, Urban Youth Engagement, Critical Pedagogy, and Critical Race Theory in Education.

12th Annual Institute for Transformative Education, July 13-16, 2010, Sponsored by: Tucson Unified School District: Mexican American Studies Department & The University of Arizona - College of Education:
<http://www.tusd.k12.az.us/contents/depart/mexicanam/documents/Institute2010.pdf>


"This four-day conference will provide participants with the opportunity to listen to and dialogue with leading scholars in the areas of: Chicana/o Studies, Cultural Responsiveness, Ethnic Studies, Critical Multicultural Education, Urban Education, Urban Youth Engagement, Critical Pedagogy, and Critical Race Theory in Education."

Excerpt from the registration form (emphasis added):

COST: All TUSD Teacher participants will receive a \$100.00 per day stipend for attending the Institute for Transformative Education. TUSD Teacher participants must sign-in & sign-out for each day of the Institute to receive the stipend.

The charge for non-TUSD participants is \$135 for early registration (July 01, 2010) and \$150 for on-site registration. . . .

11th Annual
Institute for Transformative Education



Sponsored by
TUSD Mexican American/Raza Studies
&
The University of Arizona
College of Education

July 14 - 17, 2009

The University of Arizona College of Education Building
1430 E. 2nd Street, Tucson, AZ 85721

11th Annual Institute for Transformative Education, July 14-17, 2009, Sponsored by: TUSD Mexican American/Raza Studies; The University of Arizona College of Education
<http://www.tusd1.org/contents/depart/mexicanam/documents/Institute2009.pdf>

"Prominent education researchers and activists will convene at The University of Arizona this month to discuss issues related to race, gender, socioeconomics and other critical issues facing families and schools across the nation."

--. Excerpt from "UA Co-Hosting Transformative Education Conference," By University Communications, *UA News*, University of Arizona, July 10, 2009. <http://uanews.org/node/26352>



10th Annual Institute for Transformative Education, July 15-18, 2008, Sponsored by: The Mexican American / Raza Studies Department; Co-sponsored by College of Education, The University of Arizona
<http://tusd1.org/contents/depart/mexicanam/documents/Institute2008.pdf>

"This four-day institute offers workshops and presentations that focus on curriculum, pedagogy, teacher/student/parent interactions, **cultural competency**, and **critical literacy**. Classroom teachers will have the opportunity to learn from and work with the leading scholars in the areas of **Latino critical race theory**, **critical race theory**, **critical multicultural education**, Chicana/o studies, ethnic studies, cultural studies, **critical pedagogy**, and **critical race pedagogy**. In addition to the featured speakers, the conference will provide Chicana/o studies-based lessons and units that teachers at all grade levels can use in their classrooms."



9th Annual Mexican American/Raza Studies K-12 Teacher Institute, July 23-27, 2007

<http://tusd1.org/contents/depart/mexicanam/documents/Institute2007.pdf>

8th Annual Mexican American / Raza Studies K-12 Teacher Institute, July 25-28, 2006

Location: Pima Community College – Desert Vista

<http://www.tusd1.org/contents/depart/mexicanam/documents/Institute2006.pdf>





7th Annual Mexican American / Raza Studies K-12 Summer Institute, July 25, 26, 27, 2005

Location: Pima Community College – Desert Vista
<http://www.tusd1.org/contents/depart/mexicanam/documents/Institute2005.pdf>

Mission Statement

The Mexican American/Raza Studies Department seeks to foster within our students a critical consciousness and strong sense of self-identity through academic success, cultural/historical understanding and community advocacy.



6th Annual Mexican American / Raza Studies K-12 Summer Institute, July 28-31, 2004

Location: Pueblo High Magnet School, Tucson, AZ
http://web.archive.org/web/20040620054004/http://instech.tusd.k12.az.us/Raza/documents/07_31form.doc

Excerpt from the registration form:

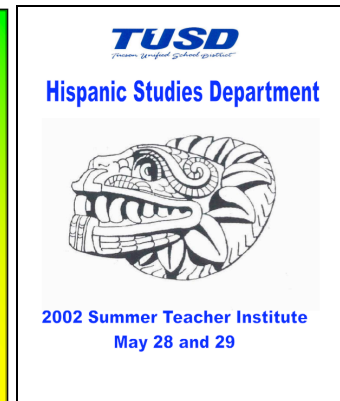
T.U.S.D. Employee Package	Out of District Package A	Out of District Package B
\$70.00	\$130.00	\$100.00
(Includes)	(Includes)	(Includes)
Registration	Registration	Registration
Chicano Study Units/ Unit Materials	Chicano Study Units/ Unit Materials	Chicano Study Units/ Unit Materials
Lunch Provided - All days	Lunch Provided - All days	Lunch Provided - All days
Textbooks by Featured Keynote Speakers	Textbooks by Featured Keynote Speakers	
Professional Dev. - 24 hours		

Mexican American / Raza Studies 5th Annual Teacher Summer Institute July 30-31 & August 1, 2003

<http://tusd1.org/contents/depart/mexicanam/documents/Institute2003.pdf>

“It is the mission of the Mexican American / Raza Studies Department to create within its community the comprehensive knowledge base, critical thinking skills and critical consciousness necessary for the creation of effective leaders in a world that is becoming increasingly complex and diverse. Furthermore, it is our intent to promote the understanding and appreciation of cultural similarities and differences that exist within our communities. Lastly, the Department seeks to advance the understanding and interests of Raza populations within TUSD, the United States and the world in general.”

Excerpt: Keynote Speaker: Antonia Darder, PhD
 “Professor Darder is the author of *Culture and Power in the Classroom* (Bergin & Garvey, 1992), *Culture and Difference* (Bergin & Garvey, 1995), and most recently *Reinventing Paulo Freire* (Westview Press, 2002). She is the editor and co-editor of *Latinos and Education: A Critical Reader* (Routledge, 1996), the *Latino Studies Reader: Culture, Economy and Society* (Blackwell, 1997), and the *Critical Pedagogy Reader* (Routledge, 2002).”



2002 Summer Teacher Institute, May 28-29, 2002.

TUSD, Office of Education, Hispanic Studies Department
<http://tusd1.org/contents/depart/mexicanam/documents/Institute2002.pdf>
 Excerpt from the program, p.3:

Mission Statement

The Hispanic Studies Department is dedicated to the empowerment and strengthening of our community of learners.

Students will attain an understanding and appreciation of historic and contemporary Hispanic contributions.

Student will be prepared for dynamic, confident leadership roles in the 21st Century.

Institute Goals

To increase the working knowledge of Hispanic Studies and the implementation of a curriculum through an examination of:

- Hispanic history in the Southwest, Arizona and Tucson
- **The Chicano movement in the Southwest**
- Contemporary issues in education
- **Integration of Hispanic Studies in the CORE curriculum**
- Chicana/o literature

The primary goal of the Institute is to motivate and mobilize the entire academic community to support student achievement and cultural diversity in the classroom.

(Comment: Notice the overlap with what is also known as: “progressive”, “humanistic”, “holistic”, and “constructivist” education, to name a few.)

WHAT IS TRANSFORMATIVE EDUCATION?

“... Transformative education is based on a reading of contemporary society, or the kinds of capacities for knowing that children need to develop in order to be good workers in a ‘**knowledge economy**’, **participating citizens** in a **globalised** cosmopolitan society, and **balanced personalities** . . . The **essence of education is transformation of self and environment**, which may be pragmatic (enabling learners to do their best in the given social conditions) or emancipatory (making the world a better place).”

-- Transformative education

<http://newlearningonline.com/learning-by-design/glossary/transformative-education/>

What are the 5 pillars of transformative education?

1. engaged citizenship
2. environment sustainability
3. peace education
4. gender sensitivity
5. poverty alleviation

http://wiki.answers.com/Q/What_are_the_5_pillars_of_transformative_education

TRANSFORMATIVE EDUCATION FOR HUMAN DEVELOPMENT

“These perceptions together formed a vision of transformative education that is consolidated into the following interwoven aspects: **Transformation is to be, explicitly, the goal and the process of all educative encounters**”

-- A Vision for Transformative Education

<http://www.transformedu.org/Conference/Proceedings/AVisionorTransformativeEducation/tabid/70/language/en-GB/Default.aspx>

Transformative Education Guide

Definition: Transformative Education and **Sustainability Education**
Why Foster Change through Education?

It is a teacher’s responsibility to equip his or her students with the skills and awareness necessary to make responsible and informed decisions. It is important that a student’s educational experience be **aligned with sustainable principles** as education plays a profound role in the eventual reality of a **sustainable future**. Learning outcomes in all fields need to be adjusted to **reflect human/environment interdependence** and ethics as central to all **disciplines**. Students benefit from active, experiential, and collaborative learning in real-world problems.

http://www.campusclimatenetwork.org/wiki/Transformative_Education_Resources

Transformative Education:

Chronicling a **Pedagogy for Social Change**

<http://www.pieducators.com/files/PlaceBasedtransformativeeducation.pdf>

“The Center for Transformative Education is a new educational initiative that offers empowering educational programs to help **transform societies** into their potential. Utilizing the expertise that Abraham's

Vision has gained in the fields of **experiential education and conflict transformation** since their establishment in 2003, our programs' goals are to educate students about **social relations** between communities, including issues such as **social inequalities and power relations**, and to **empower students to mobilize their communities** to practice just alternatives to the status quo. In the next few years we are focusing on two **training programs that prepare students to work with groups in conflict: a facilitation training course** (January) and a comparative conflict analysis and transformation course (June and July of 2010). CTE's educational models are rooted in western and local-cultural methodologies of working with groups in conflict, thereby creating a groundbreaking organic **model of facilitation** that can be **used in any conflict setting.**”

-- Center for Transformative Education

<http://centerfortransformativeeducation.org/>

WHAT MIGHT A ‘COMPLETE EDUCATION’ MEAN?

This paper was produced by David Dickenson as an appendix to an early draft of the Student Experience Strategy (August 2007). It reveals some of the thinking that underlies the educational aspirations for the strategy. At this time the core concept was ‘**Transformative Education**’ but this had to be modified in response to concerns about the **appropriation of the educational process by interests that were other than academic**. Nevertheless, in working towards an understanding of what a complete education might mean it is worth reconsidering these ideas.

Together, these argue for the “integrated use of all of higher education’s resources in the education and **preparation of the whole student**”. They define learning as a “**comprehensive, holistic, transformative activity that integrates academic learning and student development, processes** that have often been considered separate, and even independent of each other.” (NASPA, p4). The authors imply that learning is not solely or even primarily academic instruction. They recognise the essential **integration of personal development** with learning: “A successful educational experience simultaneously increases cognitive understanding and a sense of personal maturity and interpersonal effectiveness” (NASPA, p3)

Within this paradigm, learning . . . entails explicit connection and **integration of academic learning with wider student support and development**. “Our society expects . . . universities to graduate students who can get things done in the world and are prepared for effective and engaged citizenship . . . To support **today’s learning outcomes**, the **focus of education must shift from information transfer to identity development (transformation)**” (p2, 9).(emphasis added)

<http://lifewidecurriculum.pbworks.com/f/A+complete+education.pdf>

Transformative education:

Critical reflection & experiential learning

9 Nov 2010, Faculty of Arts workshop, CUHK

Jane Jackson, Ph.D., Professor, Dept of English

http://www5.cuhk.edu.hk/arts/arts_media/events_archive/transformative%20education_prof%20jane%20jackson.pdf

SECTION 2

MARXIST EDUCATION THEORY

Excerpts from "Marxism and Education Revisited,"
by Glenn Rikowski, London, April 25, 2008

<http://www.flowideas.co.uk/?page=articles&sub=Marxism%20and%20Education%20Revisited>

The Classical Age of Marxist Educational Theory: 1970-1982

In 1970, Paulo Freire's *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* was published, to be translated into English and sold worldwide in huge numbers from 1971-72. Not only did this book have importance for Brazilian radical educators but it also spawned the **North American Critical Pedagogy School that was to become an important strand within Marxist educational theory**; though it took the work of Paula Allman (1999) and Peter McLaren (2000) to uncover the depth of **Freire's debt to Marx**. During this period, Marxist educational theory was being taken seriously by those on the Left. Furthermore, Left, radical and socialist educational theory (not specifically Marxist) was also, briefly, no longer viewed as a backwater amongst social theorists generally in English-speaking nations. . . .
[. . .]

Renaissance in Marxist Educational Theory and the New Marxist Educational Theory (1994-)

In 1994, something remarkable happened. After a decade of stagnation and decay in Marxist educational theory, some genuinely new, substantial and exciting appeared. This work was the beginning of a **Renaissance in Marxist educational theory**. Richard Brosio (1994) and Kevin Harris (1994) started the trend. In 2002, I summarised the explosion of Marxist writing and research on education in capitalist society, and on **social transformation**, from 1994-2002. Listing those writings took up several pages in footnotes (Rikowski, 2002, pp.27-31) – and it is now difficult to keep up with new work in the field. **We now live in the era of the New Marxist Educational Theory, where the works and ideas of Marx and Marxists (or Marxians) have been used to analyse and critique capitalist education and training on a scale previously unknown.**

This time around, **Marxist educational theory is being applied to policy and education issues: to training policy, apprenticeship, mentoring, learning society, lifelong learning, and the actual pedagogy of critical education** (e.g. Allman, 2001). There has also been a revival of critical and radical pedagogy through the work of Peter McLaren, Antonia Darder and many others. This time it was more decidedly radical. **The radical roots of Paulo Freire have been rediscovered.**
[. . .]

PAULO FREIRE (b.1921-d.1997)

"Sociopolitical consciousness goes beyond the individual characteristics of academic achievement and cultural competence This is what Freire called '**conscientization.**' **Students as political agents** need not only to understand the political nature of schooling, but also see their role in the community, the nation, and the world" (Emphasis added)

-- Sung Choon Park, M.Ed., Dissertation:

"Teachers' Perceptions of Teaching for Social Justice," Ohio State University, 2008, p.48

< <http://etd.ohiolink.edu/send-pdf.cgi/Park%20Sung%20Choon.pdf?osu1211568529> >

". . . Freire placed an emphasis on education through **dialogue**. He says, '[the] act of knowing involves a **dialectical movement** which goes from action to reflection and from reflection upon action to a new action' (Freire 1970, p. 13).⁸³ The commitment to emancipation of the human spirit and the collective human well-being is at the heart of Freire's pedagogy.⁸⁴ Grundy states that Freire's "**problem-posing education** encourages students and teachers together to confront the real problems of their existence and relationships (1987, p. 103). . . ." (Emphasis added)

"Freire's educational theory places emphasis on **dialogue** as a means to communicating in order to attain **conscientization** which he believes will help in **praxis**. . . . For Freire it is important that the **teacher understands the realities of the student's life and picks topics from her experiences in order to confront and find solutions through dialogue**. This is indeed a key characteristic of the problem-posing education. . . ." (Emphasis added)

". . . [Freire's] educational theory is rooted in two steps: Conscientization (to become aware) and Praxis (to act upon). . . . Freire's pedagogical theory, . . . , seeks pupils to become critical thinkers and **prepares them for the world where they constantly review what happens around them and through this critical thinking and questioning they can bring about or propose change.** . . ."

-- Bob Darwish, "**Education as a Political Act: Dewey, Freire and the (International Baccalaureate) Theory of Knowledge Curriculum,**" August 2009, p. 69, 70.

< http://qspace.library.queensu.ca/bitstream/1974/2579/1/Darwish_Babor_200908_M.Ed.pdf >

"Paulo Freire contributed a philosophy of education that came not only from the more classical approaches stemming from Plato, but also from modern Marxist and anti-colonialist thinkers. In fact, in many ways his *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* may be best read as an extension of, or reply to, Frantz Fanon's *The Wretched of the Earth*, which emphasized the need to provide native populations with an education which was simultaneously new and modern (rather than traditional)

and anti-colonial (not simply an extension of the culture of the colonizer).

Freire is best-known for his attack on what he called the "banking" concept of education, in which the student was viewed as an empty account to be filled by the teacher. Of course, this is not really new — Rousseau's conception of the child as an active learner was already a step away from tabula rasa (which is basically the same as the "banking concept"), and thinkers like John Dewey and Alfred North Whitehead were strongly critical of the transmission of mere "facts" as the goal of education. Freire's work is one of the foundations of critical pedagogy.

More challenging is Freire's strong aversion to the teacher-student dichotomy. This dichotomy is admitted in Rousseau and constrained in Dewey, but Freire comes close to insisting that it should be completely abolished. . . . Freire wants us to think in terms of teacher-student and student-teacher; that is, a teacher who learns and a learner who teaches, as the basic roles of classroom participation.

[. . .]

Freire has come into criticism. Rich Gibson has critiqued his work as a cul-de-sac, a combination of old-style socialism (wherever Freire was not) and liberal reformism (wherever Freire was). Paul V. Taylor, in his "Texts of Paulo Freire," comes close to calling Freire a plagiarist, while Gibson notes Freire borrows heavily from Hegel's "Phenomenology." Gibson's dissertation which examines Freire's theory, practice, and history in a Marxist context is the sharpest critique of Freire to date."

-- "Paulo Freire – Theoretical contributions",
NationMaster.com
<http://www.statemaster.com/encyclopedia/Paulo-Freire>

Excerpt from *the deliberate dumbing down of america*
by Charlotte T. Iserbyt, Conscience Press, 1999
p.236-237 (Download free pdf
<http://deliberatedumbingdown.com/>)

PAULO FREIRE'S INFLUENCE ON WORLD EDUCATION, INCLUDING EDUCATION IN THE UNITED STATES,

is revealed in an interesting article entitled "Radical Theorist Takes His Message to the World" published in *The New York Times* August 19, 1986. Some excerpts follow:

Within days of the triumph of the Sandinista Revolution in July 1979, Nicaragua's new leaders had tracked down the Brazilian educator Paulo Freire at the university where he was lecturing in the United States and had issued him an invitation to come to Managua to help reorganize the country's education system and design its new literacy program.

When Portugal underwent its revolution in 1974 its new Government made a similar offer to Mr.

Freire, as did Chile's Institute for Agrarian Reform during the period just before the election of Salvador Allende Gossens there."¹⁷

Newly independent nations in Africa, ranging from Angola to Tanzania, have also sought the advice of the man regarded as perhaps the foremost literacy expert and radical educator in the world.

"It's something that pleases me," Mr. Freire said recently as he passed through New York City, on his way to a series of workshops and seminars at American universities. "At times, I have been criticized by some philosophers of education, who place me in postures that they classify pejoratively as revolutionary...."

Mr. Friere (pronounced FRAYree) first became widely known in this country with the publication *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* more than 15 years ago. He has argued that it is not education which shapes a society, but rather society which molds education to fit the ends and interests of those in control. In his view, education, particularly the process of learning to read and write, "can become an instrument of social transformation by making those at the bottom of society aware of their plight and the reasons for it."

In practice, refined through literacy campaigns among peasants in the Brazilian Northeast beginning in the late 1950s and later on four continents, Mr. Freire and his many disciples have relied on words like "hunger" or "land," chosen for their relevance to the pupil's own political and social situation, to teach peasants and workers to read and write. The objective is to develop among them what Mr. Friere calls "a critical comprehension of reality."

...But Mr. Freire also argues that his distinct education has considerable relevance in the industrialized nations of the capitalist world. Mr. Freire's methods have been adapted in the United States by feminist, Hispanic and black groups that operate adult literacy programs or train teachers. Even some corporations, such as Consolidated Edison in New York, have at various times used his techniques in education programs for new workers with low levels of formal education.

"I am not a technician of literacy, as many people apparently saw me in the beginning," he said. "I am an educator who thinks globally."...

To some of his critics, including the Reagan Administration, Mr. Freire's emphasis on the practical has been taken to an absurd extreme in Nicaragua, where second graders count not apples or oranges but hand grenades and rifles to learn arithmetic.

[Ed. Note: See the 1993 entry for the Michigan High School Proficiency Communications Arts Framework which deals with the constructivist philosophy behind whole language and carries out Friere's philosophy of social transformation through "critical thinking."]

"The most important contribution to critical theory has been made by Paulo Freire who stressed education and political liberation for literacy campaigns. According to Freire (1970) in his famous book, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, 'Education as the exercise of domination stimulates the credulity of students, with the ideological intent (often not perceived by educators) of indoctrinating them to adapt to the world of oppression' (Freire, 1970, p. 65). Freire regards traditional educational methods as banking education, where the teacher is like the depositor, putting the particular knowledge in her students' accounts, and the education process is over. . . . 'The more students work at storing the deposits entrusted to them, the less they develop the critical consciousness which would result from their intervention in the world as transformers of that world' (Freire, 1970, p. 60)." . . . "They (students) must abandon the educational goal of deposit-making and replace it with the posing of the problems of men in their relations with the world' (Freire, 1970, p. 66). In **problem-posing teaching**, the aim of teachers is to let students know 'through dialogue with them both their objective situation and their awareness of that situation – the various levels of perception of themselves and of the world in which and with which they exist' (Freire, 1970, p. 84). This educational method breaks the traditional relationship of teachers and students," . . . The **role of the teacher is that of a facilitator** as s/he helps the students focus on critical thinking and tailors the process through which students form their own opinions and develop attitudes. Establishment of a critical learning environment, thus, requires encouragement and promotion of inquiry, thinking, critical awareness, and developing understanding in students." . . . "Freire (1970) believed that 'critical literacy educators engage in actions which seek to liberate learners from oppression, rather than an educational model where the teachers as subjects narrate knowledge to the students as objects, critical literacy is problem-posing education' (Freire, 1970, pp. 57-67)"

-- Yang Yang, "Critical Literacy from a Chinese Perspective," Presented at the Annual Meeting of the Australian Association for Research in Education, Adelaide, Australia, Nov. 27, 2006 - Dec. 1, 2006. <http://www.aare.edu.au/06pap/yan06207.pdf>

In Tucson Unified School District, **Paulo Freire's *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*** is on the "Texts and Reading Lists" for the Mexican American Studies Department's **"American Government/ Social Justice Education Project 1, 2"**

Notice the use of **"American Government" vs. "United States Government"**. There is an important distinction: when "United States" is substituted with "American" that seemingly benign change will allow for coverage of North America, Central America, and South America – in whole or part. For example: the 2-year high school level IB Diploma Program offers an "IB History of the Americas" course which covers the U.S., Canada, and Mexico. There are schools in the U.S. that allow the IB course to fulfill U.S. Government and/or U.S. History requirements.

CRITICAL THEORY

"One of the basic tenets of Critical Theory was the necessity to break down the contemporary family. The Institute scholars preached that [21] '...Even a partial breakdown of parental authority in the family might tend to **increase the readiness of a coming generation to accept social change.**' The 'generation gap' of the 1960s and the 'gender gap' of the 1990s are two aspects of the attempt by the elite Boomers (taking a page out of **cultural Marxism**) to transform American culture into their 'Marxist' utopia."

-- Dr. Gerald L. Atkinson CDR USN (Ret.),
"About the Frankfurt School," August 1999
<http://frankfurtschool.us/history.htm>

"Critical theory is yet another psychological 'command and control' device. As stated by Daniel J. Flynn, 'Critical Theory, as its name implies, criticizes. What deconstruction does to literature, Critical Theory does to societies.' (Intellectual Morons, p 15-16) Critical Theory is an ongoing and brutal assault via vicious criticism relentlessly leveled against Christians, Christmas, the Boy Scouts, Ten Commandments, our military, and all other aspects of traditional American culture and society.

Both political correctness and Critical Theory are in essence, psychological bullying. They are the psycho political battering rams by which Frankfurt School disciples such as the ACLU are forcing Americans to submit to and to obey the will and the way of the Left. **These devious devices are but psychological versions of Georg Lukacs and Laventi Beria's 'cultural terrorism' tactics.** In the words of Beria, "Obedience is the result of force...Force is the antithesis of humanizing actions. It is so synonymous in the human mind with savageness, lawlessness, brutality, and barbarism, that it is only necessary to display an inhuman attitude toward people to be granted by those people the possessions of force." (*The Russian Manual on Psychopolitics: Obedience*, by Laventi Beria, head of Soviet Secret Police and Stalin's right-hand man")

-- Linda Kimball, "The New Left, Cultural Marxism, and Psychopolitics Disguised as Multiculturalism" Aug. 2, 2006, *Sierra Times*
<http://www.sierratimes.com/06/08/02/Kimball.htm>

"... it's being taught in Raza classes through what is called **'critical race theory' or 'critical pedagogy' which is the same way of teaching that's being done in Nicaragua and other Communist controlled countries. It's Marxist-driven. It's all about opposition to capitalism. It's all about class struggle. And it's all about looking through everything through the lens of race so that kids essentially learn that they are victims; that they are victims of oppression.**"

-- Rich Kronberg, (transcribed from an interview in "Tucson's Mexican-American Studies Problem," mikesaw.tv, May 2, 2011
<http://www.mikesaw.tv/tucsons-mexican-american-studies-problem/>

". . . **Constructivism has its roots in critical theory**, as Price and Reus-Smit (1998; also see Wyn Jones 2001: 12–15) argue, in that it **seeks to problematize the taken-for-granted, to 'make strange' what is regarded to exist 'out there'**." (Emphasis added)

-- Vincent Pouliot, "Essence of constructivism," *Journal of International Relations and Development*, Vol 7, No 3, 2004, p 323.
<http://commons.wvc.edu/jminharo/pols101/Articles%20to%20Choose%20From/The%20Essence%20of%20Constructivism.pdf>

". . . Different terms have been defined on the basis of critical theory represented at different stages. For example, McLaren (1989) sometimes employed the term **'the new sociology of education'**, Macedo used the term **'liberatory pedagogy'**, hooks (1994) used **'engaged pedagogy'**, and Bartolome (1994) used **'humanizing pedagogy'**. No matter which term they employ, of most importance is that **critical pedagogy** is not confined to the abstract and theoretical level. There is a kind of interrelationship between practice and theory in **critical social theory**, that is to say, critical pedagogy appears to produce a dialectic empowerment between practice and theory. **Dialectical thinking** refers to dialogical thinking conducted in order to test the strengths and weaknesses of opposing points of view' (Beach, 2004, p. 27). Thus, it can be seen that **dialectical thought** is a process of solving issues by thinking issues over again and again, and it strives to seek contradiction, **create new ideas and behaviours from contradictions** so as to benefit from the differences in experience and abilities of students. This relationship breaks deeply ingrained epistemology and **inspires cognitive change**. . . ." (Emphasis added)

-- Yang Yang, "Critical Literacy from a Chinese Perspective," Paper Presented at the Annual Meeting of the Australian Association for Research in Education, Adelaide, Australia, Nov. 27, 2006 – Dec. 1, 2006, p. 2-3.
<http://www.aare.edu.au/06pap/yan06207.pdf>

"Most schools of education in the U.S., including the one in which I am enrolled, require preservice teachers who are pursuing certification to take a class on teaching to diverse learners. The idea is that as we are preparing to teach students with racial and socioeconomic backgrounds that may differ from our own, we ought to gain some understanding of the special issues these students (and their families and communities) confront so that we can do a better job connecting with them, respecting them, and teaching them. It is a very sensible idea.

In the diversity class I am currently taking, our reading so far has been drawn largely from the fields of critical pedagogy and critical race studies. This is not the first time I have encountered this sort of writing; variations of critical theory - often rooted in Marxism and the Frankfurt School - have flourished in many academic disciplines."

-- Ryan McCarl, "Thinking critically about critical pedagogy," July 15, 2009
<http://www.wideawakeminds.com/2009/07/thinking-critically-about-critical.html>

"Critical Theory"

Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy, First published Mar 8, 2005

<http://plato.stanford.edu/entries/critical-theory/>

Critical Theory has a narrow and a broad meaning in philosophy and in the history of the social sciences. "Critical Theory" in the narrow sense designates several generations of German philosophers and social theorists in the Western European Marxist tradition known as the Frankfurt School. According to these theorists, a "critical" theory may be distinguished from a "traditional" theory according to a specific practical purpose: **a theory is critical to the extent that it seeks human emancipation, "to liberate human beings from the circumstances that enslave them"** (Horkheimer 1982, 244). Because such theories aim to explain and transform all the circumstances that enslave human beings, many "critical theories" in the broader sense have been developed. They have emerged in connection with the many social movements that identify varied dimensions of the domination of human beings in modern societies. In both the broad and the narrow senses, however, a critical theory provides the descriptive and normative bases for social inquiry aimed at decreasing domination and increasing freedom in all their forms.

Critical Theory in the narrow sense has had many different aspects and quite distinct historical phases that cross several generations from the founding of the **Institute for Social Research in 1929** to the present. Its distinctiveness as a philosophical approach that extends to ethics, political philosophy, and the philosophy of history is most apparent when considered in light of the history of the philosophy of the social sciences. **Critical Theorists have long sought to distinguish their aims, methods, theories, and forms of explanation from standard understandings in both the natural and the social sciences**. Instead, they have claimed that social inquiry ought to combine rather than separate the poles of philosophy and the social sciences: explanation and understanding, structure and agency, regularity and normativity. Such an approach, Critical Theorists argue, permits their enterprise to be practical in a distinctively moral (rather than instrumental) sense. They do not merely seek to provide the means to achieve some independent goal, but rather (as in Horkheimer's famous definition mentioned above) **seek "human emancipation" in circumstances of domination and oppression**. This normative task cannot be accomplished apart from the interplay between philosophy and social science through interdisciplinary empirical social research (Horkheimer 1993). **While Critical Theory is often thought of narrowly as referring to the Frankfurt School that begins with Horkheimer and Adorno**

and stretches to Marcuse and Habermas, any philosophical approach with similar practical aims could be called a “critical theory,” including feminism, critical race theory, and some forms of post-colonial criticism. In the following, Critical Theory when capitalized refers only to the Frankfurt School. All other uses of the term are meant in the broader sense and thus not capitalized. When used in the singular, “a critical theory” is not capitalized, even when the theory is developed by members of the Frankfurt School in the context of their overall project of Critical Theory.

It follows from Horkheimer's definition that a critical theory is adequate only if it meets three criteria: it must be explanatory, practical, and normative, all at the same time. That is, it must explain what is wrong with current social reality, identify the actors to change it, and provide both clear norms for criticism and achievable practical goals for social transformation. Any truly critical theory of society, as Horkheimer further defined it in his writings as Director of the Frankfurt School's Institute for Social Research, “has as its object human beings as producers of their own historical form of life” (Horkheimer 1993, 21). In light of the practical goal of identifying and overcoming all the circumstances that limit human freedom, the explanatory goal could be furthered only through interdisciplinary research that includes psychological, cultural, and social dimensions, as well as institutional forms of domination. Given the emphasis among the first generation of Critical Theory on human beings as the self-creating producers of their own history, a unique practical aim of social inquiry suggests itself: to transform contemporary capitalism into a consensual form of social life. For Horkheimer a capitalist society could be transformed only by becoming more democratic, to make it such that “all conditions of social life that are controllable by human beings depend on real consensus” in a rational society (Horkheimer 1982, 249–250). The normative orientation of Critical Theory, at least in its form of critical social inquiry, is therefore towards the transformation of capitalism into a “real democracy” in which such control could be exercised (Horkheimer 1982, 250). In such formulations, there are striking similarities between Critical Theory and American pragmatism.

The focus on democracy as the location for cooperative, practical and transformative activity continues today in the work of Jürgen Habermas, as does the attempt to determine the nature and limits of “real democracy” in complex, pluralistic, and globalizing societies.

As might be expected from such an ambitious philosophical project and form of inquiry, Critical Theory is rife with tensions. In what follows I will develop the arguments within Critical Theory that surround its overall philosophical project. First, I explore its basic philosophical orientation or

metaphilosophy. In its efforts to combine empirical social inquiry and normative philosophical argumentation, Critical Theory presents a viable alternative for social and political philosophy today. Second, I will consider its core normative theory—its relation to its transformation of a Kantian ethics of autonomy into a conception of freedom and justice in which democracy and democratic ideals play a central role (Horkheimer 1993, 22; Horkheimer 1982, 203). As a member of the second generation of Critical Theory, Habermas in particular has developed this dimension of normative political theory into a competitor to Rawlsian constructivism, which attempts to bring our pretheoretical intuitions into reflective equilibrium. In the third section, I will consider its empirical orientation in practical social theory and practical social inquiry that aims at promoting democratic norms. A fundamental tension emerges between a comprehensive social theory that provides a theoretical basis for social criticism and a more pluralist and practical orientation that does not see any particular theory or methodology as distinctive of Critical Theory as such. In this way, the unresolved tension between the empirical and normative aspects of the project of a critical theory oriented to the realization of human freedom is manifest in each of its main contributions to philosophy informed by social science. Finally, I examine the contribution of Critical Theory to debates about globalization, in which the potential transformation of both democratic ideals and institutions is at stake.

THE DIALECTIC

“The dialectical technique is used to create change. In diverse situations two forces exist in conflict or ‘contradiction’ to each other. Marx said that one is ‘thesis’ (the progressive) while the other is ‘antithesis’ (or reactionary.) In the course of applying opposing force, the antithesis is slightly moved, creating a new ‘synthesis,’ a new state of conflict. The thesis temporarily retreats. The process is repeated. Progress is made in a series of advances and retreats.”

“Another way of looking at the dialectic is put by Phil Worts this way: ‘Hegelian dialectic is simply relative values. Truth is no longer found and stood on something transcendent, that you have to submit to. You can discover it yourself. It's a merging of opposites. Since there is no such thing as absolute truth, ‘my truth’ is just as good as ‘your truth,’ so don't tell me what to think or how to behave. As Nietzsche would later say, ‘There is absolutely no absolute.’ Now 2 + 2 can equal 5, or 17, or whatever you feel is right.”

“Student of German history John Loeffler said that

Europe, influenced by philosophers such as Feuerbach, Hegel and Nietzsche, has been dialectical since the mid-nineteenth century (circa 1850s.) By the time of Hitler's rise to power, the Lutheran church had been so weakened that few recognized what was happening or had the strength of conviction to oppose the Nazis. **The dialectic works to oppose conscience, by constantly questioning absolutes and justifying compromising or jettisoning them. Joseph Stalin said, 'Dialectics is the soul of Marxism.'**" (Emphasis added)

-- Susan O'Donnell, "Dialectical Education",
Nov.00-Jan.01, *Education News*
<http://www.ednews.org/articles/dialectical-education.html>

"Dialectical thinking" and "Dialogical thinking"

From the Glossary of Critical Thinking Terms
<http://www.criticalthinking.org/articles/glossary.cfm>

"dialectical thinking: Dialogical thinking (thinking within more than one perspective) conducted to test the strengths and weaknesses of opposing points of view. (Court trials and debates are, in a sense, dialectical.) When thinking dialectically, reasoners pit two or more opposing points of view in competition with each other, developing each by providing support, raising objections, countering those objections, raising further objections, and so on. Dialectical thinking or discussion can be conducted so as to "win" by defeating the positions one disagrees with — using critical insight to support one's own view and pointing out flaws in other views (associated with critical thinking in the restricted or weak sense), or fairly-mindedly, by conceding points that don't stand up to critique, trying to integrate or incorporate strong points found in other views, and using critical insight to develop a fuller and more accurate view (associated with critical thinking in the fuller or strong sense)."

"dialogical thinking: Thinking that involves a dialogue or extended exchange between different points of view or frames of reference. Students learn best in dialogical situations, in circumstances in which they continually express their views to others and try to fit other's views into their own. See Socratic questioning, monological thinking, multilogical thinking, dialectical thinking."

CRITICAL THINKING

". . . the original meaning of 'critical thinking' has been confused with thinking that is critical of American values and institutions, a mode of thought that reflects

the left orthodoxy of the university community itself." "The critical thinking movement has some academic legitimacy. It emerged from an initiative at Sonoma State College some twenty-five years ago. Its source was the logic courses taught by philosophy departments, often as their contribution to the core curriculum. The movement's novelty was in separating the goal of developing good thinking habits from the study of any particular body of knowledge."

"Unquestionably, it is good for students to learn how to apply logic and sharpen their reasoning skills. Since then, however, the term has been appropriated for other, quite different purposes. In my experience at Temple — a large state-related university — 'critical thinking' is intended to recruit the next generation of students into an oppositional force to carry out the struggle for social justice, a renovation thought to be urgently needed in an ideologically blind-folded America." (Emphasis added)

-- Stephen Zelnick, "'Critical Thinking' Minus Criticism and Thought -- It's more about teaching what to think than how to think", Nov. 25, 2008, The John William Pope Center for Higher Education Policy.
<http://www.popecenter.org/news/article.html?id=2097>

"Like the Western socialists, they [Russian populists of *Land and Liberty* group who were devoted to the Western ideal of socialism. —*Ed.*] found repellant the realities of contemporary Western society. They disliked Victorian delicacy, industrial slums and factory miseries, and bourgeois parliamentarism. They had enough of their Western contemporaries' "realism" to appreciate that socialist Utopias are not to be had for the asking. The inexorable process of history, they felt, were on their side, although they clung to the belief that the "**critically-thinking individual**" could channel and utilize these processes in order to create a good society. The revolutionary should be able to discern the germ of future development within the institutions given by the past." (Emphasis added)

-- Donald W. Treadgold, *Twentieth Century Russia*,
Rand McNally History Series, 1959. p.28.

". . . [Freire's] educational theory is rooted in two steps: Conscientization (to become aware) and Praxis (to act upon). . . . Freire's pedagogical theory, . . . , seeks pupils to become critical thinkers and prepares them for the world where they constantly review what happens around them and through this critical thinking and questioning they can bring about or propose change. . . ."

-- Bob Darwish, "**Education as a Political Act: Dewey, Freire and the (International Baccalaureate) Theory of Knowledge Curriculum,**" (Masters thesis) Aug 2009, p.69-70
http://qspace.library.queensu.ca/bitstream/1974/2579/1/Darwish_Babor_200908_M.Ed.pdf

SECTION 3

DOUBLE-THINK

Arthur Koestler provides insights about “group mind” and the “magic world of double-think”: that people who are successfully processed will learn “powerful techniques of self-deception”, ignore “unpalatable facts”, discard the “rules of common logic”, and invalidate criticism “by shifting the argument to the subjective motivation of the critic”.

As the peddlers of Marxist education theories and practices seek to transform education and society globally, we would do well to be aware of the historical record of the consequences of ideas and methods that cultivate double-think (and group-think).

All emphasis added below

Excerpts from Arthur Koestler's *The Ghost in the Machine*, Hutchinson & Co, London 1967.

Excerpts posted at: <http://www.mailstar.net/koestler.html>

{p. 260} To recapitulate: without a transcendental belief, each man is a mean little island. The need for self-transcendence through some form of 'peak experience' (religious or aesthetic) and/or through social integration is inherent in man's condition. Transcendental beliefs are derived from certain ever-recurrent archetypal patterns which evoke instant emotive responses. But **once they become institutionalised as the collective property of a group they degenerate into rigid doctrines** which, without losing their emotive appeal to the true believer, potentially offend his reasoning faculties. This leads to the split: emotion responds to {p. 261} the piercing call of the Muezzin, the intellect shrinks from it. To eliminate the dissonance, **various forms of double-think have been designed at various times -- powerful techniques of self-deception**, some crude, some extremely sophisticated. Secular religions -- political ideologies -- too, have their ancient origins in the utopian craving for an ideal society; but when they crystallise into a movement or party, they can be distorted to such an extent that the actual policy pursued is the direct opposite of the professed ideal. The reason why idealistic movements -- whether religious or secular -- show this apparently inevitable tendency to degenerate into their own caricatures can be derived from the peculiarities of the **group mind**: its tendency towards **intellectual oversimplification** combined with **emotional arousal**, and its **quasi-hypnotic suggestibility by leader-figures or belief-systems**.

I can speak of this with some first-hand experience, based on seven years (1931-8) of membership in the Communist Party during Stalin's terror regime. In writing about that period, I have described the **operations of the deluded mind in terms of elaborate manoeuvrings to defend the citadel of**

faith against the hostile incursions of doubt. There are several concentric rings of defences protecting the fortress. The **outer defences are designed to ward off unpalatable facts**. For the simple-minded this is made easy by official censorship, the banning of all literature liable to poison the mind; and by **implanting a fear of contamination, or of guilt by association**, through contact with suspected heretics. Crude as these methods are, they quickly **produce a blinkered, sectarian outlook on the world**. Avoidance of forbidden information, first imposed from the outside, soon becomes a habit -- an emotive revulsion against the dirty packs of lies offered by the enemy. For the majority of believers, this is quite enough to ensure unswerving loyalty; the more sophisticated are frequently forced to fall back on the inner defence positions. In 1932-3, the years of the great famine which followed the forced collectivisation of the land, I travelled widely in the Soviet Union, writing a book which was never published. I saw entire villages deserted, railway stations blocked by crowds of begging families, and the proverbial starving infants -- but they {p. 262} were quite real, with stick-like arms, puffed up bellies and cadaverous heads.

{quote} I reacted to the brutal impact of reality on illusion in a manner typical of the true believer. I was surprised and bewildered -- but the elastic shock-absorbers of my Party training began to operate at once. I had eyes to see, and **a mind conditioned to explain away what they saw**. This 'inner censor' is more reliable and effective than any official censorship. ... It helped me to overcome my doubts and to re-arrange my impressions in the desired pattern. I learnt to **classify automatically everything that shocked me as 'the heritage of the past' and everything I liked as 'the seeds of the future'**. By setting up this automatic sorting machine in his mind, it was still possible in 1933 for a European to live in Russia and yet to remain a Communist. All my friends had that automatic sorting machine in their heads. **The Communist mind has perfected the techniques of self-deception in the same manner as its techniques of mass propaganda**. The inner censor in the mind of the true believer completes the work of the public censor; his self-discipline is as tyrannical as the obedience imposed by the regime; he terrorises his own conscience into submission; he carries his private Iron Curtain inside his skull, to protect his illusions against the intrusion of reality. {endquote} {Koestler here quotes from his earlier book *The Invisible Writing* (London 1954)}

Behind the curtain there is the **magic world of double-think**. 'Ugly is beautiful, false is true, and also coversely.' This is not Orwell; it was written, in all seriousness, by the late Professor Suzuki, the foremost propounder of modern Zen, to illustrate the principle of the identity of opposites. The

perversions of Pop-Zen are based on juggling with the identity of opposites, the Communist's on juggling with the dialectics of history, the Schoolman's on a combination of Holy Scripture with Aristotelian logic. The axioms differ, but the delusional process follows much the same pattern. **Facts and arguments which succeed in penetrating the outer defences are processed by the dialectical method until 'false' becomes 'true', tyranny the true democracy,** and a herring a racehorse:

{quote} Gradually **I learnt to distrust my preoccupation with facts**, and to regard the world around me in the light of **dialectic interpretation**. It was a satisfactory and indeed blissful state; once you had assimilated {p. 263} the technique, the so-called facts automatically took on the proper colouring and fell into their proper place. Both morally and logically the Party was infallible: morally, because its aims were right, that is in accord with the **Dialectic of History**, and these aims justified all means; logically, because the Party was the vanguard of the proletariat, and the proletariat the embodiment of the active principle in History.... I now **lived in a mental world which was a 'closed system'**, comparable to the self-contained universe of the Middle Ages. All my feelings, my attitudes to art, literature and human relations, became reconditioned and moulded to the pattern. {endquote}

{Koestler here quotes from his earlier books *The God That Failed* (London 1950) pp. 42-3, and *The Invisible Writing* (London 1954) p. 26}

The most striking feature of the paranoiac's delusional system is its inner consistency, and the patient's uncanny persuasiveness in expounding it. Much the same applies to any 'closed system' of thought. By a closed system I mean a cognitive matrix, governed by a canon, which has three main peculiarities. Firstly, it **claims to represent a truth of universal validity, capable of explaining all phenomena, and to have a cure for all that ails man**. In the second place, it is a system which **cannot be refuted by evidence, because all potentially damaging data are automatically processed and reinterpreted to make them fit the expected pattern**. The processing is done by sophisticated methods of casuistry, centred on axioms of great emotive power, and **indifferent to the rules of common logic**; it is a kind of Wonderland croquet, played with mobile hoops. In the third place, it is a system which **invalidates criticism by shifting the argument to the subjective motivation of the critic**, and deducing his motivation from the axioms of the system itself.

". . . most people think of brainwashing as something that is done to someone. **Our minds don't grasp the idea that brainwashing is something that you are forced to do to yourself**. But if you think about it, a person's inner thoughts cannot be compelled. **The only way to cleanse the mind is by controlling the environment in such a way that the individual himself is deceived into discarding his existing facts, beliefs, and values**. The Chinese brainwashers affirm that this takes time which is the reason government today wants the children at the earliest age possible. Because if they can begin training children as they see fit at a very early age, then brainwashing won't be necessary later on."

--Judy McLemore, "Critical Theory, Marxism, Dialectical Method and Total Quality Management" under the section "W. Edwards Deming's TQM is Mao's Brainwashing (Putting Hegel's Dialectical Theory into Practice)," Vol 3., 2nd edition, 2002.

GROUP-THINK

"Janis (1972) defined groupthink as

a mode of thinking that people engage in when they are deeply involved in a cohesive in-group, when the members' strivings for unanimity override their motivation to realistically appraise alternative courses of action . . . **Groupthink refers to a deterioration of mental efficiency, reality testing, and moral judgment that results from in-group pressures.** (p. 9)"

-- Zenglo Chen and Robert B Lawson, "Groupthink: Deciding with the leader and the devil," *Psychological Record*; Fall 96, Vol. 46 Issue 4, p.581, 10p

"According to Janis (1982), a highly cohesive group (indexed by an unwillingness to express alternative solutions to an emerging and detectable group consensus) coupled with directive leadership gives rise to the three observable group decision features, namely, a defective decision making process, a low quality decision outcome, and **five groupthink symptoms**, (the illusions of invulnerability and unanimity, collective rationalization, self-censorship, and **direct pressure on dissenters**). In general, directive leadership, defined as promoting a particular decision alternative coupled with ignoring rather than pursuing other decision alternatives, gives rise to more groupthink symptoms and more observable defects in the group decision making process . . ."

-- Zenglo Chen and Robert B Lawson, "Groupthink: Deciding with the leader and the devil," *Psychological Record*; Fall 96, Vol. 46 Issue 4, p581, 10p

"Groupthink" results at meetings where a trained professional "facilitator" manipulates participants to reach a "consensus." More on "consensus" follows:

What's Wrong with Consensus

© March 1996; Lynn M Stuter

http://www.learn-usa.com/transformation_process/acf003.htm

Con-sen-sus — 1 : group solidarity in sentiment and belief 2 a : general agreement: UNANIMITY b : collective opinion (*Webster's Seventh Collegiate Dictionary*)

More and more people are hearing the term "consensus" used. The foundation and purpose of "consensus" follows.

Consensus is the very essence of the Hegelian Principle. The Hegelian Principle was formulated by Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel (1770-1831), German philosopher. Hegel was greatly influenced by Immanuel Kant, known as the "father of the romanticist movement." Kant's attack on reason, this world, and man's happiness paved the way for future philosophers to reject the tenets of reason and logic for subjectivism and relativism. Hegel was no exception. Born in Stuttgart, Germany, Hegel was a philosophical idealist. He maintained that the mind was the source of all reality; the individual mind to be an estranged part of one universal Mind, that through the process of rational dialectic that Mind would be restored to oneness. [1] This "rational dialectic" is the basis of the Hegelian Principle or Dialectic wherein "*an entity passes over into and is preserved and fulfilled by its opposite*" [2] through a three part process:

- a. thesis: "*embodying a particular view or position;*"
- b. antithesis: "*providing an opposing or contrary position;*" and
- c. synthesis: "*which reconciles the two previous positions and then becomes the basis of a new thesis.*" [3]

In theory, this principle provides, then, a pathway to continual evolution to Oneness of Mind, to "*ultimate wholeness achieved through freedom, reason and knowledge.*" [4]

After his death, in 1831, Hegel's followers split into two camps, the Old Hegelians and the Young Hegelians. The Young Hegelians rejected Hegel's basic premise of the mind as the source of all reality,

arguing that it is the physical and material life of human beings that determines consciousness and thought. [5]

This is the philosophy later adopted by Karl Marx (1818-1883) and from which he developed his *theory of alienation*. Marx was born in Trier, then the part of Prussia known as the German Rhineland, now located on the west side of Germany. He attended the University of Bonn and University of Berlin, majoring in philosophy. On graduation, he entered the field of journalism, his thesis paper not having netted him the university position he wanted. But having his journalistic works rejected by the Prussian government, he moved to France where he struck a life-long relationship with Friedrich Engels and

began writing for the German French annals. Displeased with the revolutionary ideology of the paper, Prussia issued warrants for the arrest of the editors. The job did not last and Marx could not return to his homeland. In 1847, he attended the first Congress of the Communist League in England where he and Engels were commissioned to write a simple declaration of the League's doctrine, resulting in the *Communist Manifesto*, published in 1848. In 1849, in disrepute in his homeland, France and Belgium, Marx settled in London, England, where he lived the rest of his life.

True to the Young Hegelians, Marx centered his philosophy in the belief that the physical and material life determines consciousness and thought while holding to Hegel's belief in Oneness of Mind. Marx believed this would be achieved in the classless society in which the workers, as a collective held in the government, own all means of production and ownership of the land (communism). He believed religion was a form of self-alienation in which man attributed all goodness and wisdom capable to a remote God instead of recognizing goodness and wisdom as essentially human capacities — coming from within. Marx's entire theory regarding social, political and economic systems centered on eradicating "self-alienation." He believed this eradication would progress naturally, not consciously, via the Hegelian Dialectic. This progression is known as *dialectical materialism*. [6]

The process of dialectical materialism is not, however, a natural process. To achieve dialectical materialism, the process cannot be left to chance. Thus the need for facilitators — professional change agents, trained in group dynamics and on the intricacies of how to move a group to a preset conclusion. And true to definition, each member of the "consensus circle" is expected to abide, support, and accept ownership of the "synthesis of opposing views." This obviously means that people must change their existing belief systems in order to come to consensus — to Oneness of Mind.

Consensus is the very essence of the Hegelian Principle. In a group setting, opposing views are formulated and synthesized into a collective view which then becomes the new thesis. In theory, through natural progression, Oneness of Mind evolves. This walks hand in glove with dialectical materialism.

The Hegelian Principle is also the basis of the organizing technique used by the Industrial Areas Foundation [7]. **It is the process**

- 1) used by trained change agents (facilitators) to facilitate planned change, to move groups to a preset conclusion (the Delphi Technique);
- 2) of outcome-based education/mastery learning...
 - a) facilitated learning (teacher as facilitator),
 - b) conflict resolution/peer mediation,
 - c) critical thinking programs,
 - d) leadership building programs;
- 3) of Total Quality Management (TQM),
- 4) of the High Performance Work Organization (HPWO),
- 5) of Continuous Quality Improvement (CQI), and
- 6) of School-to-Work (STW).

There is also a host of other names under which this process is known.

Any time you have ...

1. a diverse group
2. dialoging to consensus
3. over social issues (crises)
4. in a facilitated meeting (controlled environment)
5. to a predetermined outcome

you have what is known as a *soviet* — the term used for the same process in the former Soviet Union. [8] Anytime, in any setting, (and this process of *consensus building* is being used everywhere and in every setting), that this process is used, you have a *soviet*, moving people from making decisions based on fact in which they are an active participant in the decision-making process, to relationship building in which they become mere puppets of a predetermined outcome.

Many meetings are being run by consensus. When one understands the purpose of consensus, that it is intended to produce the Oneness of Mind necessary to dialectical materialism, one understands why it stands counter to the best interests of our country. In the interests of preserving our freedom and sovereignty as a nation, we must return to open public forum meetings run via Robert's Rules of Order.

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- [1] *Fifty Major Philosophers; A Reference Guide*; Collinson, Diane; New York: Routledge; 1987; p 97.
 - [2] *Webster's Seventh New Collegiate Dictionary*; 1970.
 - [3] *Fifty Major Philosophers; A Reference Guide*; Collinson, Diane; New York: Routledge; 1987; p 97.
 - [4] *Ibid*; p 99.
 - [5] *Fifty Major Philosophers; A Reference Guide*; Collinson, Diane; New York: Routledge; 1987; p 99.
 - [6] "Dialectical materialism: a social and economic theory, elaborated by Karl Marx and others, and held by Communists, which maintains that social and economic evolution must inevitably proceed through stages of conflict between economic classes, the dictatorship of the proletariat, and the gradual atrophy of the state to the eventual emergence of a classless society." (*The Worldbook Encyclopedia Dictionary*; Chicago: Double Day and Co, Inc; 1965)
 - [7] Also the Washington Rural Organizing Project (affiliate of the Industrial Areas Foundation) of which Joe Chrastil is lead organizer and facilitator for the Parent Organizing Project, also known as the Parent Involvement Project and the Parent Involvement Committee in District 81 in Spokane, Nine Mile Falls, and Mead School Districts.
 - [8] Dean Gotcher: Institution For Authority Research

For more:
About Consensus and Facilitation
LEARN web site:

http://www.learn-usa.com/transformation_process/~consensus.htm

DEMOCRACY → SOCIALISM → COMMUNISM

(Emphasis added)

"Democracy is the road to socialism."

—Karl Marx, <http://en.wikiquote.org/wiki/Communism>

“... In his *Critique of the Gotha Program* (of the newborn German Marxist party), **Marx distinguished between two phases through which the new order would develop, ‘socialism’ and ‘communism.’**

Under both man would work according to his ability; under socialism he would be remunerated according to the amount of his work, under communism according to the extent of his need.” -- Donald W. Treadgold, *Twentieth Century Russia* (1959), p.49.

“It was only in the later 1870's that Marxist parties began to be formed. In order to escape the onus of the Paris Commune **they called themselves ‘Social Democratic’ rather than ‘Communists.’** (Lenin was to negate this negation by reviving the label ‘Communist’ during the First World War.) The first Social Democratic party, which remained the senior and strongest until the Bolshevik Revolution, was the German one.” -- Donald W. Treadgold, *Twentieth Century Russia* (1959), Chapter 3, p.49

“...Marx & Engels make clear in *The German Ideology*: Communism is for us not a state of affairs which is to be established, an ideal to which reality will have to adjust itself. **We call communism the real movement which abolishes the present state of things. . . .**”

-- Glenn Rikowski, "Marx and the Education of the Future," Policy Futures in Education, Vol 2, No 3 & 4, 2004, p.566.

“Attention should be drawn . . . to the term **‘popular democracy’** or **‘people’s democracy’** (the Soviet constitution speaks of the "socialist state"), which is to be found in other [Soviet] satellite constitutions, and which, in communist terminology, designates what can be described only as a **preliminary stage in the ‘construction of socialism.’**”

-- *Captive Rumania*, 1956, p.291

“The Soviet state **makes no attempt to claim credit for the advancement of truth, knowledge, and art for their own sake.** Any effort to interpret those values as of inherent worth or of some significance independent of the needs of the Soviet state is branded as "bourgeois objectivism" or even, in certain cases, treason. The **intent of the Soviet regime is not to educate, but to indoctrinate through a culturally totalitarian system of controls which produce, in the words of Stalin, a group of intellectuals who are "engineers of human minds," and for the rest, minds capable of being engineered.** In this manner it is intended to **create the "new Soviet man."** -- Donald W. Treadgold, *Twentieth Century Russia* (1959), p.349.

Excerpts from:

Twentieth Century Russia

By Donald W. Treadgold (Univ. of Washington)
Published as part of the Rand McNally History Series (1959)

(All bold emphasis added)

Chapter 2: The State and the Intelligentsia (p.28-39)

After their failure to arouse the peasantry in 1873-1874, the [Russian] populists organized a society called **Land and Liberty**...When used as slogans of the old serf revolts and afterward, this phrase had been understood by the peasants to mean that they should receive land as their own possession and liberty from the obligations imposed by the state and their landlords, from the interference of officialdom in their own affairs, and perhaps something more. The **populists were less interested in what the peasants understood by "land and liberty" than in what, in their view, it ought to mean.** They had little patience with the peasants' religious outlook or their desire for property.

The men of *Land and Liberty* shared a positivist epistemology, a naturalist metaphysics, and devotion to the Western ideal of socialism. Like the Western socialists, they found repellent the realities of contemporary Western society. They disliked Victorian delicacy, industrial slums and factory miseries, and bourgeois parliamentarism. They had enough of their Western contemporaries' "realism" to appreciate that **socialist Utopias** are not to be had for the asking. The inexorable process of history, they felt, were on their side, although they clung to the belief that the **"critically-thinking individual" could channel and utilize these processes** in order to create a good society. The revolutionary should be able to discern the germ of future development within the institutions given by the past. (p.38)

Chapter 3: Marxism comes to Russia (p 40-50)

... If British political economy, French Utopian socialism, and German idealist philosophy were the forerunners of Marxism in the West, so were they in Russia. ... (p.41)

... Marx and Engels called their system **dialectical materialism**, in order to emphasize its difference from **Hegelianism**, with its smuggled-in God. (p.42)

... Marx died the same year that Russian Marxism was born. (p.42)

Briefly and simply, **Marxism** begins with two basic propositions. First, **matter exists and nothing else does.** Second, **matter changes constantly in accordance with the "laws" of the dialectic;** ...The two propositions combine to form the philosophy of **dialectical materialism.** That aspect of it which undertakes to explain history is known as **historical materialism.** ... (p.46)

Chapter 21: Stalin's Diplomacy and World Communism (1936-1941) (p.321-340)

Two months after the Japanese war began, the Chinese Communist party announced the formal abolition of the Chinese Soviet Government and the Chinese Red Army, and the Acceptance of Sun Yat-sen's **Three People's Principles (nationalism, democracy, and livelihood)** as China's most important current need. Sun's principles, which remain to this day the foundation of Kuomintang ideology, are not adequately indicated by three words. Sun had declared that **"nationalism" meant that "we . . . must break down individual liberty** and become pressed together into an unyielding body like the firm rock which is formed by the addition of cement to sand . . . on no account must we give more liberty to the individual; let us secure liberty instead for the nation." **"Democracy" meant to Sun the masses' acceptance of the leadership of a wise elite.** The meaning of "livelihood" was obscure, but one of the chief measures designed to implement it was to be a Henry George-like "equalization of landownership." . . . (p.328)

The theoretical implication of the Communist policy were explained by Mao in his work, written in 1939 and published the following year, entitled *On the New Democracy.* Using the conceptual framework of the Russian Communist, Mao declared that China had been a feudal society which had become a semi-colony of the Western imperialist powers. The first stage of revolution must then combine the overthrow of the power of "feudal" landlords with destruction of the Western imperialist influence and those Chinese elements associated with it. In this **"bourgeois-democratic" stage**, the peasantry would furnish the main force, but the leadership would come from the "proletariat" (that is, the Communist party). This stage would merge directly into the "socialist revolution," but until that time leadership would be assumed by a "joint dictatorship of all revolutionary classes" (the proletariat, peasantry, "petty bourgeoisie," and "national bourgeoisie"). . . . (p.329)

... In 1936 the Vietnamese Communists, . . . set up a **Communist-controlled "Democratic Front."** . (p.331)

Chapter 18: The Consolidation of Totalitarianism (1933-1941) (p.276-296)

The original notion of **"democratic centralism"** was that decisions made by congress majorities must bind the [Communist] Central Committee, other central organs, and all the rank and file. Stalin simply transferred the process of decision-making on himself and his own picked Politburo. The party structure was not formally changed, but the views of no Party organ but the Politburo counted, and during the Great Purges several members of the Politburo itself were liquidated. The only security from execution, imprisonment, or dismissal was Stalin's unpredictable personal favor.

Having destroyed so many of the leaders of the Party, Stalin was naturally at pains to try to produce a leadership more amenable to his desires. The militant, even military, character of the Communist Party became fully developed during the thirties. **Stalin tried to create a reliable new generation of Party members by emphasizing indoctrination in the principles of *partiinost*** ("party" converted into a generic noun; literally "party-ness"), **discipline**, and **self-criticism** (*samokritika*). An attempt was made to **create an atmosphere of unceasing combat**, whether against "enemies of the state" or foreign "capitalists," or for the fulfillment of the goals of the Five-Year Plans or achievement of the objectives of Party **propaganda and agitation (*agitprop*)**. A proliferation of "feeder" organizations was developed and expanded. The **Little Octobrists** for children eight to eleven years of age, the **Pioneers** for those ten to sixteen, and the **Komosomol (Communist Union of Youth)** for persons aged fifteen to twenty-six were **together designed to produce adults who accepted the fundamental ideological commitments and values of the Party proper** and were **habituated** to its standards of unquestioning discipline.

The cessation of the purges at the end of 1938 was a signal that two processes were nearly complete: members of a suspected older generation had been wiped out or terrorized, and also a younger and presumably more reliable generation had assumed the posts vacated by those purged or new posts established to perfect the control of Stalin's apparatus over all branches of Soviet life.

In that apparatus the Party was both in theory and practice the paramount and central mechanism, and the Constitution was quite accurate in stating it was the "heading core of all organizations" including the "organs of government." But the Party itself had been converted into an instrument of Stalin and his clique. The Party members as a group were more privileged and more powerful than any other. Within its hierarchy there was a series of graduations of prestige and authority, but even the top functionaries were subject to Stalin's supreme power, and the word *Vozhd* (Leader) came to be used openly and to acknowledge and proclaim that fact. **In George Orwell's *Animal Farm* all of the animals were equal, but some were more equal than others; in those terms, Stalin was the most equal of all.** . . . (p.228)

Chapter 22:
Stalin's Cultural Policy (1927-1945)
 (p.341-353)

During the "Second Revolution" the arts were hurled into an atmosphere of combat. . . . Calling for the creation of a "literary front" in the struggle to fulfill the First Five-Year Plan, [Leopold] Averbakh inaugurated what soon became a literary dictatorship. Mayakovsky, declaring that he had "stepped on the throat of his own song," left a poem ending "No need itemizing mutual griefs, woes, offenses. Good luck and goodbye"; and shot himself. There was no room for anything but "**realism**," the "**social command**," and "**shock workers**" of "**artistic brigades**." (p.341)

 As the First Five-Year Plan neared its end, in April 1932 the Party Central Committee again intervened on the literary scene. . . . Yudin particularly attacked the Averbakh slogan of "**the living man**," his emphasis on individual psychology, and his brand of realism. He also criticized RAPP's [Russian Association of Proletarian Writers] strictures on fellow travelers. All this harmonized with Stalin's expressed willingness to **"forget" the past errors of the old intelligentsia and utilize them for "socialist construction."** Moreover, it conformed with his not fully stated line that when socialism was built (as it was declared to have been in 1936) and class struggle disappeared, there was to be no room for "proletarian" particularism; **all "socialist" and "Soviet" intellectuals should serve the interests of the system** and think in terms of the interests of the USSR rather than any segment of its population. However, although the new policy appeared in the guise of softening the cultural dictatorship, it was immediately to be made plain that the dictatorship was only being taken away from RAPP and placed in the hands of the Party, which would **apply it to all artists with an unprecedented rigor.** (p.342-343)

 According to Radek, "**Socialist realism means not only knowing reality as it is, but knowing whither it is moving.** . . . "**In other words, authentic "realism" was suspect because its text was truthfulness.** What was demanded of the Soviet artists was didacticism, the portrayal less of what was than what out to be. They had to become, as Stalin put it, "**engineers of human minds.**" (p.343)

 Many foreign observers erroneously concluded from the new policy that Russian nationalism was replacing Marxism as the basis of Soviet ideology. . . . **The difference between the periods before and after 1934 in the writing of Soviet history was between an individuals use of Marxism . . . as an instrument of interpretation on the one hand, and on the other a despotic state's use of Marxism as an instrument of the current needs of policy and severe punishment of those who did not co-operate in such use to the state's full satisfaction.** As a result independent Marxist were entitled to claim that the doctrine had been perverted, but not that it had been abandoned. In fact, Stalin's own contribution to the perversion of history, the *Short Course* in the history of the Soviet Communist Party (1939), insisted as strongly as ever on the necessity of **interpreting all phenomena in the light of "Marxism-Leninism."** (p.343)

 Stalin's cultural policy aimed at forcing into the service of the state not only the talent and training of professional writers and artists, but of teachers and scholars, and the entire educational system. In a country where mass education was only in the planning stage on the eve of the Revolution, one of the major aims of the Communists was to bring about a **physical expansion of the school system to include all the people.** . . . [I]n 1940, the system of State Labor Reserves schools was established, providing for the **conscription of one million students per year into these vocational training centers.**

. . . most children in the USSR who combine ability with demonstrated political reliability can obtain both advanced education and a privileged position in the Soviet state thereafter, and moreover, that there is available in certain fields, among them man of the pure sciences and many branches of technology, training of high quality, little hampered by ideological interference. On the other hand, it is a fact that in all fields Soviet scholars, scientists, and teachers are subject to direct personal surveillance by the Party and secret police. Beginning in the 1930's, but especially since World War II, the Party has repeatedly intervened not only to formulate an obligatory policy on academic issues, but also to **silence all views other than its own**. Furthermore, the Party line has changed several times without warning, so that even those who are willing to accept the Party as the arbiter of all truth cannot protect themselves from the shifting winds of doctrine or from consequences which have included academic discrimination or dismissal, confinement in concentration camp or execution, for **ideological deviation**.

. . . Soviet educational theorists drew heavily on the ideas of **John Dewey and other Americans who espoused "progressive education."** Such influential men as S.T. Shatsky and Paul Blonsky emphasized "**freedom for the child**" and dropped such traditional subjects as Latin from the school curriculum. However, in the middle thirties the Party intervened to restore a differential grading system, classroom discipline, and some of the traditional subjects -- taught in a far from traditional way with **emphasis on ideological goals**. . . . The notion of group "**socialistic competition**" in education, popular under the First Five-Year Plan, was dropped. As in all other respects, in his education the individual was to be at the mercy of the state, with as few intermediary agencies as practicable. His position in the school was to be such that his **reliability could be constantly tested and rewarded or punished**, without reference to a group with which he might be working. Stalin made no secret of his view of education (which Lenin had shared): to H. G. Wells he declared, "**Education is a weapon, whose effect depends on who holds it in his hands and who is struck with it.**" (p.349)

When Stalin became unchallenged master of the Soviet Union, the regime was still pursuing the dual policy of attempting to spread **militant atheism** on the one hand and pursuing a *divide et impera* line toward the Orthodox Church. With the coming of the First Five-Year Plan, the situation changed abruptly, and a **large-scale offensive against religion was launched**. In May 1929 the Constitution was amended to omit the previous guarantee of the right of religious propaganda, leaving "the right of professing a religion and of antireligious propaganda." Great numbers of churches were closed, church bells were seized (ostensibly to provide tin and copper for industrial use), and many of the remaining monasteries and nunneries were dissolved. The antireligious significance of the introduction of the **"continuous" work week** (ending the regular Sunday work holiday) was heavily emphasized in the official press. (p.350)

Excerpts from:

CAPTIVE RUMANIA
a decade of soviet rule

Edited by Alexandre Cretzianu
Published by Frederick A. Praeger, Inc, (1956)

(All bold emphasis added)

Excerpt from the **EDITOR'S NOTE**:

The present work attempts to give as thorough and faithful a picture as possible of the impact of communism on Rumania during the last decade. The collaborators have endeavored to show what happens when a handful of communists, imposed and maintained in power by the Soviet armed forces and police, undertake to "**revolutionize**" a country's **constitutional and administrative organization, justice, education and cultural life, religion, economy, armed forces, and labor**.

Excerpt from the **INTRODUCTION**:

Rumania's case demonstrates how a non-communist country, once subjugated, is **forcibly transformed into a communist society** by the **brutal destruction of its traditional institutions, the suppression of public liberties and human rights, and the prohibition of dissent**.

It shows how any attempt at cooperation or coexistence is used by Soviet Russia as a step toward total domination. It shows how any friendly overture is made use of by Soviet Russia as a bridgehead for subsequent advances. It shows the **fate of private organizations** that allow themselves to be **seduced by communist appeals**, in the sincere belief that in so doing they serve the **cause of understanding or of peace**.

Rumania's case shows how the **vocabulary and ideas of Western civilization are utilized and corrupted by communist; propoganda, their power of attraction and persuasion used deliberately to destroy their content**.

It demonstrates how a country, once subjugated, is exploited, its material resources and manpower absorbed into Soviet Russia's economy to increase her military and political might. At the present time, when the Soviet government is **waging a full-scale campaign of "anti colonialism," it is practicing, to the detriment of nine formerly independent European countries, a policy of oppression and exploitation that goes far beyond any known form of colonialism**.

In these studies we have sought to provide exact documentation of the facts set forth. The facts themselves are in general clear and brutal. They hardly require commentaries. However, we realize how difficult it is for the Western reader, who has had no personal experience of such things, firmly to grasp the facts. On the one hand there is the **oblique use of the accepted Western vocabulary** by the communists, and on the other hand there is the **essential difference, under a communist regime, between legal provisions and their implementation**. A striking instance of this is provided by the Constitution of the so-called Rumanian People's Republic. That Constitution unambiguously proclaims almost all the essential principles of political

liberty, and the guarantees of individual security, to be found in the most advanced Western Constitutions. In practice, however, **not one of these liberties is available to the people; not one of these guarantees protects the citizen.**

Communists explain such contradictions by pointing out that the **liberties and guarantees provided in the Constitution must necessarily be contingent upon the interests and security of the state.** The judge may not interpret them, and the authorities may not implement them, except in so far as doing so is wholly congruent with the interests of the state, as formulated by the leadership of the Communist party.

Under a communist dictatorship, laws set forth obligations for the citizen; they provide for no restraints upon the absolute liberty of action of the state, which is the supreme goal. This basic conception must at all times be borne in mind by the reader, in order to grasp the full import of our studies.

The other difficulty stems from the **misuse of the Western political vocabulary** by the communists. Such terms as **liberty, democracy, law, right, security, when used by communists, acquire a meaning wholly at variance with their proper definition.** In most cases, **they become utterly void of content. Such terms then become mere propaganda expressions, empty appeals to the hesitant conscience of the Westerner. They are used because they are attractive to a citizen** of the free world, lulling him into a feeling of security and lowering his resistance to the seductions of communist propaganda.

Thus **under communism "liberty" is assured to the individual precisely when he is being subjected to the most ruthless terror -- the explanation provided being that he has indeed been set free from capitalist exploitation. And a nation is said to be "liberated" when it has been subjugated** by Soviet Russia -- with the additional explanation that it has been **set free from the exploitation of the great capitalist powers.** A country has its "security" guaranteed only when it is protected by the might of the Soviet Union, the Soviet Union which has subjugated it. Other instances abound, but these should suffice. Familiar though this procedure is, it is still a trap that continues to snare the unwary, and its victims continue to multiply even at this late date.

Of all the countries subjugated by Soviet Russia, it is Rumania that is subjected to the heaviest pressure, it is Rumania that is most ruthlessly exploited. All foreign visitors unanimously agree on this point.

The explanation must be sought in a combination of circumstances. The Rumanian people are of Latin origin, and Soviet Russia is only too well aware of the deep resistance stemming from this. The **Rumanians have always looked toward the West, and have always shown resistance to suggestions coming from the East.** The Rumanians are predominantly peasant **individualists strongly attached to their own plot of land.** The Rumanians are a **deeply religious people,** and, throughout the vicissitudes of

their long history, their patriotic hopes and endeavors have always been supported by their faith in God.

A Communist party did not really exist in Rumania; there was but a mere handful of communists, who now owe their position solely to the force of Soviet Russian arms, and who maintain that position only by virtue of total submission to the orders of Moscow. **They have at no time displayed any original thinking or, indeed, any personal competence.**

The country's prisons are full of political prisoners: of intellectuals, of members of the clergy of various faiths, of peasants, workers, and students, whose sole crime is resistance to the regime.

The radical changes in the administration and public institutions have been achieved by force, . . .

=====
Excerpts from *CAPTIVE RUMANIA a decade of soviet rule* --chapter:

1

BACKGROUND

p.22:

. . . words mean one thing to communists and another thing to non-communists.

. . . With the connivance of the Soviet occupation authorities, the **communist-dominated FND (National Democratic Front) started a new series of lawless acts.** In various parts of the country its partisan groups seized the buildings of the local authorities by force; street riots were staged . . . vociferous dissensions arose within the government itself, with the communists **clamoring for yet another change.**

p.24:

As constituted on March 6, 1945, the Groza government appeared to be the outcome of a **broad coalition** of political groups forming the so-called **Democratic Front.** But the reality could not escape either the people of Rumania or competent foreign observers. **The government was simply a communist-led conglomerate of front organizations.** A segment of the **Social-Democrat** party, not including its leader, C. Titel-Petrescu, was drawn in by the classic lure of **"unity of action."**

p.24:

. . . strictly local groups . . . which could not poll a majority . . . became political parties overnight. There was the communist-front organization that called itself the Patriotic Union; there were dissident splinters of the National Peasant and National Liberal parties; there was, of course, the Communist party itself -- barely one thousand strong the year before, and now the **self-appointed and Russian-supported paragon of democracy.**

p.26:

. . . The armed forces were subjected to repeated mass purges.

Presently, **wave after wave of mass arrests struck the political opposition.** Not only prominent members of the democratic parties, **but the rank and file, and indeed, the citizenry as a whole, were soon to become familiar with the inside of prisons and concentration camps.** Even the

staunchest anti-communist might well quail at the thought of the consequences of active opposition. The press was systematically gagged by censorship.

p.31:

Freedom of assembly and every other means of directly reaching the electorate had been similarly set at naught. The communique issued by the Permanent Delegation of the National Peasant Party on August 24, 1946, put the matter squarely: "Meetings are not free. With the knowledge and tolerance of the government, notably of the Ministry of the Interior, **armed bands have been organized. These bands attack public meetings and the heads of the opposition parties.** They kill, maim and manhandle the adversaries of the regime. They make use of iron bars, knives, and clubs. They are paid to do so, and most of the participants are convicted criminals. They not only enjoy immunity for any brutalities they commit, including even murder, but they act under protection from the police and gendarmerie." All these facts were duly confirmed in official United States notes, notably those dated May 27, 1946, and October 28, 1946.

p.33:

. . . **the National Bank was taken over by the state** pursuant to a law passed on December 28, 1946. By June 14, 1947, the future Prime Minister could put through a communist program for the thorough **reorganization, economic and financial, of the country.** The first important application of this program was to be the **currency reform** of August 15, 1947, which **struck a crippling blow at both the farmers and private commercial enterprises.**

p.34:

On February 24, 1948 the National Assembly was dissolved and new elections were carried out. Previously, on January 21, a **special electoral law** had been passed, which **deprived certain categories of citizens** of the franchise. Under the law, **those who had displayed an "anti-democratic attitude"** (the nature of this was left carefully undefined) were simply **deprived of the vote.**

The elections, held on March 28, 1948, were to be the first in Rumania in which the electorate had no alternatives. It was to inaugurate the **communist-style "manifestations of unanimity"** characteristic of the **"Marxist democracies"**. The so-called **Front of Popular Democracy** emerged victorious, with the Communist party in control.

p.35:

The year 1948 was marked by the launching of **sweeping reforms** designed to provide the bases of the **future socialist state.** The most obvious of these changes was embodied in the law of June 11, 1948 **nationalizing all the principal industrial, mining, banking, insurance, and transportation enterprises.**

p.37:

In July 1950, the Central Committee carried out **administrative reform.** This introduced the Soviet-type territorial divisions, the **"region"** and the **"raion"**.

On December 3 of that year elections for the newly instituted **people's councils** (i.e. **Soviets**) were held.

p.39:

The elections of November 30, 1952, provided yet another "success" for the regime. It was officially announced that fully 97 per cent of those permitted to vote had cast their ballots, and that 98 per cent of these had voted for the lists of the **Front of Popular Democracy. There were no opposing candidates.** According to official statements, in Bucarest alone 33,000 agitators had taken part in the election campaign.

p.40:

A determined effort was also made to achieve the newly fashionable **"collective leadership"** of the party. A directive was issued in August 1953, requiring "all party committees to respect most strictly the supreme principle of party leadership." It proclaimed that "any tendency to infringe this principle must be combated with severity." The **prime objective was defined as a drive against the "cult of personalities".**

p.40-41:

. . . A draft statute was submitted to the country at large for the **now customary -- though nonetheless meaningless -- "public debate"** that must precede the enactment of all most important changes.

p.45:

The three major political parties, the Liberal, the National Peasant, and the Social Democratic, fully agreed that changes were necessary. . . . They **differed only in the methods and programs advocated to bring about the changes**

p.49:

. . . Certain industries, working with **foreign capital,** produced primarily for export (notably the oil industry, where Rumanian capital was only 27 per cent of the whole, while the rest was British, American, French, Dutch, Belgian, or German). Since petroleum products accounted for fully 33 per cent of the country's exports, the fact that the **oil industry operated mostly with foreign capital,** the profit accruing to Rumania there from was disproportionately small. In the words of an American author, Prof. Henry L. Roberts: **"A large part of the industry was owned by foreigners,** and a considerable proportion of the proceeds from exports did not reach the country in terms of foreign exchange. . . .

p.64:

. . . the communists took the line of discriminating among the various categories they distinguished, and of seeking to **split them into antagonistic groups.** The party line was one of "containment" toward the *chiabur*, with **liquidation as the ultimate goal.** The "middling peasant" had to be won over -- first to separate him from the *chiabur* and second to seek to persuade him to enter the collective farms. The "poor peasant" was considered the "natural ally" of the regime . . .

Discrimination worked in two main ways: technical facilities and credits were extended to collective farms and to poor peasants, while **disproportionately high taxes were imposed on self-supporting households. Delivery quotas** were scaled so as to add to the burdens of the latter.

FINANCIAL POLICY

p.109:

. . . while **income taxes were thus raised up to eightfold their original assessment, rents were raised, too, by 100 to 200 per cent.** But it was not the owner who received the differences: landlords were only allowed to collect an increase of 16 to 25 per cent. **The state took the rest.** This, too, was but a beginning, for less than a year later, by the simple expedient of expropriating all urban real estate (without any payment whatsoever to the owners), **the state took over all rents.**

At the same time, **prices went up on all public services. Railroad fares were raised** to no less than forty times the former rates; **telephone services** went up eightfold; **street cars and buses** cost twelve times more. **Prices of commodities soared too.** The new **meat prices** were set at 2.6 times the former rates, **milk** was raised 100 per cent, **clothing materials** 160 per cent, and **gasoline** 2,400 per cent. Subsequently it was found necessary to reduce the fares on railroad trips of less than 150 kilometers, in order to permit the peasants to come to the nearest cities to sell their produce. This was dictated, not by any official regard for the farmers, but by the fact that the towns could no longer be provisioned while the peasants, unable to pay the exorbitant fares, stayed away from the markets. **The over-all rise in prices for staple commodities during this period was set at approximately 100 per cent** over those obtaining in 1938.

p.110:

For the overwhelming majority of the citizenry merely to keep body and soul together became a major and all-absorbing problem. **In place of their cash savings each was left with just enough of the new money to tide him over a couple of days.** But food and lodging had to be provided for in this new currency. **There was no way out but to seek credit.** And there was very little of the new money available anywhere. Yet such indispensable things as tomorrow's meal for the children and carfare to go to work simply had to be forthcoming. These daily problems became an obsession.

It was precisely the atmosphere best suited for the next step planned by the communist administration. **With the attention of the people focused on the urgency of essentials, this was the time to act in another direction, striking yet another blow at the fundamental liberties.** It will be recalled that it was right at the time of the currency reform that the administration arrested Iuliu Maniu and the other leaders of the National Peasant Party, the country's most popular party and the most obvious rallying-point of opposition to the communist regime. So now came a time for mopping up operations. **Arrests multiplied; everyone who had ever been prominent in politics and public life was threatened;** the prisons were soon filled to overflowing. **The slightest hint of public opposition**

or reaction was put down in the most ruthless manner. Terror was intensified. Thousands upon thousands who might give trouble were taken into custody. **Where no charges of a political nature could be placed against them, new offenses were invented, notably "economic sabotage."** In very many cases no charges at all were forthcoming: the suspect was simply seized and kept under arrest without ever being told what there was against him.

p.112:

Savings accounts were similarly recalculated at variable rates, but slightly less disadvantageously than cash holdings. The administration went through the motions of sugaring this bitter pill: a concomitant lowering of prices for a number of commodities was announced. **Prices, however, instead of going down, continued their upward trend.** In other words, once again the communist administration, **under the guise of a currency reconversion, contrived to confiscate the money accumulated by the citizenry during the preceding lean years.** Significantly enough, this time no discrimination was made among the various categories or professions. **All cash holdings were legally plundered.** The theft amounted to 80-90 per cent for the small initial sums turned in (ranging from \$6.60 to \$13.30), and to fully 95 per cent on the remainder.

p.116:

. . . It is, in fact, a **constant feature of propaganda** in the **"people's democracies"** that the "resounding success" and "notable victory" of today are but the **forerunners of tomorrow's "necessary change"**, itself predicated on admitted **"failures and deficiencies" of the past.**

p.118-119:

. . . while investments represent the greater part of expenditures made for the "financing of the national economy," **important sums are devoted to covering the deficits of badly managed enterprises and of the many enterprises that sell their products below cost price.** This is a current practice in all communist-ruled economies, where production prices are not necessarily taken into account in establishing sale prices.

p.120:

. . . almost everything that the communists lump together under the heading of **cultural activities** is in fact **nothing but propaganda** in one or another form.

p.122-123:

Lastly, **taxes on individual incomes** represents but a relatively small and constantly shrinking part of total state revenues. Income taxes accounted for 11.5 per cent of total revenues for 1949; they were only 7.7 per cent of the total in 1954. Obviously this decline is due to the increased rate of **collectivization -- or "socialization"** -- that has **resulted in an almost total proletarianization of the population. Income taxes, moreover, are set and collected on the basis of the "class struggle"** which is aimed at the total pauperization of the people. For to the communist regime it is more important to level down the people to the point where **no vestige of personal independence**

is left to the individual than to collect a larger proportion of taxes from a prosperous citizenry.

We have noted, in discussing the currency reform of 1947, R.P.R. regime saw fit to **raise income taxes considerably at the very time it proceeded to confiscate practically all the money in circulation.** We have further noted that, according to official statements, the purpose of that currency reform was, not only to establish a new and healthy currency, but also **to effect a new distribution of the national income.** Yet we learn from an official report issued by the R.P.R. Higher Economic Council on April 1, 1948, that the index for tax collections (calculated on the basis of 100 for 1938) reached 344.1 as early as December 1947, and went up to 414 by January 1948. Since the **currency had been "revalued"** in 1947 to the exchange rate of 1938, it follows from the above that Rumanians were **paying on an average more than four times higher income taxes** than they had paid prior to the outbreak of World War II. However, the rise in income taxes is far from uniform, but strikes far harder at those whom the communists are particularly anxious to do away with. . . .

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Excerpts from *CAPTIVE RUMANIA a decade of soviet rule* --chapter:

4

CULTURAL LIFE

p.129:

It soon became apparent, in Rumania as in all the other countries of **popular democracy**, that **any kind of activity is regarded from the social angle and must be made to contribute to "socialist construction."** Under such regimes, that are totalitarian to the fullest meaning of the term, **culture must necessarily lose all freedom, becoming but another medium of governmental propaganda.**

From 1944 to 1948 the Communist party of Rumania did its utmost to attract as many intellectuals as possible to this task of **setting up the new culture** that was to become official once the **"People's Democratic Republic"** itself came into being.

p.133:

. . . the works of writers of the past must be "purged" in such a way that nothing is reprinted that might contradict the current party line. **"The classics of Marxism-Leninism,"** said Academician Professor Cherestiesiu, in an address before the R.P.R. Academy, reproduced in the magazine *Studii* for January-March, 1954, **"teach us to appreciate the values of the past, and to know how to evaluate in a critical manner everything good of the past."** The phrase "in a critical manner" is italicized in the article.

Socialist realism . . . means that the artist must be imbued with historical materialism in order to be able to describe society appropriately. The photographic description of reality, however, is what the communists call "naturalism." It is not acceptable. Nor is it proper to depart from reality. This constitutes the deviation the communists describe as "idealism." And there are, in

addition, several other deviations, all considered to be characteristic of "bourgeois" art, like "formalism," "decadentism," and so forth, which the "socialist" writer must know how to avoid in order not to get in serious trouble with the regime's literary watchdogs.

p.134:

. . . Many prominent works by our poets are dedicated to the **peoples' fight for peace**, to unmasking the hideous face of American imperialism, to stressing the **international solidarity** of the workers, and to showing feelings of lively gratitude to the Soviet people."

p.142-143:

The novelists, short story writers, and playwrights of the Rumanian People's Republic are free to select their subjects either from the past or from the present-day life. In writing of more distant times, they must **portray life in accordance with materialist dialectics, stressing the historic class struggle, the struggle of progressive characters of the past against their contemporary reactionary elements,** in other words, **the conflict between the "old" and the "new."** Of course, heroes of bygone days had to do without benefit of Marxist-Leninist-Stalinist doctrine. Their great deeds were inspired solely by their own revolutionary consciences. Nonetheless, **literary works portraying the past must always insist upon the rapacity of the exploiting classes, and upon the bitter lot of the workers.** This is a minimum requirement. If the subject chosen is placed at any time after, say, the middle of the last century, then the corruption of the bourgeois-landowning regime must be played up for all it is worth.

p.155:

Confined within such narrow patterns, it is not surprising that **"progressive" plays** fail to attract the public. The outcome can be guessed by the most naive from the very opening lines. **The "class enemy"** is instantly recognized the moment he enters the scene. The ultimate victory of the "positive hero" is foreseeable, no matter how adverse the attendant circumstances. Were it not that tickets are distributed free to selected groups of workers, soldiers, and school children, such plays -- even Soviet importations -- would be presented to empty houses, no matter what efforts the official press might make to boost them. "All too often," complained the literary magazine *Flacara* of September 16, 1950, "important spectacles are played before houses that are not full, whereas at others the public is so numerous that many must renounce buying tickets." We need hardly point out that "important spectacles" are either Soviet plays or local **"progressive"** ones, and that the "others" are the world-renowned classical plays.

p.158-159:

The process of training new generations of scientists imbued with the **spirit of dialectic materialism** goes hand-in-hand with the weeding out of older elements. It has become increasingly evident that the overwhelming majority of men and women who attained a measure of prominence in the scientific field prior to the advent of the communist regime,

almost all educated and trained in Western universities are, so to speak, constitutionally unadaptable from the point of view of the regime, no matter how earnestly they may try to cooperate. . . . in most cases, the acquisition of a true scientific outlook, which implies not only objectivity but also integrity, precludes adherence to the **rigid, arbitrary, partisan, pseudo-scientific standards prescribed by Marxism-Leninism**. Under communist rule, the **humility of spirit implicit in the scientific approach becomes a different kind of discipline**. Utter political compliance reaches into the inmost recesses of the spirit. Blinkers are substituted for the academic cap and gown. **Any inner conflicts that arise must be solved in favor of the political requirements, no matter how strong the evidence to the contrary.** . . .

p.161:

. . . **Historians must at all times "use Marxist doctrine in interpreting facts."** Coining a contemptuous term for a troublesome reality, *Scanteia* dismissed **"factology"** as being "an immediate remnant of bourgeois historiography, a profoundly anti-scientific and reactionary method, camouflaging an unwillingness to participate in the **shaping of a truly scientific history for our people.**" The meaning of these objurgations is crystal clear. It is an open invitation -- indeed, an order -- **to falsify historical data, to set at nought the record, to invent if need be, with the purpose of "shaping a truly scientific history."**

p.161:

The R.P.R. regime, like all so-called **people's democracies**, spends an impressive amount of energy, ingenuity, and substance on the **dissemination of "culture."** For the official designation of this instrument of communist propaganda, it has coined the appropriate barbarism **"the culturalization of the masses,"** and there is a special Directorate in the Ministry of Culture handling the various media. Fully one-sixth of the total expenditures in the State budget for 1953 was allocated to **"social-cultural needs"** . . .

p.162-163:

In 1948 all the existing cultural institutions in Rumania's cities and villages were transformed into **centers of "progressive" culture**. Since then, their number has grown so that at this time there is not a collective farm, plant, enterprise, or administration that does not have at least its own **"red corner,"** where lectures, film shows, radio programs, readings, and the like are enjoyed in common. The accent is on **"visual agitation."** In urban and rural areas, special installations, consisting of public address systems broadcasting official propaganda, fill the air with their constant clamor. In the late afternoon, after the day's work is over, they go into action, and it becomes impossible to get away from the ubiquitous voice of the regime. This is especially true in the winter months on the land, when agricultural work is at a standstill. . . .

In the cities, workers of various institutions, enterprises, and plants, once their regular stint is over, must **attend meetings and sessions where, . . . they must sit through endless dreary lectures, movie shows, or readings**. There is no escape. Not only the party's voice, but its **eyes and ears are everywhere**. The regime's watchdogs are constantly on the alert, and both the public and the agencies involved are immediately rebuked for the slightest sign of remissness. Not only must the **privacy of the individual citizen be systematically invaded, but the invaders must do a thorough and satisfactory job.**

p.164:

. . . The meaning of culture in the **people's democracies** is different from that generally understood in the free world. **"Culture" means just one thing in the R.P.R.: communist indoctrination of the masses.**

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Excerpts from *CAPTIVE RUMANIA a decade of soviet rule* --chapter:

5

RELIGIOUS LIFE

p.174:

The **slander campaign against Catholicism** began discreetly, with certain sly insinuations . . . It continued afterwards, gaining momentum and widening in scope and intensity, by various statements issued by several members of the government; it culminated in a **concerted press attack.**

p.181

Whereas the **law on education** completely ended all possibilities for the Catholic Church to continue in the field of education, the **law on cults** regulated the organization of the Church itself, reducing it considerably and subjecting it to a rigorous control by the state in all its specifically religious activities. In addition, a new decree concerning the **nationalization of all medical institutions** was designed to eliminate the servants of the Church from yet another field: that of health.

p.184:

In recounting this last phase of the conflict between the Roman Catholic Church and the Bucarest government, we have simply followed its main line: that which concerned the protagonists. In fact, however, the **persecution of Catholicism went much deeper**. We have mentioned the measures decreed against various churchmen, and the abuses practiced against many members of the monastic orders. Alongside these administrative abuses and chicaneries, the government continued **arresting members of the clergy**. According to a Vatican estimate, by the beginning of July 1949 there had been **arrested in Rumania no less than six hundred priests and members of religious Orders, since the advent to power of the Communists.** (*Le Figaro*, July 23, 1949). A few days previously, *Osservatore Romano* (June 29, 1949) had stated: "By now, we are in an extremity. It is obvious at this time that the Rumanian persecutions have taken proportions that set them above all others . . .

against the Catholic Church." The reference is, of course, to the persecutions suffered in the other "satellite" states.

The propaganda campaign that marked the initial stages of the persecution directed against the Catholic Church continued throughout the later phases. In fact it continues unabated to this day. From the very beginning, **the entire press, literature, and even the plastic arts have been mobilized against the Church of Rome.**

p.189:

. . . the **Law for the Defense of Peace**, which was passed by the R.P.R. Grand National Assembly on December 15, 1950, **provided the authorities with a series of "legal" oppressive means.** Vaguely worded provisions punish "the dissemination of tendentious or invented reports apt to serve the warmongers' interests, and all other kinds of manifestations in behalf of unleashing a new war" with prison terms ranging between 5 and 25 years, in addition to the confiscation of all or part of the offenders' property. . . .

p.190:

By the beginning of 1952 it became known to the Western world that **all the Roman and Greek Catholic bishops of Rumania had been arrested or sent to camps** -- some even to the Soviet Union. . . .

According to data published by the Reverend don Brunello in *La Chiesa del Silenzio* the losses suffered by the Catholic Church in Rumania by January 31, 1953, were as follows: The Papal Nuncio expelled; **all archbishops and bishops either arrested, sentenced, or deported** (three reportedly dead in prison) **55 priests slain, 250 dead dispersed, 200 at forced labor, and 200 in prison**; the Greek Catholic (Uniate) churches and parishes taken away and given to the Orthodox Church; 300 Latin rite churches requisitioned by the state; Catholic education, charitable institutions, and press wholly suppressed. (Cf. *Documentation catholique* No. 1156, September 20, 1953).

The newspaper *Deutsche Tagespost* of December 18-19, 1953, stated that a **brigade made up solely of Catholic clergy** under various sentences had been working at the Danube-Black Sea canal. **Initially composed of 450 priests, the brigade lost 215 dead at the work site.** [. . .]

It is needless to go on with a detailed examination of the available evidence. It should be amply evident by now that, **officially designated as one of the principal foes of the very concept of "popular democracy," the Roman Catholic Church of Rumania is left headless and effectively cut off from the Holy See.** It may be written off as a vanquished foe, felled by the ruthless advance of "socialist construction." . . .

p.201-202:

In order to convey an idea of the degree of supervision to which all religious denominations are subjected, we shall quote the text of the decree No. 37, for the organization of the Ministry of Cults,

published in the Official Monitor of February 5, 1949. Here is the part relating to the department's powers:

The Ministry of Cults is the public service through which the State **exercises its right of surveillance and control** guaranteeing the use and exercise of freedom of conscience and of religion.

To this effect—

It supervises and controls all religious cults and their institutions communities, associations, orders, congregations, and foundations of a religious nature, whatever their kind may be;

It supervises and controls the special religious education of the personnel of all religious denominations;

It approves the founding of new religious communities, parishes, and administrative units, the creation of new personnel posts, and the appointments, whether they are paid by the state or not, in the services of the various denominations;

It supervises and controls all funds and possessions, whatever their origin and nature may be? of the religious cults;

It assumes the task of watching over the relations and correspondence between the cults of the country and those abroad;

It has various other tasks in connection with religious cults.

Excerpts from *CAPTIVE RUMANIA a decade of soviet rule* --chapter:

6

EDUCATION

p.205-207:

. . . Rumania's educational system following World War I could be compared with that of most European countries. Education was highly regarded, the teaching profession was rightly honored, the standards were creditable. Social or pecuniary circumstances did not stand in the way of merit. The son or daughter of the poorest peasant or mechanic could and often did go to the highest academic honors. State grants and scholarships, as well as private endowments, opened the way to those who aspired to learning and showed aptitude.

Such was the liberal educational system in existence in Rumania when the communist-dominated government was forcibly installed in power in the spring of 1945. It was destined to be utterly destroyed, **wholly recast on the pattern required by the communist regime.** At first it was deemed expedient to proceed softly, **outwardly leaving the system intact.** But, though the form was allowed to subsist, **the content was adulterated beyond recognition almost at once.** We can discern an intermediary phase that began on March 6, 1945, and closed with the introduction of the **Law for Educational Reform** on August 3, 1948.

A survey of the educational policy of the communist government during this period shows two parallel trends. On the one hand, a general action of a negative character may be discerned, aimed at a **purge both of the educational personnel and of the existing curricula.** On the other, there was a limited, even timid, drive to **introduce certain novel institutions corresponding to the new ideology.** In this phase, the intervention of the regime in educational matters did not amount to an actual structural reform, but rather took the form of de facto measures. Obviously enough, this was in accordance with the regime's program as a whole, which initially

avoided any too spectacular measures, **in order not to alarm public opinion** before gaining a stranglehold on power.

The general action took the form of a **severe purge of all categories of teachers** and an attempt to **"re-educate"** those left. At the same time the **student body was subjected to a thoroughgoing sifting, the remaining university students and high school pupils being then organized into associations, brigades and groups, controlled by communist elements.** Then came a gradual change -- limited at first -- in the existing curricula, and the similarly gradual introduction of new textbooks slanted in accordance with the official tenets.

At the same time, the government, through the Ministry of Education, decided to **set up various novel educational institutions**, as, for instance, the unified gymnasium, the schools for illiterates, and, finally, the schools for party cadres. Concomitantly a **series of cultural institutes** were established, which in reality **were nothing but centers of communist propaganda.**

The aim of the communist government was . . . to **destroy the entire edifice of Rumanian schooling**, which was considered a "bourgeois" formation, and then, in a second phase, to **replace it with a new educational system.** Hence it was logical that the initial accent be placed on a negative action, while the **"creative innovations"** remained limited in scope.

The **first victim was the teaching profession.** A series of **purges resulted in the ousting of the great majority of teachers, from those of university rank all the way down the line to village grade-school instructors**, and their replacement with trusties of the regime. However, in spite of inducements of all sorts, ranging from special conditions for party members and supporters in the matter of acquiring the necessary degrees, to actual appointment regardless of possession of suitable titles, **replacements fell far short of requirements. It was necessary to abolish courses and chairs**, thus doing away with the need to furnish personnel in special fields held to be non-essential by the authorities. A typical instance of mass purges was provided by the School of Letters and Philosophy of the Bucarest University, where **no less than 80 percent of the old staff of professors and instructors were eliminated.**

p.207-208

All foreign schools were closed down and their staffs asked to leave the country. Acts of brutality accompanied the measure, especially directed against the various monastic orders.

The measures taken against foreign schools were manifestly aimed, not only at eliminating all but state controlled education from Rumania, but also at perfecting the break of cultural ties with the West, an action initiated by the closing of the Rumanian schools of Paris and Rome and by the cessation of existing Rumanian lectures at all Western universities. This gave reality to the formula proposed by Teohari Georgescu, then Minister of the Interior of

the Rumanian People's Republic, before the student congress of Iasi: **"In our epoch, the light no longer comes from the West but from the East"**

The methods applied were similar in respect to the student body. **First came the purges, then those "cleared" were "organized."** . . . At the Bucarest University, as in every school throughout the country, the students were **organized in associations comparable to the communist-type trade unions, . . .** Presently the students were **"permitted" to join the "Democratic Front."**

p.208

. . . **the progressive purge of curricula and of school manuals was also undertaken. . .** In the first place, the Education Ministry withdrew each year the authorization to use certain didactic manuals issued for previous years. At the same time appeared the first attempts to introduce **sole authorized textbooks, that were later to become a feature of education** in the "People's Republic of Rumania."

p.209-212:

The official conception of education promoted by the Bucarest regime is that advocated by **Soviet pedagogy.** As *Scanteia* of July 11, 1948, put it, **"To educate the young means to provide them with a class education in the spirit of proletarian morale; that is, of morality subordinated to the interests of the proletarian class war."**

This statement of principles is elaborated in *Indrumatoni Pentru Invatamantul Mediu (Directives for Middle Grade Teaching)*, published in Bucarest in 1948. Here we find the following: ". . . **The education of the pupils (must be made) in the spirit of Marxist-Leninist science and in that of proletarian morale. Marxist-Leninist science** being the most advanced science, hence the only one apt to provide a clear and proper view of all natural phenomena, of **phenomena of social life and thinking**, must constitute the principal element upon which the activities of the pupils shall be based. **Proletarian morale, which the pupils must acquire, will develop a new youth, healthy and educated in the spirit of popular democracy, in the spirit of socialism."**

The immediate aim of this kind of upbringing was indicated by Makarenko, the Soviet authority on pedagogy, whose works have become the teacher's bible in the R.P.R.: **"We cannot stop at the pure and simple education of man. We have no right to develop our educational work without aiming at a well determined political goal."** This "well determined political goal" was defined by another Soviet pedagogical writer, Kairov: **"Communist education is the preparation . . . of future generations in view of their active participation in the construction of the communist society."** Furthermore, Kairov asserted, **education must become "a powerful combat weapon against the exploiters."** These aims have been officially endorsed by the R.P.R. educational authorities. The special newspaper of the teachers, *Gazeta Invatamantului*, specified in its issue of September 23, 1949, that, ". . . **children must be fully**

acquainted with the criminal intentions of the imperialist warmongers. They must know the whole rascally background of the plots hatched by the British and American bankers, and see clearly that these exploiters are the foes of progress and the enemies of mankind." . . .

p.210:

The text of the **Law for the Reform of Education** appeared in the Official Gazette for August 3, 1948. According to Gh. Vasilichi, who was Minister for Education at the time, this law ". . . **must be classed among the great structural reforms** of our economic, political, and social life. Initiated by the Rumanian Workers' Party and adopted by the government, it will play a prominent part in **raising the cultural level** of our people, and assist in **directing the youth of our country on the way of socialist construction.**"

The tendency of the law to supervise the pupil closely and in accordance with a well-defined plan does not stop at the schoolhouse door. Public education also concerns itself with **"guiding the use of the pupils' free time, by organizing extra-curricular activities, welding the school to the family and to the social life of the ambient."** (Article 2.)

To attain the proposed aim, which is **"the education of youth in the spirit of popular democracy"**, the new law provides four grades of schooling, thus maintaining - at least apparently the grades of "bourgeois-landowning" education. **Schooling is now "pre-schooling, elementary, medium, and superior."**

"Pre-schooling is optional. It is organized for children between the ages of 3 and 7 in day nurseries and kindergartens." (Article 5.)

"Elementary schooling is of seven years' duration and free. Schooling in the first four elementary grades is general and obligatory." (Article 6.)

"Medium schooling lasts four years and comprises four types of schools, to wit:

(a) lycees, (b) pedagogical schools, (c) technical schools, and (d) professional (trade) schools." (Article 8.) This was reduced to 3 years in 1953.

"Superior schooling had two categories of institutions: (a) universities and polytechnics; (b) institutes for higher learning." (Article 16.)

"Studies at Universities and Polytechnics last four to six years." (Article 17.)

"Studies at institutes of higher learning last three to four years." (Article 18.)

With the framework of education as set down by the law thus officially sketched out, we may now pass on to an analysis of the **practical application of the "reform."** But, before that, we must understand, and hereafter constantly bear in mind, that we are indeed dealing with **an over-all plan, comprehensive and established down to the minutest details. For it is a feature of communist educational conception that it lays down every particular, leaving nothing to chance or to individual initiative. Everything is "planned."**

In the light of this insight, we shall see that the various grades of schooling do not represent separate units, designed to provide the most favorable means for the harmonious **development of the pupils' personality at various ages, according to individual temperament.** They stand, in fact, as parts of the same machine, intended for the **mass production of a type, "the Communist**

man." The sole permissible difference among the thousands that emerge from the schools of the Rumanian People's Republic is to be, according to the "program," merely in respect of the **technical specialty** of each unit turned out.

As a matter of fact, in our examination of the present educational system of Rumania, we shall encounter throughout, from kindergarten to University, **a series of common elements, as a constant factor of all schooling. They are the Marxist-Leninist conception and, implicitly and explicitly, a boundless admiration for the Soviet Union.**

Communist Indoctrination must start in the kindergarten. As reported by *Scanteia* of September 15, 1948, Vasilichi, then Minister of Education, proclaimed that **"the state must give particular care to the child's first steps in life ... In bringing the children together in kindergartens and day nurseries, we teach them ... to know the world that surrounds them, we discipline them, we train them for communal life."** Just as it is in a factory or collective farm, the "working plan" is a basic feature of the **infant school.** Here, too, there are "required activities," and every moment of the toddlers' day is "organized." Instead of nursery rhymes, the tots learn to sing political flapdoodle in verse. Fairyland is the Soviet Union. Instead of the story of the Three Little Bears, they get the story of the Big Bear, and Stalin in his heyday was the fairy godfather.

At the same time, the **children are taught early to hate and despise the "bourgeois" and the "capitalists", who are the communist substitute for the bogeyman and are invariably described as "the wild beasts".** The first seeds of **anti-religious notions** are also sown at the earliest stage into the child's naturally receptive mind. Great efforts are made to **increase the number of infant schools to carry on this "struggle against mysticism, superstition, and obscurantism"**. According to *Gazeta Invatamantului* of December 31, 1953, there were 5,781 in operation by the end of 1953.

p. 212-213:

With respect to grade schools, the Education Law of 1948 brought in an innovation: the **number of classes in secondary or high schools was reduced, and the lower grades were transferred to the elementary schools.** Because of the great shortage of school buildings, this has resulted in a sharing of existing accommodations, to the detriment of all concerned.

The law proclaims that **elementary schooling is free, and the first four grades obligatory.** In reality, **pupils of the upper grades, the fifth, sixth, and seventh, are constantly and insistently "advised" to contribute to the school's expenses.** Soon after the publication of the law, indeed, the then Minister of Education showed, in an article titled "All children of school age to school!" which appeared in *Scanteia* of September 23, 1948, that, **"through a well-organized propaganda, the parents and all villagers must be persuaded to assist their school,** for it is that school which will enlighten and educate their children. Let those who have more give

more . . ." The idea was put into practice without waiting for the parents to be persuaded by propaganda arguments. The procedure was much more effective and ingenious. *Gazeta Invatamantului* of September 16, 1948, stated editorially that: ". . . Under the leadership of the Party Organizations and at the insistence of the Educational Sections, with the collaboration of the mass organizations and of the UTM (the "Union of Working Youth") and UFDR (the "Union of Democratic Women of Rumania") hundreds of thousands of **voluntary labor days** were forthcoming for **transporting materials** needed in the buildings, for **furniture repairs**, and for **cleaning the premises**." And, to leave no doubt as to the "voluntary" nature of this work, the editorial went on: ... **"Almost everywhere where there was need, parents and the young were mobilized to work for their school.** In many places, the salaried personnel formed veritable labor units on the spot."

School curricula have been changed to conform to the "highest pedagogical science." We should mention in the first place the elimination of all religious teachings, obviously considered "harmful or useless." This is confirmed in the article cited above. In the words of Vasilichi: ". . . As is known, the church's conception of the world and of nature is a metaphysical and idealist one, **whereas the scientific conception of the world and of nature is that of dialectic and historic materialism.** These two conceptions are diametrically opposed, and to go on propagating both in the tender minds of children means to bewilder these minds with grave confusion, which is apt to prevent them from acquiring a knowledge of all that science has produced to our day, and from further developing it."

Hence a clear cleavage is in order. "Religious propaganda, which is to be carried-out in churches and prayer houses, is ... one thing. **Learning and culture, which must be taught in schools, under state direction and control,** are another."

p.213

. . . the law provides that, **beginning in the fourth year of elementary school, the Russian language is a required course** (article 6). . . .

"The introduction of the Russian language, beginning with the fourth elementary grade," announced Mihail Roller, **"will help our pupils to acquaint themselves with and benefit from the great scientific conquests of the Soviet Union. It will assist tomorrow's citizens to prevail themselves in their activities, in every walk of life, of the great experience of the country of socialism, that is evolving toward communism."** (*Scanteia*, August 4, 1948.)

. . . while the Russian language is in principle only one of the required courses in the program, in fact **all other disciplines are so presented and taught as to face the pupil at every step with the shining example of the Soviet Union.**

p.213-214:

. . . the **propaganda on behalf of the Soviet Union is not limited to textbooks.** It is present in every imaginable guise and at all times, so that the pupil

becomes literally enveloped in this atmosphere both in and out of class. To convey some idea of the methods employed, one may turn to an authorized description of the inside of a typical classroom. Upon entering the class, the pupil's eyes are drawn to the red flags, the communist slogans, and the pictures of the Soviet leaders, of Marx and Engels, and of the current leaders of the Rumanian People's Republic. . . .

In this kind of setting, **the teacher must do his best to provide his class with the prescribed indoctrination.** He has no initiative to take, but must conform strictly to whatever he is instructed to do. The constant fear of **"deviationism"** besets not only the members of the teaching profession, but also the highest authorities of the R.P.R. educational system. Even a compilation translated from the works of Soviet authorities and made into a textbook presents dangers. The safest thing obviously remains to stick to the simple translation of single approved works. . . .

p.214

The better to understand the kind of knowledge currently inculcated in elementary schools in Rumania, we shall now turn to some of the prescribed manuals at present in general use.

Here, for instance, is the very first textbook to which children are exposed, the ABC manual (Abecedar) issued by the State Publishing House in 1950. Instead of presenting some of Rumania's heroes of the past, **the primer speaks of the "great learned men and fighters," Marx and Engels** on page 74; **of Lenin, whom "all who work love and remember," and "whose teaching guides all working people,"** on page 77; and **of Stalin, "the best friend of the children," who is "Comrade Stalin, whom all workers love with an untold love,"** on page 78.

In a similar way, the primer tells of the glories of the Soviet Union, of the deeds of valor of the Soviet army (pages 40, 41, and 42), before coming out with a poem to the soldiers of the R.P.R. (page 43). In all seriousness it proclaims that May 9 marks the Independence Day of Rumania, when the country was so generously helped by the Soviet Union (page 70), thus implying there existed a Soviet Union at the time of the war of Independence of 1877-1878. . . .

p.215

The pattern holds good for more advanced textbooks. The Rumanian Language Textbook prescribed for the Seventh Grade of elementary schools (State Publishing House: 1949) mentions ten classical writers as against thirty-one **"progressive"** prose and poetry writers (of which 18 are Rumanian and 13 foreign authors). In addition to praising the Soviet Union at every step, the manual stresses the alleged historic friendship between Rumanians and Russians, while damning everything of an "imperialistic" nature, especially coming from the Western world. The predilection for **"progressive"** authors as against the classics is no accident. According to *Gazeta Invatamantului* of July 10, 1954, at the Rumanian language entrance examination for higher education, **high school graduates are**

required to pass written tests on the works of six classic authors and fourteen communist writers.

History manuals are of the same tendentious character. For instance the History of the Middle Ages for Grade Six (1952 edition) treats the outstanding events up to the XVIIth century **in strict accordance with Marxist-Leninist doctrine.** "The monasteries were nests of superstition" (page 10). The Crusades sought to liberate Jerusalem ostensibly because, **"according to a legend, Jesus Christ, the mythical founder of the Christian religion, was supposed to have been buried there."** In reality, however, they were after the "gold-filled cellars" of the Middle Eastern cities and of Byzance (page 101). As for the Jesuit Order, "lowly flattery, corruption, fraud, calumny, and even threats and, in case of need, poison and the dagger, were their normal fighting weapons" (page 245).

p.215-216:

But if the slightest slip is made by the authors of any schoolbook, in the sense of moderating the hostile attitude toward everything Western, the regime's watchdogs are instantly up in arms. An editorial in *Gazeta Invatamantului* of January 25, 1953, for instance, took offense at the statement made in the Textbook of Modern and Contemporary History for the Seventh Grade to the effect that "the capitalist states proceeded to gain new colonies in order to provide for part of the jobless workers of the metropolis." This, the teachers' newspaper remarked, is to veil over the realities. Colonial policies were exclusively motivated by "maximum profits and the tendency of imperialists to dominate and exploit other peoples."

The 1949 edition of the History of the R.P.R. for seventh grade students provides a further instance of **communist pedagogy.** It is the collective work of several authors headed by Academician M. Roller. One striking feature is the **disproportionate amount of space devoted to the contemporary epoch**, in contrast to that devoted to Rumanian history prior to the end of the 19th century.

p.216:

. . . authors do not hesitate to falsify recorded history in order to present in glowing colors Rumanian relations with Russia.

p.219:

One of the means most favored for spreading and sinking Communist propaganda into the minds of the young is this **system of competitions.** The prizewinners are rewarded with Russian books or translations from Russian authors.

Such in broad outline, is the program of communist propaganda in elementary schools. One would be inclined to consider it fairly comprehensive and exhaustive. Yet, the restless and eager mind of the **"cultural responsables" must seek control over the children even outside the school** Hence the creation of the **"Pioneer" organizations.**

The Central Committee of the Rumanian Workers' Party, in the plenary session of December 22-24, 1

947 "entrusted the sole Marxist-Leninist organization of the Working Youth with the task of creating and guiding the **Pioneer organization (children between the ages of 9 and 14), which will be inspired by the wonderful experience of the Pioneer organizations of the Soviet Union.**" (*Scanteia*, May 4, 1949.)

The first detachment of Pioneers began to be organized toward the end of April 1949. One year later, according to data quoted from *Gazeta Invatamantului* in *Adevarul* of May 2, 1950, the number of Pioneers had risen to 130,000. By 1953, there were more than 700,000 Pioneers in Rumania. Units are led by instructors who all are members of the Young Workers' Union. **Each Pioneer gives a written pledge to carry out tasks assigned to him. . . .**

p. 220

. . . "The Pioneers", wrote Alexandra Draghici, a member in the Central Committee of the Rumanian Workers' Party, **"must acquire all those wonderful traits that characterize communist morale. . . . Pioneers must grow and develop in such a way that, at a certain age, they can enter the ranks of the Working Youth Union, then those of the Party, to work and struggle for the exalted cause of communism."** In conclusion, according to the article printed in *Universul* of May 3, 1949, what is desired for the Pioneers is **"education in the spirit of a glowing love for the most advanced country of socialism, the Soviet Union, the country which defends the peace and independence of peoples, which liberated us, and which is continually helping us to achieve a new life."**

The motto of the Pioneers, indeed, is **"In the fight for the cause of Lenin and Stalin, forward!"**

But, if the Pioneer's "love" is directed toward the Soviet Union and toward the Rumanian Workers' Party, **the authorities do not omit to foster a feeling of hate in the children's hearts.** Thus, Gheorghe Florescu, member of the Central Committee of the Rumanian Workers' Party, stated that, **"The Pioneer's patriotic education must inspire him with deadly hatred for the enemies of our country and of the working people, the Anglo-American imperialists and their despicable servants inside and outside the country."** (*Scanteia*, May 4, 1949.)

. . . There is every evidence of a constant and haunting obsession, a fear that a moment's slackening of attention may leave the children free to get contaminated with "bourgeois-landowning" ideas. Hence the **ceaseless appeals to teachers and especially to parents, and the reiterated admonitions, urging them, "conscious of their great responsibility ... to give wholehearted support to the Pioneer organizations to bring up the children in a spirit of love for Pioneering; to instill in the children's consciousness the burning zeal to be awarded the red necktie of the Pioneer, that fragment of the workers' red flag."** (*Scanteia*, May 4, 1949.)

. . . the Pioneers enjoy a favored place in school This is overtly admitted by the authorities. . . .

. . . **The animosity between Pioneers and non-Pioneers seems in effect to be far deeper than an outside observer might be prepared to believe.** . . .

It is the Pioneers who edit the wall newspaper, who decorate the school, and especially the Pioneers' Room, with red flags, slogans, portraits, and so forth. They also are "a valued assistance of the didactic cadres in their work in behalf of communist education," according to *Gazeta Invatamantului* of February 18, 1955.

The reality behind this high-sounding formula is in fact the **encouragement of spying and tale-bearing, not only against the Pioneer's schoolmates, but against the teachers and even the parents. It is no less than a highly complex system of espionage.**

p.221-222

The French newspaper France-Soir, in its issue of March 15, 1949, published the statements of a French technician, who had lived in Rumania some time. This is his story: "... **A good part of these courses is devoted to a strange subject of learning: denunciation. Teachers are taught to *tell on* their pupils and their families; the pupils are taught to spy on their teachers, their families and friends, and even on their own families.** On several occasions I had at my home such unfortunate teachers who were forced to comply with this regime, and who would come to weep at their ease before a neutral. **If I were to cry at home,**' said these victims. . . **'my servant, my son or my daughter might be tempted, willy-nilly, to speak of it and, so, to denounce me unwittingly.**' In such an atmosphere it has become impossible for parents to discuss anything with their children, to try to reason with them, or to give them the benefit of their experience. **They would be too much afraid to let slip a word or a phrase which, retold in school, either textually or in an 'ideological' guise, might mean imprisonment and sentencing to some heavy penalty.** Many such cases have already occurred."

p.221-222

We cannot close this chapter concerning the education of children of tender age, without making it clear once again that all books, magazines, and films officially designated for them are either of actual Soviet origin or else abound in fulsome praise for the U.S.S.R.

The first magazines issued especially for the Pioneers, *Licurici* and *Pogonici*, have the mission "to bring the children close to the **revolutionary transformations** that are taking place in our country, in order to make them participate therein with all their force, and to prepare them to defend these achievements if need be." This injunction may be found in *Scanteia Tineretului* of September 26, 1950. The organ of the U.T.M. further advised the editors of these children's periodical that "communist education is their basic task," and **scolded them for not having sufficiently insisted upon "planting in the**

children's souls the implacable hatred against the bandit plots of the imperialists."

p.222-223:

. . . **communist education is supplemented in various other ways, including special radio broadcasts, meetings, lectures,** and so forth. Unfortunately, while learning all sorts of things beyond their years, such as the communist interpretation of international developments, of life on a Chinese collective farm, and the living standards of Venezuelan oil workers, the **children are very poorly schooled in such elementary subjects as the Rumanian language, mathematics, and the like.** Small wonder that such **"deficiencies"** must be denounced again and again in the R.P.R. press, and that **every session of graduation examinations marks an outbreak of alarming reports in the newspapers, stressing the ignorance of the candidates.**

p.222-223:

The **behavior of school children** between the ages of 8 and 14 is a **subject of perennial and apparently fully justified complaint.** "There are still pupils and students who think it is a brave thing to affront a teacher," complained *Gazeta Invatamantului* of September 4, 1954, **"and to show disrespect to the didactic cadres. Some students are unseemly and show improper attitudes toward their female colleagues."** And *Scanteia* remarked glumly that even in 1954 there were still many students who stay away from class, show up wholly unprepared at examinations, and fail to pass the tests in two or even three subjects. **"They become truants, shirkers, and cheats, and have an impudent attitude toward their teachers."** This ever recurring theme of disrespect toward the teachers is noteworthy. **It is, of course, the expectable result of the officially encouraged role of informer. When from the very inception of the communist regime the school children have been incited to act as spies, sneaks, and party stool pigeons,** what standing can the teaching profession have in their eyes?

p.223-224:

. . . **the high school system . . . has suffered the most radical changes** under the communist regime. The **accent now is on technical high schools** of various sorts; agricultural, cooperative, vocational, and trade schools have largely superseded the former classical medium or secondary schools. [. . .]

. . . From the time of their first introduction, such schools, though under the authority of the Ministry of Public Education, were organized, operated, and financed by various technical departments. But six years' experience showed that the **results left much to be desired.** Hence, in February 1955 a joint decision of the Central Committee of the Rumanian Workers' Party and of the R.P.R. government was issued, reorganizing the technical medium schools.

According to the text published in *Gazeta Invatamantului* of February 11, 1955, "The schooling

aimed at training **skilled workers and medium technical cadres** needed in the national economy, in health protection, and in the **development of the people's culture** will comprise three types of schools: Professional schools for apprentices, technical schools for skilled workers and technical personnel, and technical schools for masterworkers." **Such schools are designed to operate in conjunction with the larger enterprises, plants, mechanical centers, tractor stations, and so forth.**

... in the field of **medium schooling**, as in all other fields of endeavor, there is **open discrimination in favor of students of "acceptable" social origin**. In the first place, the **children of "workers" and "poor peasants" enjoy preference, while those of "bourgeois" family background are systematically discouraged**. This has been openly affirmed by the highest authority. Florica Mezincescu, then Assistant Minister of Education, wrote in *Gazeta Invatamantului* of September 23, 1949: "... It is not a matter of indifference to us who enters high schools. **We must watch the social composition of the student body, which must represent the great mass of the working people**, which has the guiding role, then the working peasantry, their ally, the state's public servants of all categories, and the small artisans who march in step with the **constructors of socialism**."...

p.225:

In high schools, as throughout the educational field, **students are required to fill in forms showing their "social origin" at every step**. There are, indeed, special "class committees" operating in high schools, formed of students who have shown themselves particularly proficient in Marxist-Leninist doctrine. These bodies of **future "activists"** are the repositories of "proletarian vigilance," and **act as veritable screening units, ferreting out signs of "bourgeois and reactionary sabotage"** among their fellow-students, the teachers, and the parents. They operate under the direct supervision of the communist "responsible" of the school.

p.225:

... **denigration of all things Western, and the systematic belittling of religion and everything connected with the Churches are, indeed, to be found in all textbooks, whether scientific, literary, or technical**. Here are a few instances.

Describing the new Geography Books, *Gazeta Invatamantului* of September 30, 1949, proudly pointed out that "in the new geography manuals may be found problems that were never mentioned in the old textbooks. ... **The people's struggle for national and social liberation ... occupies an important place.** ...

The people's victories in this continued fight are indicated." The Soviet Union provides study material for one whole year's course; the rest of the world is squeezed into a course of exactly the same duration. Characteristic is **"the radical transformation" caused by the "application of Marxist-Leninist science to the study of geography."**

p.225-226

Rumanian language and literature textbooks stress the approved **"progressive" writings of the regime's accredited writers to the detriment of the classic authors**. The thinkers and writers of the past are either belittled as "reactionaries," or else "interpreted" in terms of the current political dogma. Even the foreign languages, such as are still taught, are presented in manuals abounding in political irrelevancies. These manuals refer at every step to the Soviet Union, to Pioneer activities, and to social problems, discussed in the communist style. Among the "French authors" presented in extracts for the students' edification are Marx, Engels, Lenin, and ... Maurice Thorez. As for Rabelais, according to the prescribed French Literature Book for the last grade of high schools, "he shows us two social types constantly antagonistic in an oligarchic society: the rapacious rich man and his poor victim." The textbook opens with a quotation from Jdanov and closes with a fragment by Leonov concerning **criticism and self-criticism**.

Even **arithmetic is not exempt from this all-pervading political angling**. Every approved textbook features problems that involve **data culled from the activities of state enterprises, collective farms, and the like, with production norms and delivery quotas cropping up again and again** ... **Current events** must be brought in at every step by the teachers, and **examples taken from the everyday life of the workers, from international developments, and from the various forms of production** have to be dragged into even anatomy or astronomy courses.

... **everything pertaining to Western pedagogy is officially considered obnoxious.** ...

... As far back as 1947, the Ministry of Public Education brought out a **"Rule Book for Cultural-Educational Work in Secondary Schools,"** by which they have to conduct all their activities. The booklet states unambiguously on page 5 that "the pages that follow contain remarks having the sense, not of mere recommendations, but of ... a compulsory character." Foremost of the innovations introduced by this Rule Book is the **"educational counselor," who is appointed for each school from among the teachers of "verified democratic convictions," that is, having the confidence of the Communist party. This functionary is the true head of the school, the principal being but a figurehead. It is he who exercises the "guidance and control" service, to which the Education Law of 1948 devotes an entire chapter.**

p.226-227:

All activities, inside and outside school are closely supervised and "planned," not only the school principal, but the communist organization assuring the system of checks and counter-checks at every step. The accent is placed upon the **"ideological contents"** of all schooling, and the school's unions, U.T.M. (Union of Working Youth), and **Pioneer organizations participate in every decision**. The party line, whatever it happens

to be at any given time, must be strictly adhered to. All slips, "deviations," or other failures are immediately punished. **With everyone spying and reporting on everyone else, it is not difficult to imagine the atmosphere in schools.**

The **school authorities interfere even in the home life of students, harassing their parents, "educating" them in the "new spirit," and reporting anything suspicious they observe.** This business of dogging the students' families in and out of season raises a problem that to this day has not been satisfactorily solved from the point of view of the authorities, and still persists as a thorn in the side of **educational "responsibles."** It is naturally the "bourgeois" and "kulak" influences at home that must be put down at all costs. But there is also **"agitation work" to be performed by the members of the teaching profession;** they must be prepared to "sell" and "boost" the regime's topical propaganda themes, by **house-to-house methods.** These additional chores make the overworked teacher's life burdensome indeed.

p.227-228:

The varied activities required from the teacher make necessary an infinity of special courses and training programs that have little or nothing to do with actual instruction in class-room subjects.

Even prior to the introduction of the Reform Law, as far back as July 1948, a center for teachers' instruction was set up in Bucarest. This started out with 114 teacher-students. By August that same year, there was one such center at every district capital, and a total of 25,000 teachers were put through the mill. Barely one year later, the Minister of Public Education could announce that no less than 80 per cent of the country's teachers had been through the requisite cycle. Since then, this type of extra schooling and screening for members of the teaching profession has been constantly elaborated.

Yet, in spite of all efforts, the results still do not satisfy the party watchdogs. *Gazeta Invatamantului* of January 25, 1953 complained bitterly at the **persistence of such sins as "objectivism" and "cosmopolitanism"** among the country's teachers, and, in general, of lack of recognition and combativity when it came to "remnants of retrograde bourgeois ideology." It was in order to remedy these deficiencies and others that the RJP.R.Council of Ministers issued a decision on July 30, 1954, aimed ostensibly at "assuring the stability of the teaching profession." It affects all teachers of elementary and secondary schools, and provides **two forms of extra-curricular but compulsory activities for them. The first is a one-year's "qualification course," to be taken every five years,** and the second is a **"methodical activity"** of a permanent nature. The one-year course consists of a stint of **required reading and exercises, which is taken during the actual school year, and of a cycle of lectures, seminars, and practical work, which is scheduled during the summer vacation months.** In other words, it means that the teacher does without a vacation every five years. It

should not be thought, however, that it is only every fifth year that the members of the teaching profession forego their vacations. There are such summer chores as helping out in summer camps for children, and thus continuing the communist education of their charges, which are no less obligatory. The **second phase consists of several more cycles of conferences, lectures, meetings,** and so forth, **carried out through "pedagogical circles"** set up for each raion of the country. Four special institutes have also been set up -- in Bucarest, Iasi, Cluj, and Timisoara -- to handle and systematize these activities.

p.228-229:

The educational value of **organized competitive sports** has been widely recognized, and it is hardly necessary to point out that totalitarian regimes of every shade invariably make use of them for propaganda purposes. The pomp and pageantry attending all major sports events in Hitler's Third Reich and in the Soviet Union are all too familiar, and the concomitant political trappings have become almost commonplace even to the average movie-goer and reader of illustrated magazines in the Western hemisphere.

For a definition of sports and for an understanding of the part they are called upon to play under a communist regime, the most authoritative source is provided by the available official texts. Here, for instance, is "The decision of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of Rumanian Workers' Party concerning the **constant stimulation and development of physical culture and of sports,**" from *Scanteia* of June 26, 1949: ". . . The thorough-going organization of physical culture and of mass sports, in the present conditions of our country's development, is of great political importance, because **physical culture and sports, guided by the Party, constitute a significant contribution to the formation of a new man, of a determined and active fighter for the construction of socialism.**" Then comes the basic act of faith: "The concern of the Party for the problem of sports and physical culture is **inspired by the Stalinist conception . . . it is inspired by the genial teachings of the great leaders of the proletariat, Marx, Engels, Lenin, and Stalin, who have stressed the role of physical culture alongside ideological and political education and technical instruction, in the communist upbringing of the men of labor.**"

It is not surprising, therefore, that the Communist regime, as early as 1946, set up the so-called **"Organization of Popular Sports,"** which, as was only to be expected, was placed "under the guidance of the Party and supported by workers' unions and by **democratic youth organizations.**"

The results of this organization, however, were disappointing. Hence the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Rumanian Workers' Party presently announced that it ". . . considers that, on the basis of a proper guidance, the participation of athletes in the country's political and social life must be assured. **Physical improvement and sports must become one of the important factors in the**

physical and moral toughening of the men of labor, and in the strengthening of our Fatherland, the Rumanian Popular Republic." Hence, ". . . with the aim of **continually stimulating and developing mass physical culture and sports,**" it is resolved that existing sports organizations be recast, and that "... a Committee for Physical Culture and Sports be set up as an agency of the Council of Ministers, with the participation therein of representatives of the General Confederation of Labor, of the Working Youth Union, of the Army, of the Ministry of the Interior, of the Ministry of Education, and of the Ministry of Health."

p.230-231:

. . . A resolution of the Committee for Physical Culture and Sports, published in the Official Bulletin of February 2, 1950, asserts control over the organization of **physical culture and of sports.** In accordance with this new directive, **no sports whatsoever may be practiced except within sport associations, sport collectives, and sport circles.** The first of these institutions may only exist "within the framework of the General Confederation of Labor, alongside workers' Unions, according to production fields, and within the framework of the Ministry of National Defense and the Ministry of Internal Affairs." **"Sport collectives"** in rural areas are to function **"alongside State Agricultural Farms, machine and tractor stations, collective farms, and cultural centers."** In the field of education, ". . . within the framework of elementary, medium, and upper schools, there will be set up sports collectives and circles." Article 7 of the Resolution provides that "medium grade schools will organize sports collectives, and elementary schools, sports circles." These are to come under the control of the school management, ". . . and in cities and districts under the control of the educational sections of the local Popular Councils and Committees for Physical Education and Sports." The purposes and tasks of the latter organizations are to be found in Article 2 of the Resolution, which provides that **all activities will be carried out ". . . with a view to forming constructors of the socialist society,** multilaterally developed, healthy, strong, and full of life, devoted to the utmost to our Fatherland and to the Rumanian Workers' Party . . . and in the spirit of unswerving faith in the victory of the international proletariat, in the struggle against exploitation, for the **defense of peace, liberty, and progress, of devotion and love for the great Stalin, leader of genius of the peace front, democracy, and socialism** throughout the whole world, and for the Great Country of victorious socialism, the Soviet Union."

p.231-232:

. . . the communist regime, in this field as in all others, strives to achieve a **twofold end** -- on the one hand, the **servile copying of available Soviet models,** and, on the other, a **new means of shaping tomorrow's communist fighter.** To meet these requirements, the Council of Ministers, in its session of April 14, 1950, approved "the Regulations of the

State Sports Complex, 'Ready for Work and for the Defense of the Rumanian People's Republic.'"

The Resolution of the Council of Ministers, published in the R.P.R. Official Bulletin of April 27, 1950, provides that ". . . The Ministry of Public Education will take steps for the adoption, prior to May 1, 1950, of **state programs for physical education,** in schools of all kinds, to the provisions of the **Complex 'Ready for Work and for the Defense of the Rumanian People's Republic.'**" Article 5 of the Resolution specifies that ". . . all typical school program rules for the methodical teaching of gymnastics and sports, established for physical culture and sports collectives, shall be adopted, and provisions for their printed issuance in large editions shall be made."

The "Complex" referred to is the Rumanian translation of the **"Complex of Sports Rules"** that constitutes the basic program for physical education in the Soviet Union, and which is commonly known as the "G.T.O." As *Scanteia Tineretului* for June 7, 1949, explains, these **regulations "comprise the simplest sports contests, accessible to the great mass of the citizens."** They are divided into three categories, the first of which was established in 1931, in the U.S.S.R. The regulations for the "State Sports Complex," set forth the aims of this "Complex." In addition to **"the education of the workers in the spirit of true patriotism and of proletarian morale,"** and in **"boundless" love for the Soviet Union and "The Great Leader" Stalin, its task is "to combat cosmopolitanism in sports, which takes the form of servility toward the decadent sports of the West,"**

Whereupon the regulations proceed to set forth organizational details:

"The Complex 'Ready for Work and for Defense' is constructed on the principle of the continuous multilateral physical education of the population, beginning at the age of 15, and is divided into the following grades:

- a) 'Be prepared for Work and Defense,' whose aim is the correct physical development of young boys and girls;
- b) 'Ready for Work and Defense,' First Grade, whose aim is the multilateral physical development of the workers . . . ;
- c) 'Ready for Work and Defense,' Second Grade, whose aim is to assure a high degree of multilateral physical development of the workers and to contribute to the acquisition of proficiency in sports."

p.232-233:

. . . **the most popular sport is association football** (there are some 5,000 clubs in operation). In *The Economist* for July 11, 1953 we find 5 comprehensive report thereon. The article opens with a quotation from *Scanteia* to the effect that even in the first division "games have in general been played on a low technical level." The explanation, according to the R.P.R. sheet, can mean but that "the remnants of bourgeois sports practices have given rise to unhealthy manifestations which have nothing in common with the new sport, or the healthy spirit of hundreds of thousands of young sportsmen **educated by the democratic people's regime.**" The article adds: "These unhealthy manifestations are not, as one might innocently suppose, just foul play, engaging the referee in fisticuffs or throwing things at

him, but the **low political level** ... in the activities of the players in the social field."

[. . .]

"Have they forgotten," asks *Scanteia*, that their **duty** is "to **combat the spirit of competition between teams?**" Have they forgotten that they must be "guided by Stalinist teaching concerning Socialist competition?" Furthermore "the lack of ideological vigilance" of many of the activists on the directing boards of football clubs is so great that they allow themselves to be "influenced by so-called 'sports technicians' and 'stars' soaked in bourgeois ideology, to such a degree that they resort to unprincipled interventions" in their favour, and "tolerate the reintroduction of the competitive spirit of the teams, which is completely contrary to the **spirit of collaboration and reciprocal aid** that is a specific part of the Party line and spirit in sports matters."

p.233-234:

. . . *Scanteia* closed its tirade: "**The absence of close coordination between sports education and political education represents a danger to the work of the communist education of the great mass of young people.**"

p.234:

The regime realized from the very beginning the need for finding a more or less adequately qualified personnel to **replace throughout the administration the officials destined to be purged**. To satisfy this need, the **Law on Education provides the creation of "special schools and courses."** Article 26 of the law states: 'There will be set up in certain centers, for the workers, **special two-year schools**. These schools are **designed to give students a preparation equivalent to secondary schooling**. Those who successfully pass the entrance examinations may become pupils. Pupils of these schools will be taken out of the production process. They will be supported throughout the period of their student status by the respective Ministries (departments) and enterprises. Graduates of these schools may enter admission examinations for higher education (universities)."

Article 31 provides a still more radical innovation: "**To answer the urgent needs of the country's economic and social life, schools may be set up with a duration of studies shorter than that provided in the present law, under conditions that shall be established by special laws.**"

As a consequence, **all kinds of so-called special schools have already been created**, so that, by now, an important number of posts in the administration, especially responsible ones, are held by graduates of these novel institutions.

p.234:

. . . **special high school evening courses were introduced for the benefit of public servants**. The reason was obvious enough. Extensive purges had already seriously depleted the civil service. Existing laws and regulations which, at that stage, could not have well been ignored or changed without gravely

diminishing the regime's ostensible position, required candidates for certain administrative posts to be at least high school graduates. The need was urgent: **trusted minions of the regime had to be provided with the requisite diplomas without delay. All too many of them were barely literate, hardly able to spell. The answer was found in these three to four weeks 7 cramming courses.**

p.234-235:

According to classical Marxist doctrine, class consciousness constitutes the basis of political consciousness. To this Lenin adds that, **in order to develop political consciousness, class consciousness must be aroused through education**, for otherwise we have but economic insight on a purely corporative level. Hence the interest displayed by the communists in party schooling. **Such schooling of a "partisan" character is provided for every echelon**, from the base organization of individual enterprises, through raion and region party committees, and on up to the Central Committee, **constituting the so-called "links" in party education**. At the lowest level are the **discussion circles** that include all party members, and constitute a general initiation phase. Immediately above are the study circles, where various political problems of a precise nature are delved into exhaustively. There such works as **The History of the Communist (Bolshevik) Party of the USSR, Stalin's biography, Stalin's Economic Problems of the USSR, and the Decisions of the Nineteenth Congress of the Soviet Unions Communist Party** are dealt with at length. . . .

The regional party schools (one-year courses) are designed to train cadres for the regional party apparatus, for raion committees, and for party organizations of various sorts of a local nature. Such high-ranking institutions as the "Stefan Gheorghiu" party school and the "A. A. Jdanov" school of social sciences (both have courses covering three years) rank as higher educational establishments. The "Stefan Gheorghiu" school has a journalism section, a "finishing course" for secretaries of raional and city party committees (one year), as well as a four-year course requiring no attendance. In addition to the above, there are **"night universities" for the study of Marxism-Leninism** (set in 1949-1950), of which one operates in conjunction with the R.P.R. Academy.

The student body is formed of party members, party candidates, and even non-party individuals. According to *Lupta de Clasa* of October 1954, there were a total of 328,301 students attending these party schools, of whom 233,361 were party members, 4,855 candidates, and 90,105 nonparty individuals. **The faculties are composed of specially trained and qualified personnel, selected from the "active of propagandists," whose main concern, in addition to a thorough familiarity with the prescribed classics, must be effectiveness as propagandists and constant agreement with the current party line.**

p.236:

"The reform of education," observed one high party official in *Scanteia* of September 16, 1948, **"introduces structural changes also in the institutions of higher learning."**

. . . Though the law formally states that institutions of higher education "are designed to prepare cadres for the teaching personnel of medium and especially higher education, higher cadres of specialists and researchers in the various branches of science" (article 17), **in reality they are intended simply to turn out "cadres" thoroughly imbued with Marxism-Leninism for the state apparatus, and production technicians.** As one of the top-flight exponents of the regime, wrote in the magazine *For Enduring Peace and for Popular Democracy*, September 30, 1949, **"The envisaged purpose of the new education is the formation of trained cadres corresponding to the tasks that fall to the constructors of socialist society."**

In order to assure the unchallenged primacy of the communist doctrine in education, eliminating any "ideological competition" of "bourgeois" origin, the law provides in article 20 that **"all higher education will comprise minimum analytical programs** (i.e. curricula), obligatory and unified, prescribed for all chairs of the same specialty." And article 21 elaborates: **"For each discipline (subject), students will be provided with required minimum manuals and treatises."** It is hardly necessary to point out that such a system eliminates all possibility for instructors to present in their courses any personal ideas, resulting from the studies undertaken. Furthermore, even personal interpretations or individual presentations, at variance formally in any way, in any field whatsoever, are explicitly prohibited. In other words, the most stringent and restrictive norms are formally imposed, from which the slightest deviation is beforehand expressly branded as heretical.

p.236-237

According to the decision of the Education Ministry, dated October 15, 1948, ". . . Higher education comprises the following institutions: 1) universities, and 2) higher institutions of learning." (Article 1.) "Universities comprise several faculties (schools), and the latter may have a number of sections each. Universities are under the authority of the Ministry of Public Education." (Article 2.) "Institutions of higher learning shall have one or more faculties (or departments); the faculties may have several sections each. Institutes of higher learning are under the authority either of the Ministry of Public Education or other Ministries (government departments)." (Article 3.) "Universities and institutes of higher learning will be headed by rectors, and their component faculties by deans." (Article 4.)

p.237

The **stress on technical learning** has led to a **continual increase in the number of specialized technical institutes**, which have come to **supplant what were formerly integral parts of the universities**, that is, the component schools or

faculties. During the 1954-1955 school year, according to official figures issued, 36.6 per cent of the total body of students of university rank were registered with the **polytechnic and technical industrial institutes**, 24.6 per cent with the higher pedagogical institutes, 12.7 with the agronomical and forestry institutes, 15.3 with the medical, physical education, and pharmaceutical institutes, and 2.6 with the art institutes. **This excessive specialization was from the very beginning the characteristic trait of higher education under the regime of popular democracy.** It was then hailed by the communist press as "a great clarification of higher schooling." In reality, of course, it works to the obvious detriment of what is commonly accepted to be a general culture, to say nothing of that which in the West is described as a liberal education.

But let there be no mistake in regard to the results. True, the **new educational reform deliberately aims at the prevention of a general culture in the Western sense.** In exchange, all graduates of university rank in the R.P.R. are provided with a deep insight and understanding of Marxism-Leninism, intended to replace advantageously such a "bourgeois and imperialist" background.

p.237-238

To regulate the awarding of university degrees and titles, a whole series of ministerial directives and decisions have been successively provided. The final result of this progressive manipulation has been that today higher education in the Rumanian People's Republic has an aspect identical with that in the Soviet Union.

What of the titles themselves? A directive issued by the Council of Ministers, published in the R.P.R. Official Bulletin of January 17, 1950, provides that: ". . . **In order to receive the diploma** (awarding the title) of engineer, physician, professor, architect, chemist, biologist, jurist, etc., **graduates of higher institutions of learning must pass a state examination.**" (Article 1.)

"The state examination may be taken by graduates of institutions of higher learning who have passed all final yearly examinations and have filed within the required term their diploma work or project." (Article 3.)

Candidates may present themselves for this examination at most twice, within a term of two years. **Those who fail to pass "remain in the field of labor** with only the title of graduates." (Article 12.) . . .

Article 6 indicates the **nature of the state examination:** "The state examination consists of the following tests:

- a) a test concerning the bases of Marxism-Leninism;
- b) an oral test in the basic specialty of the graduate. The candidate will be questioned about his diploma thesis or project;
- c) an oral test in some specialty selected by the candidate and connected with his basic subject;
- d) a pedagogy test for candidates who intend to enter the didactic cadres."

The enumeration indicates unambiguously that **Marxism-Leninism is the principal required subject at all categories of examinations**, whatever the candidate's chosen field may be. . . .

p.238-239:

The decrees Nos. 13, 14, and 15 of the Presidium of the Grand National Assembly, published in the Official Bulletin of January 17, 1950, reorganize this sector of higher education, destined **"to prepare cadres of high scientific qualifications."**

p.239:

Decree No. 13 provides that, "with the aim of preparing the cadres of specialists and researchers necessary for the institutions of higher learning and scientific institutions of the R.P.R., the **educational (academic) degree of 'aspirant' is hereby created.**" (Article 1.)

This "aspirancy" is organized alongside universities, educational institutes, or scientific research institutes of the R.P.R. Academy, on the basis of a decision of the Council of Ministers. That **directive will also decide "... the specialties wherein aspirants will be prepared, as well as the number of places for each special field."** (Article 2.)

Originally the duration of the courses for "aspirancy" was set at three years. The Decree No. 241/1953 issued by the Presidium of the Grand National Assembly created **three forms of "aspirancy"** a) requiring attendance, with a duration of three years; b) requiring no attendance, with a duration of four years; and c) reduced to one year, specially designed for members of the teaching profession. Graduates of schools of higher educational level may qualify as "candidates of science" without formal inclusion into the "aspirancy" system.

Aspirants who finish their courses and successfully defend their thesis will be awarded the title of "Candidate in Science." **Admission to aspirancy is based on a competitive examination, to which only persons of not more than forty years of age and who possesses a diploma of higher learning may present themselves.** "The admission competition will consist of the following tests:

- a) the **bases of Marxism-Leninism;**
- b) the selected specialized subject;
- c) the Russian language."

Throughout the duration of the courses **candidates receive state scholarships and are required to carry out a didactic activity.** Those who succeed in obtaining the title of science candidate will be required to work for five years in one of the institutions of higher learning or of research.

p.239-240:

Decree No. 15 organized the **Doctorate** "as a degree of learning." The required course of studies is three years, devoted to the preparation of the thesis. Candidates for the doctorate are to take part in an entrance examination; they must be either "science candidates" or holders of "an equivalent title from abroad, recognized by the Ministry of Education." The entrance examination comprises tests similar to that for "aspirancy."

The above review of legislative provisions governing "aspirancy" makes it once again obvious that the **deliberate intention is to regulate**

everything pertaining to higher education, both by general provisions and by others of an exceptional nature. In other words, while tomorrow's generations are provided with one regime, today's **favorites are exempted** therefrom. Such indeed is the case of the organization of the doctor's degree. For, once the objective conditions for this degree are established, a special article intervenes to set up an exception. This is article 10 which states: "The Ministry of Education may likewise confer the title of doctor on persons who, though they may not fulfill the conditions set forth in the present decree, nevertheless have to their credit some original work of great scientific, literary, or artistic value." **Knowing that the value of any production is judged according to partisan standards, we see that any favorites of the present regime can be made to fit the required conditions to be awarded doctors' degrees.**

p.240:

. . . "normal" steps in higher education could not cope with the urgent need for trusted administrative personnel. In order to fill responsible posts with devoted partisans, whose qualifications are flagrantly inadequate, **a series of temporary laws have set up special "short-order" courses and exceptional conditions of promotion.**

p.241:

. . . The fact that, on one hand, this category of schooling does not require any certificate of prior studies while, on the other hand, **the titles it confers are equivalent to academic degrees, emphasizes its ambiguous character.** These diploma mills may therefore be considered a distinct section of the field of education.

It is not necessary to enter into details or to examine the many kinds of schools that have been set up or projected to cover the section. Something, however, must be said of the **"two years' faculties for workers."** *Contemporanul* of December 30, 1949, stated that **"these special courses for workers are intended to form, within a short period, exploitation engineers of the worthiest elements among workers in the various enterprises."** They function "alongside the institutes of higher learning of similar types, in the university centers." **There are also special "accelerated" law schools in operation, set up to provide the necessary personnel for the various courts, that is, the so-called people's assessors, who, though lacking legal training of a formal nature, form the majority of all quorums of judges.** Such short-order law schools have been set up in Bucarest, Iasi, and Cluj, the one in Cluj having a section operating in the Hungarian language for the benefit of the Magyar Autonomous Region."

An entire **network of special evening courses**, paralleling the respective university departments, has been **established for the benefit of would-be students employed in the "field of labor" who, in addition to being high school graduates, are "recommended by the enterprise or institution where they are employed, upon advice from the**

union committee." Graduates of these evening schools, whose courses generally cover a four years' period, have "the same rights as graduates of day courses." In other words, **university-type diplomas are made available to trusted party members "on the job," in order to fill the regime's very real need for reliable and devoted "production cadres."**

p.241-242:

For the formation of "cadres" of another type -- party activists and party agitators -- there is the "Stefan Gheorghiu Higher Party School" which functions under the direct control of the Central Committee of the Rumanian Communist party. This "party university," to which admissions are made on recommendation by the Central Committee on the basis of "requisite training and record in party work and of activity in the social field," has become, so to speak, a reservoir of party functionaries for central and regional agencies, as well as for the party press and other propaganda media. The courses provided are the **history of the Soviet Union's Communist party, universal history, the history of the R.P.R., political economy, dialectic and historical materialism, international relations, political and economic geography, the workings of the regime of popular democracy and of the party,** Rumanian language and literature and, of course, Russian. The diploma issued to graduates is the equivalent of a university diploma.

The "A. A. Jdanov" School likewise operates in direct conjunction with the Central Committee. It is designed to provide **"theoretical cadres for the party's central institutions, for the conduct of party schooling, for scientific work at the center and region organs, heads and teachers for party schools, lectors and lecturers for State higher educational establishments, editors for ideological magazines, and leadership for the propaganda sections of central publications,"** according to the authoritative *Lupta de Clasa* (issue for September 1953). The courses are almost the same as those of the "Stefan Gheorghiu" Institute, except for those given in the third -- and last -- year, which are more highly specialized.

p.242-243:

. . . **all this para-educational apparatus is set up for the exclusive benefit of trusted party members and presumptive recruits.** The discrimination, however, does not end there. We have already pointed out that deliberate discrimination exists throughout the field of medium and high school education. This is even more evident in higher education where prospective students are screened with the utmost care. Indeed **it is next to impossible for anyone whose social and family background is not "acceptable"** from the point of view of the communist regime to **register as a student with any university department, let alone to graduate. An extensive biography must be furnished by all candidates,** including the answers to a most exhaustive questionnaire of more than one hundred separate questions. **Scholastic merit plays no role.** The stress is laid on recommendations from the

unions . . . , on commendable activities (for instance in the Pioneer organization), and on social origin. The purpose, officially avowed, is to exclude so far as possible students of a "bourgeois-landowning" background.

p.243:

It is the **official educational policy to "homogenize" not only the student body, but also the courses provided in the universities and institutes of university rank.** That is to say, as in the case of medium or high schools, the tendency is to introduce **"sole authorized manuals" for every branch of science, for each separate subject, all based squarely on Marxist-Leninist foundations.** As the authoritative *Lupta de Clasa* (Series V, XXX: 3) put it, **"The Law for the Reform of Public Education . . . introduced the principle of compulsory curricula and sole manuals for university courses, corresponding to the scientific level demanded by the socialist organization that is being built in our country."**

p.243-244:

In their lectures, courses, and seminars, members of university faculties must, of course, hew close to the Marxist-Leninist line. **There is no room for any opinion that, from the point of view of the prescribed doctrine, is even remotely or potentially controversial.** At every turn, whether in relation to medicine, history, philosophy, architecture, or mathematics, the absolute superiority of the accepted Soviet authorities must be stressed ex cathedra, while **any divergent doctrine or theory evolved in the Western world must be vigorously denounced as backward, tendentious, or wrong.**

p.244-245:

The initial **denunciation of "deviationism"** is apt to come literally out of the blue. It may take the form of a bitterly critical article in some specialty review, written either by a member of the editorial staff or by a faculty colleague of the "accused" (who is apt to be raked over the coals for heresy himself soon thereafter); it may come as a resolution of some student union or the UTM; or it may be initiated during the discussions at some congress or convention. No matter in what form it comes, the **man or woman under indictment is not considered to be a "defendant"** in the usual sense of the word. There is no defense available in the sense of an explanation. There is, above all, no defense conceivable in the sense of attempting to prove one's expressed views are the right ones. **The accused must plead guilty, must beat his or her breast with a loud show of repentance, must admit the "error," proclaim unambiguously that the accusers were right. Controversial discussions are unacceptable.** . . . Humble pie must be consumed on the rostrum, abject promises of future conformity must be made in the forum.

p.246-247:

The **social sciences**, . . . have become increasingly important, this being the **domain in which Marxist-Leninist teachings are of particular significance.**

p.251:

The **intellectual and spiritual degradation** of the people involved in this system needs no elaboration. **It is the exact opposite of academic freedom, of candor, of true intellectual integrity.**

. . . With the accent in every course, in every discipline, placed heavily on Marxist- Leninist "teachings," the rest, that is the **student's chosen field of specialization is provided only in its barest essentials.** Examinations and tests bearing on the subjects as such have become a mere formality, and an absolute **minimum of knowledge is considered satisfactory, provided the student is proficient in the elements of Marxist-Leninist dogma.** It is more important to have a good standing in the Union of Working Youth than to be thoroughly familiar with, say, the principles of electronics or obstetrics.

. . . **university faculty must strive, like any other "workers' collective", to meet the quota, to surpass the planned norm.** As the gang of laborers is expected to move so many cubic meters of earth, as a team of tractor drivers must plough a prescribed area in a given time, **so must the professors turn out a satisfactory percentage of graduates.** The examiners are, on the one hand, **careful not to give bad marks to any candidate who is well thought of by the party organizations or whose parents are highly rated by the regime;** . . .

p.251-252:

The press is most insistent on educational results, and anxious to register the proportion of promoted candidates, **proclaiming it as yet another "success" of the regime of popular democracy.**

Now and again, however, the system backfires with such devastating effects that even the party press must sit up and take adverse notice. This, indeed, happens oftener than one might expect, for there is hardly an article to be found in any communist publication, on any aspect of life in the R.P.R. that does not show an **odd contrast between the optimism of proclaimed "successes" and dour criticism of observed "failures" and "deficiencies."** In matters relating to the academic field, as in every other domain, the **criticism is never leveled at the system itself,** but always at the **manner of its practical application.** It is only the highest authorities in the Kremlin that may reverse themselves -- and the rest of the communist-dominated sphere -- on any issue of doctrine. For the R.P.R., as for the other **"people's democracies," the current party line is absolutely right by definition;** only the interpretation or execution thereof may be criticized.

And so, every so often, we come across an article like that in *Gazeta Invatamantului* of December 11, 1954, which sourly denounces the notion held by "certain university students" who, though their record of studies is bad, **"consider that their healthy origins (as sons of workers) gives them the right to be advanced without learning."** . . .

And here is a still more revealing instance: writing likewise in *Gazeta Invatamantului* (issue of September 30, 1949), an R.P.R. university professor

had this to say: "It is a sad but undeniable reality that the **majority of our students present themselves in an altogether unsatisfactory manner, both from the point of view of their learning and from that of the maturity of thought** we are entitled to expect from people who pursue specialized studies over a number of years."

p.252-253:

Some part at least of the blame for this "sad but undeniable reality" must certainly be attributed to the system. And it is not only in the "homogenized" character of the overwhelming majority of today's student body, resulting, as we have seen, from the **deliberately applied policy of checks and screenings,** that the reason for the prevailing **poor scholastic showing and lack of maturity** must be sought. The truth is that, at the level of higher education, as throughout the entire schooling system, the communist regime lays altogether **too much stress on extra-curricular activities.** Pursuant to the **policy of occupying the students' free time with political activities and training,** the communists started "organizing" the student body from the very moment they were installed in power.

p.253:

The initial organization, the **"Communist Youth Union"**, was dissolved as early as 1945, on account of what was officially described as "the narrowness of its scope." It was superseded by "a new and broader youth organization without a class character" which was titled "Tineretul Progresist" (**"Progressive Youth"**). This, in turn, was found inadequate. In the words of the Resolution of the plenary session of the Communist party Central Committee of December 22-24, 1949: ". . . This form of organization was harmful to the working class and to the **young democratic movement,** whose combativeness and vigilance it weakened by allowing its ranks to be infiltrated by elements alien and even inimical to the (working) class. Even certain party members sank into this heterogeneous mass, losing their combativeness and class consciousness."

A thorough house cleaning was indicated. The Resolution continued: ". . . Faced with this situation, the party leadership set itself the task of creating the **Union of Working Youth (UTM), sole organization of the young workers ... to unite and educate young workers in factories and plants in the spirit of class struggle, in the spirit of Marxist-Leninist teachings, and of love and devotion to the party."**

Alongside the Union of Working Youth, there were set up various **kindred formations, grouping together young farmers** ("Tineretul satesc" "**Village Youth"**), school children ("U.A.E.R."), young Hungarians ("Tineretul I.P.M."), as well as a university student organization.

Within this general framework of youth organizations, the organization of the university student body proper likewise went through several phases. Following the directives of what was known at the time as the **Bloc of Democratic Parties, the Democratic University Front** was set up. . . .

p.254:

Following the resolution of the congress of Cluj, in May 1947, the Front was transformed into the **National Union of Rumanian Students (U.N.S.R.)**.

Both the **Democratic Front** and its successor, the **U.N.S.R.**, aimed at the most **direct and constant supervision of the student body**, even during vacations, and even outside the academic centers. As early as 1946 it began to create **district student circles** which, in districts where universities existed, were placed under the control of the latter.

During vacations, moreover, students organized in labor brigades were being sent out to work on **national projects These projects were designed to become patterns for "finishing schools" of communist education** for the participants. Hence the great care displayed by the communist leaders in the composition of brigade commands and in the selection of elements forming the so-called **guidance collectives**. As *Studentul Roman* of July 2, 1948, put it, the mission of these stalwarts was "the task of dynamizing (sic), enlightening, and educating the masses."

Such was the situation up to December 1948, when the plenary session of the Central Committee of the Communist party voted a Resolution, "concerning the Party's activities in the ranks of youth," which decided the **unification of all existing youth organizations**. The Resolution acknowledges that ". . . the U.N.S.R. and the U.A.E.R. have achieved certain positive actions in the field of **creating a democratic spirit in schools and universities**." However, ". . . lacking the foundation of a clear political line, being unconnected with the working youth through a single organization, and leaving the door too widely open to all students and pupils, without distinction of political views, **these organizations were unable to carry out decisively a consequent political and cultural-educational activity** while, owing to deficient vigilance, their ranks could be infiltrated by elements inimical to the Party, and the **spirit of sacrifice for the cause of the working class . . . vigilance and implacable class hatred against the exploiters, against war-mongering imperialism, and against the agents of the class enemy, inside and outside the country.**"

p.255:

On March 19, 1949, in the presence of the government, the **Congress of the Single Revolutionary Organization of the Working Youth of the R.P.R.** opened in Bucarest, and the new organization was formally constituted. There can be no doubt that, in thus **unifying the country's entire youth in a single organization, the regime gained immense means of control**. Yet the haunting fear of "bourgeois infiltration" was not abated. By the beginning of July 1949, less than four months later, an overhaul of the membership appeared called for. A decision of the plenary session of the Central Committee of the Communist party directed that a new registration of members was to take place "in order to strengthen the class character of the UTM (the Union

of Working Youth), to raise that organization's authority among the broad masses of young workers, to eliminate from its ranks inappropriate elements . . . to strengthen its mobilizing power, with the aim of an increasing contribution to the struggle carried on by the Party for the construction of socialism in our country." (*Scanteia*, July 7, 1949.)

Finally at the beginning of 1950, the Central Committee of the Communist party decided to **group the student body into unions**. . . . "The integration of the students into unions," states one of the Resolutions voted on this occasion, "**will model their socialist attitude toward labor**." "Organized in unions," states another motion, "**we shall fight wholeheartedly for the common cause -- for peace -- and against Anglo-American imperialist warmongers.**"

p.256:

. . . **Statutorily, they [R.P.R. university students] are expected to become "constructors of socialism" rather than good construction engineers, and to "fight wholeheartedly against Anglo-American imperialist warmongers" instead of fighting disease, soil erosion, or plain ignorance.** . . .

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Excerpts from *CAPTIVE RUMANIA a decade of soviet rule* --chapter:

7

PRESS AND RADIO

p.259-260:

Sabotage of the free press was likewise carried on as a deliberate policy by the local communist party. . . . In the main this sabotage took the following forms: The communist-dominated printers' unions systematically **refused to set or print any articles or news items that dealt with the abuses** committed by the Soviet occupation authorities, **or denounced the illegal actions** of the Communist party. **Workers who refused to obey such bans were subject to severe manhandling at the hands of the thugs.** The communist sheets would themselves **initiate some bitter and virulent polemic** against one or more of the democratic or independent papers; when the periodical under attack retaliated, even in the most urbane manner, a complaint to the Allied (Soviet) Control Commission would follow, and the result would be that the paper opposing the communists was suspended or banned for a longer or shorter time, according to the seriousness of the issue involved, **the charge being that of "disturbing the peace."**

p.260-261:

The compulsory prior authorization for the issuance of any publication thenceforth became the legal prerogative of a special commission that functioned in the Propaganda Ministry. All periodicals being required to renew existing permits, it was a simple thing to do away with them by simply refusing such renewals.

. . . **The government began requisitioning or confiscating outright the more important printing establishments, which were then handed over to**

the communists. ... The pretext in each was that the former owners were "**fascists**" or "**reactionaries**" -- meaning simply that they were anti-communists.

The distribution of newsprint continued to be a most effective means of muzzling all opposition. It was handled during the period by a government commission staffed exclusively with communists. The most flagrant discrimination was overtly practiced.

Communist sheets were allocated quotas three or four times larger than their actual needs, while the opposition would be doled out quotas barely covering 20 per cent of their circulation. Newsprint was then sold at a very high premium on the black market, the communists pocketing the profit.

Censorship of a military nature was taken over by a special agency titled the Military Press Censorship. . . . The powers of the commission were extensive. They included "supervision of the conditions and manner in which publications of every description, both Rumanian and foreign, are published and distributed throughout the country." . . .

p.262:

The outcome of this far-reaching censorship was that **clearance became necessary for absolutely every item printed in a newspaper, including advertising copy, private announcements, and the like.** Of course, the red tape involved had the result that dailies could no longer appear on time, and when they did come out at all, after two or three separate siftings of their content, **all newsworthy items had been deleted or altered beyond recognition.**

p.262:

. . . a most effective means of curbing the opposition press was the **prevention of its distribution by strongarm methods.** Postal authorities played their part by dumping out the bundles of papers sent to the provinces, and there were always on hand gangs of toughs to beat up newspaper dealers who might insist on putting up for sale any particular paper that had incurred the displeasure of the communists. **The readers themselves were exposed to serious trouble if they kept copies of incriminated newspapers about.** In case of a search by the police, such material was instantly seized upon as evidence. In other words, **possession of a copy of an opposition paper constituted of itself prima facie evidence against anyone who might be under suspicion for one reason or another.**

p.263:

The prevailing situation was summed up by Reuben H. Markham in Rumania under the Soviet Yoke (Meador: Boston 1949) as follows: "A worthy account of the efforts of Rumanian newspapermen to preserve a free press during the three years following August 1944 would be one of the noblest and most heroic chapters in the history of world journalism. . . . **Every independent newspaperman had to leap at least six hurdles: the Russian censors, the Communist censors, the syndicate of journalists, the printers' Union, Communist shock troopers, and prison.** These obstacles faced him every day!"

p.264:

The **censorship**, not content with suppressing all political opposition stemming from domestic sources, **spread the ban to cover official statements by Western governments.**

p.269-270:

Under the conditions described, here is how a newspaper operates: Aside from the "collective" made up of the entire personnel, editorial, administrative, and technical, there is a so-called editorial collegium, headed by the chief editor. There are daily editorial conferences, and it is customary to plan the material to be printed. **Such plans, weekly, monthly, or half-yearly, must be approved in advance by the party.** The planning of each issue is the responsibility of the editorial secretary. As we have shown in another chapter of this work, **each newspaper has an unlimited number of "volunteer correspondents."**

p.270:

. . . **newspapermen may not even consult the "morgue" of their own paper without a special authorization.** As in other people's democracies, the **collection or use of statistics other than those issued by the Central Directorate of Statistics is expressly prohibited** in the terms of Decision No. 1298/1953.

p.272:

In October, 1950, a "coordination agreement" was signed by the **information agencies of the "people's democracies,"** including *Agerpress* and *Tass*. The agreement calls, among other things, for the introduction of **special Soviet "coordinating editors" in each of the Iron Curtain countries,** who play the part of advisers within each of the local press agencies.

p.272:

The most legitimate activities of non-communist foreign correspondents in a "**people's democracy**" are considered to come under the heading of **espionage, and any unauthorized information concerning the country's life is a breach of state secrets.** This has become evident in Rumania following the setting up of the **popular democratic republic.** Not only has it become a matter of the utmost difficulty for a foreign correspondent to work in Rumania even for a limited time, but all foreign news agencies not communist ceased to function there in 1950. **Unfortunate individuals who, as Rumanian citizens, represented non-communist news associations have either fled the country or been tried and sentenced to long terms of imprisonment.**

p.273-274:

A *Scanteia* editorial of May 7, 1954, provides the best description of the current R.P.R. conception of **radio broadcasting.** This description has the merit of being official. "**A cultural instrument of immense penetrative force,**" it states, "**the radio constitutes a powerful means of influencing the masses ideologically, of disseminating the Marxist-Leninist teachings, and of educating the workers in the spirit of socialist patriotism,**

proletarian internationalism, and love and attachment for the great Soviet Union."

To attain this level the communists had to proceed step by step. First the **existing broadcasting facilities and radio enterprises had to be seized and transformed into state monopolies**; then special committees to handle the various phases of radio broadcasting had to be put in exclusive control; and finally **new installations and sets had to be provided**, while the **existing transmitting and receiving equipment had to be physically altered so as to exclude Western broadcasts** and thus confine the captive audience to the wave lengths on which approved programs are broadcast.

p.275:

Article 4 of Decree No. 216 specifies the duties of the Radio Committee as follows:

"To assist in carrying out the policies of the government by producing and broadcasting programs, in Rumanian and in the minority languages of the country, of a nature apt to **educate, organize, and mobilize the working people in behalf of the construction of socialism in the R.P.R.**;

"... To make known beyond the borders the achievements of the R.P.R. in its struggle for **peace, democracy, and socialism**;

". . . It shall support and organize scientific activity in the field of radio and television, collaborating with the R.P.R. Academy, the Ministry of Public Education, the Ministry of Arts, the Ministry of Industries, and all other state organs and institutions."

p.286:

. . . In order to make full use of the radio as a propaganda medium, a great deal of new equipment was necessary. The answer was found in what is referred to as **radioficare**, a barbarous term coined by the regime's propagandists by analogy with **electrificare**, denoting the **network of local transmitters and loudspeaker systems designed to carry the authoritative voice of the party to the remotest corners of the country at a minimum cost**.

p.280:

The programs given in exchange show less concern with tastes of the listeners than with **"educating" the audience to "socialist consciousness."** While seeking to **"raise the cultural level of the masses" according to the gospel of Marx and Lenin**, even diversion is expected to have a "constructive" character. Obviously this raises an almost insoluble problem. When the **party line, slogans, and attendant ritual must be introduced even in sports broadcasts, musical programs, and literary hours**, the boredom level is quickly reached, . . . Though a totalitarian regime has no scruples about riding rough-shod over the public's likes and dislikes, it cannot really expect that sheer **verbal repetition** of the **blessings of life under a people's democracy**, and of the miseries inherent in bourgeois capitalism, will ultimately result in persuasion. Attempts must be made to find the **"subtle approach."**

p.282:

In addition to the severe **punitive measures taken against clandestine listeners to broadcasts from the free world**, the R.P.R. has done its share of jamming. As far back as 1945, the **communists considered listening to broadcasts from the free world as evidence of anti-communist feeling**.

Then came the **Law for the Defense of Peace** (published in the Official Gazette No. 117 of December 16, 1950), which made **listeners to foreign broadcasts liable to arrest and to sentences up to 25 years at hard labor**. **Denouncing one's neighbor became an officially prescribed act of civic virtue**. The summer of 1952 saw the installation of a number of jamming transmitters, notably in the larger urban centers. . . .

p.282:

. . . Every now and again there are sudden outbursts of polemics from the R.P.R. radio, in reply to some particularly telling foreign broadcast or program. At all times, as the Director General of the R.P.R. Broadcasting stated as late as 1955, "it is an honor duty for . . . radio workers to put on the air more and **more combative broadcasts, to unmask concretely the aggressive policy of the imperialistic circles and their machinations against peace."**

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Excerpts from *CAPTIVE RUMANIA a decade of soviet rule* --chapter:

8

THE R.P.R.CONSTITUTION

p.291:

The chapter entitled Organization of the State, corresponding to Chapter II of the Soviet constitution, comprises articles 16 through 21, and opens with the reiteration that the **"state regime of the R.P.R. is a regime of popular democracy**, that represents the power of the workers." Article 17 goes on to describe this state as "unitarian, sovereign, and independent." Attention should be drawn here to the term **"popular democracy"** or **"people's democracy"** (the Soviet constitution speaks of the **"socialist state"**), which is to be found in other satellite constitutions, and which, **in communist terminology, designates what can be described only as a preliminary stage in the "construction of socialism."**

p.296:

Finally come the **duties of citizens**. Article 90 prescribes respect of the constitution and of the laws of the R.P.R. as well as the **duty to "safeguard, strengthen, and develop socialist public property; to respect labor discipline**, and to contribute actively to the consolidation of the regime of **popular democracy** and to the economic and cultural development of the country." Article 91, after stating that **military service is compulsory**, elaborates this by proclaiming that "military service in the ranks of the armed forces of the R.P.R. is a duty of honor for every citizen of the R.P.R." This is enforced by article 92, which says, **"The defense of the fatherland is the sacred duty of every citizen of the R.P.R."** and adds that, **"treason toward the fatherland,**

violation of the oath, passing to the enemy, prejudice brought to the state's military power, and espionage constitute the most serious crimes against the people and the state, and are punished with the fullest severity of the law."

p.298:

The exceptionally heavy penalties prescribed for what have come to be officially described as **"anti-state activities,"** together with the peculiarity that all criminal provisions are **deliberately worded as loosely as possible, result in a constant threat hanging over the heads of all citizens. The constitutional right of defense, laid down in article 69, has been shown in actual practice to be illusory.** Official accounts of trials, published in the R.P.R. press, are on record to illustrate this fact. In no political trial yet held in Rumania, has the defense ever pleaded innocent. Rather it has invariably admitted guilt, as charged, and limited itself to a plea for leniency. The wide interpretation that the courts may legally give to the existing texts, coupled with the fact that the **"people's assessors,"** who form the majority of every quorum, are primarily concerned with the **political characteristics of the cases and of the defendants, allow the gravest injustices to pass for justice.**

p.298-299:

Such **personal liberties** as the **"personal inviolability"** and the **"inviolability of the home,"** guaranteed respectively by articles 87 and 88 of the constitution, **are set at nought by the every-day practices of the totalitarian police state.** The "secrecy of correspondence" mentioned in article 88 is likewise known to mean the exact contrary, a **strict censorship by the secret police.** It is enough to enumerate such civil liberties as those mentioned in article 85, to have a **list of activities** universally known to be absolutely beyond the reach of the citizens of the R.P.R. **Freedom of speech, of the press, of assembly and meetings, and of processions and street demonstrations must all be understood to mean, strictu sensu, that the citizens may speak, write, assemble, and demonstrate only as the party decrees.** Indeed, not even then can such activities be rightly described as the exercise of a right, but as the fulfilment of a duty.

p.298:

. . . when the party requires citizens (in their capacity as "workers") **to make any statement, to write anything, to attend a meeting, or to go out into the streets and demonstrate, there is no holding back,** and no job holder in his right mind will hesitate to comply, knowing full well that his living and even his personal safety may be at stake.

p.298-300:

The constitutional **distinction between "citizens" and "workers,"** which recurs throughout the 1952 charter, is yet another notable feature. It results, on the one hand, in the **conference of certain civil rights to a circumscribed category of**

citizens. Article 94 specifically excludes from voting in elections for the Grand National Assembly "persons that have been deprived of electoral rights by the courts or that have been declared unworthy by law." Article 52 similarly **limits voting rights to "citizens who are workers"** in elections for the **people's councils.** This amounts to the legal elimination of all opposition to the regime. Again, **it is the allpowerful party that determines who shall be a "worker" and who "unworthy" in the eyes of the law.** There is, furthermore, no guaranteed permanence implied for the individual citizen under this system. The least deviation, the most involuntary infringement of the line set by the party, either by commission or by omission, may at all times cost the individual "worker" his relatively privileged status. Deprived of the right to regular employment, ineligible thereby for membership in one or another of the all-embracing unions or cooperatives, **the delinquent loses all attendant privileges, such as preferential status in the matter of access to food, clothing and housing.** Such a demotion has far-reaching consequences, not only from the point of view of the individual's civil rights, but also from that very immediate one of his and his family's economic circumstances.

But if the citizen's rights are highly contingent, the same can not be said of his constitutional obligations. Not only do his **duties exist independently of any rights,** not only do they far outweigh the rights, but they hang as a constant threat over the individual's head -- **open at all times to the widest interpretation** in his disfavor. In other words, under the R.P.R. regime, as under every communist-inspired regime, the **individual's rights are compressible and his duties expandible, at the discretion of the authorities.**

Whether merely a citizen or also a "worker," the individual is at all times subject to the far-reaching consequences of a loosely specified "labor discipline," as we have seen. This situation has resulted in what can be described only as outright **industrial and agricultural peonage.** But that is not all. The R.P.R. Labor Code of 1950 provides -- in Article 111 -- that **"in exceptional cases" citizens may be called upon "to perform certain temporary obligations of labor," thus legalizing conscription of labor.**

p.300:

We must note, finally, that in foisting the 1952 constitution upon the people of Rumania, the communists have displayed ingenious foresight in at least one respect. By ostensibly **submitting the draft to public debate, and by attributing it formally to the "results hitherto achieved by the workers,"** as the Introductory Chapter proclaims, **they have contrived to give the constitution a formal aspect of public approval.** The "debates" before the Grand National Assembly came merely as a climax. Gheorghiu-Dej himself told the Assembly that "more than 8,000 amendments and proposals" had been forthcoming from the people, and that these "had, in the great majority, been taken into

account in drafting the final text." Hence, the Assembly was told it could accept the final text, "firmly convinced it was expressing the votes of millions of workers . . . who had already approved it." The Grand National Assembly passed the constitution, after less than two days of discussion -- a pro forma discussion, according to the official accounts issued at the time -- by unanimous vote. **The text as voted was practically identical with the original draft. . . .**

Excerpts from *CAPTIVE RUMANIA a decade of soviet rule* --chapter:

9 THE JUDICIARY

It is probably in the realm of justice that the Soviet-inspired innovations introduced by the R.P.R. communist regime have had the most striking consequences. **Students of communist ideology and practice are of course aware that what the communists call "the most advanced" justice differs greatly, both in its conceptions of principle and in its manner of operation, from the legal systems elaborated in the Western democracies upon the foundations of classic Roman law and of traditional common law. . . .**

Here and there **the familiar terminology persists, but the words no longer have their original meaning.** There can be no justice, in the commonly accepted sense, in a state that **discards the ethical ideas of right and wrong, that ignores the ideas of liberty and individual rights** in the organization and exercises of its judiciary. No relationship can be found between the ethical notion of justice and the function of the judiciary under a regime of **"popular democracy."** . . .

p.301-302:

The last constitution in force in free Rumania, that of 1923, provided as a matter of course such guarantees as the principle of the separation of state powers, the independence of the judiciary, the immovability of judges, the control of the constitutionality of laws, and the legal responsibility of the executive. Like the old Constitution of 1866, it gave the magistrature an independence that was no mere matter of form, but a reality stemming from the very working of the fundamental charter.

As we have seen in the previous Chapter, the communist-imposed charter of 1952 does away with this entire system. Article 65 **defines justice as an instrument for the protection of the regime of popular democracy,** of the conquests of the working people, of **popular legality,** and of **socialist property.** This definition is reiterated in the Law for the Organization of the Judiciary, introduced on June 19, 1952, and modified on March 4, 1953. Article 2 of that law states that the **primary mission of justice is to defend the social and state structure and the socialist economic system. . . .**

In other words, the **role of justice** is primarily a negative one, but it also has a positive role: to **serve as an instrument of oppression in the class war.**

Justice must be partial, it must be "partisan."

Writing in *Justitia Noua* for 1949 (page 65), a judge of the R.P.R. Supreme Court, I. Stoenescu, made this clear: "In court decisions is expressed the attitude of the governmental power toward certain social phenomena that come within the sphere of activity of justice." And, elaborating **Lenin's theory that "Justice cannot be conceived independently of class,"** the same juridical periodical for December 1948 published the statement: **"Justice becomes an organ for the execution of the will of the working class, its method of action being that of Marxist-Leninist dialectic materialism, the only method admitted by the ruling class, as the sole efficacious method."**

Under such a system it is obvious that the **objective conscience of judges applying legal texts impartially is replaced by the orders of the communist party, posing as "popular legality."** . . .

p.303:

. . . **In the communist view, the law is simply a "superstructure," at all times correlated with the economic base.** Hence legality merely confirms a given economic structure. Since policy itself is "the concentrated expression of economy," and the laws simply enforce policy, **legality must have a substantially political role, for the laws themselves are "the means of enacting the policy of the dominant class."** (Bratus, *Justitia Noua*, 1954, page 764.) That is to say, law is not an end in itself, and **justice is no more than an instrument wielded by the government for its own purposes.** The **"popular legality" prescribed to the judiciary by Article 65 of the R.P.R. constitution does not mean the imposition of a rule of law, but of discipline.** As one currently acknowledged author expressed it *Justitia Noua* for 1954 (page 769), **"Socialist legality constitutes the indispensable condition for the realization of the policy of the communist party and of the government. . . . Juridical laws . . . express the scientific policy, that is, the policy of the communist party."** . . .

It behooves all judges to enforce "popular legality" as the surest way to hasten the advent of communism, not because it expresses any ideal of justice among men. It is amply clear by now that this **"popular legality" is the very negation of the idea of justice as conceived in the West** and, formerly, in Rumania. This **"popular legality" stands above the law, and places no burden of lawfulness upon the regime itself,** since political expediency sways the very notion of justice. **The results are unjust sentences for imaginary crimes, rigged trials, concentration and labor camps, and the rest of the repressive mechanism of the totalitarian communist regime.** The only obligatory and permanent reference is to the consecrated writings of communist authority: **Marx, Engels, Lenin, and Stalin,** and then only in so far as these gospels can be made to fit the current party line in decisions of the

party leadership. Any deviation is heresy, and heresy is a crime.

p.303-304:

But, in addition to the obligation to conform to, and substantiate "popular legality," the **judiciary must fulfil a task of education and propaganda in the exercise of their duty**. Article 2 of the law organizing the courts is peremptory: "Through their activity, **the courts educate the citizens of the R.P.R. in the spirit of devotion to the fatherland, of socialist construction, of the exact fulfilment of R.P.R. laws, of particular care for socialist property, of labor discipline, of an honest attitude toward civic and social duties, as well as of respect toward the rules of social coexistence in the state of popular democracy.**" . . .

p.304:

. . . In effect the educational task of the courts is to subject the people to the constrictive measures enacted by the administration, whose constant tendency is to **suppress the individual as an autonomous personality**. Severe sentences must be handed down to serve as an example and a warning. The arbitrary acts of the administration must at all costs be given legality. **Defendants must be made to admit their guilt; parents must accuse their own children, and children must testify against their parents; husband and wife must take a stand alongside the administration against one another; men must denounce their neighbors**. The righteousness of governmental measures of a coercive nature must be justified before public opinion from the bench.

This explains the publicizing of certain trials. **Entire categories of citizens are forcibly brought into court** to watch selected trials and to be intimidated by the severity with which those whom the regime considers to be its enemies are punished. **In his role as a propaganda agent, the judge must promote conformity among the citizenry.** . . .

p.304-305:

. . . article 70 of the R.P.R. constitution proclaims, and it is echoed by article 6 of the Law for the Organization of the Judiciary, that "Judges are independent, and are subject only to the law." But we have seen above that this "**independence**" is a **very special thing with a most peculiar meaning**.

. . . the suppression of the independence of judges is not solely a consequence of the legal system in force. It is at the same time a **result of the kind of professional training now required of jurists**. . . . **Men trained for the Bench by Western standards have been systematically eliminated**. Only people prepared in the new schools, proficient solely in such legal skills are required to expound and apply the "high advanced conquests of Soviet juridical science," the Marxist-Leninist teachings, and the decisions of the communist party's central committee plenary.

p.305:

The study of law is organized to this end. Though the "higher juridical schools" that have taken the place of university law schools still function, **the overwhelming majority of today's jurists are trained in the "shortorder" one-year law schools** set up by Decree No. 297/1948, or in the **two-year schools that replaced** them under Decree No. 370 of October 6, 1952. **Such schools, functioning as services of the Ministry of Justice, are specially designed to turn out future judges and prosecutors**. Their students are recruited from among industrial workers and collectivized or "poor peasants (article 3 of Decree No. 370/1952), so that graduates may presumably be favorable to the regime. **Prospective judges and prosecutors are *expressis verbis* barred if they have any real previous schooling. The law required a minimum of four years of elementary schooling and a maximum of four years in secondary school as the entrance condition**. It is not too difficult to imagine the kind of legal training that is built upon such educational foundations, and the nature of the mental "independence" resulting therefrom.

The R.P.R. constitution, as we have seen, requires the **presence of "people's assessors" at all courts**, except in cases otherwise provided for by law. The Law for the Organization of the Judiciary distinguishes between the judging of suits as to substance and the judging of appeals. The bench for the first category is composed of one judge and two "people's assessors"; for the second the quorum is three judges. Article 13 of the law states that **people's assessors are elected on proposal by the Rumanian Workers' Party and by various organizations that are in effect but instruments of that party**, such as trade unions, cooperatives, youth organizations, and so forth. Decision No. 365 of March 2, 1953, issued by the Council of Ministers provides that candidates for posts of people's assessors must be proposed in "popular meetings" held by the organizations mentioned. It also provides, however, that the minutes referring to such proposals must expressly mention the candidates' political affiliation and social origin. It is common knowledge that **candidates are in effect put up for "election" by the Central Committee of the Communist party**.

p.306:

The "**voting**" is **invariably unanimous**; there are **never any debates**; **no alternative candidates** are nominated.

Elections of people's assessors for higher courts, such as the Tribunal of the R.P.R. capital, the regional courts, and special courts, **are conducted -- by open vote -- within the competent people's councils**. Here, too, the "elections" are always carried unanimously. People's assessors to the Supreme Court are chosen by the Grand National Assembly.

To qualify as a people's assessor, a person must be at least 23 years old (18 is the minimum voting age) and, as in the case of deputies elected to the

Grand National Assembly, he or she **must not have been defendant in a court sentence involving the loss of voting rights, and must not have been declared "unworthy" by law. People's assessors are accountable for any act that might be found to run counter to the party line, and are liable to criminal sanctions. They must in all cases carry out the party's orders.** Though article 13 of the law states that people's assessors "are elected freely," the very next article proclaims that **service in the capacity of people's assessor is compulsory.** Even more so than career judges, **people's assessors are therefore obedient tools of the party.** Indeed, the entire procedure prescribed for their election and validation shows that they are mere party functionaries.

. . . the very title of **"people's assessor" is a deliberate misnomer,** notwithstanding the elaborate show of election. But then, as we have seen elsewhere, this applies equally to the so-called Grand National Assembly and to the people's councils themselves. As for the resulting **"popular justice,"** it may well be said to be the **precise opposite, the negation of everything implied by the words themselves.**

p.306-307:

Outnumbering the career judges two to one, the **people's assessors, ignorant of legal matters and utterly submissive to party orders, represent in effect the active intervention of class war in all litigation, civil as well as criminal.** As a result, R.P.R. courts play a role that differs widely from that of Western courts. Under a people's democracy the judge intervenes actively in all suits and trials, and the parties involved are no longer in a position, once the proceedings are set in motion, to bring to an end the litigation, say by out-of-court settlement. Even putting the opposing party under oath to testify no longer constitutes absolute evidence under this system. **In all cases the primary interest is that of a third party -- the Communist party.** The court may at all times intervene and present its own evidence, continue a suit the parties might want to bring to an end, and thus substitute its own will (that is, the will of the Communist party) for that of the litigants.

p.307-308:

The R.P.R. Constitution permits (art. 64) the creation of **special courts.** This means that **special jurisdictions may be set up by law for trying a particular case,** be it civil or criminal, or any particular person or group of persons, a thing expressly prohibited in the Rumanian Constitution of 1923. This fact alone indicates sufficiently the **disregard for personal liberty,** characteristic of the regime. At the same time it does away with the very notion of equality before the law.

The law of 1953 sets up the following jurisdictions for all manner of cases, both civil and criminal, that are not expressly referred by law to some special court:

- a) The **People's Courts** for raions, cities, and city raions. These may judge all civil cases, no matter what their nature, except those arising

between state institutions and nationalized and collective enterprises. The number of these courts, as well as the number of their sections is established by the Ministry of Justice (art. 19). They are composed "of a number of judges, and headed by a president" (art. 20).

- b) The **Tribunal** of the R.P.R. capital (Bucarest) and the regional tribunals, each made up of one or more "collegia" of a civil and criminal nature, whose number is likewise fixed by the Ministry of Justice. These courts are in principle courts of revision, dealing with the cases handled by the people's courts of raion, city, and city raion. Exceptionally, they judge cases referred to them by law (art. 24). Their criminal collegium is of particular importance, its competence extending to decisions handed down by special courts like the people's tribunals for maritime, railroad, and river transport matters. Though they are from the hierarchic point of view immediately superior to the people's courts, tribunals of this category are not actually a second degree of jurisdiction; they are not courts of appeals proper. Copying the Soviet system, the R.P.R. judiciary does not recognize the right of appeal as such. This is a further means to ensure the complete subordination and conformity of courts.
- c) The **Supreme Court**, which operates in Bucarest. This is composed of three collegia -- criminal, civil, and military. Its president and judges are elected by the Grand National Assembly; its competence is multiple. It judges not only requests for revision of sentences and decisions passed by all other courts, and all cases referred to its jurisdiction by law, but it also instructs lower courts on the manner in which laws shall be applied.

p.308-310:

The requests for review handled by the Supreme Court are essentially intended simply to assure "popular legality," that is to say, **to ensure that in all cases the laws are interpreted and applied in conformity with the communist regime's ideology and aims.** As *Justitia Noua* for 1954 (page 791) phrased it, the **Supreme Court "promotes the policies of the party and government," and "assures the constriction of the private-capitalist sector to the point of liquidation."** Leaving no doubt as to the true role of this highest and ultimate authority of the communist system of courts, *Justitia Noua* shows that its **function is to break the people's resistance to communism.** This is justified by the fact that the people, "through deeds and actions manifested in the most diverse forms, opposes a stubborn resistance to the construction of socialism."

The intervention of the Supreme Court as a reviewer of decisions by lower courts is not the result of action by the interested parties, but either by the R.P.R. Prosecutor General or by the President of the High Court himself. It is the latter who must introduce the request for review of a court decision that is considered to be "illegal and groundless." The criterion applied -- and again we quote from *Justitia Noua* for 1954 (page 799) -- is formulated as follows: **"The rigorous application of procedural and substantive rules in solving a case must have a partisan character, and must be made from the positions of class war."** In other words, consideration by the Supreme Court hinges, not on any legal issue, but solely on opportuneness from the political point of view of the regime. Furthermore, once taken under consideration, a case may be solved by the Supreme Court in a sense diametrically opposite to that of the original court decision. Evidence may be wholly reappraised, new elements introduced, and the very nature of the case may, on the sovereign appreciation of the Supreme Court, be changed. In criminal matters, the Supreme Court may increase or decrease the sentence; it may annul the sentence altogether; or send back the whole case to the prosecutor's office for further investigation and a new trial before another court (Decree 506/1953, modifying Article 406 of the Code of Criminal Procedure). Under such conditions, it is scarcely necessary to point out that the **basic principles involving res judicata and double jeopardy are abolished.**

What this entails in criminal cases is a veritable legal enormity: **since resort to the Supreme Court does not come under any statute of limitations, anyone considered to be an enemy of the regime may be retried and sentenced anew at the very moment when he is about to finish serving his original term and to be released. Individual liberty is thus legally set at naught, for even a final court sentence becomes meaningless.** This situation is admitted in so many words. "The dominant preoccupation of Justice," states *Justitia Noua* for 1954 (page 797), "is to apply juridical norms in the action of repressing inimical elements." And indeed, as can be seen from the above, **there is no limit to what the Supreme Court can do to enforce "popular legality" in the "partisan spirit of class war."**

As for the instructions the Supreme Court may give the lower courts, a procedure is prescribed by article 41 of the law. At least once every three months, the plenum of the Court must meet, in the presence of the Minister of Justice and the Prosecutor General, and the latter present their conclusions. **Instructions thus handed down become rules of positive law, a veritable extra-legal source of legal prescriptions.** In this way, there being no separation of powers in the state, the **administration may enact and enforce any norms that may seem expedient politically, without having to put them through a show of legislative procedure.** . . .

In certain cases expressly defined by law, the Supreme Court is called upon to judge, not only issues of law, but also the substance and facts involved. In such cases it functions much as do the lower courts.

From the above it must be concluded that the Supreme Court, at the same time an administrative, a legislative, and a political organ, is far removed from the High Court of Cassation of Rumania's former judicial system. Indeed one of the highest attributes of the former High Court of Cassation, the constitutional control of laws, is absent from the R.P.R. Supreme Court. Hence a powerful check upon abuses by the legislature is removed in the present totalitarian state, with the consequence that the last vestige of individual security is in effect abolished under the current regime.

- d) The special courts mentioned earlier in this survey were instituted by law for certain fields of activity. They comprise military courts, railroad courts, and courts for maritime and riparian matters. Since, as we have seen, the R.P.R. constitution permits the creation of such special tribunals, it is impossible to define the rules governing their existence. On the other hand, article 9 of the law for the organization of the judiciary permits hierarchically higher courts to remove from the competence of the lower any case pending before them, and either judge it themselves or send it for judgment to some other similar court. This legal provision amounts to yet another means, exercised through the intermediary of the judiciary, to deny justice to the citizenry by removing them unrestrictedly from their natural judges.

The most widely used of these special courts are the courts martial. In the terms of Article I of the law of June 12, 1952, "their purpose is to defend the social and state order of the R.P.R., to fight mercilessly against the enemies of the working people, as well as to strengthen the discipline and fighting capacity of the R.P.R. armed forces." Military courts, that is, have a prescribed role of political policing intended, not to mete out justice, but to repress and suppress the "enemies of the working people," a notion which, as we know, has a very broad meaning in communist parlance.

Consequently the number, location, and territorial competence of military courts is left indeterminate by the law, and such courts may be set up by the Minister of Justice, in agreement with the Minister of the Armed Forces, or of State Security (art. 3), as required. Judges of the military courts are appointed and transferred by the Ministers mentioned, and people's assessors for them are similarly appointed (art. 5). Hence both judges and assessors are wholly dependent upon the executive.

On the occasion of the introduction of the law of June 19, 1952, the doctrine concerning military courts was laid down before the Grand

National Assembly. According to *Scanteia*, it was formulated as follows:

"The sword of our military justice turns this day against the enemies of the people, that handful of worthless persons who envy our people their newly found happiness, and who hate our fatherland. It is in the first place the agents and footmen of American and British imperialists, the fascist and Titoist agents and spies, mortal foes of our people, who must be pitilessly struck by our military courts."

There are three categories of courts martial: a) the courts functioning in conjunction with large military units, and the courts whose jurisdiction is territorially defined; b) the courts set up for the existing military regions, for the navy, and for the units of the State Security Ministry; and c) the Military Collegium of the Supreme Court. The courts of the first category judge only the substance of cases, the others judge both substantive cases and cases submitted to them for review.

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The **partisan and inquisitorial nature** of all these special courts results from the very competence given them by law. Thus, while the railroad courts and the maritime and riverine courts handle only certain arbitrarily defined categories of cases, the **courts martial may judge, not only military personnel, but civilian offenders, men and women, in matters involving a most loosely defined state security.** This very confusion of military order and domestic security indicates sufficiently the legal atmosphere that prevails in a **people's democracy.**

The entire function of the judiciary, hence the way of life imposed by law, are dominated in today's Rumania by that institution specific to communist regimes, the **"Procuratura". This institution, which has no equivalent in Western legal systems, is the hierarchical apparatus topped by the Prosecutor General.** In Rumania it was introduced by the law of June 19, 1952 (subsequently completed and re-enacted on March 4, 1953), on the model of the Soviet Union's system.

There is, as we have indicated, no real analogy between the "procuratura" and such institutions of the West as the French parquet and procureur, and the district attorney, the coroner, and the state prosecutor of Anglo-Saxon law. The procuratura, as set up by the R.P.R. constitution of 1952, and elaborated by the laws mentioned, is a **special organ designed as a constant and ubiquitous means of checking all private and public life, and especially all court proceedings and decisions.** It operates on the principle that **"socialist legality" must be made to prevail on all occasions, exclusively and in an absolute manner.** In the words of *Justitia Noua* (1951, page 955) this means **"striking mercilessly at the enemies of the regime, at such elements as, through the remnants of their interests and mentality, still cling to the regimes of exploitation, and stand in the way of socialist construction."**

The **autocratic and totalitarian nature of the procuratura** is defined in article i of the 1953 law, which provides that its **powers extend over all state organs, all enterprises and cooperative organizations, and all functionaries and other citizens.** The supreme head, the Prosecutor General, is essentially the **agent of the party and**

government. He is, according to *Justitia Noua* (1951, page 958), "the political and class organ of the dictatorship of the proletariat."

p.312:

. . . the most significant power of the prosecutor is connected with **criminal proceedings**. He may intervene in all cases, at any stage of the legal procedure, and his directives become compulsory for all concerned (art. 7). He may initiate proceedings himself. Under these circumstances, the courts obviously lose all independence, since they must carry out the prosecutor's orders at all times. In practice, the prosecutor is virtually never absent in cases of arrests and inculpations carried out by the security police and the militia, ordering the steps to be taken as required by the party and government.

Furthermore, the **prosecutor is the only person authorized to order that a person be kept in custody beyond the legal term**, for criminal investigations (art. 8). It is difficult to conceive a more serious infringement of human rights and individual liberty.

But, in addition to the above, the prosecutor supervises all court proceedings, in order to make sure that, as *Justitia Noua* (1951, page 964) phrased it, **"all those who by their deeds stand in the way of the regime" are duly punished.** . . .

Lastly, the **procuratura may substitute itself for the parties involved in any suit, by instituting or initiating further court procedures, as it may see fit** (art. 9). Before all courts, the prosecutor (in Rumanian, procurer) is, in the words of A. I. Vyshinsky, "an agitator and a propagandist." . . .

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The exorbitant powers of the procuratura are matched by the methods it employs. Its doctrine is that laid down by that most notorious of the Soviet Union's prosecutors general, the late Andrei Vyshinsky, whose analysis was reverently quoted by *Justitia Noua* (1951, page 962). **"The Procuratura is based upon its own organized active personnel, and upon groups of collaborators, in plants, factories, collective farms, transportation, institutions, and organizations . . . tens of thousands of volunteer activists, from among the country's most advanced citizens, stakhanovists and prominent workers of plants, collective farms, and state farms, who help the prosecutors vanquish the difficulties they encounter in this field . . . Thousands of signallers ensure that the procuratura can react swiftly."**

Signallers, indeed. This means simply that the **procuratura raises denunciation to the rank of a systematic state action**, that the **technique of the informer is encouraged and rewarded**, and that the **stool pigeon becomes an admired and praiseworthy civic leader.**

. . . Unlike the state prosecutors, district attorneys, and the parquets familiar in Western judiciary systems, who function in a purely legal capacity in conjunction with a court of law, the R.P.R. **procurar is ubiquitous, and his name is legion.** In addition

to a powerful "central and directive apparatus," there is a vast and complex network of "local units."

The central office of the procuratura has 12 directorates, whose powers include: the direction of military prosecutions; state security and criminal prosecutions; those for the supervision of railroads, of sea and river navigation, and general policing activities; supervision of criminal court activities and of militia criminal investigations; the execution of penal sentences and of prison inspection; studies and statistics; and cadres and education. Each of these services is headed by a prosecutor, under the orders of the prosecutor general; together they constitute the operational staff of the center.

p.313-314

Within the framework and under the orders of these directorates are the **"local units" of the procuratura**, reaching down to the minutest territorial subdivision, through the raion, city, and so forth. The very numerous personnel includes prosecutors, assistant prosecutors, prosecutor's aides, chief investigators, and people's investigators, as well as military criminal investigators. **Over this immense apparatus the Prosecutor General has absolute and final power:** he confers grades, makes appointments, marks for advancement, controls all disciplinary action, and establishes uniforms and insignia. **This special police corps of the judiciary in a people's democracy, this rigid hierarchy operating under a system of military rule, has no counterpart in the Western democracies;** it is something without precedent in Rumania too. As we have seen in the chapter on the R.P.R. constitution, the head of this grim organization, the Procurer General or Prosecutor General, is appointed for a five-year term by the Grand National Assembly, and is answerable to that body and, in the intervals between its sessions, to the Council of Ministers, in whose working meetings he indeed participates with a consultative vote. . . .

p.314

In the R.P.R. **the lawyer may not exercise his profession freely. He may not choose his clients, nor refuse a case. He is not bound by any notions of a professional secret. His office and home are at all times open to the visitations of the security police and militia, in search of data and evidence that need have no connection whatever with him personally.** The government, through the Ministry of Justice, may use him at will for the promotions of the regime's purposes.

Under the terms of the decree mentioned above, **the lawyers are organized in collegia, functioning in the district capitals and controlled by the Ministry of Justice** (art. 3). The Ministry can at all times check on the activities of these collegia and of their members, and may take any measures it sees fit as the result of complaints against them. The Minister of Justice may even order the dissolution of a collegium. It is he, too, who decides the conditions of admission to the bar. Article 4 provides that

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"graduates of one-year law schools may register with the lawyers' collegia." As is the case with all other fields of endeavor, the manifest objective of the regime is to staff the lawyers' collegia exclusively with communist-trained, hence presumably "reliable" men and women, not with legally-minded and competent jurists of integrity.

Certain categories are expressly barred from the lawyers' profession: former landowners, manufacturers, merchants, and employers of labor, no matter what their social and political attitude may have been in the past. . . .

Most revealing of all, however, is the provision of article 5 which **prohibits the exercise of the legal profession to anyone guilty of any other kind of offense "that shall be appraised by the council of the collegium as rendering the sentenced person unsuitable for the lawyers' profession"**. This ruling by analogy (which is confirmed in the very first article of the R.P.R. Criminal Code) confers upon the council of the lawyers' collegium -- itself but a tool of the Ministry of Justice -- **discretionary powers in the selection of those permitted to practise law**. . . . The lawyer, in brief, must at all times obey the injunctions of the party authorities if he wishes to remain in practice.

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The exercise of the legal profession is likewise strictly regulated. In the first place, **a lawyer may practise only within a collective lawyers' office**. These are set up by the local collegium, and their organization and operation are regulated by decisions of the Ministry of Justice. They are headed by directors, working for a fixed rate of remuneration.

p.316:

The right of the citizen to choose his lawyer is completely suppressed, as is the right of the lawyer to accept or refuse a client. Parties in a suit are represented in court on the basis of a written delegation, issued by the director and the secretary of the collective office (art. 23). There is no such thing as a general or a special power of attorney given by the prospective party -- the delegation alone empowers the lawyer to represent a client. That is, **the relationship of trust that exists between legal counsel and client is replaced with a task set by the state**. In consequence lawyers' fees are not set in agreement between client and counsel, but unilaterally established by the director of the collective office, on the basis of a tariff approved by the Ministry of Justice. . . . **In no case may any lawyer receive more than the monthly ceiling sum set by the collegium, no matter what fees he may actually earn**. The only exceptions to this general rule operate in favor of individual lawyers who also hold high party rank.

Under a people's democracy lawyers no longer belong to what may be described as a liberal profession, but **are indeed state functionaries of a special kind, carrying out set tasks and paid in accordance with government regulations**. . . .

As has been indicated above, the professional secret has gone by the board -- or, to be accurate, a "partisan" conception of the professional secret has been introduced. **The law now requires all lawyers to convey to the appropriate authorities any informations they may have concerning acts "endangering the domestic or external security of the state."** Since this provision is purposely vague and undefined, **no man can be sure that his lawyer will not betray him on the flimsiest pretext**. Such a betrayal of trust is in fact to be expected, in view of the lawyer's constant need to ingratiate himself with the authorities in order to remain in practice. The result is that **in seeking legal counsel, the citizen actually exposes himself to a potential trap**.

p.316-317:

The manner of presenting a plea before the courts must conform with the provisions of the law, and **the law expects a lawyer to contribute to the "educational" and propagandist role of justice**. Hence the lawyer's first concern is not the defense of his client's interests; his problem is not, in a criminal trial, to vindicate his client or to obtain a minimum sentence. On the contrary, **he must plead for a harsh and exemplary punishment; he must, in all cases where this suits the purposes of the communist regime, plead guilty and admit the righteousness of the prosecutor's allegations. He must concentrate on pleading mitigating circumstances, notably on showing that whatever offense his client is supposed to have committed is the result of former corrupt education under the abhorred landowning-capitalist regime, or of British-American imperialist provocation**. Such, too, is the standard plea of all accused in trials involving state security. . . .

The defense lawyer, as often as not, is not even personally acquainted with his client, whom he must defend in virtue of the "delegation" by the collective lawyers' office. The line he is expected to take in the defense is to paraphrase the prosecutor's expose, elaborating it and attempting to slip in a plea for mitigating circumstances, without attempting to disprove or discuss the accusations. . . .

In the official brochure describing the trial of the group of "traitors" headed by Iuliu Maniu (Bucarest, 1947), we find one defending lawyer making the following statement: ". . . The accusation has succeeded in gathering so much evidence against the accused, and to bring out so well the exceptional gravity of the things imputed to them . . ." Another prominent communist lawyer, in a trial staged on August 7, 1950, based his plea on behalf of his client as follows: "The activities he is accused of and which he admits will no doubt result in severe punishment."...

p.318

. . . Not only the defense lawyers, but also all defendants involved in such trials **invariably plead guilty** before the court. . . .

p.318

In all civil suits, no matter what the evidence, **the court's decision must favor the party closest**

to the standards set by the regime. The lawyer's plea hinges in all cases on "partisan" issues, and **he may not make use of the evidence on file if that evidence runs counter to the aims of the communist regime.** . . .

p.319

Decree No. 79 of March 31, 1950, introduced to Rumania a novel institution known as the **State Notariate**. Cumulating a series of powers that formerly were performed either by lawyers, notaries, court clerks, or notarial courts, the State Notariate now draws up and authenticates various legal documents for private parties, issues legalized copies of such documents, legalized signatures on acts protesting checks, promissory notes, and other such instruments. It also ascertains the dating of written acts, makes translations from foreign languages, and receives for deposit all kinds of documents. **In this way a rigorous centralization of all legal activities of the citizenry is realized. Like all public institutions under a "people's democracy," the State Notariate is in reality but a subsidiary organ of the administration and operates under the orders of the Ministry of Justice. Its main purpose is to promote the interests of the regime, not that of private persons.**

p.319-320:

The functioning of the State Notariate is likewise subject to political criteria. The law provides that the notary must "verify" the contents of all acts prior to their effectuation. This **verification must be made from the point of view of conformity with "the spirit of socialist legality"** (arts. i and 11). In a subsequent set of instructions, embodied in Decision No. 1827, of July 12, 1950, the Ministry of Justice enjoined all notaries "to refuse the effectuation of the notarial act in all cases that might tend to create a situation contrary ... to the rules of socialist coexistence or to harm the consolidation of socialist legality." This introduces the **principle of the "directed" act, destroying thereby any semblance of liberty of contract.**

The sphere of activity in which the regime's dictatorship is displayed in its most absolute form is that of economic production. This comes under the competence of a special organ called the **State Arbitrage**, which takes cognizance of all juridical relations between the various state institutions and enterprises, including cooperatives and all other organizations of a public nature, and the relations of the foregoing with private individuals. In general the State Arbitrage concerns itself with matters involving the application of the State Plan.

With a country's entire public and private life subordinated to the **State Plan, the latter constitutes in effect the supreme law. Offenses against it are major crimes. It is the job of the State Arbitrage to check the operation of the State Plan.** Not only does it judge litigation arising therefrom, but it also directs such matters as deliveries, execution of work projects, and services. All these are the result of

contracts concluded between the individual organizations, plants, and enterprises.

A word of warning is in order here. Occidental jurists commonly make the mistake of confusing a contract concluded under a communist planned economy with the freely negotiated contracts familiar to the West. Nothing could be farther from the truth. **In a people's democracy a contract is dictated by the conditions in which the State Plan is carried out. All elements in such contracts are imperatively determined by the planning authorities.** The parties to the contract, the object of agreement, prices, and delivery dates are laid down from above. The contract itself is but a document of public administration that the parties involved must conclude and sign. **It does not embody the freely expressed will of the parties but a specific application of the State Plan.**

p.320-321

Hence the **State Arbitrage is . . . intended to promote the interest of the state.** Consequently, the State Arbitrage does not appraise and judge. **It orders. Its findings are discretionary acts.** Should its findings show the existence of deficiencies in plan fulfilment, it simply informs the State Planning Commission of this, so that the deficiencies may be remedied. Or else it advises the Procuratura to set in motion the requisite punitive procedure. Or it may very well do both at the same time. In all cases, the **State Arbitrage has a strictly "partisan" attitude toward problems submitted to its rulings.** . . .

p.321

Article 1 of the law organizing the State Arbitrage defines its purpose as follows: "**The State Arbitrage pursues the strengthening of popular legality, of plan discipline, of contract discipline, and of socialist administration, as well as the enhancement of the sense of personal responsibility.**" This indicates that the State Arbitrage, though apparently a juridical organ, must be located at the periphery of the judiciary. In reality it is but yet another political organ of the state, and it **has neither independence nor impartiality. It carries out its "partisan" function without any concern for issues other than the fulfilment of the State Plan.** In carrying out the purposes of the Communist party, it wields the methods of constraint of the totalitarian state.

The latest organization of the State Arbitrage is outlined in Law No. 5, published in the Official Bulletin No. 37, of August 5, 1954, of the **Grand National Assembly**. The provisions of this law are elaborated from time to time by decisions of the Council of Ministers. Prior to this, it functioned in virtue of Decree No. 122/1951 and of the rules and regulations published in the Official Bulletin No. 26, of March 18, 1950, authoritatively expounded in *Justitia Noua* for 1953. It is almost redundant to mention that **all these texts are inspired by the laws of the Soviet Union,** notably that of March 20, 1931.

The State Arbitrage operates through the following organs: a) the State Arbitrage functioning in conjunction with the Council of Ministers; b) that

functioning in conjunction with the district Executive Committees; and c) that of a departmental character functioning within the individual Ministries and Cooperative Unions. It is headed by the Prime State Arbiter, who takes part in the meetings of the Council of Ministers (hence is manifestly an element of the executive), and elaborates the rules for all arbitrage organs.

p.321-322

The competence of the **State Arbitrage** is fixed by article 6 of the law of 1954. It extends, as we have said, to all **litigation related to the fulfillment of the State Plan, including civil offenses like misappropriation and embezzlement**. However, suits involving sums smaller than 2,500 lei, if they do not bear on the conclusion or refusal to conclude a contract; suits concerning state farms and collective farms; and suits resulting from the statutory operations of the State Bank do not come under its competence but go to the ordinary courts. Certain litigation is handled exclusively by the State Arbitrage of the Council of Ministers. These include suits connected with foreign trade, import and export; those in which one of the parties is the Ministry of the Armed Forces, the Ministry of Domestic Affairs, or the Directorate of Industrial, Agricultural, and Food Reserves.

In addition to the above, which are set down by law, the Prime State Arbiter holds discretionary powers in that he may remove any suit from the competence of State Arbitration offices functioning alongside the executive committees of the people's councils, and submit it for solution to the State Arbitrage connected with the Council of Ministers. In all cases, the procedure of the State Arbitrage is a summary one. The parties are summoned to appear, but their non-appearance does not prevent the handing down of the decision. **The arbitration is not bound by the limits of the actual problem before it**; it may proceed to solve any problems connected therewith. The decision may force the delinquent party to carry out the contract, by setting new standards if necessary; it may modify the existing contract in disregard of the will of the parties; it may annul the contract, and award damages. The decision of the State Arbitrage is final. The parties have no means of appeal whatsoever. Persons found guilty of failure to carry out the contract, that is, of failing to meet the requirements of the Plan, are handed over to the criminal courts. They are thereupon open to sentencing in accordance with the provisions of the law of April 30, 1949, concerning economic offenses.

What is more significant is the resulting fact that the most important field of activity -- that which concentrates the entire economic life of a people's democracy -- is statutorily subtracted from the judiciary as such. **Litigation arising in this field is not solved by court judgment, but by dictatorial decisions handed down by an organ of the governmental power**. Even litigation connected

with foreign trade that involving economic relations between state units and foreign parties is subject to this authoritarian rule.

p.322-323

Official R.P.R. juridical doctrine readily acknowledges the State Arbitrage to be an instrument of the "dictatorship of the proletariat" (*Justitia Noua*: 1951, page 311) and that it operates not only in accordance with the law, but also in compliance with "decisions of the government and party" (*Justitia Noua*: 1954, page 307).

We may well consider **State Arbitrage to be the crowning glory of the legal system of the communist totalitarian state**. It is certainly the most eloquent expression of the absolute power of the state over the entire activity, collective as well as individual, of the community. **Neither private enterprise nor personal rights and initiatives can be conceived under such a system**.

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Excerpts from *CAPTIVE RUMANIA a decade of soviet rule* --chapter:

11

THE ARMED FORCES

p.353-354:

In 1945, soon after the communist-dominated Groza government had been installed in Rumania, the communists began to carry out a **"democratization" of the country's armed forces**. The blueprints, drawn up in the Kremlin long before, had been brought in by the victorious Red armies, together with the handful of people who had been selected to put them into effect. **The task was no less than the political and ideological integration of the armed forces with the Communist party**. Some years later, Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej, then secretary general of the central committee of the Communist party of Rumania, aptly described the official view. Speaking before the assembled central committee, he stated: "We must direct our entire care toward the army, which belongs to us all, and put at its disposal our entire support. For the army, no sacrifice will be too great." The key phrase is **"which belongs to us all."** **The communist leader was addressing the party's central committee, not the country at large**. The army, in other words, while it is officially described as "a powerful shield for the defense of the people," must also be in the familiar words of communist manuals "an army conscious of its historical mission in the struggle for the installation of proletarian dictatorship throughout the world," that is, a weapon and a tool of the Communist party.

p.353-354:

In a country like Rumania, **all traditional institutions**, including the Church, the Monarchy, the system of justice, and the army, **had necessarily to be destroyed before a communist regime could hope to secure itself in power**. This the communists knew full well. They knew, too, that the Rumanian army -- both the **officer corps** and the **troops** -- **was strongly imbued with**

patriotism, religious spirit, and monarchist feelings. All these things had to be subverted and ultimately done away with.

p.354-355:

. . . The first moves planned by the communists for the "democratization" of Rumania's armed forces were:

- a) To **reshuffle the units** of the existing army.
- b) To **destroy the traditional spirit of the army**, supplanting it with the political and military ideology of the Soviet army, involving the creation of new "suitable" cadres.
- c) To **propagandize the troops** in favor of the then impending communist-patterned agrarian reforms.
- d) To organize a "**democratic army**" as an intermediate phase of the ultimate creation of a true "**people's army.**"
- e) To **propagandize officers and troops** in view of the then forthcoming elections.

An entire **apparatus of political organs** was set up within every unit of the army, down to company level, known as **E.C.P. (education, culture, and propaganda)**. . . .

p.356:

. . . one of the most iniquitous provisions of the land reform law simply **excluded from the benefits of the reform all who had taken part in the campaign against the Soviet Union**

p.357

While military training went on as usual in accordance with the existing regulations, the position of all unit commanders was gradually **infringed by the political officers**. Disciplinary measures had to be taken "by common agreement," and it became the deliberate policy for the "politicals" to display the utmost leniency toward offenses that involved infringements of regulations, thus posing as the benefactors of the common soldier at the expense of discipline. At the same time, intense **undercover activity** went on. **Nuclei of future communist cells were set up wherever the "educators" could recruit sympathizers among the naive and the disgruntled.** Cadres for future political organizations were prepared in stealth. The "**reactionaries among the officers and noncommissioned officers were carefully noted for early liquidation.**" Officers and troops were subjected to regular **indoctrination sessions, to systematic subversion.** Interestingly enough, the subversive organizations worked separately on the officer corps, the noncommissioned cadres, the enlisted men, and the civilian personnel.

p.359-360

. . . The slogan proclaimed by the current Minister of the Armed Forces, Emil Bodnarash, as far back as December 23, 1947, was "**Correct political thinking is the base of correct military thinking,**" an obvious emanation of the Kremlin, provides the clue to its current preoccupations. The aim is to achieve an army in which thoroughly indoctrinated troops are commanded exclusively by officers and noncommissioned officers belonging to the party.

Reciprocal spying from top to bottom of the military hierarchy is strongly encouraged under the heading of "revolutionary vigilance." Denunciations, effected either through the available medium of the S.I.A. (Army Information Service) network, or through the multiple networks of party organizations, have become an integral part of military duty. No occasion is lost to belittle all that was formerly held in honor: everything pertaining to the "bourgeois capitalist regime," to the Church, to the Monarchy, to the old concept of honor, comradeship, and patriotic duty, is systematically eradicated by the "new" military education. As in all other sectors of activity, the notion of "collective leadership" is fostered throughout the armed forces. The system has the obvious advantage that any commendable achievement can be -- and is -- attributed to the merits of the collective command, while **failures are blamed, not on the flaws of the prescribed doctrine, but on faulty execution.**

p.360-361:

. . . **promotions are now made exclusively on political merits, gauged by communist party standards.** Indeed, such legal texts as Laws Nos. 67 and 69, of March 13, 1948, published in the Official Gazette No. 62/1948, expressly prescribe **proficiency in Marxism-Leninism as the basic requirement for promotion.** As one concrete instance of the overwhelming importance officially given to the acquisition of such knowledge, here is the curriculum prescribed for the first-year students of the R.P.R. School for Noncommissioned Medical Personnel (of the regular army), as published in the Official Gazette No. 58, of March 10, 1948:

Geography (of Rumania)	40 hours
Rumanian language	40 hours
Russian language	40 hours
Military hygiene	80 hours
Military regulations	30 hours
Topography (map reading)	25 hours
Elements of military law	20 hours
Armaments and munitions	25 hours
The study of the various services	30 hours
Physiology and therapeutics of gases	40 hours
Political education	100 hours

But certainly the most peremptory evidence is to be found in the prescribed oath of allegiance, which was introduced for the R.P.R. armed forces in December, 1949, following the discovery of a resistance organization within the General Staff itself. The text of this oath is as follows:

I, (name), a citizen of the Rumanian People's Republic, upon entering the army, swear to be devoted to working people, to my fatherland, and to the R.P.R. government. I swear to acquire thoroughly all military skills, in order to become a good soldier of the R.P.R. army. I swear to be a stubborn, honest, bold, disciplined, and vigilant fighter; to keep military and state secrets strictly; to have every care for the military and public property; and to carry out

without hesitation the military regulations and the orders of my superiors and chiefs. **I swear to hate from the depths of my being the enemies of the fatherland and of the working people.** I swear to stand ready at all times, on order of the government, to fight in the defense of my fatherland, the Rumanian People's Republic, and, as a soldier of the R.P.R. army, to fight with the utmost determination and skill, at the unreserved cost of my blood and life, for full victory over the enemy. **If I should break my oath, may the heavy penalty of the R.P.R. law strike me, and may I bring upon me the hatred and contempt of the working people.** I pledge myself to carry out to the letter my oath, for the liberty and happiness of the fatherland and of the working people.

The terms of this fearsome pledge seem incredible in this day and age. Yet they are to be found printed as part of Decree No. 454, of December 28, 1949, issued by the Grand National Assembly's Presidium.

p.261-262:

. . . the "enemy" in all tactical drill exercises is officially designated as "the **Western imperialist,**" "the **barbarous American soldier,**" and "the **British colonialist invader,**" and, for a time, "the **lackey of the capitalist trusts,** the Titoist enemy." These terms are prescribed also in individual drill exercises; for instance, when the sights are set at target practice, the position is explained to the trainees in a long tirade, by which they are put in the proper mood, in which the supposed invading enemy facing them is reviled and denounced. **The targets themselves represent American and British soldiers in uniform.**

This kind of "**mental conditioning**" is supplemented in various ways. Not only is the correspondence of soldiers strictly censored, but heart-to-heart talks between comrades-in-arms are discouraged by every imaginable means. The day's schedule leaves the private no leisure at all, military instruction and drill alternate with political talks, with "agitation" to the fore.

p.364:

In considering Rumania's military potential, the so-called sports organization known as G.M.A. (*Gala pentru Munca si Aparare*, or "**Ready for Work and Defense**"), cannot be overlooked. All sports clubs in the country belong to the G.M.A. and all would-be athletes must compete for its insignia, in a test that **includes such obviously paramilitary performances as long-distance cross-country marching with a full pack, target shooting, and the like.** In a similar connection, the physical education provided by the Pioneer organization for young children should not be overlooked. Here too there is more than a hint of **pre-military training** . . .

p.365:

. . . the role of **Security Troops** in **people's democracies** is well known to be that of **shock troops.**

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Excerpts from *CAPTIVE RUMANIA a decade of soviet rule* --chapter:

12 LABOR

p. 377

. . . The Communist party resorted to **infiltrating the existing labor organizations** and to **setting up fictitious new ones.** Where persuasion did not avail and where open violence was not yet opportune, guile had to be resorted to. The main **objective was to make it appear that the workers, acting in their capacity as true proletarians, were behind the party's efforts.**

The workers however showed greater awareness than the communists had anticipated. They resisted communist intrusions into their unions, and it was not long before naked force intervened. **The early stages of the communist seizure of power were marked with violence and bloodshed.**

The first communist move was to take over the existing Confederation of Labor and to **impose the creation of the so-called factory committees, each headed by a party member or sympathizer from among the "converted socialists."** The legal basis for these organizations came in the form of Law No. 52, published in the Official Gazette No. 17 of January 21, 1945. This in fact was a decree imposed by the Soviet occupation authorities on the provisional government, through the intervention of the local communists. Article 7 provided that, **in order to be incorporated, a trade union must first obtain a favorable "recommendation" from the Ministry of Labor -- one of the key departments dominated by the communists by that time.** Once incorporated, a trade union had the legal right to set up factory committees. These factory committees in turn would "represent the professional interests of all employees in regard to labor conditions, wages, and moral and cultural conditions," in the terms of article 28. **These organizations, the localized equivalent of the "plant soviet," exercised full control and direction over the activities of individual workers.** The latter were legally defenseless in the face of decisions taken by these bodies, in the election and operation of which they had no hand. . . .

p.378:

From every point of view, Law No. 52 proved a milestone in the **forcible regimentation** of Rumania's workers. Needless to say, **only trade unions thoroughly dominated by trusted communists obtained the requisite "recommendation" for incorporation.** Once incorporated, they fell under the strict authority and control of the **so-called General Confederation of Labor, which was organized as a veritable field command of the Communist party.** By way of the descending echelons of labor organizations outlined above, the **factory committees became simple organs of the communist authorities within the respective enterprises. In this role, and operating with the cooperation of the communist police and of special party "shock units" -- which in the United**

States would be described as **"goon squads"** -- the **factory committees proceeded to terrorize the workers**. Beatings and arrests on trumped-up charges became the rule. Many were held by the police without any charges whatsoever; still others simply disappeared without a trace or were found dead under mysterious circumstances. Yet the workers continued to resist in every way they could -- covertly if not openly.

But the factory committees had another telling weapon: they controlled the so-called economate, that is the plant food distribution unit or commissary, as well as the actual allocation of food cards to the employees. **Any worker considered to be uncooperative by the factory committee would find himself deprived of food**. It is difficult to stand up to this kind of argument.

Thus by fair means (in the form of iniquitous legislation), but mostly by foul, the **communists succeeded step by step in gaining control over the entire range of what had come to be referred to as the "field of labor"** -- all regular gainful employment. Soon the Communist party could maneuver the "working masses" almost at will. It could **stage impressive street demonstrations, monster rallies, collective protests and demands**, and so forth. . . .

p.378-379:

It is evident that the manner in which the communists organized trade unions in Rumania was in full accordance with the principle enunciated as early as 1920 by the ninth congress of the Soviet Union's own Communist party. **It is appropriate to quote here that now familiar principle, if only to show how faithfully the pattern was reproduced: "The tasks of trade unions lie primarily in the field of economic organization and education. The trade unions must perform these tasks, not in the capacity of an independent, separately organized force, but in that of one of the main branches of governmental machinery, guided by the Communist party."** (Italics supplied.)

p.378-379:

The trade unions are designed to be **"schools of communism,"** as prescribed by Lenin in 1921, and are organizations intended to build up the Communist party, as prescribed in the resolutions of the **fifteenth party congress of the U.S.S.R. in 1925**. This role of the trade unions may, indeed, be found confirmed in Soviet textbooks on administrative law as late as 1940: **"The trade unions are not party organizations, but in fact they carry out the decisions and directives of the party. All leadership organs of the trade unions consist primarily of communists who execute the party line in all work of the unions."** This fine -- and, to the non-communist reader, somewhat meaningless -- distinction was made still more elusive by 1949, when the U.S.S.R. tenth congress of trade unions decided that **"Soviet trade unions conduct their entire work under the directives of the**

Communist party, the organizing and directing force of the Soviet Union."

Under the circumstances, the R.P.R. trade unions of today are a far cry indeed from the non-communist conception of what a trade union should be, and from the pre-communist labor organizations of Rumania. **They are no longer organs of protection for their members, either individually or collectively. Instead, they are organs of control, meant solely to carry out government -- that is, Communist party -- orders at the expense of everything else. . . .**

p.380:

The first constitution of the R.P.R., that of 1948, established the familiar principle already adopted in the Soviet Union: "labor is a duty." Article 12 reads: "Labor is the basic factor of the State's economic life. It is a duty for every citizen. The State supports all workers in defending them against exploitation and in raising their living standards." Article 19 further states that "citizens have the right to work." But, since this **basic "right"** may be exercised merely in **"the organization and planned development of the national economy," it amounts in effect to a forcible regimentation of labor in "planned" work**. These constitutional principles, which in fact **provide the legal basis for the administration's intervention in all labor problems, and its strict control of the workers, were patterned after the Soviet constitution**.

p.380-381:

. . . Though it is the "working people" alone who are admitted to the "field of labor" -- regular gainful employment -- and to membership in the various trade unions, **the privilege entails admission to a system of close supervision, control, and direction by the Communist party organizations**. Yet even this is a comparatively advantageous status, since **exclusion from the "field of labor" means in effect deprivation of constitutional rights**. In other words, **we find in the constitution itself the formal basis for discrimination between social categories -- a discrimination, moreover, that is arbitrary in that it is left to the communist-controlled organizations to decide at all times who has and who has not the basic citizenship rights**.

The 1952 constitution actually **equates the ideas of "working people" and "working class" with the Communist party**. Article 86 reads in part, ". . . The most active and conscious citizens in the ranks of the working class and of the other strata of workers unite in the Rumanian Workers* Party, the vanguard of the working people in their struggle for strengthening and **developing the regime of popular democracy and for the construction of the socialist society**." . . .

p.383-384:

. . . Article 27 states unambiguously that norms may be readjusted if and as "new measures of work rationalization or improvements of technological

processes are introduced." The ultimate outcome of this is the notorious system of "**Stakhanovism**" -- yet another Soviet gift to the workers of the people's democracies. **Higher and higher production, by teams or by individuals, is assiduously fostered through propaganda, prizes, awards, publicized honors.** Exceptionally high results, achieved at the cost of immense efforts, are then hailed as "improvements" and form the basis for increased norms for the entire field in which they are achieved. **The outcome is that the individual worker cannot hope to earn even the average subsistence wage without seriously endangering his health.**

p.386-387:

The Labor Code provides means to legalize compulsory labor conscription. Article 111 is a case in point. It concerns not only the "working class" as such but all citizens. It reads: "The citizens of the Rumanian People's Republic may, in exceptional cases, in order to avert or combat calamities, and to cope with a dearth of manpower, be called upon to carry out important works of a public character or to perform certain temporary obligations of labor. The call to such temporary obligations of labor shall be made for a definite period of time through a Decision of the Council of Ministers." We have here in effect a legal provision authorizing the conscription of labor, left to the discretion of the government, in which the sole element of restriction -- as loosely defined as the rest -- consists of the clause requiring that such decisions shall initially set a time limit for the draft involved. But, since this too may be extended by a subsequent Decision, this is a somewhat academic point.

In addition to this legalized system of forced labor, Article 130 permits the Council of Ministers to establish "**special working conditions**" for workers engaged in certain categories of "**temporary work**," such as seasonal work in the field of construction, forestry, and agriculture, which categories are excepted from the general provisions of the Labor Code. This legalized regime of exceptions nullifies to all intents and purposes the rest of the Code's general provisions. Specifically, it provides, together with the aforementioned article 111, the legal basis for the establishment and exploitation of forced labor camps.

p.387:

A decree, numbered 86 and published in the R.P.R. Official Gazette of March 7, 1949, established the so-called Offices for the Allocation of Labor Reserves, and made provisions for distributing manpower to various enterprises and works projects, in accordance with the administration's requirements. The business of these bureaus is to **keep records of all employment vacancies, and of "all people available for placement in the field of labor," as well as to make allocations of available manpower. Local People's Councils are likewise required to maintain offices for the local distribution of labor reserves.**

Another decree, number 68, published in the Official Gazette of May 18, 1951, provides for the annual **drafting and training of 45,000 to 55,000 "young workers."** The training of these youngsters lasts two or three years and is given in special vocational schools. Or else the "young workers" may take special six-months' training courses at their regular places of employment. The actual drafting is entrusted to the local people's councils. After training and graduation, the "young workers" become available for "distribution and assignment" to such work as may be called for by the plans approved by the Council of Ministers. Once allocated, according to article 6 of the decree, they must spend "**at least four years**" in whatever enterprise they are placed.

Obviously meant to enforce the above, Decree No. 511 of December 14, 1951 amended the Penal Code. It added to the existing article 244 a new paragraph which read: "**Failure by graduates of technical, pedagogical, or qualification courses, of secondary schools, and of institutes of higher education to report for work shall be punished by imprisonment** for terms ranging from three months to one year, if their graduation is connected with the obligation to do so, and the offenders have been appointed without delay."

p.387-388:

Decision No. 4454 of the Council of Ministers, issued on January 9, 1954, provides: "Technical and administrative personnel and skilled workers shall be appointed to the units of the socialist sector, either directly by the respective units, or through allocation by the agencies of the General Directorate of Labor Reserves (which is), attached to the Council of Ministers." The Directorate may also -- "in exceptional cases" -- allocate personnel not subject to such drafting normally, like medical personnel, teachers, engineers, architects, and so forth.

The inference is inescapable: **the communist regime of Rumania has made forced labor a statutory institution.** With the translation of attempted evasion into a criminal offense, the official recognition of **this iniquitous feature of "popular democracy"** becomes manifest. Clinching the point, article i of Decree No. 207, published in the Official Gazette No. 113 of November 21, 1951, unambiguously proclaims: "**Manual workers, clerical employees, engineers, and technicians of state enterprises and agencies, construction projects, and mass organizations shall not leave their employment without prior consent from the head of the respective unit.**" The punitive consequence is provided in Article 6: "**No person may be given employment unless legally released from the previous employment.**" Other provisions make it compulsory for the "workers" so exhaustively enumerated in Article i to **accept whatever jobs they may be assigned, and that they may be transferred from one job to another - - and from one locality to another -- whether they agree or not to such changes.**

A more recent decree (No. 265 of August 3, 1954), aimed specifically at railroad workers, amended and supplemented the Penal Code to fit a situation that developed subsequently to the passing of that criminal statute. The decree altered article 242-2) of the Penal Code to read as follows: **"Departure from the place of work, or failure to report for work without justification by railroad exploitation personnel shall be punished with correctional imprisonment ranging from three months to one year."** It also changed article 242-3) to read: "Unjustified failure to report for work for over three days even with interruptions in the course of any one month by railroad exploitation employees shall be punished with correctional imprisonment ranging from one month to six months."

p.389:

Providing a general means of control over the comings and goings of all "workers", Decree No. 243, published in the Official Gazette No. 101 of November 6, 1950, **requires all workers to register with local police authorities in order to obtain identity and work cards. This provides the additional advantage to the police authorities that workers expelled or barred from the "field of labor" can easily be identified and thus made available for internment in labor camps.** Article 22 of this decree is peremptory and suffers no exceptions: **"No person may change residence without previously obtaining an official moving permit from the Militia."**

Finally, we may cite certain orders by individual departments, designed further to restrict and control the workers. The Official Gazette No. 41 of May 13, 1950, and No. 63 of July 27, 1950, make the **possession of labor cards mandatory for all workers. These documents must record all pertinent facts relating to the individual concerned, in the form of periodical entries specifying qualifications, jobs held, penalties incurred, and so forth.**

Let us note further that the **possession of such labor and identity cards governs the obtaining of ration cards.** Distributed solely to persons belonging to the "field of labor," labor and ration cards entitle the possessor to the privilege of buying certain quantities of food and clothing at special rates (which are considerably lower than those obtaining on the so-called free market). Specifically, one must belong to one or another of the so-called labor unions to rate such privileges. Ordinance No. 1720 of the Ministry of Domestic Trade, published in the Official Gazette No. 113 of December 11, 1950, **prohibits the distribution of food and clothing cards to persons that do not belong to a trade union.** Similar orders are issued reiteratively each successive year.

The situation of the workers those very workers ostensibly favored and, indeed, represented by the present "popular democratic" regime of Rumania's clear. **Strictly regimented, coerced at every turn**

into compliance, brutally overworked, spied upon at all times, harassed and terrorized, blackmailed by the fear of losing even this bare subsistence privilege, they have become mere manpower, to be manipulated at will by the communist regime. Perhaps worst of all, the workers do not even have the compensation of feeling that the fruits of their labors enrich their own land and people. They know full well that they are exploited for the ultimate benefit of the Kremlin.

Excerpts from *CAPTIVE RUMANIA a decade of soviet rule* --chapter:

13

THE PATTERN OF POWER

p.390-391

The administration of Rumania has undergone a number of significant changes since the "liberation". Following the introduction of the **people's councils (soviets)**, and the entrenchment in **power of the single totalitarian party**, the Rumanian Workers' Party, the **"dictatorship of the proletariat"** was formally set up. Rumania thus became almost indistinguishable from the other **European satellite administrations** called **"people's democracies."**

It was the 1923 constitution that was formally reinstated in Rumania following the coup d'etat of August 23, 1944. Under that charter, the executive was but one of the three branches of state power. While the 1923 constitution was first in effect -- from the time of its original introduction until 1938 -- two fundamental laws, passed in 1929 and subsequently amended and elaborated several times, provided the bases for Rumania's central and local administrative organization. The aim of this legislation was, on the one hand, an **increasing decentralization** and, on the other, the **gradual elimination of political interference and corruption from the state-administration.** The administrative structure, notwithstanding the impact of intervening rightist dictatorships, may be considered to have remained virtually stable and unchanged from 1929 at least until 1948, when the Soviet-type administration was put into operation. The government -- the cabinet with its various departments -- was, up to 1938, under the control of the bicameral parliament; the judiciary functioned independently, and its highest court, the Court of Cassation, controlled the constitutionality of legislative enactments; and the legislature, comprising several rival parties, operated under the normal system of elections. The central administration was represented locally by the prefects of the individual departments (judetze) and by the mayors of the urban and rural communes, much as was the case in other European countries governed by constitutions of similar type. The municipal and communal councils, which assured local administration in cities and villages were elective. Elections, in the years of democratic rule in Rumania, were free.

p.391

. . . the communists found it expedient to **maintain the state structure outwardly during the initial**

period. It was necessary to **raise and train their own cadres for the intended new set-up.** It was also necessary thoroughly to **undermine the existing framework.**

The first move was to **seek control of the key Ministry of the Interior.** With the assistance and direct supervision of the MVD, the hastily organized **"shock brigades"** proceeded to wield the political weapon of terror against the administration -- the administration to which the Communist party itself belonged as part of the **"coalition."** Following Vishinsky's ultimatum of March 6, 1945, the communists gained the coveted Ministry of the Interior and thereby effectively seized the reins. The key department became an **annex of the Soviet command,** notably of the MVD. Purges, mass arrests, naked terror soon sapped the state apparatus. But purges, mass arrests and naked terror continued to mark every succeeding phase of entrenchment in the saddle of totalitarian power. Two groups provided the necessary levers for this permanent policy: the **militia** and the **Soviet "counselors."**

p.391-392:

The **state militia** was simply a **legally organized version of the original communist strong-arm squads,** the **extra-legal "shock brigades"**. Operating from the very beginning with unlimited powers as local organs of the Ministry of the Interior, the militia was later to assume a **"popular" function, with wide-ranging control over every sector of the nation's existence.** It recruited labor for public works, created and maintained labor camps, organized economic mobilization, expropriations, agricultural collectivization, collection of farm products and so forth. With the introduction of the **"procuratura," the Soviet-type state prosecution organ,** as part of the reform of the judiciary carried out in January 1948, the militia also became an arm of the Ministry of Justice.

p.392:

The second institution, that of the **Soviet "counselors,"** permeates to this day every department, particularly the Ministry of Domestic Affairs (formerly of the Interior), and all affairs of an economic nature. Though little is known of the manner in which this **vast body of Soviet advisers** actually operates, it is known that the activities of its members were until recently coordinated and ultimately controlled from the Ministry of Domestic Affairs. There were in this department Russian-staffed sections corresponding to every main sector of state activity, and the head of the entire organization was (at least up to the time of **Beria's** downfall) the head of the MVD in Rumania, who dealt directly with the Kremlin without the intermediation of the Soviet embassy in Bucarest. In other words, the **entire apparatus of the "dictatorship of the proletariat" in Rumania was in reality, as in the rest of the "people's democracies," but the form through which the plans and orders of Moscow were carried out.**

It was in late December 1948 that the R.P.R. government formally announced in the Grand National Assembly that **the country would soon know the blessings of a "People's Democracy which fulfils the functions of a dictatorship of the proletariat."** And indeed soon after the law for the introduction of the people's councils was passed. The beginning of the year 1949 saw the **quasi-Soviet state set up as a "people's democracy."** By March of that year a resolution of the central committee of the Rumanian Workers' Party marked the inception of **land collectivization** and the transformation of the two trial one-year economic plans (1949-51) into a **five-year state plan,** based on the idea of speeding up the country's industrialization.

p.392-393:

THE TERRORIST STATE AND ITS RULERS

The **Rumanian People's Democracy** belongs, according to the official communist doctrine, to a **sub-division of the socialist states called popular republics, or popular democracies.** These differ from the Soviet State, of which the only example is the U.S.S.R. Within the category, communist doctrine distinguishes between the Chinese Popular Republic, and the rest of the Popular Republics: those of Eastern Europe and Outer Mongolia.

The functions of such a state are, according to official doctrine (see L. Rautu in *Scanteia*, December 29, 1951), "to crush the classes overthrown at home, to defend the country against aggression from outside, and economic-organizational and **cultural-educational construction.** These are functions characteristic of the dictatorship of the proletariat in the first stage of its existence; from the conquest of power until the **liquidation of the exploiting classes.**

"In the present stage the repression of the classes overthrown from power is of special significance. This function of the State is very important because in Rumania there are still remnants of the crushed exploiting classes, particularly the most numerous capitalist class, the **kulaks.** It is also important because the **chief organizers of conspiracies against the Rumanian People's Republic are abroad, in the capitals of the imperialist states, especially in the United States of America.** Because of this, the class war in a people's democracy cannot be considered separate from the struggle of the two systems in the international sphere. "The second function of the State of people's democracy, the defense of the country against aggression from outside is of enormous importance. Although the peoples, by taking their fate into their own hands, are better prepared than ever to avoid war, this is no reason for negligence or bourgeois-pacifist illusions. Maximum vigilance is required."

It is clear that these particular tasks of the state are, in the Rumanian People's Republic, fulfilled only with the massive help of the Soviet Army. Full recognition is given up to the present by Rumanian Communist leaders (see Miron Constantinescu in For a lasting

peace, March 9, 1956) to the help of the Soviet might. This is, of course, the great difference between those states and the Chinese Popular Republic, on the one hand, and Yugoslavia, on the other.

p.393-394:

But the **state has also a third function**. This is defined by Rautu as "**economic-organizational and cultural-educational construction**." "This function can develop fully only in the second stage of the **State of people's democracy**, when the exploiting classes have been abolished for good and the State is able to extend its **planning and organizing activities over the whole of the economy**. For the present the existence of a wide nonsocialist sector in agriculture and of a still considerable capitalist sector in trade, limits the power of the State to exercise this function, which nevertheless is developing in step with the growth of the Socialist sector in national economy.

"As in the other **people's democracies**, this function is exercised in various ways. In spite of the existence of a considerable non-socialist sector, economic life in its essence is directed by the State economic plan. Economy does not develop haphazardly, but in accordance with the policy of the party and the government, with the plans worked out by them.

"State activities are of enormous importance in the mobilization of the workers for the fulfilment and overfulfilment of the **State Plan**. With the help of agencies of the dictatorship of the proletariat, such as the trade unions, the youth organizations, etc. the State encourages the creative initiative of the masses.

"It has to be said that the **State of people's democracies** has the **duty to make use of coercive measures** against those who disorganize production willfully. Measures against breaches of discipline in work, and against people whom their desire to earn easy money induces to change their job all the time, serve the vital interests of those who work."

This provides a fair description of the totalitarian state. **All communist states, of any category, are indeed enormous machines which control, direct and make use of all individuals for their totalitarian ends.**

But in order to do so, the totalitarian people's republics need a very strong administration. From this point of view it is better to look at the situation in Rumania from two angles. The first is that of the **Central Administration and its personnel**; the second of the **local administration and its personnel**.

p.394-395:

The role of the State, as defined by the Communists "**makes it imperative for the Party to consolidate the State. The Party is the vital basis of the regime of people's democracy**." The cryptically worded paragraph 4 of article 86 of the 1952 R.P.R. constitution is the sole text in that basic charter dealing with the Rumanian Worker's Party. It amounts in effect to **setting up that party as the sole political party permitted to operate in the country and to giving it the final word in the state administration**.

This would lead to the conclusion that the mechanism of the "party leadership" is an extremely simple one. **The Rumanian Workers' Party delegates its trusted members to fill all the important posts in the central administration, to the exclusion of anyone else**. Government thus becomes one with the work of **political and social transformation** that forms the **main objective of the party**. The **Central Committee and the Politbureau are the government of the government**. The **same persons are encountered in different capacities and with different powers, but with identical aims**,

However, there are two fundamental considerations that alter this simple **relationship between party and government** in the R.P.R.

The first hinges on the fact that the regime functions in a country under virtual occupation. Unlike what happens in the Soviet Union, the government has a greater importance and a capacity for swifter decision, precisely because the alien power's occupation organs work with the various departments directly, without control at every step from the party's ideological authorities.

The second difference arises from the fact that -- as is the case in the Soviet Union and in the other satellite administrations -- a formal, but highly significant, separation has been made between party and government, between the function of Prime Minister and that of First Secretary of the Central Committee, following Stalin's death. In the R.P.R., after a characteristic delay, this separation was put into effect in April 1954, and it is not unlikely that this may result in the setting up of two teams, two mentalities and two objectives. The statutory control of the party over the government may very well become a cause of conflict or at least antagonism.

The Statutes of the R.P.R. Communist party draw a **distinction between control over central administration and over local**. Article 37, paragraph 2, states that "the Central Committee of the Rumanian Workers' Party conducts the activities of the central agencies of State power, and of the public organizations through the party groups within these agencies and organizations." In view of the fact that the political powers of the Central Committee are, during the intervals between plenary sessions, taken over by the Politbureau the latter is the significant body.

Article 61 reads: "In view of increasing the importance of the party's base organizations in production and trade enterprises, including tractor and machine stations, state farms and collective farms, and in order to increase their responsibility for the quality of work accomplished by these units, **base organizations are conferred the right of control over the activity of the administration** (of such units). Party organizations within the Ministries, which are precluded by specific working conditions of State institutions from carrying out functions of control, have the duty of discovering shortcomings in the work of such Ministries and institutions and of

their employees, and draw attention to them by forwarding their observations and suggestions to the Central Committee of the Rumanian Workers' Party and to the head of the respective Ministry or institution. **All party members who work in the central administration of a Ministry or institution belong to the single party organization of that Ministry or organization as a whole.** Secretaries of base organizations in Ministries and other central institutions must be confirmed by the Central Committee of the party".

These two texts together show that, while the Central Committee and the Politbureau conduct the activities of all departments of the central administration, and likewise maintain a constant and detailed check upon their execution of the party's directives, the **base organizations check the activities of all organs of local administration -- regional, raional, municipal and rural --** within which they function. This mechanism and the manner of its operation have been repeatedly confirmed in published reports on regional conferences. We find, too, that **base organizations frequently come under fire from higher organs for failing to control and stimulate the activities of the various administrative and economic organisms to which they belong.** The tendency to increase this control is becoming increasingly evident. An intermediary organ, titled the "active," not yet clearly defined, appears to provide the meeting place for all those holding posts of responsibility in the administration, and for the secretaries, organizers, agitators, and activists of local party organizations. These **"actives"** are constantly being urged by the R.P.R. press and higher communist authorities to discuss all problems, both practical and ideological, and to provide information to the party representatives concerning all activities of the state organs.

p.396-397:

. . . During recent years the Bucarest organizations have been through **one crisis after another, precisely on account of the confusion of authority between them and the various departments and government agencies.** The first major crisis developed in 1952 when Vasile Luca, then Minister of Finance and Vijoli, the head of the State Bank, were ousted, for allegedly sabotaging the monetary reform.

. . . A second major crisis occurred in June 1953, when the Plenary of the Bucarest City Committee sharply criticized the leadership of that Committee for **failing to control the central institutions** in charge of education, higher education and culture. At a stormy meeting, **speaker after speaker denounced the grave errors found in the manner in which the courses were taught at the various Institutes and University Schools and within the Union of Composers and the Writers' Union.** Even the R.P.R. Academy and the competent Ministries came under fire. The defense offered by the First Secretary of the Committee was that, in existing circumstances,

the base organizations had no means of effectively controlling the central departments. This was rejected and he was replaced, together with the majority of the members of the bureau.

The Council of Ministers is ostensibly the supreme executive organ of the R.P.R. It coordinates and conducts the various departments, or Ministries, which at the present moment number twenty-four, as well as several **commissions and committees that work directly with the Prime Minister.** The Council of Ministers is currently composed of the Prime Minister, three First Vice Presidents, three Vice Presidents and the rest of the cabinet which comprises titular Ministers, First Lieutenant Ministers, and simple Lieutenant Ministers. (It should be remarked that **the institution of multiple vice presidents is of Soviet importation; and that the number of separate ministerial departments is disproportionately large for the needs of a small country** like Rumania.) The two First Vice Presidents, whose powers of control are most far-reaching, are those who are also at the head of the military-police apparatus and of the Central Planning Commission respectively.

p.398:

The latter institution is the **state agency which coordinates the activities of all departments involved in the State Plan.** On the international plane, it operates in conjunction with the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance, the organization set up in 1949 to assure thorough Soviet control over the economies of the Eastern European satellites. The current regional economic plan for 1955-1960, based on the closest possible **integration of the individual satellite economies with that of the Soviet Union,** was the joint work of each of these countries' planning commissions, under the control of that of the Soviet Union. On the domestic plane, the technical personnel of the R.P.R. Planning Commission, ramified throughout the country's economy, form a team of supervisors for all economic departments. The ousting of Vasile Luca in 1952 marked the first "success" of these planners. The dissolution of most of the **"Sovroms"** in 1954 was another notable achievement. On the other hand, these technicians are the representatives within the R.P.R. administration of the social-professional group known as the **"technical intelligentsia."** The group is influential throughout the Soviet orbit. It is indeed highly probable that all the qualified technical personnel that the various schools, institutes and universities of the R.P.R. turn out is immediately put at the disposal of the Planning Commission, which then directs its distribution through the sectors of production. It is this category of **trained technical-administrative personnel that forms the special stratum of "responsibles"** in the R.P.R. state apparatus. From all points of view, the **State Planning Commission** may be considered a veritable **"inner circle"**. However, the actual influence exercised upon the central administration by

the large body of technicians working under that Commission remains obscure at the present time.

p.398:

. . . the R.P.R. **central administration** is subject to control by the **State Control Commission for financial and disciplinary matters and by the "procuratura" in legal and juridical matters.** These are controls of a constitutional character, . . .

p.398-399:

The control exercised upon the central administration by the Politbureau of the Rumanian Workers' Party is absolute and unconditional.

It is in this relationship between the government and the party that the main locale of power under a communist regime must be sought. In the ambience of intricate confusion which prevails in the R.P.R. and subject, of course, to the ultimate authority of the Kremlin, **power remains discernibly concentrated in the hands of the eleven persons that make up the Politbureau.** One of these is the Prime Minister, six are also Vice Presidents of the Council of Ministers, one is the First Secretary of the party, and yet another is the President of the party's Control Commission. **In every known state of Soviet type the Politbureau is in the last analysis, always the supreme organ of political decision.** And in the R.P.R., even more than in the other people's democracies, it seems likely that the Politbureau has had its power and influence increased as the result of the statutory division recently defined between the party secretariat and the cabinet.

In addition to becoming the top organ of political direction, the **Politbureau now provides the sole statutory common meeting ground for the First Secretary and the Prime Minister.** Hence it is **the only conceivable arbiter in case of conflict between these two, or between the bodies they represent.** From the point of view of practical politics, this means that **whatever group of members is able to constitute a majority within the eleven, must be taken to be the effective head of the administration.** It should be noted that this group of members need not necessarily include the Prime Minister or the First Secretary. **And it is no less interesting to note that each of the members enumerated above -- all of whom are possible candidates for the top place - also represents one of the "inner circles" we have encountered in the course of this analysis, or an important segment thereof.**

p.400:

. . . operating in the atmosphere of reciprocal jealousy and hatred that is so characteristic of Communist parties everywhere, all . . . , either singly or in coalition, are vying for the top position. . . . **Together, . . . inner circles form what may be defined as the ruling clique.** It is they that form, under the domination of the occupying power to which they owe their very existence, the precarious levers of authority. It is they, sharing complicity -- and well deserved public opprobrium -- that form the ruling class of the R.P.R. and not the proletariat or the "workers."

p.400-401:

THE TERRORIST STATE AND ITS SERVANTS

The few who rule the Rumanian People's Republic need a **colossal apparatus of local agents to execute their orders and to fulfil their assignments.** The problem of local administration in such a state can best be seen under two main angles. One is that of the **institution of the people's councils (Soviets);** the other is that of the **administrative personnel needed by both central and local administrations for the carrying out of duties.**

The current constitution of the R.P.R. discloses certain apparent contradictions with regard to the location of state power. Article 2 describes the **people's councils** as "**the political base of the R.P.R.**" Article 22, on the other hand, refers to the **Grand National Assembly as "the supreme executive and administrative organ of the state power,"** while article 51 proclaims **the people's councils to be the "organs of state power in the regions, raions, cities and rural agglomerations."** Behind this confusing verbiage at least one thing is clear: there is a central administration (**the government**) and a series of local administrations (**the people's councils**), and the **true political power belongs to the first.**

There is every evidence that the local administration is altogether inferior, per se powerless, and wholly subordinate to the central. The tendency is manifestly to **make the local people's councils the persecuted strata of the "people's democracies."** It is they that must bear the blame for all the mistakes, blunders and inefficiencies of the regime's planners. Overburdened with impossible and often contradictory tasks, the **executive committees of the local people's councils must bear the consequences of failure, the accusations of "bureaucracy," and the brunt of the criticism that may not be directed at the regime itself, at the system and the conception, but only at the manner of execution.** And the trend is to add constantly to the responsibilities of these alleged repositories of the people's authority, though **the theory of "democratic centralism" must be increasingly strained to justify the obvious fact that the power is not in the people's councils but in the central administration.**

p.401-402:

The **law on the people's councils**, passed on January 15, 1949, already laid down in article 18 **the powers of these bodies as being: "to apply locally the principles of the socialist order; to assure the participation of the masses in public concerns; to carry out the local plan; to strengthen the friendship among the workers, without distinction of race, language and religion; to raise the cultural and political level of the masses; to protect public health; to organize the provisioning of the workers and to put down sabotage and speculation; to strengthen the equality of rights between men and**

women by setting up maternity wards and schools; to control the citizens in carrying out their legal obligations." Article 19 provides that these multiple duties, left **purposely vague in their wording**, must be **carried out by conducting and controlling the "social, cultural and economic activities of the institutions . . . within the jurisdiction of the people's councils."** Furthermore, according to the same article, the people's councils must **"set up and carry out the local plan and budget; examine problems of a general nature"** and so forth. This tall order was later increased by the various decrees and special laws that heaped additional duties on the shoulders of the people's councils. Such special tasks as setting up "architectural sections," fostering cotton cultivation, tending the crops, taking emergency fire-prevention measures in times of drought, **taking a census of children between the ages of 1 and 14**, transporting lumber products, keeping communal agricultural registers, organizing sales cooperatives and agricultural associations (of the TOZ type), taking steps to put down porcine pest, organizing the public guard, administering markets and fairs, securing the payment of state and local taxes, and many others, both temporary and permanent, have been assigned to the people's councils. Aside from all these, the people's councils are expected to **carry out whatever urgent and imperative tasks may be given to them in connection with every drive or campaign of a nation-wide character**, no matter what the objective.

p.402:

People's councils are regional, raional, urban and rural. There are 16 regional people's councils, including the city of Bucarest considered administratively of regional rank. . . . The raional people's councils vary in number, as additional ones are set up by splitting up one or more of the existing ones; currently they number 192. Regional and raional people's councils are headed by their executive committee, with a membership varying between three and eleven, by a chairman (president), one to three vice presidents, and a secretary. The latter is usually the trusted local representative of the Communist (Rumanian Workers') party. **Members of the people's councils are called deputies, and they are "elected" by the "people."** (In 1956, 137,508 such deputies were elected.) In turn, they elect the members of their executive committee from among themselves. Apart from the fact that Decree No. 391 of 1953, introduced a number of restrictions of a political and social character on eligibility for election to the people's councils, **all lists of candidates must have prior approval by the Ministry of Domestic Affairs. In other words, no one is in principle elected to any people's council without endorsement from the security agency.** Indeed, it may be taken for granted that the lists themselves are drawn up by the party organizations in the first place.

p.402-403:

. . . Such phrases as **"democratic centralism means the subordination of the lower organs to the higher ones,"** and the **"consequence of**

centralism is that all people's councils are directed by a single centre: the government" indicate sufficiently how insignificant the power of the local administrative organs is in reality.

p.403:

. . . although the people's councils must cope with many and varied responsibilities, and therefore may be expected to require an immense personnel, the entire 1954 budget allocation for "local agencies of State power," that is, for the **people's councils, was barely 5,061,000 lei**, while that for **central administration totalled 32,- 694,000 lei**. Under the circumstances, it would be difficult to maintain that the local administration, as embodied in the people's councils, has any true powers or competence. This is hardly surprising since, patterned after the Soviet model which has now been in operation for forty years, the people's councils of the R.P.R. could not be reasonably expected to differ materially from the original.

p.403:

. . . In the communist state, . . . , the state administration not only controls, but creates, conducts and carries out all major activities of a political, cultural, social and economic nature. Now, though it is not too difficult to visualize an entire country transformed into a vast prison and labor camp, it is hard to see how the communist regimes of the people's democracies manage to assure the general economic, cultural and administrative functioning of the societies they rule. How, in other words, does the "party and government" find the necessary technical and political personnel to fill the framework of such an enormous and complex organism? The answer is twofold. On the one hand there is what the communists call **"the creation of cadres."** On the other there is what is known in the R.P.R. and the Soviet Union, . . . as **"posts of responsibility."**

p.403-405:

An interesting study published by I. Lorincz, in the R.P.R. law periodical *Justitia Noua*, states that the most difficult problem of a new state apparatus is that of cadres. **"Cadres",** writes the author, **"are essential for the executive agencies of State power, both local and central, for the judiciary and the procuratura, and for the complex system of public and mass organizations that work together with the State agencies."** The people's democracy in Rumania, he points out, solves the problem by: **a) giving the workers a direct participation in the conduct of the State; b) transforming workers through education into intellectuals; and c) using and re-educating the specialists taken over from the bourgeois-laboring regimes of the past.**

Yet, unlike what happened in the Soviet Union immediately following the revolution, and even in Eastern Germany and Czechoslovakia, where the communist workers were **given the hope at first** that they and their unions would have a hand in the conduct of the state, in Rumania the regime of quasi-

occupation has from the very first kept the workers in check. In Rumania, of course, the industrial proletariat is numerically small. And so, initially, the communists **recruited their administrative personnel from the most diverse elements, both socially and nationally.** In certain provinces, the heads of the administrative apparatus were appointed -- and, in many cases even brought in -- by the Soviet army command, during the first few months that followed the armistice. These **appointees then made up their own teams with people of all kinds.** Much the same situation prevailed in the various plants, institutions and other enterprises. The key positions were held in the first years by trustees of the regime, while the technical and administrative personnel was mostly made up of what are described as "inimical social elements," and even in some cases "war criminals," who had been released from prison or labor camps after a longer or shorter sojourn for "**re-education.**"

But this of course was not enough. In order to remedy this difficult situation **the Communist party has had to set up its own special schools and courses for the training of party cadres.** The lack of success encountered in the numerous "short-order" courses and schools has been often admitted, notwithstanding the no less frequently proclaimed help received from the Soviet Union in this as in other fields of endeavor. At this time, with the available **experts and specialists of top level still largely drawn from "re-educated" elements trained under the pre-communist regimes,** the regime seeks to provide its future technical cadres with a semblance of a rounded general education once more. . . .

p.405-407:

What now are the "**posts of responsibility**"? They are all those **positions through which the party and government must conduct the action called for by the economic plan for each individual sector and unit of every kind and at all levels.** It is certainly significant to find that the problem of these "posts of responsibility" is treated and provided for in the Labor Code of June 8, 1950. It means that **such posts are distributed throughout all sectors of activity, and not only in the state administration.** A Decision (No, 139 of January 17, 1953) issued long after the introduction of the Labor Code includes the list of these posts. This exhaustive list shows clearly enough that they form a **complete network covering every echelon of each field of activity.** Here it is in its entirety.*

"The following functions exercised by employees of State agencies and institutions, State economic enterprises and organizations and cooperative and public organizations are considered posts in the sense of the Labor Code:

- a) The posts of heads of institutions and of State and cooperative economic organizations and enterprises.
- b) Those of directors-general, directors, and heads of independent departments of Ministries, institutions and enterprises, of co-operative and public organizations, and functions similar to them.

- c) Those of technical managers and chief engineers.
- d) Those of chief and principal accountants, if they head the respective accounting department.
- e) Those of chiefs of working sites or production sections.
- f) Those of judges, prosecutors, and State arbiters.
- g) Those of leaders and of responsible heads of administration in scientific, educational, literary and artistic institutions.
- h) Those of inspectors of republic-wide and regional competence attached to the units specified under par. a above.
- i) Those of regional delegates of the State Committee for the Collection of Agricultural Products.
- j) Those of heads of departments attached to the Executive Committees of regional, city and raional People's Councils.
- k) Those of legal advisers of ministries and other central agencies of the State administration, and heads of legal departments.
- 1) Those of chief editors, deputy chief editors, and chief departmental editors.
- m) Those of secretary general of newspaper offices.
- n) Those of heads of health units.
- o) Those of administrators of pharmacies.
- p) Those of elected employees who exercise functions paid by the organizations that elected them.
- q) Those of secretaries of the offices of Ministers and Lieutenant Ministers.
- r) Those of station master of the principal railroad stations.
- s) Those of commandants of vessels of the merchant navy.
- t) Those of heads, administrators, and leaders of economic sections, departments, and similar units, of canteens, workshops, and all other sub-units organized on the principle of independent management, even if they are not actually corporate bodies.
- u) Those of heads of State stores and of cooperative commercial enterprises.
- v) Those of heads of security and fire brigade sections.
- w) Those of deputies or legal alternates of the functions listed above in the present Decision."

* In the Soviet Union such "posts of responsibility" have certainly existed in the past, for both the Administrative and Criminal Codes refer to them under the name *dohhonestnoye litso*; they probably still exist at this time. Although a number of Western writers on Soviet state structure (notably the American scholar J. Harrington Moore) have dealt at length with this institution, so far no list of such key positions in the Soviet Union has ever come to light. It is not at all unlikely that the R.P.R. list we give is either a translation or an adaptation of the hitherto unpublished Soviet original.

In order to realize just how exhaustive this long list is, **each of the posts enumerated must be multiplied by the thousands of analogous positions there are at all the specified levels throughout the complex administrative-economic structure of the present planned society.** Indeed, the significance of this will become still more obvious when it is borne in mind that the list was drawn up precisely at a time when the R.P.R. communists were drafting, and preparing for the execution of, their **first five-year plan.**

p.406-407:

. . . under a communist regime **control is not exercised solely by the recognized official representatives of the party,** such as the secretary, the "activist," the party member, in accordance with the familiar theory that "**where the party member is, power is too,**" **which makes of power a subjective personal factor** that the party representative carries with him. The list shows, to a certain extent, that power may also reside in certain objective impersonal posts -- posts for which the requisite and trusted personnel must be found.