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**Fourteenth Session
of the
Central Committee
of the Socialist
Unity Party of Germany**

Berlin, 9 to 11 December 1970

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Communiqué of the 14th Session of the Central Committee of the SED

The Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany met for its 14th Session from 9 to 11 December 1970.

At the beginning of the meeting the plenum of the Central Committee of the SED honoured the memory of the deceased member of the Political Bureau and First Secretary of the County Committee Leipzig of the SED, Comrade Paul Fröhlich.

Comrade Walter Ulbricht, First Secretary of the Central Committee reported about the Session of the Political Consultative Committee of the Member States of the Warsaw Treaty.

The Report of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the SED was given by Comrade Paul Verner, member of the Political Bureau and Secretary of the Central Committee.

Comrade Willi Stoph, member of the Political Bureau, spoke on the Draft of the National Economic Plan for 1971.

Comrade Erich Honecker, member of the Political Bureau and Secretary of the Central Committee, reported on the Exchange of Party Membership Cards.

Twenty comrades spoke in the discussion.

The Closing Speech was held by Comrade Walter Ulbricht.

The Central Committee unanimously confirmed the speeches and reports.

It adopted a Resolution on the Session of the Political Consultative Committee of the Member States of the Warsaw Treaty.

The Central Committee unanimously elected Comrade Hermann Axen as member of the Political Bureau and Comrade Werner Lamberz as candidate member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the SED.



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Resolution

of the Central Committee of the SED on the Session of the Political Consultative Committee of the Member States of the Warsaw Treaty in Berlin

The Central Committee of the SED of Germany expresses its full approval of the decisions of the Session of the Consultative Committee of the Member States of the Warsaw Treaty which was held in Berlin, capital of the GDR, on 2 December 1970. The Central Committee approves the activity of the delegation of the German Democratic Republic headed by Comrade Walter Ulbricht.

The 14th Session of the Central Committee agrees with the assessment made by the Political Consultative Committee according to which the efforts undertaken by the Socialist countries effectively contribute to the improvement of the situation on the European continent in the struggle between the two lines in world politics. Milestones of this trend are the conclusion of the treaty between the USSR and the FRG, as well as the boundary treaty between the People's Republic of Poland and the FRG. These treaties create one of the most important prerequisites for the consolidation of peace and the bringing about of security in Europe: the unrestricted recognition of the territorial integrity of all states on our continent, as well as their borders, in particular the state border between the GDR and the FRG as well as the Oder-Neisse border as the western border of Poland. That is why the early coming into effect of these significant treaties is in the interest of all peace-loving states and peoples. The Central Committee of the SED advocates the speeding up of the preparations of an All-European Conference for Security and Cooperation.

The Session of the Political Consultative Committee has stressed with full justification that the safeguarding of international security requires the establishment of relations of all states with the GDR based on equality and international law, as well as the admission of the GDR as an equal member into the organization of the United Nations and other international organizations. It is in the interest of European peace that the FRG finally recognize the invalidity of the Munich Agreement from the very beginning with

all consequences arising as a result. The Central Committee of the SED fully and completely supports the attitude held by the parties and government of the Socialist states with regard to West Berlin. It hopes that the negotiations on West Berlin taking place at present will be concluded with a mutually acceptable agreement corresponding to the interests of detente in the centre of Europe as well as the needs of the West Berlin population and the legitimate interests and sovereign rights of the GDR.

The warnings of the Political Consultative Committee of the Member States of the Warsaw Treaty regarding the aggravation of international tensions caused by the aggressive forces of imperialism are extremely justified and necessary. Proof of this are the extension and continuation of the imperialist aggression in the Far and Near East as well as the dastardly invasion of the Republic of Guinea. The Socialist Unity Party of Germany understands the Declarations of the Political Consultative Committee as an appeal for the intensification of the world-wide anti-imperialist struggle and will make its active contribution to this struggle also in future. The Central Committee of the SED expresses its warm thanks to the Central Committee of the CPSU and the Central Committees of the Communist and Workers' Parties of the other fraternal Warsaw Treaty countries for the emphasized solidarity with the GDR at the Session of the Political Consultative Committee. The Socialist Unity Party of Germany assures the parties and governments of the fraternal Socialist states that it will do everything in its power in order to consistently pursue its policy directed at peace and detente in conformity with the Decisions of the Political Consultative Committee, to further strengthen the German workers' and farmers' state politically, economically, culturally and militarily, to consolidate comprehensively its links with the Socialist community of states and to completely demarcate the German workers' and peasants' state from the imperialist Federal Republic.

The CC of the SED welcomes the Decisions of the Political Consultative Committee of the Member States of the Warsaw Treaty as a new, impressive confirmation of the unity of the Socialist community of states and as a world-politically significant action program in the struggle for peace and international security.

On the Session of the Political Consultative Committee of the Member States of the Warsaw Treaty in the Capital of the GDR

Speech by Comrade Walter Ulbricht, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany and Chairman of the Council of State of the German Democratic Republic

I.

The results of the session of the Political Consultative Committee of the member states of the Warsaw Treaty in the capital of the German Democratic Republic, in Berlin, have aroused considerable attention throughout the world and, in particular, of course, in Europe. The fact that the leading personalities of the Soviet Union and of the other countries of the Warsaw Treaty met in the capital of the German Democratic Republic, discussed here in an atmosphere of friendship, fraternal cooperation and unanimity questions concerning peace and security and made decisive decisions is evidence of the untiring peace initiative for our community of Socialist states.

The meeting of the leading personalities of the countries of the Warsaw Treaty showed the development and consolidation of the unity of our community of Socialist states. The resolutions of our joint deliberations were rightly evaluated by the world public as impressively underscoring the solidarity with the German Democratic Republic.

The session of the countries of the Warsaw Treaty was held in an international situation marked by opposing tendencies. On the one hand we can observe—especially in Europe—certain tendencies of relaxation, and on the other hand particularly vicious and aggressive acts on the part of the USA and other aggressive imperialist forces in South-East Asia, in Africa, and in the Middle East designed to aggravate the international situation. During the meeting speakers emphasized that the peaceloving peoples in the world were increasingly alarmed by the aggressive imperialist policy of the USA.

In Europe the contours of two diametrically opposed positions regarding peace and security are becoming more and more evident. The Socialist states, the community of Socialist states, are perseveringly advocating security guarantees and an extension and consolidation of international cooperation among all states. In this we proceed from the realistic situation prevailing in Europe. Another basic policy pursued by the USA and certain imperialist forces in the Federal Republic of Germany and imposed upon other NATO countries, aims at a preservation of existing tensions and at a reinitiation of the settlement of problems existing in Europe. In this the USA is playing a double-faced game. Externally it seeks to appear loyal but in actual fact it misses no opportunity to interfere and engage in coercion. The reactionary forces in the USA are making all-out efforts to reduce to a minimum the relations between countries with different social orders—particularly also in the economic field.

Determined condemnation of the imperialist aggressions and anti-relaxation machinations is contained in the unanimously adopted and already published documents of the Warsaw Treaty member states. We consider it necessary that these documents be discussed in the party branches and mass organizations as well as in meetings with citizens of the GDR for they are of great topical and principal importance. This is true both for the protection of peace and for the further development of the German Democratic Republic.

As we were already able to point out during the Moscow Conference in August this year the situation in Europe has been developing further in our favour thanks to the political initiative and the joint efforts of the member states of the Warsaw Treaty. In particular as a result of the signature of the treaty between the USSR and the FRG and the now concluded signature of the treaty between the People's Republic of Poland and the FRG new moments in the European situation have developed. They will improve the conditions for the continuation of the struggle to guarantee peace and security in Europe.

It is the historical significance of the treaty between the USSR and the FRG, of the treaty between the People's Republic of Poland and the FRG, as well as of the preliminary negotiations on the

convocation of a European security conference to lay down within the framework of international law the realities which have come into being since the end of the Second World War, in order to safeguard peace in Europe in the spirit of the Potsdam Agreement and the Charter of the United Nations. There can be no doubt that the recognition of the status quo and of the inviolability and irrevocability of the frontiers in Europe are of the greatest importance to the safeguarding of peace and, in particular, to the establishment of normal relations on the basis of international law between the GDR and the FRG. In the interests of this great initiative for guaranteeing European security it is necessary that the government of the FRG stop considering West Berlin as a land of the FRG and to interfere in West Berlin affairs by engaging in official functions there.

On the Importance of the Treaties of the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of Poland with the FRG

In the treaty between the USSR and the FRG the two contracting parties committed themselves without reservation to respect the territorial integrity of all European states within their present frontiers, not to make any territorial claims on any country either today or in the future, and to regard as inviolable the borders of all European states.

The treaty of the Soviet Union with the FRG is of the utmost importance for bringing about European security. The provisions covering unrestricted respect for the territorial integrity of all European states can have great effect on the situation in Europe. Success in the struggle for the ratification of the treaty between the USSR and the FRG would open positive prospects for the establishment of peaceful coexistence between the sovereign GDR and the FRG.

We also attach great importance to the frontier treaty between the government of the People's Republic of Poland and the government of the FRG. In this treaty the FRG government recognizes the Oder-Neisse line as the western frontier of the People's Republic of Poland. This must be seen as a great success of the pur-

poseful policy pursued by the Polish United Workers' Party as well as of the joint efforts of the Polish government and the realistically thinking forces in the FRG. The treaty between the People's Republic of Poland and the FRG is at the same time an important link in the common policy of our community of Socialist states.

Article 1 of this treaty between the People's Republic of Poland and the FRG on the frontier demarcation verbally corresponds to the text of the treaty on the demarcation of the Oder-Neisse frontier as laid down in the Potsdam Agreement and which was concluded as long ago as 6 July 1950 between the GDR and the People's Republic of Poland and formally signed by Comrades Josef Cyrankiewicz and Otto Grotewohl in Zgorzelec. This state act of Zgorzelec definitively sealed the bond of friendship between the German Democratic Republic and the People's Republic of Poland. It had been preceded on 6 June 1950 by an agreement on a joint declaration of the GDR and the People's Republic of Poland which explicitly pointed to the fact that recognition of the finality of the Oder-Neisse frontier would consolidate peace and provide a secure basis for the friendship between our two peoples.

That now—twenty years later—also the FRG has recognized Poland's western frontiers is an important step ahead in the interest of the cause of peace.

At that place in the former Warsaw ghetto where the Federal Chancellor of the FRG, Herr Brandt, laid a wreath at the memorial to the Polish citizens of Jewish origin who had been murdered by Hitler fascism, paying homage to them, there was but a modest memorial stone in 1948. All around devastation, not a single building in the entire surroundings was standing.

And there, amidst a huge desert of debris, the first Germans in those days bowed in reverence to the millions of victims of the fascist terror in Poland, in its capital and in the former ghetto of Warsaw. And those Germans who manifested to the young People's Republic of Poland their solidarity, their mutuality, their fraternal friendship—they were the members of a delegation of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany who with me at their head, were the first German delegation to visit the People's Republic of Poland.

On 6 June 1950 we were again in Warsaw and visited some towns in the People's Republic of Poland. As the representatives of the government of the German Democratic Republic we concluded the first trade agreement and published a joint declaration of the GDR and the People's Republic of Poland on the Oder-Neisse peace frontier.

Consistently pursuing the anti-fascist democratic policy of the new Germany the Socialist Unity Party of Germany was already then waging a struggle against any form of revanchism in Germany and for the implementation of the Potsdam Agreement. In accordance with the program jointly adopted by the representatives of the Communist Party of Germany and the Social Democratic Party of Germany in the then Soviet occupation zone, during the Unification Congress in 1946, we have proved our fraternal bonds with the People's Republic of Poland. We have honourably carried out our agreement. If the ruling circles in West Germany and the social democratic leaders had then already drawn the inevitable conclusions from the Second World War, the representatives of the FRG would, together with the representatives of the German Democratic Republic, have been able to avow their intention to conduct a new policy already in 1950 in Warsaw.

During the meeting in Berlin of the member countries of the Warsaw treaty we stated our agreement with the establishment of diplomatic relations between the People's Republic of Poland and the FRG after ratification of the treaty. We are convinced that our position corresponds to the interests of the GDR and its citizens.

As is known the treaty between the People's Republic of Poland and the FRG has in the meantime been signed by the heads of the two governments, Comrade Cyrankiewicz and Herr Brandt.

At the meeting it was repeatedly pointed out that not only the Socialist states are interested in the relaxation of tension and the ratification of the two above-mentioned treaties. And not only the government of the FRG and its adherents but also some other NATO states and—within the FRG—certain forces of the big bourgeoisie and even certain CDU circles are considerably interested in having these treaties come into force quickly. This fact does not

now and will not in the future prevent the CDU/CSU from attacking with nationalist slogans the Brandt-Scheel government for these very treaties. Within the scope of the meeting of the countries of the Warsaw Treaty it was correctly noted that the policy pursued by the rightwing forces in the FRG and in the USA can considerably harm the interests of the FRG and its citizens.

It is of great impact that also in the statement of the meeting of the Political Consultative Committee on questions concerning security and the development of peaceful cooperation in Europe the member-states unanimously declared their solidarity with the peace policy of the GDR. "The entire developments in Europe", this important document says, "testifies to the fact that it is impossible to build an edifice of lasting peace in this area without the participation of the GDR. The establishment of relations of equality between the German Democratic Republic and other states which have not to date established such relations, including the establishment of relations between the GDR and the FRG, on the basis of the generally valid norms of international law, the admission of the GDR as member of the United Nations with equal rights and other international organizations are vital requirements of the times." Indeed, the fulfilment of these "vital requirements of the times" as unanimously resolved by the Berlin meeting of Socialist states and which also include recognition of the invalidity of the Munich Agreement from the very beginning will be an important contribution to the cause of European and international security.

II. On Some Questions of Peace and the Relaxation of Tension

The full text of the documents adopted by the session of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Treaty member-states has been published by *Neues Deutschland* and other papers.

The main point of the discussion during the session were the problems of world peace and, in particular, peace and security in Europe. They were the guiding thoughts of the speeches of Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, of Comrade Gomulka, Comrade Kadar, Comrade Husak, Comrade Zhivkov, and of Comrade Ceausescu.

They were also the tenor of our speech and of all resolutions and documents adopted by the session of the countries of the Warsaw Treaty in Berlin.

We were able to state that at the end of 1970 some new tendencies have been developing in Europe which could promote the stabilization of peace and security we have been striving for.

What is the key problem today?

At the end of the Second World War after defeating and crushing Hitler Germany, the anti-Hitler coalition agreed that by means of effective measures future generations should be protected from the scourge of a new world war. The Potsdam Agreement served this chief aim. And to meet this end the UN, according to its tasks the world-embracing Organization of the United Nations, was founded. It is a sorry fact, however, that today the UN has not yet become a truly world-embracing organization, and that today a number of states of considerable weight in international affairs cannot cooperate in the UN because of various machinations by imperialist governments.

In postwar Europe which has developed and consolidated in the course of a quarter of a century, the GDR has, since its foundation, been a factor of peace, a state pursuing a consistent peace policy. Its policy corresponds to the principles of the Potsdam Agreement and of the United Nations.

It has not been possible in this quarter of a century, however, contractually to guarantee all European states and peoples peace and security.

Together with the long-concluded political and economic consolidation of postwar Europe and its state frontiers, the need of the European peoples for firm, contractual peace and security guarantees and for an ensured system of peaceful coexistence between states with different social orders has, of course, also grown.

The Socialist states of the Warsaw Treaty have, under the leadership of the Soviet Union, always pursued a policy fully meeting the wishes and hopes of the European peoples for a guaranteed peace and firm security. Also in the FRG the forces have been growing which considered it inevitable that the old revanch-

ist policy be abandoned and—more or less unequivocally—come to terms with the territorial status quo in Europe as has been developing in the course of the past quarter of a century as a result of the Second World War.

Accordingly, the Brandt-Scheel government has started to jettison some of the ballast of a revanchist policy which had become unbearable also for the FRG. The fact that in this connection Bonn is trying to pocket special fees for the observance of its own interests does not surprise us particularly. Nobody, of course, pays anybody anything in international relations if a state abandons in whole or in part positions which have always been unrealistic or illegitimate. Our assessment of the background of Bonn's "new eastern policy", and of its intention to penetrate into the Socialist countries with the aid of social democracy, remains unchanged. But in the spirit of peaceful coexistence we are striving to develop inter-state relations on the basis of international law with the FRG. In view of the intensified anti-Communist campaign which is initiated not least by the leading political forces in the Federal Republic of Germany, it is necessary to wage a consistent struggle against imperialist ideologies and against social democratism.

III. On Questions of European Security

Thanks to our coordinated action and the activity of the democratic forces in Western Europe, the forces of peace have made progress along the path towards the convocation of a European security conference. Scarcely anyone today denies the possibility and the suitability of such a security conference. It is also generally recognized that all European countries must have the opportunity to participate with equal rights in the conference. The conclusion and the ratification of the treaties between the USSR and the FRG and the People's Republic of Poland and the FRG will help in the preparation of the European security conference.

In its latest memorandum the Finnish government has proposed that multilateral discussions at ambassadorial level should be

held in Helsinki for the further preparation of the conference. We agree with this proposal.

We naturally cannot ignore the fact that the sharpening of the international situation brought about by the most aggressive circles of imperialism is reflected in new attempts to prevent or to delay the holding of a security conference. In the past weeks the negative attitude of the USA has become clearer. Under the influence of the USA and the FRG the NATO countries, through their resolution of 4 December 1970, have erected new obstacles to a security conference.

The Warsaw Treaty states are unanimously of the opinion that sufficient prerequisites have now been created for the holding of an all-European conference on questions of security and cooperation. The agenda and the circle of participants in the conference have been, broadly speaking, defined. A broad basis has been created for understanding and for guaranteeing positive results for the conference. There are no sensible reasons for delaying the calling of the conference or once again laying down conditions.

It would be much to the advantage of European security, and would also aid the holding and the work of the security conference if both the GDR and the Federal Republic could soon participate on equal terms in the work of the UN.

IV. On GDR-FRG Relations

At the session of the Political Consultative Committee several speakers emphasized that the recognition of the German Democratic Republic by all European countries was the central question for the normalization of the situation in Europe, the central question for fruitful cooperation between all the states to guarantee European security.

The Bonn government has declared that it wishes to shape its relations with the GDR on the basis of full equal rights and non-discrimination, and to help bring about the membership of the FRG and the GDR in the UN and its specialized organiza-

tions. At the same time the Bonn government emphasized that neither of the two states can represent the other abroad or act in its name. All these announcements, taken together, mean that the government of the FRG has declared its intention to establish relations with the German Democratic Republic based on equality and the principles of international law. Given this state of affairs nobody can understand the attempt to interpret such clear declarations arbitrarily.

Bonn would like to establish so-called "inner-German relations" with the GDR, which would be identical with the subordination of the Socialist German Democratic Republic to the FRG which is dominated by monopoly capitalism. The government in Bonn would be well advised to abandon the senseless attempt to force the GDR and the other Socialist states to renounce indispensable basic principles.

In the past few days in the newspaper *Vorwärts*, the organ of the Party Executive of the SPD (Social Democratic Party of Germany), published a mournful article pointing out that time had not worked for, but against, the policy of the FRG—the writer means the policy of arrogantly claiming the right of sole representation. That is true! The article continues:

"This is one of the realities left behind by the Second World War which should finally be faced. A quarter of a century has passed since the collapse and capitulation of the German Reich, and what has happened in the meantime can neither be denied nor reversed . . .

"Every time memoranda with suggestions or proposals arrived from the east we heard the same comment: 'Nothing new'.

"Nobody can say, with certainty what the situation would look like today if we had seriously considered eastern plans. Nobody, for instance, can say with certainty whether Ulbricht's proposal for an all-German confederation would have been capable of fulfilment. But it was undoubtedly an enormous political mistake to reject on principle everything offered by the east."

In fact this discernment is reasonable. But for today it is no longer sufficient. For a long time now there has been a different historical situation. By what is this situation marked? After the

establishment of the West German separatist state, the FRG, and after the division had been sealed by the Paris Treaties, the FRG finally integrated itself as a state in NATO. At the same time the GDR developed into a sovereign Socialist state which has become, and will for ever remain, an inseparable part of the Socialist community of states. Between the Socialist German Democratic Republic, firmly anchored in the Socialist community of states, and the FRG which is dominated by monopoly capital and integrated in the global strategy of the USA and NATO, there cannot exist, and there will not exist any "inner-German relations" tinged with tutelage; there can only be such fully equal relations which are based without restriction on the principles of international law. It is a question of the relations between two sovereign states completely independent of each other.

This is our position, and I should particularly like to point out that it was completely recognized and supported by all fraternal parties and all fraternal states at the session of the Warsaw Pact countries. The necessity was specifically underlined of decisively rejecting all Bonn attempts to invent some sort of inner-German principles of relations between the GDR and the FRG.

Speaking last Friday on the same subject in Zabrze Comrade Gomulka stated: "It is a question of regulating the relations between two German states—the GDR and the FRG—on the principles of completely equal rights, non-discrimination, respect for the independence of each of the two states both in questions of domestic competence within their own frontiers and also in subjects of the foreign policy representation of each of the two states. The relations between the GDR and the FRG, based on the principles of international law, should also find their expression in the membership of both German states in the UN."

In the same speech Comrade Gomulka defined the problem of the relations between the FRG and the People's Republic of Poland as a problem of considerable extent. He stated: "It is a question of bringing about normalization between the FRG and all countries of the Warsaw Treaty. Only on this basis can the

process of normalization between the FRG and the individual Socialist countries develop without hindrance."

The Brandt government will therefore have to take note that there is no Socialist state which will show understanding for nebulous demands for "inner-German relations". At the session in Berlin agreement was emphasized with the GDR point of view that relations between the GDR and the FRG should be regulated on the basis of international law, and that all strings should be cut which could draw the country back to the past.

V. On Some Questions of Transit Traffic and on the Problem of West Berlin

Following its initiative of 11 February 1970 for talks between the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the GDR and the Chancellor of the FRG, the German Democratic Republic has now once again—on 29 October 1970—taken the initiative for an exchange of views with the FRG. If the government of the FRG would end its illegal state intervention in West Berlin the way would be open for an agreement between the GDR and the FRG on mutual transit traffic. This would undoubtedly also have a positive effect on the negotiations of the ambassadors of the four powers, and would be a contribution to the relaxation of the situation.

In complete accord with the declaration of the session of the countries of the Warsaw Treaty in Berlin on questions of stabilizing security and developing peaceful cooperation in Europe, we, too, express the hope that the negotiations at present taking place on West Berlin will lead to a mutually acceptable agreement which will accord with the interests of the relaxation of tension, the needs of the population of West Berlin, and the legitimate interests and sovereign rights of the German Democratic Republic.

The imperialist press is making a big noise in connection with the question of transit traffic over the traffic routes of the German Democratic Republic. Every self-respecting state—and this has al-

ways been so—naturally sees to it that in these questions, too, its sovereign rights are respected, and that governments which are interested in transit over its traffic routes conclude proper agreements such as are internationally usual in relations between states.

As is generally known the FRG has, for various reasons, a great interest in the transit traffic of goods and persons over the traffic routes of the German Democratic Republic. For instance West German goods and persons can only reach West Berlin over the traffic routes of the sovereign GDR. This is not something nasty which we thought up; it is simply the result of the Geographical situation.

The GDR, too, for various reasons has an interest in the transit traffic of goods and persons over the traffic routes of the FRG. In view of this mutual interest it would be the most natural thing in the world if the GDR and the FRG—which are, as is well-known, two states independent of each other—should sit down together and conclude an orderly agreement on the mutual transit traffic of goods and persons. This is exactly what we proposed to the government of the FRG. But the government of the FRG today still avoids negotiations on such an agreement. We are, however, convinced that talks and negotiations on the basis of equal rights and the other principles of international law will still come about.

The session of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Treaty countries in Berlin has brought clarity in many ways and given answers to complicated questions. Our main task, the main task of the workers' and farmers' power in the GDR and of all citizens of our state remains the political, economic, cultural and military strengthening of the GDR. This is the greatest service which we can do for the cause of peace and for security in Europe. The construction of the Socialist state system on the basis of our new Constitution; the further development of the economic system of Socialism; the complex shaping of the Socialist educational system and many other tasks—all combined with the fight against all forms of imperialist ideology, against the signs of the decay of late capitalism, etc.,—are the guarantee that the German Democratic Republic, the Socialist German nation-state, will measure up to its historic tasks.

We welcome the decisions of the discussions of the Warsaw Treaty countries in Berlin. In full solidarity with the CPSU and the other fraternal parties, with the Soviet Union and the other fraternal states—we shall do everything in our power to implement these decisions.

From the Report of the Political Bureau to the 14th Session of the Central Committee of the SED

Reporter: Comrade Paul Verner, member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the SED

European Security—Central Concern of the Foreign Policy of the GDR

In the past months the Political Bureau has devoted very great attention to foreign policy questions and made great efforts to further expand and consolidate the international position of the GDR. In the centre of the GDR's international activities was the further consolidation and deepening of the fraternal alliance with the Soviet Union and the other countries of the Socialist community.

It can be said with complete justification that the year 1970 and especially the most recent period has stood and stands fully under the sign of the great initiatives of the Soviet Union, of the community of Socialist countries and the peace forces for European security. In close consultation with the Soviet Union and the other countries of the Warsaw Treaty the GDR has always made its constructive contribution to this. The starting point for our policy was and is the basic line established by the Seventh Congress of the SED, according to which our foreign policy has the task of creating favourable external conditions for the peaceful construction of Socialism, contributing to the further change in the relation of forces in favour of Socialism and peace and helping to implement the principles of peaceful coexistence between countries with different social systems.

Of special importance in the period covered by the report was the session of the Political Consultative Committee of the countries of the Warsaw Treaty in August in Moscow. The assessment of the international situation made by Leonid Brezhnev, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the CPSU, and the political conclusions arising out of it had the full approval of the delegation of the Central Committee of the SED and the government of the GDR.

The firm conviction was expressed in a joint declaration of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of our party and the Council of Ministers of the GDR that it will be possible, on the basis of the results of the Moscow session of the Political Consultative Committee, in recognizing the territorial integrity and the inviolability of the frontiers of the European states, to obtain new successes on the road to lasting European security, to the calling of an all-European conference. This adds—the declaration states—decisive importance to the further consolidation of the fraternal relations and the allround cooperation between the Socialist countries, since that is the pledge for guaranteeing peace and European security.

The Influence of the Changed Relation of Forces

If one wants to correctly assess the process of the worldwide class struggle and the diverse political occurrences one must always visualize the basic assessment made by Leonid Brezhnev, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the CPSU, at the International Conference of Communist and Workers' Parties in summer 1969. He stated there that the imperialism of today, in view of the growing strength and increasing influence of Socialism and all other revolutionary forces on international developments, strives to adapt itself to the resulting changed conditions of struggle between these two systems. This Marxist-Leninist analysis, which expresses an essential feature of international developments of our time must be generally reflected upon in order to draw the necessary conclusions both theoretically and for political practice.

Imperialism in the FRG and its policy can also be correctly judged from this point of view. The assessment of the Moscow Conference of Communist and Workers' Parties shows:

—If it is the growing strength of Socialism which forces imperialism to change its policy and tactics, that is to adapt itself, then the further strengthening of the Socialist community and of each individual Socialist country is also in future the central

task in order further to change the relation of forces in favour of Socialism.

—If imperialism seeks to adapt itself to the changed conditions, that does not at all mean that anything has changed in the nature of imperialism, in the expansionism and aggressivity inherent in it. It is a fact that just in the recent period the incalculability and aggressivity of USA imperialism has grown. The adaption rather represents the attempt, under present conditions, not only to continue the struggle against Socialism but to organize it more effectively than hitherto. Out of this results the necessity of increasing vigilance vis-à-vis imperialism, no matter in which forms it conducts its counter-revolutionary struggle against Socialism. A further result of this is the necessity of an intensified struggle against all forms of imperialist ideology. Peaceful co-existence never means ideological coexistence. In this field there is neither neutrality nor compromise.

The Dialectics of Class Struggle

We are guided by this dialectics, especially in the dispute with West German imperialism.

The new relation of forces led to the fiasco of the policy conducted by the Adenauer, Erhard and Kiesinger governments of coercing the GDR and other Socialist countries from a position of military strength. Parts of the West German monopoly bourgeoisie drew the conclusion from this of conducting the penetration of the Socialist countries, especially the GDR, with longer-term plans and more flexible methods of ideological and political struggle, cultural policy and with the aid of economic means.

In additions there is the fact that in view of the sharpened competitive struggle and the permanent currency crisis within the capitalist market influential circles of the big bourgeoisie of the FRG are interested in the development of economic relations with the markets of the Socialist countries which—as these circles correctly perceive—are not endangered by crisis.

The policy of our party was and is directed, together with our

allies, at advancing the cause of European security, promoting the ratification of the treaty between the USSR and the FRG as well as the one between the People's Republic of Poland and the FRG, at leading a European security conference to success, arriving at relations based on equality between all European countries, including relations based on international law between the GDR and the FRG. At the same time—and that is no contradiction, but in truth the secure foundation of our peace-loving foreign policy—we are strengthening and consolidating the Socialist GDR in all fields, we are consistently developing the integration of the GDR in the Socialist community and we are conducting an offensive ideological struggle against imperialist ideology.

It is quite clear: The GDR is the Socialist German nation-state. Socialism has definitively won in the GDR and our republic belongs irrevocably and indispensably to the community of Socialist countries. The relations of the GDR with the imperialist FRG as to other imperialist countries can, in accordance with the principles of peaceful coexistence, only be relations based on international law.

In the FRG—that is the realistic assessment of the situation—a process of the further concentration of state monopoly capitalism is taking place.

We are witness to a process of concentration never before known in the history of German imperialism, a process which above all in the recent years has been so accelerated that even bourgeois observers state in characterization of the situation: Every day a merger! In the FRG today the little ones are no longer swallowed by the big ones as formerly, but increasingly giant trusts are merging with each other—and that is true especially in the field of armaments and armament research.

The weight of the military-industrial complex in the FRG has grown from year to year, and the planning of the Social Democratic War Minister Schmidt envisages a further increase in armaments. Next to the USA the FRG takes second place in NATO in the field of armaments. The Flick trust, for example, has today become the biggest producer of tanks in Western Europe. The

economic basis for the policy of expansion of West German imperialism has without doubt been further strengthened.

State monopoly formation has further accelerated, in all spheres, in the economy, the state, the *Bundeswehr*, etc. Just concerning the economy and the sphere of the *Bundeswehr* even big bourgeois circles of the FRG quite frankly state that Schiller is the most concentration-minded minister up to now and Schmidt by far the best champion of the interests of the *Bundeswehr* and its generals.

The political forces of the FRG have developed within the background of the objective process under the influence of the international relation of forces and the internal contradictions. We are undoubtedly witness to a considerable process of differentiation which is very stratified. Along with the growing contradiction between the interests of the working people of the FRG and those of the ruling class differences are taking place between the forces represented by the CDU/CSU and those represented by the SPD and parts of the FDP. In addition it cannot be overlooked that within these political groupings differentiations are in turn showing—both in the CDU/CSU and also in the Social Democratic Party of the FRG.

The process of adaption of just the imperialism of the FRG to the relation of forces in our time consists in the fact that it is seeking for new methods to reach its old aims and also for the political constellation suitable for this. In doing this certain realistic steps have had to be taken in some spheres—not least based on the instinct of self-preservation.

If in this connection differences in the positions of the CDU/CSU and the Social Democratic leaders of the FRG appear, then not basic differences of opinion in relation to the social structures and the policy of the state monopoly system of rule are reflected but different answers to the question about the suitable road.

There is the conservative line represented mainly by the CDU/CSU and there is the line represented by Social Democracy, a line which considers this conservatism to be unsuitable for combating Socialism. This could be seen for years in basic documents and resolutions of the Social Democratic Party Executive and it is being expressed just now in an especially massive way in special pamphlets and official articles.

This is also confirmed especially by the basic anti-Communist documents adopted by the SPD leading body at its session in Munich. The conservative and often revanchist forces of the FRG have accepted these resolutions with satisfaction as is seen from their statements. That is quite understandable. For in fact these anti-Communist pamphlets contain far more than a presentation of the incontestably opposed basic positions between Social Democracy and the Communist movement.

With the Munich resolutions the leadership of the Social Democratic Party prohibits cooperation between Communists and Social Democrats. These resolutions, with their anti-Communist and anti-Soviet slander, are directed against the unity of action of the working people of the FRG. Instead of conducting the struggle against reaction, against the fascist sluggers of Würzburg and against all the circles which are obstructing every step to relaxation and want to heat up the policy of the cold war, the Munich resolutions of the Social Democratic leadership are directed against all forces in the FRG which are struggling for peace, democracy and social progress. The Munich resolutions are an encouragement to reaction and a repetition of the mistakes made by the SPD leadership before 1933.

To be sure anti-Communism has been a basic feature in the ideology and policy of rightwing Social Democratic leaders at the latest since the Great October Socialist Revolution. But rarely before has it been manifested so massively, so openly and sharply as in the resolutions of Munich. If the SPD leadership basically rejects in these documents every attack on the late capitalist structure of power in the FRG, if it expressly proclaims the "uncompromising defence" of the imperialist state and baldly declares the struggle against the Socialist countries to be the decisive task of Social Democracy, then that shows a further opening to the right in the leadership of the Social Democratic Party of the FRG. The Munich resolutions have their deepest roots in the fact that the rightwing Social Democratic leaders have fully and completely gone over to the positions of the state monopoly system of rule.

What Is behind the Formula "Inner German"?

If the propaganda embellishment is removed from the attitude of the Bonn government towards the GDR all statements in the final analysis flow into the formula "special inner-German relations". This is not simply a nationalistic propaganda slogan directed against the GDR, but the currently main strategic line of nationalism in the struggle against the GDR.

In the present situation, as the state existence of the GDR can no longer be denied, the attempt is made with this formula of "special inner-German relations" to exclude international law from relations between the GDR and the FRG so as to give the FRG a free hand at a given time in being able to implement the old annexationist policy. The demand for "special inner-German relations" is in any case an expression of revanchism.

How much this "inner-German" conception is utilized to disturb the efforts for European security and relaxation is shown by the fact that the government of the FRG seeks to couple all existing problems to be solved with the condition of prior so-called "inner-German" regulations. That is true both of the taking up of diplomatic relations by third countries with the GDR and also the admission of the GDR to the United Nations and the all-European security conference favoured today by the overwhelming majority of the European countries. Such a policy of prior conditions harms peace and security.

West German imperialism derives its "inner-German" concept from the alleged continued existence of the "unity of the nation". The unity of the nation was destroyed as a result of the Second World War and above all by the division brought about by the American and West German imperialists. With the founding of the separatist state, the FRG, and its chaining to the Paris Treaties the FRG was made a foreign country vis-à-vis the GDR. Today the situation is as follows: As unequivocally as the GDR is the Socialist German nation-state, just as unequivocally is the FRG an imperialist state firmly integrated in the aggressive NATO pact. Just as between Socialism and imperialism as social orders there can be no "inner relations" so can there be no inner relation between Socialist and imperialist states. That is true of the fullest extent of

relations between the GDR and the FRG, between which there can only be relations resting without restriction on the principles of peaceful coexistence and the norms of international law. All constructions of a "special inner-German relationship" are unrealistic and abstract.

The character of the social order was always what was decisive in history. How much more true is that today, since with Socialism a social system exists which basically differs from all former societies which were based on exploitation and is connected with them in no way whatsoever. Therefore, there can be no rapprochement between the two opposed social systems Socialism and imperialism, but an objective process of demarcation is taking place. There is a rapprochement only between Socialist states as we experience it in the community of Socialist states. The demarcation between the Socialist German Democratic Republic and the imperialist Federal Republic is an expression of this objective development.

Important conclusions arise out of this precisely for the ideological struggle. The demarcation between the systems is especially expressed in the sharpening struggle between Socialist and imperialist ideology, and also especially with Social Democratism, a variant of this ideology which is directed against the victorious advance of Marxism-Leninism and against the Socialist countries.

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