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Twelfth Session of the Central Committee
of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany
Berlin, 12 and 13 December 1969

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Contents

Communique	
of the 12th Session of the Central Committee	7
Fundamental Tasks in 1970	
Report 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	9
I. The German Democratic Republic on the Threshold of Its Third Decade	9
The Citizen's Responsibility for Society as a Whole	14
The New Relation of Trust Between the People	15
The Significance of Organizing Science	17
Research, Automation and Emulation	20
On Complex Rationalization	23
The Use of Plastics	27
On Questions of Developing Structure Lines and the Require- ments of Territorial Development	29
On the Improvement and Perfection of Working and Living Conditions	30
Art and Culture in the Development of Socialist People and Our Socialist Community	34
What is the Significance of the Example Given to the People of the West German Federal Republic by the German Democratic Republic?	42
On Strengthening Cooperation With the Soviet Union and the Other Socialist Countries	43
II. The New Situation in the West German Federal Republic and the Relations between the Two German States	44
The National Betrayal by the CDU/CSU	46
Some Lessons of History	48
The Situation in the West German State	49
The Change of Government and the "Structure of Power"	54
On What Movement of Class Forces Is the Result of the Bundes- tag Elections Based?	57
The Test: Internal and Social Policy	59

How Do We Stand on the Internal Reforms in the West German Federal Republic Announced by the SPD/FDP Coalition Government?	64
Some Questions of Foreign Policy of the SPD/FDP Government from the Point of View of Relations between the GDR and the FRG	67
The Attitude of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany	80
 The GDR – A Recognized Factor of Peace in Europe	
From the Speech by Comrade Willi Stoph, Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany and Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the German Democratic Republic	82
Decisive Cause of the Insecurity on Our Continent	84
A Change of Government, But No Change in Power	86
On the Position of the GDR in International Law	89
Our Policy Was and Is Clear	92
 A Decisive Phase of Social Developments in the German Democratic Republic	
From the Speech by Comrade Erich Honecker, Member of the Political Bureau and Secretary of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany	94
Principled Attitude and Convincing Ideological Work	95
Important Lessons from Party Work in Complex Socialist Automation	96
Level of Scientific Leadership – Key to Success	97
Higher Qualification of Party Cadres Is a Precondition for Greater Strength of the Party	99
The All-round Strengthening of the GDR – Our Contribution to the Struggle Against Imperialism	100
“Council of the Gods” Continues to Exist in the Bonn State . . .	101
Two Interests Confront Each Other in West Germany	103
Facts We Cannot Overlook	104
“New Accents” and Herr Wehner	106
Changes Will Have to Be Made in West Germany	109
Unwaveringly Forward on Our Good Socialist Road	110
 Statement	
of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany on the Results of the Moscow Meeting of Leading Personalities of Fraternal Socialist Countries	111

COMMUNIQUE

of the 12th Session of the Central Committee

The Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany met on 12 and 13 December 1969 for its 12th session.

Comrade Werner Jarowinsky, candidate member of the Political Bureau and Secretary of the Central Committee, presented the report of the Political Bureau. Comrade Walter Ulbricht, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, spoke on "Fundamental Tasks in 1970". Comrade Günter Mittag, member of the Political Bureau and Secretary of the Central Committee, spoke on questions of the 1970 national plan of the GDR.

Thirteen comrades talked in the discussion.

The Central Committee unanimously approved the report of the Political Bureau, the report by Comrade Walter Ulbricht and the speech of Comrade Günter Mittag.

The Central Committee unanimously adopted a statement on the results of the Moscow Meeting of leading personalities of fraternal Socialist countries.



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Fundamental Tasks in 1970

Report 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 German Democratic Republic on the Threshold of Its Third Decade

The German Democratic Republic has entered its third decade as a state which has gained the sympathy, recognition and confidence of the peoples. At the celebrations of the 20th anniversary of the GDR the fact became impressively clear that the policy of the Socialist German state and the success which its citizens have achieved by their strenuous peaceful labour, are being highly appreciated throughout the world. The peace-loving people see in the Socialist German state their hopes fulfilled that a policy of peace and international friendship is being carried out on German soil, from which the two devastating world wars of this century emanated. They realize that the legacy of the anti-fascist fighters

and those who died in the war against Hitler is being implemented in the German Democratic Republic. They realize that the German working people, by depriving the imperialists and militarists of their power and by taking the state power into their own hands, are capable of constructing a Socialist peaceful modern state.

On 6 December 1920, in the gravest period of the first Socialist state in the world, Lenin stated before a meeting of activists of the Moscow organization of the RCP (B.) "... We have said, and still say that Socialism has the force of example. ... We must show the significance of Communism in practice, by example."¹) Nowadays, almost half a century later, the profound correctness of Lenin's words are becoming manifest in a variety of ways. Since Lenin's time, Socialism has become a world system.

We are proud of the convincing way in which the unity of the states of the Socialist community and the unity of their policy aimed at peace and security in Europe was expressed in our capital Berlin on the 20th anniversary of the GDR. The presence of our friend and comrade Leonid Ilych Brezhnev, Secretary General of the Central Committee of the CPSU, and other great leaders of the international working-class movement, such as Wladyslaw Gomułka, Dr. Gustav Husak, Janos Kadar, Todor Zhivkov, Yumzhagin Zedenbal and Pham Van Dong, heading party and government delegations of our fraternal Socialist countries, meant a great honour to the working people of the German Democratic Republic. Their participation in our festive day and their sincere words of friendship will, I am fully convinced, be considered by the citizens of the German Democratic Republic as an obligation to further intensify their efforts to shape the developed Socialist society and thereby to contribute to the continued consolidation of the community of Socialist states.

The manner in which our foreign guests paid tribute to the international significance of our state means a great recognition to the peaceful policy of our German Democratic Republic. Thus Comrade Brezhnev said: "The Soviet citizens note with great joy that the international influence of the German Democratic Republic is increasing. The GDR has pledged itself to ensure with all its force that another war should never again be launched from German soil. This is the loftiest aim, a purpose of the greatest import, for which all the European peoples owe thanks to the German Democratic Republic."

¹) V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 31, p. 457. Progress Publishers, Moscow 1966

Comrade Gomulka stated that the GDR bases its existence and policy "upon its friendship and alliance with the Soviet Union, People's Poland and the other Socialist states and has, together with them, erected an indestructible bulwark against all revanchist claims of German imperialism. The German Democratic Republic is a reality and an integral part of Europe, an important element of peace and security on our continent."

Comrade Husak stated that the imperialist forces "are not able to upset the status quo which has emerged as an outcome of the Second World War. They cannot alter the fact that the first German Socialist state exists in Europe, is gaining in political and economic strength and has taken up its firm position in Europe and the world."

The historically new German foreign policy, the policy of the Socialist state of the German nation in the service of peace and international friendship, was equally acclaimed by the great many foreign party, government, parliamentary, trade union and other delegations from altogether 84 countries throughout the world which took part in the celebrations of our 20th anniversary. What impressed all of us most deeply was the great sympathy and cordial friendship shown to us by the delegations from the liberated peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America. To them too, so they told us, the fact is of great importance that their anti-imperialist struggle is being supported by a German state which is successfully constructing its Socialist order and is proving its mettle as a solid and invincible bastion of peace in Western Europe.

The outstanding international significance of the 20th anniversary of the German Democratic Republic consists in the fact that the broadest circles of the peace-loving people in many countries all over the world have become aware of the successes achieved by the Socialist system in the German Democratic Republic. The GDR's peace policy, the great accomplishments of its citizens in all fields, and also the road which we have walked along during these twenty years in the face of all those difficulties have thereby, been given world-wide recognition.

The working people of the GDR have been able to cover this distance and will continue on the same road because their Socialist Unity Party of Germany (SED) is a revolutionary party of the working class of the Leninist type. Our party arose through the merger of the Communist Party of Germany (KPD) and the Social Democratic Party of Germany (SPD) and was soon joined by young anti-fascists. It has developed as a vanguard of the people in their

struggle for the safeguarding of peace and in their successful fight against the imperialist "roll-back" strategy. It has grown through the application of the Leninist theory and the theoretical elaboration and practical shaping of the new problems of transition from capitalism to Socialism in a highly-developed industrial country.

The unification of the working class, the growth of class consciousness, the mastery of the tasks of constructing a Socialist state, the planning of the national economy and the burgeoning of Socialist culture have proved themselves as decisive factors in forming the workers' and farmers' state. It would have been impossible for the working class to carry out its historic task without the alliance with the working farmers. This alliance was the basis of democratic state power and rendered possible the Socialist transformation of agriculture through the farmers' joining agricultural production cooperatives.

The great historic task of creating the Socialist order on German soil has been successful because our party, from the very onset, involved the entire working class and all working people in working out all issues of social development, because everything new in all spheres was mastered by joint Socialist efforts of the people as a whole and particularly because the young generation was charged with the mastering of problems which helped the young people to gradually get the feel of their responsibilities. The modern Socialist state, which the German Democratic Republic constitutes today, took shape through the cooperation between our party and the other democratic parties and mass organizations and through the participation of all sections of our people in political and social life within the great popular movement of the National Front of Democratic Germany.

Socialist leadership and Socialist democracy developed as a dialectical unity, as the moving forces of our Socialist state, instilling life into our new Constitution.

The fact that the key-problems of society are discussed with all sections of the population and the necessary steps towards their solution are the result of the sum total of their ideas and views, is a basic trait of the continuity of our bloc policy and, at the same time, expression of Socialist democracy. The twenty years' development of our state and the high standards achieved in establishing Socialist democracy testify to the ability of the working people in the GDR, led by the working class and its party, to solve all tasks towards an ever better mastery of their social conditions and their own human destinies.

Already since the Sixth Party Congress of the SED we have considered it to be one of our most important basic tasks to work on making Socialism an all-embracing social system, to organize it as such a system and to bring it to ever greater fruition.

The meaning of shaping Socialism as an all-embracing social system was explained in great detail in the address on the occasion of the GDR's 20th anniversary. There the fact was proved that our joint living and acting cannot be separated into different compartments which have only very little in common and take a separate and factually isolated course, but science and production, education, culture and sports, in short the whole life within society, are very closely interwoven. Great achievements cannot, after all, be attained without close cooperation between these parts of the system.

We see an important cause of our success in the fact that the development of system-mindedness (thinking in terms of a system-transl.), based upon the decision of our party, has proved to be a very fruitful method for the solution of the arising social problems in all spheres of society.

One of the paramount achievements of the working class and its Marxist-Leninist Party is the elaboration of the political economy of Socialism under the conditions of the German Democratic Republic, the formation of the economic system of Socialism. Since the beginnings of the planned economy our party has been making great efforts to master the law of the economy of time. At the time when our republic celebrated its 20th anniversary the fact clearly emerged that we are achieving ever greater successes in this regard. We have also made great strides in applying social prognostics and in forecasting the long-range development of our society. As a result, we are now able to direct our work so purposefully at tackling the problems of Socialist society as a whole.

We are therefore entering the third decade of the German Democratic Republic with a favourable balance sheet which is composed of the accomplishments of the working class, the cooperative farmers, the intelligentsia, the members of the crafts cooperatives, the traders and owners of factories with state participation, the millions of women, men and youth of our country. Our main task at present is to carry forward the great initiative with which the working people have prepared the 20th anniversary of the German Democratic Republic by solving new tasks in shaping the developed social system of Socialism in honour of the 100th birthday of Vladimir Ilych Lenin and the 25th anniversary of the liberation of Germany by the glorious Soviet Army.

The Citizen's Responsibility for Society as a Whole

The very fact that the new great initiative of the working people is linked with the tribute paid to the greatest scientist and revolutionary of our century, Vladimir Ilych Lenin, has a profound significance. The building workers of Berlin's Lenin Square, the cooperative farmers of the LPG "Lenin" in Marzahna, the scientists and students of Rostock University, the friends of the Free German Youth and the citizens of Pasewalk, all of whom issued calls for new emulation campaigns, are perfectly aware of what it means to the citizens of the Socialist German state to pay homage to Lenin. That is why they pledged themselves at the beginning of the third decade of the German Democratic Republic to organize the campaign along the lines of the creative application of the teaching of Lenin in solving the newly emerging tasks in all fields of our social development.

Lenin's legacy is of paramount importance for the development of the GDR both up to date and for the future. Leninism is a profoundly human theory since it enables the working people to rid themselves of the imperialist way and to become masters of their own destiny, because it enables them to understand the dialectical laws of society and to consciously shape collective life within society. With his all-embracing theory of the Socialist revolution and the Socialist state, of the construction of the economy and culture of the Socialist society, Vladimir Ilych Lenin provided us with the necessary tools for forming the developed social system of Socialism. He taught us the dialectical method of implementing the basic principles of Marxist-Leninist science in our sovereign solution of all problems of social progress in our country.

We are very happy that, in the first place, the young citizens of the GDR are availing themselves of the Lenin Appeal of the Free German Youth thoroughly to study Lenin's outstanding works and to link these studies with new accomplishments for our German Democratic Republic. This will assist them in reaching a still better understanding of the correlations between ideology, politics and economics and in fulfilling their tasks with even greater ardour and an increased wealth of ideas.

The New Relation of Trust Between the People

The developing of a new community of man in the Socialist German state on the firm ground of the Socialist order is completely innate to the character of Leninist theories. A great many of the foreign guests of our anniversary celebrations, above all Comrade Brezhnev, described these new human relations of comradely cooperation as one of the most outstanding accomplishments of the German Democratic Republic. It is therefore not at all surprising that the appeal "Let us Beautify Our Towns and Villages! All Join In" was first raised by the citizens of Pasewalk, a town which had, up to 1945, been the bastion of militarism and reaction, three quarters of which had, moreover, been destroyed in the Hitlerite war before its liberation by the Soviet Army had laid the foundation to arouse it to new life. A great change has indeed taken place in that formerly so backward small town in Mecklenburg, where today a Christian citizen of the town, CDU-member Walter Krüger can say: "As a Christian I also represent the interests of my home-town and see here the basis for my work. I feel it as a genuine need to cooperate, also as a Christian, with my Marxist friends in honour of Lenin, as only under Socialism is the free creative spirit of our whole population able to thrive. And here I join in the work."

As a result of the fact that the shaping of Socialist society was gradually and scientifically worked out and realized and that no necessary phases of the development were skipped, all the citizens were helped correctly to comprehend the deeper meaning of our social development and actively to participate in planning and managing our social advance.

Within this process, a new relation of trust has emerged between the classes and sections of our people which is borne by the solid Marxist-Leninist class point of view of the working class as well as the common interests and objectives in constructing the developed Socialist society. On such a basis, this new relation of trust is an expression of Socialist humanism which manifests the image of our society.

The Appeal issued by the citizens of Pasewalk has already found an echo in many towns and villages. There is an abundance of new ideas and projects and a great deal of readiness among all sections of the population to cooperate. What I regard as particularly important are the thoughts voiced by the workers of the Fritz Heckert Works in Karl Marx Stadt: "The good experiences arising from the Socialist community efforts of our teams", so they said,

"the endeavours for working, studying and living in a Socialist manner and our results in the innovators' movement mean to us a valuable help also for our work within our residential areas for the formation of a Socialist community of man. We do not regard our cooperation within the National Front as an additional burden but as our constitutional duty. Although it is often easier to render material or financial assistance to the residential areas, which is an important and necessary task, we consider political-ideological work and life at a high intellectual and cultural level a matter of fundamental value."

The Heckert workers of Karl Marx Stadt are quite right in pointing at the new and all-embracing essence of the "All Join In!" movement which is now clearly taking shape after that movement had first started by a call to beautify the residential areas both urban and rural. It goes without saying that there is still a great deal left to be improved in the external appearance of our towns and villages but the Pasewalk pacemakers and many others who have since joined their movement, are anxious to beautify and improve the whole life of all citizens in our state. This includes the continual raising of working and living conditions, house repairs and the cultivation of parks and lawns as well as the political discussion, participation in intellectual and cultural activities, advanced education, sports and active recreation. In the final analysis, the objective of this new great initiative borne by the National Front of Democratic Germany, is the continued development of the community of Socialist man and the Socialist relations between all citizens by taking an active part in shaping their life within the community.

The Karl Marx Stadt workers are also completely right in tracing their active participation in this great popular movement back to our Socialist Constitution, as a task set by the Constitution, because by shaping their life within the community, the GDR citizens conform to the spirit of the Constitution and implement the constitutional principle that conformity of the political, material and cultural interests of the working people and their teams with the needs of society as a whole is the most important motive force of Socialist society. In this way, the movement organically combines the tasks of the national economic plan with the initiative of the citizens and directs the interest and wealth of ideas of the citizens at the comprehensive formation of the developed Socialist society.

The individual citizen's responsibility for society as a whole, the consciousness of sharing, as a member of our society, the responsibility for the development of society as a whole, this basic approach

taken by Socialist personalities, has been developing in the course of the new great initiative of the working people in the German Democratic Republic. This approach emerges both in the thoughts of the workers of the Fritz Heckert Works and the great efforts made by the cooperative farmers who, in the face of the adverse weather conditions of this year, have been making their contribution towards safeguarding supplies. It is expressed in the endeavours of the workers in the nationally-owned big industry for a joint advance with the smaller semi-state enterprises, in which likewise important and useful work is being done for our society as a whole, and in the deliberations of those craftsmen in Pasewalk who intend to establish, over and beyond their own enterprise, a modern service scheme for the citizens of their town. This attitude determines the actions of women in Zwickau who helped furnish a new kindergarten and of the church minister in the village of Stenzendorf (Zeulenroda district) who did not hesitate to help in street building.

The great initiative of the citizens of the GDR in honour of the 100th birthday of Vladimir Ilych Lenin and the 25th anniversary of liberation will contribute towards making our German Democratic Republic more beautiful and strong. And this is the fundamental issue in the period ahead of us: The all-out strengthening of the Socialist German state through the joint industrious and purposive work of all its citizens. On the strength and power of our state will depend our ability also in the future to safeguard peace and to shape Socialist society in the interest of the people as a whole.

The Significance of Organizing Science

In our epoch, the growth of the productive forces and the economic potential of a state are decisively determined by the level of development and rate of development of science and technology. Our party and our state have always been guided by this concept. We have, from the very onset, been using science as a productive force for the construction of a new society, freed from exploitation of man by man, for the systematic raising of the citizens' living standards and for a life in happiness and prosperity. The responsibility of our scientists covers not only the working out of new knowledge in the fields of the social and natural sciences for the peaceful future of our people but also the imparting of new knowledge and skill to the young generation which will, by the year 2000, have reached its prime.

At all times, the humanist scientists have considered it their primary task to place their urge to scholarly enquiry into the service of the future of mankind. The nations of the world recall with awe the names of those scientists who gained new insights into the laws of progress in the sphere of the social and natural sciences and who, by scientific means, paved the way for revolutionary changes within human society and for human ideals within society.

They were led by Karl Marx and Frederick Engels who transformed Socialism from an utopian concept into a science and thereby forged that powerful instrument with which the working class constructed the new social order, free of exploitation and oppression.

The consciousness about responsibility of the scientists towards society, the knowledge to enrich and beautify life within society through their own activities, is a major motive force for scientific work as such.

It is the merit of scientists such as Humboldt, Leibniz and Abbe to have met not only the needs and purport of their time but also the demands of the progressive forces. Ernst Abbe realized his humanist purport on the road to "something fundamentally new" for advance through basically new ideas, the power of conviction regarding what he had recognized as correct, courage and readiness to run risks as a scientist. All of these are qualities which distinguished Ernst Abbe. He put into practice, in an exemplary manner, the maxim that knowledge, too, had to prove itself in actual life.

In his work *Science in History* John Bernal, one of the greatest humanists of our time, voiced the following interesting thought: In the course of fifty years the role of science within society underwent a radical change. It developed, as a result of objective laws, from individual science to industrial science and has, by now, for a long time entered the area of a science, organized and run by the state. And each step was accompanied by an increase in the sphere of influence exercised by science.

Our scientists in the German Democratic Republic have been given a wide scope for their creative work in the service of social progress. Here they find concurrence between their individual aims as scientists and the needs of society as a whole. It is this very concurrence which inspired them, in a decisive measure, to pioneering and top achievements for social progress in our Socialist state. The accomplishments they achieved, together with the workers,

engineers and economists, in honour of the 20th anniversary of the GDR, prove this fact to the hilt.

The extensive automation of intellectual processes which can be formalized enlarges, to an unheard-of extent, the scope for creative work. The qualitative changes in the character of scientific work set new standards both for the organization of science and the shaping of the overall system of Socialist leadership and management and for the development of Socialist social relations as such.

In this context heuristic, above all systematic heuristic, is acquiring ever greater significance for the work of technicians, engineers and scientists. This is a scientific discipline which explores the phases of creative-intellectual work dealing with the processing of problems, makes the application of these processes more effective and allows for the speedy attainment of pioneering and top achievements. It evaluates, in a purposive manner, the experiences gained within creative-scientific working processes, collects and systematizes them and places them at the disposal of scientists enabling them to solve new problems as effectively and economically as possible.

Theoretical research and practical investigations, such as have been carried out in the Central Institute for Welding Technique in Halle, prove that by such methods a considerable increase of productivity can be achieved. The basic issue is to achieve in this field, by way of analogy, what is taking place to an ever improved extent, within material production, viz. to carry through a modern technology of labour. Many engineers and technicians start, as it were, from scratch whenever they are confronted with a new task. They could save a great deal of time, achieve a considerable reduction of expenses and decisively enhance the probability of success in their creative-intellectual work, just by availing themselves of the methodological know-how and by using heuristic methods.

The fast rate of development of the productive forces is not only the basis for the continued development of the Socialist relations of production but also presupposes a high degree of Socialist collective relations, Socialist consciousness and the system of planning and management. The formation of all elements and sub-systems into the developed overall system of Socialism is the necessary preliminary condition for the continued development of the creative activity and initiative of the working people, for the all-embracing burgeoning of Socialist democracy in all spheres of society.

That is why our friend Professor Steenbeck, Chairman of the GDR Research Council arrives at this conclusion: Politics is nowadays no longer the art of the possible but the science of the necessary. And this does not allow our scientists any longer to persist in traditional ways. They continue, at a higher level, the traditions of humanist ways of thinking and scientific responsibility for the future of society.

That is also why the GDR scientists understand that they can best realize their humanist ideals by placing themselves, without any reservations, into the service of Socialist development and by all-out strengthening our Socialist GDR through pioneering and top achievements.

The Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the SED has, in its decision on the organization of science in the chemical industry of the GDR, laid down the basic traits of a highly productive Socialist organization of science which generally apply to the struggle for scientific and technological top achievements also in all other fields.

Our present task is, proceeding from these principles, to work out a clear-cut system for the formation of the organization of science in conjunction with the construction of Socialist large-scale research. This system must contain the principles which have to be taken into account particularly in constructing and equipping the centres of large-scale research, determine their methods of operation and guarantee the comprehensive rationalization of creative-intellectual work. This should aim at safeguarding the highest economic effectiveness of research and development, above all within the large-scale research centres.

The theoretical and methodological work to this end should be carried out under the responsible control of the Academy of Marxist-Leninist Organizational Science. This in view, the necessary conditions will have to be created within the Academy by drawing into the work experienced scientists in the spheres of industry, higher education, the Academy of Sciences and the state organs.

Research, Automation and Emulation

One of the biggest successes of the emulation in honour of the 20th anniversary is known to be the completion of numerous automation projects in various branches of industry and the economy. The party leadership and government for their part

decided on the inclusion of 88 additional automation projects in the emulation. That had become possible because the GDR's power of accumulation has grown considerably; and it had become necessary to acquire broader experience in the automation of important production processes and in this way create the necessary basis for the 1971—1975 long-range plan.

The implementation of these automation projects is a success of basic importance. It proves that scientific, technical and economic tasks exactly coordinated and directed at the highest performances can be successfully realized in the shortest time by the application of modern methods of management and strict direction. Even the opponent has grasped that to some extent. In a commentary of the North German Radio Station the political and ideological influence of the successful realization of these automation projects was quite correctly recognized.

After the 20th anniversary we shall proceed on this basic line with a new quality. In what does this new quality consist? It is precisely presented in the message of the Central Committee of the SED for the "1969 Chemical Workers' Day".

It is urgent to attain this new quality in automation precisely in the chemical industry because in this branch of industry it has not been possible in the last years to reduce the gap separating it from the top world level. This fact is all the more important because modern chemistry is in a position to supply many work materials which make it possible to produce the final products of other branches of industry far more rationally and profitably.

The occasion for the turning point was given by the criticism and the creative suggestions of leading party functionaries and outstanding scientists addressed to the party leadership arising out of the will to implement the decisions of the Seventh Congress, suggestions and criticism which it carefully considered. Proceeding from an exact analysis of the world standard of complex automation in the chemical industry a conception was worked out which guarantees the development and operation of producing pilot installations for the fully automated flow production of chemical processes in which highly efficient products of invariable quality are made from mass raw materials of changing composition. Such installations represent, in contrast to most previous automation projects in our chemical industry, genuine pioneering performances and signify a break-through to the top world level.

These aims require the concentration of large-scale Socialist research in the chemical industry, including the chemical equipment

industry with the closest collaboration with the institutes of the Academy of Sciences and institutions of higher learning. The full goal of large-scale research is the working out and short-term application of the uniform system of automated processes of chemical engineering.

This great conception is being realized on the basis of the economic system of Socialism. That includes a change in the work of the industrial combines and enterprises. They must include all elements forming the integrated reproduction process, from research and development to production and sale, and are to lead this process to the highest effectiveness for the national economy. This includes the consistent implementation of the principles of the economic system for the planning and management of the chemical industry which especially aim at consolidating the industrial combines and their affiliated enterprises.

This set of tasks further urgently requires that the chemical industry proceed from the prognosis of the incisive qualitative changes in the system of integrated supply of material, of its automated processing and the utilization of final chemical products.

A decisive condition for success consists in developing the closest collaboration with the Soviet Union in accordance with the agreements concluded.

New yardsticks are established for automation with the tasks of the struggle for pioneering and top performances by the modern Socialist organization of science.

We understand automation according to the new yardsticks as system automation. What is the nature of system automation? System automation rests on the tasks of obtaining pioneering and top performances in products and technologies by means of the modern Socialist organization of science.

For example, in the Nationally-Owned Walter Ulbricht Leuna Works the research and development of a new process for the production of high pressure polyethylene as a pioneering and top quality product was developed under the direction of the deputy director of the large-scale research centre, Comrade Professor Rätzsch. The basis for the employment of process computing technique is being prepared and tested with modern mathematical methods for carrying out trials in a producing pilot plant. Fully automated flow process lines are being implemented in the course of developing processes. The results in the development of processes show that such complicated processes of transforming substances in the shortest time and with the highest effectiveness

can be realized only with the aid of automatic process-controlled plants.

That is the automation of connected processes which we designate as system automation. Such outstanding results are to be obtained in the first place on the basis of exact planning and the Socialist organization of science.

The modern Socialist organization of science has the priority task of conceiving and carrying out the research projects for material production, right from the first beginnings in such a way that the intended goal – fully automated flow process lines – is reached. It must ensure the correct measures and ways of employing electronic data processing and the process computer technique. It relies on the consistent application of operations research and the use of the findings of heuristic, which concentrates on carrying out the intellectual and creative labour process in the most rational way.

System automation presupposes the scientific penetration of the research and production process. It is necessary, with the aid of operations research, not only to model and optimize existing processes but above all to simulate and model future production and managerial processes on the basis of automation, and calculate their optimum conditions. That includes the consistent application of operations research and the rational organization of intellectual and creative labour.

It is thus becoming ever clearer that the decisive road to increasing labour productivity and raising effectiveness in connection with mastering the scientific and technological revolution consists in gaining a break-through to pioneering and top performances in connection with system automation, which will meet the high demands of our time.

On Complex Rationalization

Not all enterprises and combines will go this automation road in the 1970 plan and in coming years. That would contradict the nature of the required concentration of forces, in fact, it would lead to doubt among the working people about the seriousness of our orientation.

The struggle for high labour productivity must be conducted in the whole breadth of its possibility. That means, that wherever automation is not taking place according to the new yardsticks,

complex Socialist rationalization is to be carried out in a new quality.

In this sense complex Socialist rationalization contains the comprehensive and varied struggle for the application of the law of the economy of time on the basis of the existing material production conditions by the systematic analysis of the possibilities of reducing expenditures on past and living labour in connected work and production processes with the help of operations research. By means of the systematic use of operations research the field of possibilities for creative change is considerably expanded. It ranges from the expedient shaping of products, technologies and the organization of production — starting with research — and includes the use of new means of organization and mechanization and automatic devices up to electronic data processing.

The scientific and technological revolution must thus be mastered in two ways.

One way is system automation organically linked with the breakthrough to pioneering and top performances, which requires the concentration of forces on specific highly-effective structurally and politically important spheres by the Socialist organization of science.

The other is complex Socialist rationalization under the new conditions. It enables all enterprises and combines to conduct the struggle for high labour productivity everywhere in the social process of reproduction in accordance with scientific methods through the development of the creativity of the masses.

Proceeding from this it is necessary to conduct the Socialist emulation in a differentiated way in implementing the scientific and technological revolution from the point of view of the purposeful initiative and creativity of the working people.

The decision of the shop stewards in the Nationally-Owned Walter Ulbricht Leuna Works to continue the Socialist emulation corresponds in its main direction to this first way. It is oriented on the requirements of a modern Socialist organization of science. With this emulation conception it is a question of creating the foundation for pioneering and top performances, new highly effective processes and production techniques and controlled complex automated production systems — with the help of electronic data processing — through the concentrated employment of all available potentialities on the organization of large-scale

Socialist research proceeding from the requirements of the Socialist organization of science.

The Leuna collective has thus set the new yardsticks for the goal and content of Socialist emulation for all industrial combines and big enterprises of the structure-determining branches in which the concentration of forces proceeds on the basis of the central state plan.

We are aware that it is not objectively possible to set such goals for all enterprises and in every branch of our national economy to the same degree.

In all enterprises in which complex Socialist rationalization in mastering the tasks of the scientific and technological revolution is in the foreground, Socialist emulation should therefore be further conducted on the basis of the emulation pledges of the building workers of the Berlin Leninplatz, the employees of the Radio Works in Erfurt and the Riesa steelworkers.

We have all essential prerequisites for solving these new and complicated tasks. The initiative and creativity of the working people form the basis for success. Science becomes effective as a productive force through the creativity of tens of thousands of working people in our Socialist society. It is therefore important to overcome conservative attitudes and help all working people to take the step from mediocrity to top performances in thinking and acting by means of a clear set of objectives and the intelligent organization of forces.

It is necessary to implement a new quality in Socialist teamwork in the chemical industry, to organize the persistent struggle of all working people for attaining a forward position in science and to fulfil the tasks of the 1970 plan. That means obtaining the highest economy of materials, the lowest costs, high quality and thus all-round highest economic effectiveness.

In this connection it is of great importance that the industrial combines and enterprises of the chemical industry and chemical equipment industry be firmly linked through Socialist joint work with the combines and enterprises of the electrical engineering and electronics industry, scientific instrument construction, the building industry and the establishments of the educational system. The extensive chemicalization of the national economy, one of the most important aims of our policy on the structure of the national economy, will be quickly and effectively reached through the coordinated research, production and educational work with these branches.

The establishment of fully automated flow process lines requires extending and consolidating the system of further training in the combines and enterprises of the chemical industry and in the enterprises and industrial branch academies. Further qualification plays a growing role in our entire social life and increasingly stimulates the thinking and acting of people. It is an objective requirement of our life. It is therefore important to closely link the system of further education, which is to be established, with the educational activity of the universities, colleges and technical training colleges. The next generation must be trained on the highest scientific level and above all be made acquainted with the latest findings of automated process technology.

I have explained the new quality of complex automation by the example of the chemical industry. The basic idea of creating articulated fully automated flow process lines is also valid for the automation projects to be carried out in 1970 in the various branches of industry and the national economy.

The planning and directing activity of the central state organs is of course to be applied with priority to such big and important projects. The entire state resources — including extensive imports — will be mobilized and purposefully employed for them through scientifically-founded coordination.

The emulation worked out by the Leuna workers is typical of such important projects. It can be used as a model and example in all these enterprises.

The creativity of the working people can, however, achieve still more. We are convinced that many enterprise collectives will strive to undertake important, weighty mechanization, rationalization and partial automation projects out of their own resources, without central direction and without state planned imports. Every such project which considerably reduces production costs and can therefore be amortized in a relatively short period is useful and justifiable economically. The difference between them and the central projects is primarily that the aims cannot be directed at creating fully automatic flow process lines which help determine the world level and require a corresponding expenditure of investments. But as to the methods with which such projects are prepared, planned and carried out everything that was said about the use of the Socialist organization of science, operations research, network planning etc., is in principle valid. The collectives of most enterprises and combines are today strong enough to acquire the

necessary knowledge in the system of further training and make use of it specifically in the realization of such projects.

The emulation of the Berlin building workers on the Leninplatz, the steelworkers of the Riesa pipe works, the brown coal combine in Lauchhammer orients all collectives which plan the rationalization, mechanization and use of automation means with their own forces and their own resources.

If many collectives carry out such projects within the framework of the emulation a number of problems will of course arise. Thus, the demand for means and equipment for rationalization and automation will further grow, and the enterprises involved will not be able to fulfil it to the full extent themselves. We cannot insist that the State Planning Commission register this demand individually and cover it by means of its balancing system. Here the enterprises should strive for a new quality in collaboration so that, by means of joint measures for the benefit of all participants, such means for mechanization, rationalization and automation are produced additionally on a contractual basis. All enterprises should be guided by the understanding that every such project which can be realized with a considerable economic gain is a noteworthy contribution to the all-round further strengthening of our GDR and should therefore be promoted and supported as far as possible.

The Use of Plastics

Through the deliberate use of plastic materials an essential contribution is made towards safeguarding the GDR's supply with material and raw substances in the period of the long-term plan.

In this we do not place the chemicalization of the national economy against the development of metallurgy, the glass or wood industry, but orient on their meaningful combination by which new physical and technological possibilities for employing plastics in the interest of higher national economic effectiveness are made use of. The utilization of plastic materials in ever more spheres of use is becoming increasingly important, for along with the frequently superior attributes their development and introduction make possible completely new and cheaper technologies.

In the processing of metals up to 30 per cent of the material is lost. The loss of material in the use of plastics, on the other hand is only two per cent.

The production of a seed-barrel for agricultural drilling machines

of cast iron coasts 3.25 marks, sprayed with precision out of polyamide, in contrast, only 0.56 marks. In the Nationally-Owned Agricultural Machinery Works in Bernburg, with a production of 200,000 seed-barrels per year, that means a saving of 538,000 marks.

A single reflection prisma of glass costs 28.00 marks in the Nationally-Owned Pentacon Works in Dresden, but only two marks when it is made of organic glass.

The Nationally-Owned Pump Works in Erfurt, which has much experience in the production of acid-resistant pumps, now makes such pumps of epoxy resin instead of a chromium-nickel-titanium alloy. Whereas a metal wheel is no longer usable after 3,900 hours of use the plastic wheel was still functioning after 26,000 hours without complaint. This pump out of epoxy resin costs less than half of the metal one.

In the planning and direction of the use of plastics it is important purposefully to apply the economic system of Socialism and to orient on the generalization of such examples. Because of the diversity of possibilities for using plastics an economically meaningful order of priority is necessary for their use. Plastics must be employed with priority where it brings the greatest national economic gains.

The correct direction of the use of plastics requires close Socialist joint work between all participating state organs, VVBs, industrial combines and enterprises. They are to guarantee the internal connection between the production, import and development of the necessary tool and processing capacities and research in application, training and instruction.

The training plans of colleges and technical schools must pay more attention to designs doing justice to materials, for the economic gains from using plastics arise for the most part out of the new and more rational principles of design and technologies.

For these reasons we welcome the fact that the Minister of Materials Supply has submitted proposals to the Council of Ministers on the direction of this process. In this the decisive criterion for the use of material is the maximum economic gain by the user. The Ministers of Materials Supply and External Economic Affairs should examine whether and how, with the help of a substitution reserve, the import of high quality plastics would contribute to relieving metallurgical imports with the goal of obtaining more rapid benefits, a gain in time and a forward position in science.

On Questions of Developing Structure Lines and the Requirements of Territorial Development

The automation of entire integrated production systems to be attained in the next years as the main line in the structure-determining spheres is important for all branches of the national economy.

The first experience and conceptions on this are at hand in the textile industry. They show how the solution of this problem is to be tackled.

A visible expression of this is the construction of the Textile Combine in Cottbus, with which the scientific and technical basis in the textile industry for the use of its own synthetic fibres and silks was created.

It is now possible, on the basis of these experiences to construct in Forst, within the long-term plan period, another section of a modern highly efficient textile centre begun in Cottbus.

Thus, a complex system of the most modern textile industry on the basis of chemical fibres is being created in the Lusatian area with centres in Cottbus, Forst, Wilhelm Pieck Stadt Guben — that traditional textile centre.

This system is directed according to the latest findings of the Marxist-Leninist science of organization and guarantees the integration of the development of the branch of industry with the development of the territory.

The high qualifications and rich experience of the Forst cloth makers will be used for the construction of a highly effective production of non-woven textile fabrics.

With the reorganization of the at present still very fragmented and backward textile production in Forst into a highly efficient automated centre, new production conditions will be created in this area which correspond to our Socialist development.

This approach shows how it is possible to implement the structure line polyester in complex from raw material to final product and to support the formation of further structure lines by relieving industrial concentration areas and at the same time making the possibilities for territorial development fully effective.

In this example the comrades are applying a method which is of general significance for all branches. They are constructing modern enterprises in the immediate vicinity of the basic and leading enterprises and the old works. It is thus possible to make the most effective use of the experience and qualification of the workers and

managers as well as the economic strength of these enterprises and link them with the most modern technology. The new construction of enterprises separated from these centres, so to say, "in the green" should be undertaken only when it corresponds to the prognostic requirements of the development of specific areas.

On the Improvement and Perfection of Working and Living Conditions

Now conditions have matured to the extent that the further formation of the Socialist community and the arrangement of Socialist working and living conditions must be organized as a unified reciprocally integrating process. It above all has decisive effects on the development of towns and the entire settlement structure of our republic.

The draft of the decision on the further shaping of the system of planning and directing economic and social development, supplies and services for the people in the countries, districts, towns and communities was adopted at the 19th session of the Council of State as the basis for a public discussion. After having worked out the economic system of Socialism and the economic structure of the GDR it is necessary to link central state planning and direction of the basic questions of the entire social process systematically and organically with the responsibility of the Socialist commodity producers and the responsible organization of social life in the territory by the local organs of state power. That at the same time means the further and more comprehensive development of Socialist democracy and will result in an improvement of the working people's living conditions.

In the coming years we shall use a considerable part of our national income to improve the standard of living and promote the Socialist way of life among our citizens.

Making use of the advantages and driving forces of Socialism it is important consciously to promote Socialist working and living conditions by means of town planning. The optimum to be aimed at in this is always a complex magnitude for society and the citizens. As is understandable for everybody this complex magnitude means the most favourable relations between home and job, the meaningful arrangement of educational, cultural and sports facilities and it can be experienced in the attractive arrangement of work places, schools or the home. It is therefore important,

using the means of town planning and architecture, to make an effective contribution so as to develop all spheres of social life into a harmonious whole.

All possibilities for opening up territorial resources are to be made full use of on the basis of the general building plan. This includes shifting over to the planning and development of large settlement systems. That is primarily a problem of cooperation between the towns and communities and the enterprises in their territory. The big enterprises and combines bear a big responsibility for the constant perfection of living conditions in the towns and communities.

It is thus a question of creating ever better conditions for the comprehensive reproduction of labour power in order to enable and stimulate people to do outstanding work in science and technology.

In this connection the economy of the town in the broadest sense, including an increase in labour productivity in the non-material sphere, increasingly becomes an important question of the rational and effective arrangement of the entire process of social reproduction.

That requires an entire system of measures. Thus, among others, the establishment of territorial cooperation complexes for supplies, services, culture, the health service, modern local transport and recreation facilities up to landscaping and the safeguarding of bio-climatic conditions are means to this end.

Important successes were obtained in the construction of city centres in preparation of the 20th anniversary. Ensembles, squares and buildings were created which are actively used by the people and are becoming real centres of social life as we have experienced at the Alexanderplatz in Berlin and the Prager Strasse in the centre of Dresden. That was possible because in working out the socio-political conception for the transformation of city centres the point of departure was that a modern Socialist city is to a great degree characterized by a functional, interesting centre, which makes a deep impression by its architectural art.

Our city centres are to be places of lively political activities, humanistic education and culture, community-promoting meetings, genuine Socialist joy of life and also, of course, complex social supply – in contrast to the centres of West German cities where the banks, the interests of the big landowners and speculators exert a decisive influence on town planning.

Along with such traditional establishments as theatres, admini-

strative buildings and department stores facilities for active intellectual, cultural and sport activity are being created, in which the working people can satisfy their varied needs for recreation, relaxation and pleasure in a modern way and on a high level.

What is new in this is the integration of these various social spheres into functional and architecturally connected complexes, as is conceived for the centre of Jena. Socialist community life is given a considerable scope as a result of these new interesting forms of social meetings. That effectively complements the formation of new social relations as takes place in the process of forming Socialist collectives in enterprises and institutes.

The task is to give these new social needs – which are appearing – a worthy architectural and artistic frame, taking our economic possibilities into consideration, and to create towns which actively promote the development of new forms of life and living habits.

The effectiveness of town ensembles is further increased by the works of pictorial artists. They contribute considerably to the formation of a Socialist state consciousness and a feeling for one's country.

In addition to the focus on the construction of selected city centres, large investment complexes for industry and new residential areas in all towns, innumerable communities and enterprises, a very useful movement for the maintenance, perfection and beautification of buildings and installations is taking place with the aim of improving working and living conditions.

The emulation "Help to beautify our towns and communities" had such outstanding results because many people became shapers of their surroundings themselves.

An important element in the remodelling of our cities is the residential sphere. The quality of one's home influences labour productivity and the all-round development of the Socialist personality. People reproduce their labour power mainly at home. But with the development of the Socialist way of life qualitatively new demands on the home are made. Along with the constant expansion of dwellings that also requires the development of new living forms. Neither the current nor future requirements for education and recreation, for easing housework and the care of children can be satisfied with the individual dwelling. Here complex planning of the residential area and the entire town are necessary to solve this problem in the interest of society and every family.

There must be clarity about the fact that the further development of the residential surroundings under the conditions of the shaping of the social system of Socialism must be thought out anew. This involves a whole series of basic problems of our housing policy up to the utilization of the most rational forms and methods of building. Here we must proceed from the knowledge derivable from the social prognosis and the prognoses of scientific and technical development, in the first place from the main trends of development of the productive forces, and primarily automation, from the new profile of the worker of the 1970s and the new role of woman in developed Socialist society.

This integrated complex scientific work which is to be directed by the State Planning Commission should be undertaken during the period when the long-range plan is being made more precise. On this basis system solutions as model examples are to be created in the coming years in order to investigate how the growing needs can be met most effectively.

With the further measures for organizing the economic system of Socialism conditions are established which further increase the role of man as conscious shaper of processes in society, science, technology and production.

Already today the relations of people in our republic are to a high degree determined by conscious joint work for the welfare of the whole of society, by activities to strengthen our Socialist state.

Mastering this process requires the collective collaboration of the people. The effectiveness of labour and the Socialist development of the individual is the higher the more the tested principle of "working, learning and living in a Socialist way" becomes ever more consciously the law of action of every person.

The necessary measures for the further increase in the educational level aim precisely at putting the working people in a position of further raising the level of material production, creatively and actively, as the living basis of our society and to take part in the planning and management of the process of social reproduction.

The further shaping of the economic system of Socialism, especially in connection with the Socialist organization of science and complex Socialist automation, requires taking all steps with the people and taking up their proposals. This develops the Socialist community which exerts a decisive influence on the formation of Socialist personalities.

The better and more comprehensively the Socialist collectives in

all spheres of life unfold their activity the better do people develop in our society. In the discussion in these collectives on basic questions of our time, about the most rational organization of their own activity, about the works of old masters and Socialist realism and happiness in our days they receive new insights, penetrate into ideological connections and the comprehension of the active struggle to strengthen their state grows.

Socialist man of the 1970s develops on this basis, especially in the process of social labour. From this point of view the declaration of many enterprise collectives of their intention to continue the Socialist emulation and the Lenin emulation of the FDJ for the further strengthening of our Socialist community are of great importance.

All leading party, state, trade union and economic organs have the duty of answering the many questions of the people with deep understanding and to help in the solution of complicated problems arising in the process of further advance.

There are also new standards for this, because the developed consciousness of GDR citizens produces higher intellectual needs. Millions of consciously working citizens of our community are busy making the life of society more satisfying from day to day.

Art and Culture in the Development of Socialist People and Our Socialist Community

It was justifiably emphasized that in the field of art and culture – as in all fields of our life – important works were created and a significant development took place in preparation for the 20th anniversary. We were able to note that Socialist culture kept step with the other spheres and with the needs of our society. This development since the Seventh Party Congress refuted the theory that it is more or less inevitable for culture continually to lag behind the rest of society. It also refutes the well-known revisionist nonsense that the contradiction between society and art is eternal and the source of creativeness. Cultural workers were able to keep step with the whole of society because they took an active and constructive part in developing a Socialist personality and the Socialist community of man.

The growing role of culture and art in developing Socialist people and our Socialist community of man has been completely confirmed. The twenty-year history of our republik is very rich in

cultural achievements, but we have never before had such a broad and deep cultural mass movement as that in preparation for our anniversary. And there is not only a general growth, but a new cultural quality corresponding to the developed social system of Socialism. This new quality is also expressed by the fact that for more and more people, culture has become a need and an integral part of their lives in quite a new way. Public interest in art and culture has reached a hitherto unknown degree. This is reflected in the number of visitors of the county exhibitions on architecture and the fine arts.

This broad upsurge of intellectual life became possible only because the leading role of the working class has been increasingly consolidated. Its qualitatively new characteristics are higher social consciousness, greater methodicalness and better organization. This is best expressed by the development of intellectual and cultural life in those work teams competing for the title "Socialist Labour Team". Far more than half have set themselves high aims in their cultural and educational plans and to a growing extent make their own contributions in economic and cultural emulation. To a growing degree they have become partners of the artists, develop their own abilities and cultural understanding through creative contacts with the artists, and, on the other hand, express their expectations more clearly and precisely to them.

However, the breadth achieved is only a beginning. Without, at the moment, judging the quality of the educational and cultural plans, one can say that somewhat less than one-sixth of those employed in industry have set themselves such cultural aims. The upsurge before our anniversary must be used quickly and systematically to broaden and deepen this movement, and here the managers hold a key position. At the 5th and 13th sessions of the Council of State, it was pointed out that all managers must become conscious of their responsibility for the intellectual and cultural development of the people. The activity of the works managers, for example, must be demanded and encouraged by the associations of nationally-owned enterprises and the ministers of industrial branches. Participation in Socialist cultural life must become "the thing to do". The Ministries of Culture and Higher Education together with the industrial ministries must investigate the possibilities of preparing for these tasks in technical and higher education and further training.

It also seems to me time to examine whether the Worker's Festivals in our republic in their present shape correspond to the

new needs. Is it correct that they are carried out every year in only one county? Or have we reached the stage at which Workers' Festivals should take place in all counties, beginning in the big combines, in other important factories, with cooperation partners and product group enterprises, cooperative farms and in the localities? Jointly organized by the trade unions and the managements of enterprises, such festivals could become highlights of culture and sports in the combines where the cultural progress of the teams is displayed, artists and young talents encouraged. It could become a competition between worker, technicians and scientists in the comparison of cultural and economic performances. So the central workers' festival held in one county could build up on a far broader basis.

These are proposals. In the analysis of achievements up to the 20th anniversary, one should thoroughly examine all the good examples, generalize them and struggle to make them the norm. It is now important to enrich and develop the big upsurge by many new ideas, for a many-sided high level cultural and intellectual life is a basic feature of the Socialist way of life demanded by our society.

This development is confirmed by the upsurge of the amateur art movement and by the competitions of young talents. Many new amateur groups have come into being and for the first time the number of persons involved is more than one million people. Of late, the number of young people participating has grown tremendously. As many as 2,500 singing groups were formed in preparation for our anniversary. At the Meeting of Young Socialists, too, the growing creative cultural work of youth was shown. The amateur art competition was very successful. The significance of the folk art movement in forming our Socialist community of man and enriching our cultural life has grown steadily. And yet this development differs in the various fields and much remains to be done. It is important to qualify the group leaders in order to develop this growing interest on a broader scale and in more open forms. The trade unions and works managers must systematically encourage the movement and at the same time one must pay greater attention to the ideological and intellectual life of the groups. The new quality is shown clearest in the high level of the subjects, the richness of the motifs and the good techniques displayed in the county exhibitions on architecture and the fine arts and on many other occasions. Organized encouragement, clear knowledge of the tasks, further close contact

with professional artists and systematic qualification of the group leaders are necessary to further unfold this great cultural movement. In order to achieve this, everyone who holds a position in the parties and mass organizations, every works manager must understand that his responsibility for people does not end with the day's work.

In the general upsurge there are still large differences between the various districts, enterprises and towns and even the counties. These differences which were criticized at the 9th session of the Central Committee are not sufficiently overcome. The district committee, the state and industrial leading bodies assume responsibility for directing cultural processes to quite differing degrees. A greater step to overcoming the differences in level must be taken with the evaluation of the 20th anniversary. For example, I am thinking of the analysis of the central exhibition "Architecture and the Fine Arts" which makes possible and challenges a comparison between the work of the counties. The Committee of Culture of the People's Chamber and the Ministry of Culture have worked out such a critical assessment with generalizations of the best experiences in the county exhibitions which confirms how correct it was to increase the responsibility of the local authorities – also for the central exhibition. Such assessments must be made in all fields.

So one can say that a new quality has come about in type and breadth because the workers have made Socialist culture the property of the whole people.

All those active in the arts have enriched the birthday of our republic. The number of groups and individuals participating, their many initiatives show a degree of activity not known before. It shows the growth of civic consciousness among our artists and cultural workers and of their deep alliance with our republic. It also shows the consolidation of their political attitude resulting from a continuous cultural policy and our ideological work in general.

Developments in art are characterized by a growing tendency to advance from problems on the periphery to the new, main problems of our society. And here, too, a new quality is coming to the fore. More and more cultural workers have chosen to portray the revolutionary of our day, have chosen our Socialist community of man as their subjects. Of course, there are still great differences within and between the various fields of art. But on the whole one can say that – as on television for quite some time – films, too,

have turned to these themes, that in the fine arts and in other fields, much progress had been made. Here, too, it is necessary to examine how successes were achieved and what are the causes of the differences in development. Such an examination shows that significant advance has been made wherever the party bodies treat art and culture as a specific, but very essential part of the entire system of ideological work, where they promote and use it, i.e., where they do not allow spontaneity. This was clearly shown in comparisons between the county exhibitions of architecture and the fine arts. As I already said at the Seventh Party Congress, the important thing is that culture be recognized as an important lever for our social development.

Success could also be reported wherever the social character of the system of placing commissions was correctly developed. It needs experience to clearly formulate a social commission for an artist and to win him for that task. In the close contact and through cooperation with the artist during the whole period of creative work, the links between the cultural workers and those placing orders, the pace-setters of development, become closer. Not only the artist grows within this period, but also the interest and ability of the working people, particularly the pace-setters, for art and culture. Connecting the future of the cultural worker with that of our society has shown itself to be very fruitful.

The ideological and artistic ability of the cultural worker also grows through this cooperation, which should not be seen as a one-time effort for the GDR's jubilee, but as a normal, continuous form of cooperation between the cultural worker, pace-setters, working people and functionaries. Generalization of the best experiences makes it possible for us to continue the upsurge and to increase, enrich and systematize the whole range of literary and artistic activity and the relations between artists and workers, as was developed on the Bitterfeld road.

Therein lies the key to further strengthening Socialist cooperation. The most mature artistic performances have come about where great tasks have been put, high and clear demands formulated and forms of Socialist cooperation organized. During the preparations for the 20th anniversary of the foundation of the GDR, new and important experiences were made in all fields. Needless to say, the situation in the various fields of art varies greatly and one cannot just transfer them schematically. But the principle has proved itself everywhere. All artists, cultural workers and also the functionaries must learn to understand this basic principle.

The greatest receptiveness and enthusiasm for new, creative tasks has been developed where an artist became most conscious of how much society, i.e., the working people, needs and expects from his work and where these expectations have been formulated most clearly. That, for example, is a secret of the development and the good atmosphere in our fine arts. The closest relations have been formed between pace-setters and artists through cooperation on a concrete artistic task. Here is a new quality in the relationship between cultural worker and pace-setter. Through this creative development it has been shown even more clearly that Socialist realism – and only Socialist realism – unfolds the artistic power necessary to help shape our Socialist epoch.

And we are only at the beginning of the artistic upsurge characteristic for the developed social system of Sozialism. We have a very good opinion of the central exhibition „Architecture and the Fine Arts“ and of the progress made by our town-planners, architects and artists. There is no doubt that the road to new, great performances has been opened and willingness to achieve them is there. However, the actual monumental work, to do justice to the greatness of our Socialist epoch is only in its beginnings and is waiting for still greater creative solutions. That ist normal, and after every step we must set the next higher artistic aims which must occur in the evaluation of each cultural and artistic field.

The broad interest our artists are taking in central artistic basic themes raises new ideological and artistic problems. It is only natural that in such a significant art movement uncertainties, ideological questions and artistic differences of opinion should occur. It could not be otherwise. It is only important that comradely ideological clarification takes place, a continuous, creative debate is held on all such questions in the struggle against backward views, against outdated positions. Particularly because of this upsurge, it remains the main task of the artists' associations and all those responsible for cultural questions to increase this clarification and this debate. The main method of leadership in cultural processes remains continual ideological clarification. The decisive link between cultural development and the whole Socialist system ist the artistic depiction of Socialist man. As the revolutionaries of today, like our whole society, are developing continuously and quickly, the depiction of Socialist people remains an ever new creative task.

Such important basic questions of our cultural progress as our relationship to tradition and to heritage need both continuous expla-

nation and greater depth. We see in such an intellectual, ideological and cultural growth the Socialist, humanist alternative to the West German imperialist destruction of culture. Continuous struggle with reactionary imperialist ideology and the warding off all ideological subversion remains a law of development of our progress.

Our artists and cultural workers will develop further in the sign of the 100th anniversary of the birth of Lenin and the 25th anniversary of our liberation. We very much welcome the initiative of the National Theatre in Halle in preparing their own conception for the two celebrations. Their plan completely corresponds to the lessons learnt from the movement of the 20th anniversary. In the meantime, artists' associations and cultural institutions have taken up the main ideas and worked out programs of their own. We consider particularly important the movement begun by the cultural workers, "Artists study Lenin". It will broaden and consolidate the cultural workers' political views. The main point is to awaken a deep understanding of the fact that our whole Socialist culture is immediately linked with the struggle and victory of Leninism. It is not only bound up with Lenin's findings and teachings for culture and art in the narrowest sense, but with the triumphant victory of Leninism as such. At the same time it also means a deep penetration into the essence of our society, to understand it as Leninism in action. The cultural workers are faced with the honourable task of expressing the strength and the humanity of Leninism in their works. By doing so they are fulfilling an important task, not only for our republic, but also in the sense of internationalism. The imperialists are doing everything possible to halt the triumph of the ideas of Marx and Lenin. In West Germany one can observe how they increasingly attempt to bait liberal and left political opponents of their regime and carry confusion into the working class by popularizing the figure of Trotsky with many publications in order to blur Lenin's works. This manipulated anti-Leninist campaign turns Trotsky into a "star author" on the book market, suppress Lenin's writings, slanders him and distorts his image.

So the discussion we had at the 13th session of the Council of State on the image of the most progressive revolutionary of today as the revolutionary who stands at the foremost front in the concurrent political significance. For just as the class enemy campaigns against the image of the revolution, so he also campaigns against the image of the revolutionary. It is particularly this ideological subversion which shows the significance of the artists' task

for the 1970s as I formulated it in my speech for the 20th anniversary. So artists and cultural workers carry out a tremendous task for our Socialist community and also for the working-class movement and workers throughout the world when they continue on the road they have taken successfully in the last few years with greater strength and new, greater performances.

We have always proceeded from the fact that everything we do in the German Democratic Republic – beginning with the anti-fascist, democratic changes up to the developed system of Socialism – must serve the interests of the people. The working people of our country – no matter what their place – use their strength and wisdom, their diligence and energy to strengthen their Socialist state, they are conscious that they are doing pioneer work for a future, united Socialist Germany.

It was with interest that we noted the ideas expressed by a number of scientists and publicists in West Germany when the German Democratic Republic celebrated the 20th year of its existence. For example, they said that only the Socialist GDR had managed to build the city centres on a modern, generous scale, in line with the needs of the people. The GDR's integrated Socialist educational system was described as a model for the educational system of a modern state. It was also pointed out that in the Socialist German state, completely new, comradely and truly human relationships have grown up between the people.

A West German scientist, Graf von Krockow, said frankly that West Germany could learn from the German Democratic Republic in a whole number of spheres. The anti-Communism campaign, the enmity towards the German Democratic Republic displayed by the Bonn state and its propaganda machine, has been used in an attempt to prevent the West Germans from making an unprejudiced examination of the Socialist achievements in the GDR. The anti-GDR campaign has been used by the conservative forces in West Germany to cover up social conflicts, divert the people's attention to external matters and prevent necessary social progress.

This shows the significance of developments in the German Democratic Republic for the West German people. It also shows that the West German imperialists are ever less successful in preventing the Socialist German state from exerting an influence on citizens of the Federal Republic. There is no doubt that in the first twenty years, the working people in the German Democratic Republik have achieved much which is also of great importance for future developments in the West German Federal Republic.

Why should it then not be possible for the Socialist German Democratic Republic, which for the first time in German history has successfully carried out the transition from capitalism to Socialism, to attain good neighbourly cooperation with Social Democracy in West Germany.

It is certain that the Socialist German state will be an even more convincing and constructive example for the democratic and progressive forces in West Germany in the next few years.

What is the Significance of the Example Given to the People of the West German Federal Republic by the German Democratic Republic

In our part of Germany the lessons from German history have been drawn. The truth about the character of imperialism and the cause of imperialist wars has become the general property of the whole people. The imperialists, guilty of causing wars, crises and want have been deprived of power once and for all.

In our part of Germany, the working people hold state power. The working class, in alliance with the farmers, intellectuals and all other strata have created a modern, Socialist state which serves the interests of the people. Socialist democracy makes it possible for all citizens to participate in running the state, economy and society.

In our part of Germany, the main aim of government policy is to safeguard peace. War and racial propaganda are subject to punishment. Our state is allied in firm friendship with the strongest peace power, the Socialist Soviet Union and the other Socialist states. The anti-imperialist struggle links us in friendship with the liberated countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America.

In our part of Germany, culture has become the property of the whole people. Education is open to all. Science serves the people. A new Socialist national culture is growing out of the humanist heritage and the traditions of anti-fascist culture— with a close alliance between cultural workers and the people.

In our part of Germany the people have changed the conditions, and the conditions have changed the people. On the basis of the Socialist order a Socialist community of man is coming into being in which all citizens have their place and their tasks. No one remains alone, neither the old people nor the resettlers, who have long since found a new home and who cannot be misused by anyone for revanchist policies.

On Strengthening Cooperation with the Soviet Union and the Other Socialist Countries

The GDR's achievements are unthinkable without the unselfish help of the Soviet Union. The working people in the GDR and the Central Committee of our party thank the people of the Soviet Union and the Central Committee of the CPSU for all-round support granted in the building of Socialism in the GDR, faithful to the principles of proletarian internationalism. The fraternal relations between our peoples and between the SED and the CPSU deeply correspond to the vital interests of the German nation.

Our attitude towards the Soviet Union and the CPSU is determined by our belief in Socialism and in the world historic role of the proletariat as creators of Socialist society. We are closely linked with the most just cause and the future of mankind, with Socialism and Communism, because friendship and cooperation with the land of Lenin and the revolutionary party he created, which is the first in the world to take the road to Communism, has become a deep desire for millions of people in our republic. We shall unremittingly deepen this friendship and collaboration for it corresponds not only to our own interests, but also to the interests of the joint worldwide revolutionary struggle against imperialism..

The task is now to continue deepening collaboration with the Soviet Union and the other fraternal Socialist countries and make it closer.

Particularly important is that the measures decided at the consultations between the party and government delegations of the GDR and the USSR in Moscow in July 1969 to raise cooperation with the Soviet Union to a qualitatively higher level, be put into practice purposefully.

Special efforts are necessary to implement the decisions on deepening the close cooperation of the two countries in developing the economic system of Socialism.

The GDR is a small country. Our struggle to achieve pioneering and top performances can only be crowned with success if we concentrate on this firm and unbreakable collaboration with the Soviet Union.

At the same time it is necessary to increase collaboration with the other Socialist countries, in accordance with the agreements made. It is essential to conscientiously carry out the GDR's responsibilities in cooperation with the other Socialist countries in the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance.

We shall continue to do everything possible in order loyally to fulfil our political, economic and military tasks in the Warsaw Treaty system jointly with our alliance partners. On this basis we shall continue to consolidate the staunch friendship with the Soviet Union, with our immediate neighbours, the People's Republic of Poland and Czechoslovakia and with the other countries of the Socialist community of states.

We shall continue to support the heroically fighting Vietnamese people with all our strength. We agreed with the party and government delegation from the Democratic Republic of Vietnam headed by Prime Minister Pham Van Dong that in future our cooperation would be deepened, especially in the field of planning and management.

In line with the principles of Leninist Socialist internationalism we favour further development of the GDR's relations with the newly emerging states, particularly in the Arab and African areas. We support the just struggle of the Arab people against Israeli aggression and sharply condemn attempts by US imperialism to intervene in this area in order to heat up the atmosphere and cause a dangerous situation for world peace.

The consistent policy of our state in the service of internationalism, peace and international understanding was paid high tribute to our state, all its citizens and our party.

In the third decade of our Socialist German state, the working people in the German Democratic Republic will continue to make their contribution to safeguarding peace through further work of shaping the developed social system of Socialism.

II. The New Situation in the West German Federal Republic and the Relations between the Two German States

Politicians and statesmen of not a few capitalist countries are in the process of drawing conclusions from our 20 years of successful development. They are grasping the fact that the German Democratic Republic as a consolidated Socialist state can no longer be thought of as not belonging to the "concert" of European countries. It is increasingly becoming common knowledge that no road to the solution of all-European questions by-passes the GDR. That was

also expressed at the most highly important meeting of leading personalities of Socialist fraternal countries in Moscow held last week.

At this meeting attitudes were also expressed about tactics to be adopted towards the Federal Republic. It was established that the decisions of the Warsaw Treaty countries were fully correct and that they also emitted effects on the new situation in West Germany. The unanimously adopted communique appeals to political forces in West Germany to finally draw the lessons of history. The demands of the Warsaw Treaty countries on European security were considered as a unified whole at the meeting. An appeal was directed to the states of Europe to conclude treaties on recognizing the GDR in international law. The participants urgently addressed the governments and peoples of all European countries to work for the holding of a European security conference on the basis of the participation in equality of all European countries without any preconditions.

Indeed the situation on the threshold of the 1970s is characterized by the fact that in Europe there exist

the Socialist state, the German Democratic Republic,
and

the state dominated by monopoly capital, the Federal Republic
of Germany,

and have entered already their third decade of existence.

The two states so different in their social system and in their internal and external policy, independent from each other as autonomous states recognized in international law, that is, as subjects of international law, take an active part in international affairs. Each of them has its own visage, each of them has its own weight and its own place in European affairs and beyond Europe in many international matters.

This situation has developed and consolidated in more than 20 years. But there is no contractual agreement on the arrangement of the relations between the German Democratic Republic and the Federal Republic. For the previous governments of West Germany, which continued the division of Germany, refused to recognize the existence of the German Democratic Republic in international law. For its part the GDR does not dispute the existence of the West German Federal Republic in international law and has more than once proposed interstate relations to it on a basis of equality, peaceful coexistence and good neighbourliness.

The time is long since overdue for the West German Federal

Republic also to make an indispensable contribution to a system of peace in Europe and to European security. It is also high time it acknowledges without reservations the situation as it has developed and stabilized since the defeat, the unconditional capitulation of Hitler Germany and the division of Germany on the one hand, and, on the other, in the enforcement of the Potsdam Agreement in the German Democratic Republic. That is, it is long since time that the West German Federal Republic also recognizes the existing frontiers in Europe including the frontiers of the German Democratic Republic and the Oder-Neisse frontier as well as the invalidity of the Munich dictate from the very beginning, that it recouces control over nuclear weapons, biological and chemical weapons and is ready to take part in agreements on disarmament and the renunciation of the use of force in Europe.

The new government in Bonn has the chance to decide in favour of a really new beginning. Especially since the revanchist policy developed by Adenauer and the CDU/CSU according to Hitler's recipes is hopelessly stuck in a blind alley. The new government in Bonn thus need only renounce grapes which in any case hang too high.

The leadership of West German Social Democracy failed to use the long period of national betrayal and the reverses of the CDU to work out its own democratic conception. Now, that is shown by the Moscow communique, the Socialist states – in agreement with progressive forces in West Germany – ask the new Bonn government for a decision:

Peace and collective security or the preservation of the revanchist positions and continuation of the armament madness in the interest of US global strategy and its own and international arms monopolies.

The National Betrayal by the CDU/CSU

Adenauer and the CDU/CSU gambled away the unity of the nation when they blindly and incorrigibly split Germany on instructions of the western occupation powers, formed the West German separatist state and after the successful restoration of the positions of power of monopoly capital sold the national interests to NATO in order to be able to rearm West Germany. They split Germany not least in order to prevent denazification and demilitarization and the elimination of the concentration of power of the monopolies as

called for by the Potsdam Agreement. It was their intention – resting on NATO and the supposed atomic-weapon monopoly of the USA – to put pressure on the Soviet Union, “roll back” Socialism in Europe, subject the GDR and its citizens to the rule of West German monopoly capital and West German militarism and incorporate it in the West German Federal Republic.

In 1952 the divided Germany was again given a historical chance, on the basis of generous Soviet proposals supported by the GDR, to have a peace treaty with the perspective of a united, democratic and peaceloving Germany. But the CDU/CSU and a few rightwing Social Democratic leaders rejected these proposals and thereby acted against the unity of the nation. Ensnared by illusions of strength the governments of the West German Federal Republic and the imperialist occupation powers definitively torpedoed the establishment of a united, democratic and peace-loving Germany with the rejection of the peace treaty, with the Paris Treaties and West Germany’s entry into NATO.

After the aim of military armament and an American atomic weapon monopoly had been reduced to absurdity by the development of the relation of forces and had proved to be illusory, the CDU/CSU government sought around 1960 to undermine, bleed to death and plunder the GDR by means of a large-scale offensive. Even according to estimates of West German economic circles the GDR suffered losses of more than 100 thousand million marks. This prevented the modernization of enterprises and slowed down the development of the economy. The climax of this offensive was to be the march “with drums and bugle corps through the Brandenburg Gate” into the capital of the GDR. But the true, real consequence of this anti-national and peace-endangering policy was the necessary securing and stabilization of the frontiers of the GDR in August 1961. That in turn gave the process of growth, the consolidation of the Socialist social system and the stabilization of the Socialist German state a great impetus, it gave and still gives protection and security. Incidentally, we shall not only retain, but further consolidate this security – that should be written in the diary of all adherents of “grey plans”, etc.

Finally, under CDU Foreign Minister Schröder and in the period of the CDU/CSU coalition government Bonn brought a so-called new eastern policy into play which was directed against Socialism. It was to isolate the GDR from its friends and prepare for the invasion of the GDR. This “new eastern policy” was preferentially always directed against the people’s democratic and Socialist order

in the GDR. Only as a result of special circumstances was it first tried out – with all consistency – against Czechoslovakia. The “new eastern policy” also failed.

Thus the CDU/CSU, its helpers and with it all conservative and revanchist forces of the West German Federal Republic are faced with the debris of more than 20 years of illusions and shipwrecked political conceptions.

Some Lessons of History

We think it is high time for the new government of the West German Federal Republic, whose voters expect a new beginning, to draw the necessary conclusions from this situation. The present period could be favourable for this. If the West German government draws the lessons from history, throws overboard the ballast of the past and realistically approaches the problems which bring about tensions in relations between European states in the spirit of the times, the Socialist states and all peace-loving peoples would welcome it – as is emphasized in the Moscow communique.

In modern German history, the German people have twice been plunged by their imperialist rulers into the catastrophe of destructive world wars with their well-known consequences. In two decades of the West German Federal Republic under CDU/CSU governments a course directed at going this road a third time has been stubbornly pursued.

The West German elections showed that broad masses of the working class and the peace-loving people do not want that. They are in the process of drawing the lesson from German history that it is not the subjugation and plundering of other peoples which leads to true greatness, but their own performances in the fields of labour, science and the arts and peaceful collaboration with other states and peoples.

In fact, it is the historic task of the people of the West German Federal Republic, is the commandment from the lessons of history, to end the drive of the big monopolies for superprofits and their armament madness once and for all, overcome conservatism and neo-nazism and enforce the democratic rights of the people in the course of a big renewal.

Among the lessons of history which must be comprehended are also the basic provisions of the Potsdam Agreement. Almost a quarter of a century has elapsed since the conclusion of the

Potsdam Agreement. A peace treaty has not come into existence in this period. In view of this fact the basic decisions agreed upon by the victor powers in Potsdam are definitive, legally binding and basic elements of a peace settlement and also of the guarantee of European security which is being striven for. That is especially true of such decisions of Potsdam as the fixing of the European postwar frontiers, the decisions on denazification, demilitarization and limiting the power of the imperialist German monopolies.

The refusal to recognize the basic and legally binding decisions of Potsdam by referring to a peace treaty to be concluded sometime in the future with a German Reich which has not existed for 25 years is inadmissible in international law and must be seen as an expression of a peace-endangering policy in violation of international law.

If the Bonn government seeks to set aside the basic provisions of the Potsdam Treaty, referring to the Paris Treaties in so doing, it acts in a way contrary to international law and moreover shows that it has not yet drawn the lessons of history. For these Paris Treaties contradict the jointly agreed upon decisions of Potsdam. They are separate agreements contrary to international law and violate the agreements of the anti-Hitler coalition. It is also especially a violation of international law that the imperialist western powers have presumed in the Paris Treaties to decide on all questions concerning Germany as a whole.

It is also one of the lessons of history that the government of the FRG unequivocally withdraw from the Paris Treaties.

The Situation in the West German State

More than 16 million West German voters have announced with their ballot in the West German Bundestag elections that they have had enough of the anti-national policy of the CDU/CSU governments, of the reactionary and adventurist policy of the restoration of conservative forces and the conservative numbness of many spheres of life and also of a CDU/SPD coalition government. They therefore made possible the exclusion of the CDU/CSU from government responsibility and the formation of a coalition government under the leadership of Social Democracy.

The two decades of CDU/CSU rule — this is indisputable —

have imposed great damage on West Germany, the West German population and the cause of all Germans in East and West.

Monopoly capital and the CDU/CSU have betrayed the national interests. They, together with the USA and other imperialist occupation powers, restored the conservative state power based on the past, reestablished the rule of monopoly capital and reactivated nazism in the form of neo-nazism. They deliberately withdrew West Germany from the German national union. They have subordinated West Germany to the interests of the US monopolies and their global strategy and incorporated it in the aggressive NATO pact against the will of the West German people. They have plunged West Germany into a senseless armament hysteria against the will of the people and at the expense of the educational system, a modern economic structure and at the cost of many social and cultural concerns. This has already devoured hundreds of thousands of millions of marks. They have imported the barbarism and the perverted culture of rotting US capitalism and have incorporated it in their way of life.

All misdeeds of the US imperialists such as the dirty war in Korea and the war of aggression of the USA against the admirable Vietnamese people and the imperialist attack of the Israeli aggressors on the Arab states were supported by the CDU/CSU governments and also by the government of the "grand coalition". They are also to blame for the systematic poisoning of relations between the West German Federal Republic and the Soviet Union and other Socialist countries, but especially with the German Democratic Republic. As a result of this CDU/CSU policy the rift between the two German states was made ever broader and deeper.

The CDU/CSU and the big West German monopolies, for which unfortunately there is no lack of assistants, that is, Social Democratic partners and fellow-travellers, in their anti-democratic, anti-Socialist and anti-Communist blindness have even seriously injured the long-term general interests of the West German economy by subordinating them to the interests of US monopoly capital. US monopolies were offered the possibility in various ways of penetrating into the West German economy and winning a superior position, particularly in the structure-determining branches of industry.

The concentration of US monopolies on the domination of enterprises, above all the West German oil, electrical engineering and electronics industries, the production of data processing

equipment and motor vehicles, important branches of the chemical industry, the aircraft and missile industry, etc., brings these important fields increasingly under the control of US monopolies. It is not simply a question that today the results of the work of hundreds of thousands of West German workers and salaried employees, engineers and research workers are appropriated by US trusts. Since, with about four thousand million dollars of direct American investments in West Germany research and development in centres of scientific and technical progress are at the same time increasingly being dominated by US monopolies, the points were shifted for future further disastrous dependence on US imperialism.

With the help of a big American data processing equipment concern, for example, the US monopolies were given the greedily used opportunity to penetrate into the research and management centres of big West German concerns and in this way increase their control over the West German economy.

The CDU/CSU and the big West German monopolies also have the West German farmers and the completely messed up West German agrarian policy on their conscience. If the West German farmers who have been subjected for 20 years to false and hopeless aims, today face an insecure future, then they, too, have the CDU/CSU governments to thank for that.

But the dangerous influence of the USA is to be seen not only in the economic field. The alliance of the West German Federal Republic with reactionary US imperialism, the actual solidarity with its policy of aggression, sharpened the contradictions particularly between the Federal Republic and the newly emerging states. That, too, was and is a factor in the sharpening of internal contradictions. In fact, the opening of all channels to the "blessings" of American "culture", the growing Americanization of all spheres of life call forth dismay and protest. That is only logical. For to take as one's model a country which presumes to the role of world gendarme, which without a declaration of war conducts campaigns of murder in violation of international law, against all morality and humanism, which commits crimes and practises brutality and inhumanity at home and abroad, and glorifies such barbarity in films, on televisions, etc., all that must logically call forth abhorrence and the growing opposition of all decent people. On his study trip through Japan it became clear to State Secretary von Dohnanyi of the government of the so-called grand coalition, who is still a state secretary in the Brandt-Scheel government,

that there was and is a "failure of leadership" in West Germany. The ruling classes of capitalist Japan, which after the Second World War was in a worse situation than West Germany, have been able to organize a first-rank industrial upsurge and push West Germany from second to third place in the capitalist part of the world, without subjecting the Japanese economy to the US monopolies. Although the Japanese monopoly capitalists — whose methods of exploitation are well known — have concluded a military treaty with the USA and made military bases available, they have not allowed themselves to be drawn into the US arms race. By not participating in the armament madness they save — in the opinion of Herr Dohnanyi — many thousands of millions and could use this to attain top standards in structure-determining branches in industry, science and technology, the educational system, etc.

It seems to me that the West German state secretary is right when he speaks of a West German "failure of leadership", although this expression is not exact. For it is not a question of individual wrong decisions but of the balance sheet of two decades. The pig-headed reactionary policy of the CDU/CSU has prevented even parts of the monopoly bourgeoisie from solving their problems arising out of the scientific and technological revolution. And finally, the "failure of leadership" of the CDU/CSU and the West German monopolies is comparable to the "failure of leadership" during the rule of German imperialism of the nazi coinage, which finally led to the catastrophe of the Second World War.

The reactionary policy of the CDU/CSU also hinders and disorients West German science. Thus, for example, according to reports of West German periodicals a power struggle over West German research on the future, so-called futurology, has broken out. There are sharp antagonisms between representatives of big industry and the scientists. It is said that the crises in West German "future-producing factories" could be a sign that "a sleeping nation is beginning to reflect on its future". On the other hand this power struggle over the thought factories could also mean that prerequisites are to be created to make rational research on the future impossible. One then arrives at the conclusion that this would be a catastrophe not only for the representatives of this science but also for West Germany.

Naturally, it must be stated correctly that it is not a question of a "sleeping nation" in West Germany, but of a reactionary ruling

class which opposes everything new so long as it does not immediately bring it a profit. Some West German authors come quite close to this perception. They point out that the representatives of big industry and a whole group of futurologists in their service have in mind only the "safeguarding" of the ruling system of state monopoly capitalism "against changes". Chance must be taken into consideration in planning, true to the slogan: Everything must change so that everything remains as it is.

It is quite clear that scientists striving for the truth and new knowledge will increasingly oppose this reactionary attitude.

The historical anachronism of the private appropriation of the overwhelming part of the socially produced giant values — that is the foundation of that process which has led in the Federal Republic to the fact that the share capital of the 31 biggest West German joint stock companies today is just as big as that of all 2,789 West German joint stock companies in 1954. The nominal capital of the giants among the West German joint stock companies, those with a nominal capital of 300 million marks and more is ten times as much in 1968 as in 1954. But in the capitalist world masses of commodities are produced on the modern aggregates and flow lines which in the final analysis come up against the same barriers which Marx had already revealed, namely, the limitation of the consumption of the masses called forth by capitalist exploitation.

The contradiction between the wealth which the scientific and technological revolution is capable of bringing forth, and the growing degree of exploitation of the working class is becoming ever sharper. From the first half of 1967 to the first half of 1969 the officially listed net profits grew three to four times as fast as net wages. The share of wages in the national income has decreased in this period.

Nor could the full formation of state monopoly capitalism overcome the deep contradictions in this system.

Lenin's statement that "the yoke of a few monopolists on the rest of the population becomes a hundred times heavier, more burdensome and intolerable"² is being confirmed today to a greater extent. That led particularly to the development of social and political contradictions, a process which will undoubtedly further advance in the 1970s with the scientific and technological revolution. Along with the working class as the main force ever more representatives of the intelligentsia, the farmers, the middle

²) V. I. Lenin, Collected Works, Vol. 22, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1964, p. 205

classes, the petty and middle bourgeoisie are opposing the system of state monopoly capitalism.

In fact the West German CDU/CSU has completely failed from the point of view of the working people of West Germany.

As is known we in the German Democratic Republic deprived those forces which bear responsibility for two world wars of all power, in good time and once and forever. We have shown that our people are in a position to build a new and good state of the German nation, direct the economy in a new way and develop it in the interest of the working people and the entire population. We have shown that our people are in a position to take up the best humanist traditions of the past, foster them as a national cultural heritage and further develop them. But if the people of the German Democratic Republic had these great abilities and the strength to do this under unusually unfavourable conditions then the people of the West German Federal Republic must also have the abilities and the strength to successfully deal with their quite similar problems. I should like to stress that we have confidence in the working people of the West German Federal Republic.

The Change of Government and the "Structure of Power"

The fact of the exclusion of the extreme conservative and clerical CDU/CSU from the government is a factor which has internal and foreign policy effects. In the long run new questions will arise concerning the "new eastern policy" and the further development of relations between the USSR and the FRG and the GDR and the FRG.

Although the CDU/CSU and a part of monopoly capital will seek to bring down the SPD/FDP coalition government as soon as possible we should consider the possibility that this government will continue in power for an extended period.

Certain differences and weaknesses in the CDU/CSU, difficulties in shifting to the role of opposition party could contribute to stabilizing the SPD/FDP coalition.

The change in government has left the "structure of power" of state monopoly capital untouched. The main means of production are in the hands of monopoly capital. The power of the three imperialist big banks has not been broken. They control the army, the organs of justice and the police, the mass media, as for example the Springer group and big capitalist publishing houses.

Monopoly capital, the militarist and revanchist forces thus control the decisive positions of power now as before. They also have their poeple in the new government. This government is a bourgeois parliamentary government standing under the great pressure of the extreme conservative and revanchist forces of the CDU/CSU. It is obvious that a part of the West German monopoly bourgeoisie hopes that in the new coalition government they will be in a position to stabilize the state monopoly system with new forms and methods and with fewer conflicts and organize it more effectively than the CDU/CSU was able to do.

The economically decisive ministries, the Ministry of Economics and the Ministry of Finance are occupied by people whose conceptions guarantee that the interests of monopoly capital will be given priority. Both the minister of the interior and the foreign minister belong to the bourgeois FDP, that is, to a small but nevertheless direct party of the big capitalists.

Minister of Economics Professor Schiller, member of the SPD, enjoys the unlimited confidence of top representatives of monopoly capital. As minister of economics of the so-called grand coalition under Kiesinger he has already proved that he is able effectively to guard over the interests of monopoly capital. Just during his period in office a real big capitalist super profit explosion was set off with the assistance of the so-called concerted action, the burden of which was brought to bear on the broad masses of the working people.

The new Social Democratic Minister of Defence Helmut Schmidt was publicly praised to the skies as the best currently available defence minister by former Hitler generals and the generals of the West German Bundeswehr and also by other militarist circles. Apart from the fact that he presented himself to the Bundeswehr generals upon assuming office as a brother officer from the Hitler Wehrmacht, he immediately introduced a measure to raise the position and sphere of influence of the Bundeswehr command and to restore the general staff in West Germany which was prohibited in the Potsdam Agreement and branded a criminal organization in the Nuremberg War Crimes Trial. After the last session of the nuclear planning group of NATO he himself declared that he would continue the planning of his predecessor, CDU Defence Minister Gerhard Schröder.

On the question of the control over atomic weapons and war-heads Herr Schmidt is not far from the point of view of Herr Strauss. By appointing a prominent arms industrialist — in

accordance with the Speer system (armament minister in the Hitler government) — as authorized representative for armament questions, etc., he obviously wants to ensure direct control over the distribution of the thousands of millions envisaged in the budget for arms expenditures to an industrial-military complex which is establishing itself in line with the American pattern. In one of his first statements as defence minister Herr Schmidt assigned the Bundeswehr and West German military policy the task of preventing people in the Federal Republic from having "a foreign political will forced upon them".

Before the elections West German Federal Chancellor Brandt met with leading representatives of monopoly capital to expound the policy he would adopt in the case of a government under his leadership. He confirmed his and his future government's integration in the system of state monopoly capitalism in West Germany in continuation of the policy proclaimed by Wehner in the Bundestag on 30 June 1960. He thereby ensured himself the toleration and even support by decisive forces of monopoly capital.

Certain monopoly capitalist circles consider the SPD/FDP coalition under the given circumstances to be a variant with a number of advantages for the system of state monopoly capitalism. They include a damping down of the unrest in the working class, trade unions, among intellectuals and youth; the introduction or hastening of a number of reforms which are indispensable for the scientific and technological revolution, and are also necessary from the standpoint of the big bourgeoisie. They can be better conducted by a SPD/FDP government than by an ultraconservative CDU/CSU leadership with strong clerical connections.

The formation of the government under Brandt is compatible with the present phase of the US global strategy. After the failure of the previous tactics of the eastern policy a large part of the ruling class of the USA considers it more successful not only to struggle against the Socialist countries with the conservatism of the CDU/CSU but primarily with the Social Democrats.

Certain aspects of the composition of the Brandt-Scheel government, especially the fact that a few of the Social Democratic ministers and state secretaries had trade union functions or had been persecuted by nazism, improve the internal and foreign policy atmosphere in which the new cabinet can operate. But they also seem to be suitable for promoting existing illusions about the character of West German home and foreign policy or to call forth new illusions.

On What Movement of Class Forces Is the Result of the Bundestag Elections Based?

The policy of the West German monopoly rulers, which was conducted over a 20-year period by the CDU/CSU and which was last to be realized by the government of the grand coalition, has failed in individual points and come into great difficulty in other fields.

The foreign policy of the monopoly bourgeoisie with its political and economic expansionist and revanchist features primarily failed as a result of the strength and uniformity of the countries of the Socialist community of states and especially because of the GDR.

In the field of home policy the monopoly bourgeoisie has stumbled over the social insecurity and social injustice brought about by it, and which especially hit the working class and the urban middle classes. In the interest of its monopoly profits it has moved, with a new period of prosperity, extraordinarily quickly out of a period of relatively ominous unemployment into the period of a relatively just as ominous inflationist development. It brought the working people new, different but just as unpleasant and dangerous burdens of social insecurity. The monopoly bourgeoisie has obtained an enormous growth in profits immediately after the crisis, whereas wages stagnated. And although the workers through their trade unions could force wage increases in the last moment before the Bundestag elections, the mechanism of the price spiral was already being operated so intensively that the wage increase was almost completely wiped out by rising prices.

Further, the profit interest, the erroneous estimates of the situation and the indecision, the action of CDU/CSU politicians in the struggle of interests around the revaluation of the West German currency, have further discredited monopoly capital.

In addition the CDU/CSU and also the grand coalition proved to be incapable or working out and implementing a conception which does justice to the needs of big capital with reference to the scientific and technological revolution which goes beyond the immediate economic sphere.

Many representatives of reaction understand very well that the dissemination of scientific knowledge and abilities for vocational purposes, that means, however, — under the conditions of capitalism — for the purposes of big capital, is accompanied by the disadvantage that this knowledge and the growing ability to think

on the part of the working people will be increasingly transferred to social problems and to politics.

The process of changing the political and parliamentary relation of forces is an expression of the effect of the basic antagonistic contradictions in West German state monopoly capitalism. The forces previously in the government, especially the CDU/CSU, were no longer able to manipulate these contradictions so that they could retain control of the social process. The policy conducted by the government of the so-called grand coalition considerably injured the interests of the workers and in part of other working strata. The resulting shift in votes was thus sufficient to change the political and parliamentary relation of forces in the election and force the CDU/CSU out of the government.

But these contradictions have remained and will possibly further sharpen in the near future. The economic expansion of the monopolies, especially capital export, will undoubtedly be continued in the interest of raising their maximum profits and of the neo-colonial conception of West German imperialism. In addition, the imperialist conception includes the striving for control over raw material resources (oil and natural gas, ores, uranium, copper) in the Middle East, Africa and Latin America. This policy conceived by Herr Abs and Herr Strauss can only be realized by means of considerable capital exports.

The opportunities for the new coalitions to control these contradictions, at last temporarily, through manipulation are limited. The clash of interests of the trusts of various countries on the world market contain a specific aspect on account of the relatively high rate of the revaluation of the West German currency. The home policy aim of this measure is to greatly slow down the expected considerable rise in prices. Although that will not succeed in the next months the relatively high revaluation could so greatly restrict the exports of West German industry and so powerfully stimulate the import of foreign products that the overheated boom will decline and under certain conditions even change into a new recession.

Incidentally, it can be seen from the congress of the CDU and the policy of the CDU/CSU that the danger of a rightist course is not yet abolished. That is shown by the continuation of the revanchist policy, in the attempt to exert a stronger nationalist influence on youth, in the aggressive position against the trade union demand for co-determination and in further militarization.

The Test: Internal and Social Policy

The acts of the SPD/FDP coalition, particularly in the field of internal and social policy, will allow the West German voters to judge whose interests the new government primarily represents.

The "Declaration of the German Trade Union Federation (DGB) to the New Federal Government" of 22 October 1969 can to a considerable degree be seen as representative of the demands and wishes of the 16 million voters in the fields of internal policy, economic and social policy.

The DGB expects – representing all working people – the new government especially to concern itself to a greater extent with the concerns of the workers, salaried employees and officials, which together with their families account for over 80 per cent of the West German population. In the name and in the well-understood interest of this 80 per cent the trade unions demand the elimination of the "one-sided and unjust structure of rule in the economy" by means of the "co-determination of the employees on all decisions,, on a basis of equality". That in particular requires the expansion of the parity of codetermination to all big undertakings and – it states further in the DGB document – the "implementation of co-determination in the entire economic field".

The West German trade unions demand in the name of the voters who hoisted the new government into the saddle the safeguarding of democracy and more democracy in many other spheres. They demand the prohibition of the neo-nazi NPD. They demand active representation of the interests of young people, the creation of the prerequisites for a more active participation with equal chances in social and economic life, the creation of a modern penal law and law on the execution of sentences, the stabilization of the price level linked with constant growth of wages and salaries, tax relief for workers, salaried employees and officials, the expansion of health care, measures in favour of elderly workers and salaried employees, examination of vocational restrictions on women, the establishment of equal educational opportunities for the children of all circles of the population, the greater promotion of education, science and research, measures for developing "the school and higher educational system as a whole", paid educational leave, greater promotion of adult education, improvement of the vocational training law, co-determination of the working people on all questions of vocational training and many other things.

This declaration of the West German Trade Union Federation to the SPD/FDF coalition government which at the same time represents the will of those who elected this coalition, is an impressive stock-taking of the backlog in the fields of democracy, human rights and co-determination and at the same time is a crushing judgment on the results of the CDU/CSU governments of the past two decades which were made numb by backwardness, obscurantism and conservatism.

The program and deeds of the new government coalition must be measured against this stock-taking of the backlog accumulated in two decades. The criterion of individual reforms will always be their democratic content.

Naturally, it cannot be our task here to consider the government program item for item, comparing each with the will of the voters.

Herr Brandt declared that the new government wanted to risk introducing more democracy. One has only just begun with democracy in West Germany. He spoke of expanding West Germany into a social state based on the rule of law. How this is to be realized has not yet been said — apart from the assurance that the voting age would be reduced to 18 years, which, of course, must be assessed positively. The working people's demand for co-determination was watered down in the government declaration and is obviously to be put on the shelf. Nothing is yet said about the "implementation of co-determination in the entire economic field", as the West German trade unions formulated the desire of the voters. Certainly the revocation of the prohibition of the Communist Party of Germany (KPD) could be assessed as a genuine democratic development.

The existence of a neo-nazi danger was completely ignored in the government declaration and the voters' demand for the prohibition of the NPD was simply passed over in silence.

But the government program contains the promise of important democratic and social reforms which — as, for example, the reform in the field of education — would have great significance if they were to become reality.

In 1969 armament expenditures in the West-German federal budget of 23.2 per cent of all expenditures contrasted with 3.1 per cent for education, science and research. The DGB rightly demands a finance plan for the educational system, that is, a redistribution of state income in favour of education. Formal changes are of no help in the educational reform. It is rather necessary to proceed from the democratization of the educational

system. That means purging the content of education of all nazi and reactionary ideas and ensuring the co-determination of scientists and students in the development and direction of the system of higher education.

In connection with the internal reforms there are certain approaches to some new aspects in agrarian policy. Thus, in future agriculture is to be assisted in overcoming its difficulties so as to develop into a sector of equal standing in the national economy. The modernization of West German agriculture is designated as a great task in structural policy whereby all pressure of prices is to be avoided. Further it was demanded that differences in education between town and countryside be abolished.

All those are demands which certainly awaken new hope among West German farmers. But it is completely unclear how all that is to take place in practice for the benefit of the farmers. Just as in all other spheres the agrarian policy statements of Brandt are full of contradictions. How, for example, are the concerns of West German agriculture to be brought more into the foreground? The government declaration contains no rejection of the previous EEC agrarian policy of the CDU/CSU, which was prepared to sacrifice the mass of West German farmers without hesitation.

According to Brandt the error was the incorporation of West German agriculture without establishing the necessary prerequisites in economic and currency policy. In the future, according to the government program this incorporation is to be coordinated to a greater extent on progress in economic and currency policy. But here it is not a question of any time schedule. What good is it, for example, to a West German farmer to be ruined in 1973 instead of 1970? There can be no security of existence for the farmers with a continuation of the old EEC agrarian policy.

Let us take another example of the contradictoriness of the agrarian policy demands. West German agriculture is to be modernized - so it is said - by means of the structural policy. But certainly the question is structural policy and modernization for whom?

Whom does West German agriculture personify? West German farmers are not a uniform class like the cooperative farmers of the GDR. The agrarian structure which was formed in Germany after the abolition of serfdom in the last century still dominates in West Germany. The West German village is split into semi-proletarians, peasants with small, medium-sized and large holdings, and big capitalist and feudal farmers. In whose interest, then, should the

structural policy and modernization be carried out? For the working farmers or the big landowners according to the model of the CDU/CSU? The government declaration provides no answer.

West German farmers have been proposing for years that an advisory council be formed with the Bonn Ministry of Food, Agriculture and Forestry with the aim of working out proposals for a democratic agrarian policy in order to restrict the influence of finance capital on agriculture. The CDU/CSU systematically torpedoed such proposals. After it has now been forced out of the government the time would be favourable for the formation of such an advisory council which would have to be composed in accordance with the socio-economic structure of the peasantry. There are many good proposals from the ranks of West German farmers for a democratic agrarian policy. Thus, for example:

Close cooperation of the peasant associations with the trade unions for the establishment of a firm alliance between workers and peasants.

Instead of the subordination of West German agriculture to the interests of the monopolies, an orientation on the interests of the peasants and all other working people.

Instead of driving the peasants from their land, a democratic land reform.

Instead of the structural policy of the monopolies at the cost of the mass of the peasants, a broad organization of mutual aid and inter-enterprise cooperation with state support.

Instead of flooding West German with foreign agricultural products, priority to local production.

Instead of price pressure and decreasing producer prices, prices oriented on costs, at the expense of the huge profits of the fertilizer, food, agricultural machinery and fodder trusts.

Instead of usurious interest rates, cheap credit, especially for the organization of mutual aid and inter-enterprise cooperation.

Instead of further debts, a general debt reduction in West German agriculture by the state.

Naturally we cannot assume that the Brandt-Scheel government will aim at a perfect democracy. In fact we cannot expect that of a bourgeois-parliamentary government which is under heavy pressure from finance capital and which includes in its ranks representatives of the interests of big capital. Perfect democracy is in any case possible only in developed Socialist society after the victory of the working class. But there are a few positive things in the government program. And so that the existing positive proposals and perhaps

also good intentions do not remain on paper it must be the concern of the citizens of the FRG themselves, especially the Communists and Social Democrats, trade unionists, young people, peasants, women and other progressive forces in West Germany in constant vigilance and persistent struggle to see that their will is respected and that real reforms in the interest of the working people are implemented against the resistance of the CDU/CSU and other conservative and reactionary forces. May the labour movement and progressive intelligentsia together with to other democratic and progressive forces employ all their creative abilities to reach this goal.

Now there are conservative voices in West Germany which declare the announced reforms to be impossible to realize because the necessary money is not at hand, because, for example, the educational reform alone would require all available financial means. To be sure, it is correct that the continuation of the huge armament expenditures would make the implementation of the announced reforms unrealistic. It is also true of West Germany that without a radical reduction in arms expenditures by some 50 per cent the announced reforms will largely remain on paper even if they were worked out and planned in a progressive sense.

This gives rise to the basic question of whether the Social Democratic coalition government is ready to go a peaceful and democratic way consistently or whether, under the pressure of armament capital and the Bundeswehr leadership the further development of a military-industrial complex is promoted which serves the imperialist interests of a small monopoly group and the global strategy of the USA.

When Strauss, for example, demanded that "the marriage concluded between the military and the natural science . . . should never be divorced", he was speaking for those monopoly groups for which armament is the most important means of realizing profits and who, the same as ever, are directing their activities on military expansion. If, however, the West German social order should require armament as a stimulus to further technical progress, if it tolerates the effect of reactionary forces which include war in their calculations in the age of ABC weapons, then that social order is itself pronouncing the judgment before history that is must step aside, because it is unable to solve the peaceful, social and intellectual problems of the people.

The Brandt government faces this decision.

How Do We Stand on the Internal Reforms in the West German Federal Republic Announced by the SPD/FDP Coalition Government?

On the question of internal reforms the Brandt-Scheel government finds itself in a complicated situation. The 20-year rule of the CDU/CSU, along with its restoration of the old ruling structure and the alignment of West Germany in the global strategy of the USA, resulted in the fact that there was no settling of accounts, either politically or ideologically, with the forces of the past which had plunged Germany into the catastrophe of two world wars. Enormous sums were once again wasted for completely senseless armament. We see the results in the backwardness of the educational system, in the fact that West Germany is falling behind in important areas of science and technology, in the catastrophic backwardness in the establishment of the kind of agricultural structure, and the kind of schooling and education of the farmers and farmworkers which would meet the demands of the coming decades. We see the results, further, in the neglect of, and the disregard for, the most elementary demands of the young generation, as well as of the women, from whom equality of rights is still withheld. We see the results in the absence of democratic co-determination in the enterprises as well as in the economy as a whole.

The West German Communists, Social Democrats, many farmworkers and members of the progressive intelligentsia are aware that in the German Democratic Republic, reforms in the fields referred to have already been carried out during the period of the democratic transformation and the building of Socialism. The working class in the German Democratic Republic, in alliance with the working farmers and other democratic and progressive forces of society, has learned to erect and further develop a new social order, to organize a new Socialist state. It has been able to promote the transformation of people and the relations between them in a developing Socialist community.

In overcoming the reactionary imperialist ideology of race hatred and inhumanity, in mastering the new, great tasks in planning and managing the national economy, the democratic land reform, and later the Socialist reorganization of agriculture, in abolishing the exploitation of man by man, in creating a new status for women and young people, with full equality of rights, in abolishing land speculation and in shaping the city centres as the focal point of social life, in acquiring the culture of the past, present and future -

in all of this the working people of the GDR have grown in stature. They have accumulated experiences on many levels and have understood how to make living reality of the ideas of humanism.

Now the working people of the German Democratic Republic, together with all the forces of the people united in the National Front, are in the process of developing the social system of Socialism, which will guarantee the mastery of the great tasks of the present and future.

In West Germany, the economic laws of state monopoly capital are still at work, which led to the Second World War. They are rendered more acute by the scientific and technological revolution.

In the 1960s, the basic contradiction of capitalism was extraordinarily sharpened. On the one hand, productive forces of a completely new quality are being developed in the course of the scientific and technological revolution and thereby the practical possibility also arises, for the first time in history, of satisfying the material needs of all society and every individual. But in the capitalist portion of the world, the fruits of this whole development flowed in overwhelming measure into the hands of a tiny group of giant monopolies. In West Germany – and also in other imperialist countries – this development in the 1960s led to a qualitatively new stage in the monopolistic nature of the economy.

The great strike movement prior to the West German Bundestag elections which was launched by the masses of workers themselves, showed the close connection between wage demands and protests against the betrayal of the “social partnership” and the opposition to the system.

The extent to which the democratic movement against monopoly rule and imperialist aggression had developed is shown by the fact that the bourgeois-democratic forces increasingly level criticism not only at individual manifestations of the imperialist system but at its very foundations.

From all of this it is possible to draw the conclusion that the antagonism between monopoly power and the overwhelming majority of the people in the imperialist countries, including West Germany, will mature to a new qualitative level in the 1970s.

If we summarize these new phenomena, we see that the development of state monopoly capitalism and its contradictions in West Germany also confirm the view of Lenin that “state monopoly capita-

lism is a complete material preparation for Socialism³⁾, the next rung on the ladder of history.

This view is of significance precisely today. For it shows the historical character, the historical greatness of the struggle against contemporary imperialism. Naturally, we do not equate this material pre-condition for Socialism with Socialism itself. The working class and its allies in West Germany will reach Socialism only after travelling a long and difficult road. The struggle for a genuine, deep-going democratic reorganization of West German society is therefore all the more significant from every point of view.

The vital interests of the overwhelming majority of the West German people today urgently require the translation of the many-sided demands for real democracy into deeds in all areas of society and the breaking of the power of the monopolies. The historical tasks cannot be solved merely with reforms which retain the old monopoly capitalist basic structure, and which therefore protect the roots of reaction and of the war danger.

"We favour a programm of reform", Lenin wrote "directed also against the opportunists."⁴⁾ The democratic character of reforms can only be guaranteed when a continuing mass struggle is carried on for them, the basis of which is the activity of the working class. Only such a development can prevent the modernizing of the system of exploitation and domination of large-scale capital under the banner of alleged "reforms".

Although many of the reform proposals of Herr Brandt were put forward in general form, although we know that not a few of the reforms can be fully realized only in a Socialist society, we take a positive view to all moves aimed at democratic and social reforms, not least, to those in the field of the education system.

But experience has taught us that the carrying out of such reforms must be fought for against the bitter resistance of conservative forces. Parliamentary debates accomplish very little in this respect.

In view of the strength of the monopoly capitalist forces in West Germany, there is a danger that parts of the reforms, in accordance with well-known methods, will be buried or manipulated in the interests of monopoly capital in the parliamentary commissions. The realization of truly democratic reforms, therefore, will to a great extent depend on the joint struggle of all democratic and progressive forces in West Germany.

³⁾ V. I. Lenin, Collected Works, Vol. 25, Progress Publishers, Moscow 1964, p. 359

⁴⁾ V. I. Lenin, Collected Works, Vol. 23, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1964, p. 100

In the interest of the West German working people and of the development of peaceful good neighbourly relations between the two German states, we are ready to put our rich experiences, especially in the realization of such reforms, at the disposal of the working people and all progressive forces of West Germany. Our aim here is to help the citizens of West Germany to utilize for their own purpose democratic solutions that have already been tested in the areas involved.

We are convinced that such good neighbourly assistance would be very useful for the West German citizens precisely in the field of many-sided democratic and social reforms, and could, in addition, be helpful for a step-by-step improvement in the relations between the GDR and the FRG.

Some Questions of Foreign Policy of the SPD/FDP Government from the Point of View of Relations between the GDR and the FRG

The over-all situation presented here, the accumulation of questions of vital interest – for example, the taking of a stand against the US war of aggression in Vietnam – as well as the fact that the CDU/CSU and the neo-nazi NPD together received slightly more than 50 per cent of the votes cast, have affected the program of the Brandt-Scheel government. The contents of the program are ambiguous, and frequently open to more than one interpretation. That is not least true in the field of foreign policy. Changes which have made themselves evident on the part of a section of public opinion could, nevertheless, be an expression of tendencies aiming at a more realistic policy.

The more than 16 million voters, who with their votes made possible the turning out of the CDU/CSU and the setting up of a new coalition, have thereby given expression to their demand for a break with the 20-year anti-national policy of the CDU/CSU governments. The majority of them expect a genuine contribution from the SPD/FDP government for the maintenance of European security and for disarming, a contribution to the setting aside of the danger of an atomic war by the signing and ratification of the treaty on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons and by the renunciation of the possession and control of atomic weapons. They want a break with the bankrupt policy of revanchism. They expect honest rapprochement with the Socialist countries and the recognition of all existing frontiers in Europe. They desire a break with the West

German presumption of the sole representation of the German people and with the Hallstein doctrine in all its variations. They desire the normalization of relations with the German Democratic Republic on the basis of complete equality of rights and the mutual recognition, without reservation, of the GDR and the FRG.

In the government program announced by Herr Brandt, there is talk of the desire to contribute to disarmament, to the guaranteeing of peace and to rapprochement with the Socialist states. At the same time, however, this same government has announced its dedication to the NATO pact, to the raising of armaments expenditures, to the special connection with the USA, and thereby also to the USA's global strategy.

In his government declaration, Herr Brandt promised continuity and renewal.

The continuity in foreign policy is to be guaranteed by reverting to the note of the Erhard government in 1966 and to the first government declaration of the chancellor of the so-called grand coalition in December 1966, in which all the basic elements of the revanchist policy, from the demand for a return to the frontiers of 1937 to the sole representation pretension of the German people, are embedded.

Since then, the continuity in foreign policy has revealed itself in manifold ways in the practical foreign policy of the Brandt-Scheel government. West German Foreign Minister Scheel has spelled it out, among other things, in his directives to the diplomatic representatives of West Germany. According to these directives, the Bonn government is against the institutionalizing of trade relations on the part of third states with the German Democratic Republic. That means that the Bonn government is even against the GDR's commercial representation abroad.

Scheel said further that the attitude of the Federal Republic would depend on "whether East Berlin falls in with our efforts on behalf of a regulated *modus vivendi*". But what is meant by *modus vivendi* is Bonn's policy on Germany, along with its claim, in relations between Germans to be the sole representative of Germany. Herr Scheel says further that an expansion of the GDR's missions abroad in the fields of culture and commerce would not be beneficial to an internal German settlement. That means that the Bonn government is even attempting to prevent cultural agreement between the GDR and third states. Herr Scheel also desires that third countries should avoid setting up missions in the capital city of the GDR. That is the old Hallstein doctrine with somewhat altered phraseology.

We see a "new" element - despite all of Bonn's reservations -

in the signing of the treaty on the non-proliferation of atomic weapons. We warn, however, against the leading West German politicians who, tongue in check, obviously hope that, after signing the treaty, which could no longer be prevented, they will at least be able to postpone ratification indefinitely or to a never-never day.

The West German Communists, trade unionists and Social Democrats, the progressive, democratic and peace-loving forces inside and outside the new government coalition will therefore have to be very watchful, so that the clear alignment of the West German Federal Republik with this treaty, which is so important for preventing a nuclear war, will become legally operative through the quickest possible ratification without any reservations.

We would welcome it if the new West German federal government would take real steps to improve its relations with the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. With the development of relations of fraternal friendship and cooperation with the Soviet Union, the German Democratic Republic long ago drew the correct lessons from German history. If, therefore, the new government coalition in Bonn abolishes the hostility to the Soviet Union in West Germany and the folly of anti-Communism cultivated for more than half a century, and inaugurates good relations and good cooperation with the Soviet Union, we would gladly give our support to such efforts, which would be useful for the entire West German people.

Unfortunately, Herr Brandt had not yet been able to make up his mind to declare the shameful Munich pact, which brought about the dismemberment of Czechoslovakia, as invalid from the outset. His statements on this question require clarification. As to the recognition of the territorial status quo in Europe demanded by millions of West German voters, including the Oder-Neisse frontier and the frontier between the German Democratic Republic and the West German Federal Republic – on this question the government program makes no direct comment.

With regard to the desire of the SPD/FDP government for West German-Polish negotiations, I would like to say here: in accordance with the jointly held view of the Warsaw Treaty countries and the majority of the states of the world, the Oder-Neisse border was established as final and legally binding in the Potsdam Agreement. The German Democratic Republik 20 years ago signed the Görlitz Agreement and the declaration that the Oder-Neisse frontier was a peace border in the name of all Germans, that is to say, also in the name of the West German people. For the latter have up to now had no opportunity to express their support of peace freely and without

manipulation under the special existing conditions in West Germany. But after the 20-year revanchist policy of the CDU/CSU governments in West Germany, the unqualified recognition by a West German government of the western Polish border as late as 1969-1970, would also be welcome.

With regard to the participation of West Germany in a European security conference, West German Chancellor Brandt has expressed himself positively, even if with a certain reserve. In the meantime, he and his Foreign Minister have interpreted the West German position in such a manner that they have attempted a package deal – progress in negotiations on relations between West Germany and the GDR – in the Bonn sense, of course – and participation of the West German Federal Republic in a European security conference. It is time for Herr Brandt to disassociate himself from such disruptive manoeuvres against the European security conference, particularly since they violate the understanding that no state will link its participation to preliminary conditions.

Herr Brandt declared in an interview on 9 November: "For the federal government, the issue is the settlement of practical questions in the interests of the people and of peace." That will be shown in the negotiations between the Soviet Union and the West German Federal Republic on the draft of a treaty on the renunciation of the use of force. It is in the interest of peace that such a treaty should recognize all existing frontiers. Statements emanating from government circles in Bonn, however, indicate that the Bonn government desires the recognition of the frontiers of the West German Federal Republic and their inviolability, but takes refuge in silence with regard to the recognition of the frontiers of the GDR.

In connection with various negotiations, it has become evident that the tactic of the Brandt-Scheel government is to avoid the necessary and unequivocal recognition of the situation that arose as a result of the Second World War by falling back on the solutions which will be embodied in supposed future peace treaties.

This tactic is construed in such a way as to give the Bonn government the opportunity to maintain its unrealistic claim, that until the conclusion of a peace treaty – be it noted, with a German Reich that has been non-existent for 25 years – the frontiers of 1937 would still be valid. That means that the absence of a peace treaty is used as a pretext and at the same time as a disguise for the revanchist policy of West German imperialism.

The attempt to wriggle out of inevitable and legally binding decisions by falling back on a peace treaty that is expected at some

vague future date, or the invoking of a future peace treaty in agreements or declarations on renunciation of the use of force, is obviously designed to give a West German government – when the conditions seem favourable – the opportunity to repudiate all provisionally recognized borders, all declarations on the renunciation of the use of force and similar agreements with the claim that the prerequisites for these agreements have become null and void, since a peace treaty has not materialized.

It is quite obvious, in this respect, that it will be possible to talk of a peace policy in West German only when the government of the West German Federal Republic recognizes as legally valid the historical changes that have taken place in Europe as a result of the Second World War.

If the Bonn government recognizes the existing reality, then serious collisions cannot actually develop at a European security conference. Herr Willy Brandt has himself spoken of the existence of two German states and must, after all, base himself on that fact in foreign policy also. That means, as Herr Brandt also very well knows, that the German nation is split. The holding of a European security conference soon would serve to lessen tensions between the European countries and thereby also between the two German states. That requires, however, that both the GDR and the FRG participate in the European security conference on the basis of equal rights. The relationship between the two states are their own affair.

In the foreign policy of the SPD/FDP government, in the government declaration and in the carrying out of foreign policy, the question of relations between the GDR and the FRG play a big role.

We are concerned with the question as to how relations between the GDR and the FRG, between these two sovereign and independent German states can develop for the good of all.

It is, naturally, clear to us that after the 20-year policy of division and hostility which was practised under the leadership of the CDU/CSU under the illusion that Socialism could be rolled back in Europe, the process of normalizing relations between the German Democratic Republic and the West German Federal Republic will demand goodwill and much patience. This goodwill, combined with patience, is present on the side of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, of the parties and organizations united in the National Front, and of the government of the German Democratic Republic.

The new West German federal chancellor, Herr Brandt – as already stated – has accepted the reality of the state existence of

the German Democratic Republic in his government declaration and in other public utterances. We will not dwell on the fact that this acceptance is 20 years late. There are still no grounds for satisfaction. We must, after all, wait for deeds. But there should be clarity about the fact that the renunciation of every form of the sole representation pretension is the prerequisite for the normalization of West Germany's relations with the GDR.

Herr Brandt, further, has suggested negotiations on relations regulated by treaty between the West German Federal Republic and the German Democratic Republic, on the basis of equality of rights and the exclusion of any discrimination. He spoke of the necessity of attempting, through a regulated existence side by side, to come together. At the same time, however, he declared – and I quote his government statement: “A legal recognition of the GDR by the federal government cannot be considered. Even when two states exist in Germany, they are nevertheless not foreign territory to each other. Their relations to one another can only be of a special nature.”

How unfortunate, really unfortunate! These sentences – if they are really to become government doctrine for the new West German coalition – would again reduce to naught everything positive that could be drawn from what was first said. Particularly since the kind of “special relations” between the West German federal government and the German Democratic Republic is indicated between the lines in the government declaration, and is unmistakably and unequivocally spelled out in the official instructions of the new West German foreign minister, Herr Scheel – as already mentioned – to all West German diplomatic representatives abroad. A check of the official documents and declarations shows that the wishful thinking about “relations of a special nature” between the two German states, which allegedly cannot be “Ausland” that is to say, foreign territory, to one another, is obviously the relationship between a guardian and his ward. Because the West German Federal Republic and the German Democratic Republic are both German states, Bonn wishes to arrogate to itself the right – that is of course the heart of this extraordinary “relationship of a special nature” – to have a say in the affairs, and especially in the foreign relations, of the sovereign German Democratic Republic. And equally in the internal affairs of other sovereign states which wish to develop normal relations with the GDR.

The government declaration and the instructions issued by the

Bonn foreign minister show that the friendly agreement of the new Bonn government to this or that foreign relationship or activity of the GDR or of another sovereign state to the GDR should be made dependent on the submissive attitude of the GDR and its citizens to Bonn's wishes, demands and claims. That is naturally completely unacceptable, particularly since the GDR is a sovereign state independent of the West German Federal Republic.

The claim to be the sole representative of Germany, it is true, is only indirectly and not directly referred to in the government declaration. But if the bankrupt claim to be the sole representative is now replaced by the claim to a kind of tutelage of the West German government over the foreign relations of the German Democratic Republic and its citizens, then that not only contradicts ordinary commonsense and the real situation; it also contradicts, above all, the official and, let us hope, seriously meant offer of negotiations on the regulating of relations between the two sovereign German states on the basis of equality of rights and with the exclusion of any discrimination. A claim to a sort of guardianship by the West German federal government is for us naturally no less discriminatory, and is no less a violation of the principle of equality of rights than the claim to be the sole representative of Germany in the old style. The claim to guardianship over the GDR is only a variation of the sole representation pretension.

I cannot imagine that the political leaders governing West Germany seriously believe they can negotiate and conclude agreements with the GDR under such conditions of discrimination and unequal rights.

The West German Federal Republic has no higher rights of any kind than the German Democratic Republic. The West German Federal Republic considers itself to be a subject in international law, to be a sovereign state, and regulates its relations with other states accordingly. The German Democratic Republic is likewise a subject in international law, a sovereign state, and regulates its relations with other states accordingly.

The necessary and the only possible inter-state relations, therefore, are those based on complete equality of rights and the exclusion of any form of discrimination, that is to say, exactly such legal relations as are usual between sovereign states.

The word "Ausland", that is to say, outside of Germany, which in the legal sense and also in practice has no significance, we could

best lay to rest, for it is only meant to disguise the claim to guardianship somewhat.

The German Democratic Republic and the West German Federal Republic exist – legally recognized, as sovereign states independent of each other, and now in their third decade. In addition, there is also the special occupation zone of West Berlin, which we for a number of reasons do not wish to deal with more closely in this connection. The relations between the two German states and agreements between them have, according to the nature of the matter, the character of agreements in international law. Bonn, however, wishes to deal as a state possessing complete rights with a GDR to which it attributes inferior rights, which stands under its trusteeship, as it were, and which is obligated to be especially submissive to Bonn. That is absolutely incompatible with the principle of equality of rights and non-discrimination.

It also contradicts the principle of equality of rights and non-discrimination when decisions are put into effect by the states allied with the West German Federal Republic in the NATO military pact which were drafted at the instigation of the Bonn CDU/CSU government and have as their content discrimination against the German Democratic Republic and its citizens.

We should not miss the opportunity here to draw the attention of the new government at Bonn – unfortunately, there was no mention of this matter in the government declaration – to the fact that as a legacy of the 20-year rule of the CDU/CSU, in a whole number of West German laws, decrees and other official declarations which are still in force, the pretension of the West German government to sole representation, which poisons relations between the GDR and the FRG, still has the force of law in the Federal Republic.

West German jurisprudence, for example, still bases itself on the fiction of a "Germany with the frontiers of 31 December 1937". According to the official maps and travel directions in West Germany, the frontiers of a fictional German Reich in accordance with the situation on 31 December 1937 remain unchanged. Through various laws and decrees, citizens of the GDR are to be declared citizens of the West German Federal Republic. There have been numerous legal attempts to extend the penal jurisdiction of the West German Federal Republic to citizens of other states, especially to citizens of the German Democratic Republic. This, quite apart from the fact that the West German Federal Republic even today still illegally lays claim to the property of the former German

Reich, both "at home" and abroad, and of the former "Land" (province) of Prussia as the property of the West German Republic. These are only a few examples.

It seems to us to be urgently necessary, in the interests of relaxing and normalizing relations between the two German states, to set aside these acts of juridical aggression also, these legislative or otherwise officially decreed elements of the sole representation pretension. We are ready – and I say this quite without irony – to give the government of the West German Federal Republic neighbourly legal aid in this matter.

I must once again very firmly emphasize that the German Democratic Republic is in no way whatsoever "inland" or "home" territory for the West German Federal Republic, for its government, or for its legal system, and can never be such. For the GDR is in no way some kind of "Land" (province) of the West German Federal Republic, such as Bavaria is, for example, or Baden-Württemberg, but a legally recognized state, independent, sovereign and with complete equality of rights vis-a-vis the West German Federal Republic, and for its citizens only the Constitution and the legal system of the GDR and nothing else have validity.

Above all, the people of both German states have an acute interest in ensuring that neither state is given a share in control over nuclear weapons, that biological and chemical weapons are neither produced nor stored in the two German states. The people of both German states are interested in an agreement on the renunciation of force based on international law. They are, in addition, interested in the setting aside of the Paris treaties, which hinder negotiations between the two German states on the safeguarding of peace. The governments of both German states could, for example, bind themselves to create legal regulations to prohibit all incitement to war and race hatred, and to take further measures to ensure that war is never again launched from German soil.

Many citizens of the West German Federal Republic have the notion that relations between the two German states do not necessarily have to be based on international law, and that relations based on constitutional law, would suffice, but relations based on constitutional law exist only within a single unified state or federal state. And what we have are two sovereign German states, completely independent from one another and with equal rights, and their relation can only be based on international law.

Incidentally the question, as to relations on the basis of constitutional law or international law I have already dealt with

in principle and in detail at the 10th session of the Central Committee of the SED in May 1969. I refer everyone interested to what I then said and do not wish to deal with this theme at greater length here.

With regard to the question of self-determination, which is frequently referred to in the West German government declaration, we can only recommend that the SPD/FDP coalition government begin to concern itself at last with the self-determination of the West German people, in line with the decisions and demands of the West German trade unions and other democratic organizations, and not merely to talk around the issue. There is obviously an enormous amount to catch up with here, both in respect to foreign policy and the policy of rearming, and in respect to social, internal and economic policy. And here, too, the heart of the problem is the issue of peace or war.

I do not wish to repeat here what we have been forced to say for years about the rape of the opinions and desires of people in the West German Federal Republic. While the West German people, as it happens, have not yet even attained the stage of a moderate right of co-determination along the road to self-determination, the people of the German Democratic Republic have made a reality of their self-determination and have raised themselves to be the masters of their own destiny. In exercising their right of self-determination, the people of the German Democratic Republic, after a thorough democratic discussion which was carried on in every locality, in every enterprise, in every community and even in every family, irrevocably made their decision, in a free and democratic referendum, for the Socialist German Democratic Republic, for the Socialist social order, for the Socialist state system and for the Socialist Constitution.

The West German government under Social Democratic leadership should take account of that fact. Otherwise it will be responsible for its own misjudgments and will trip over its own errors.

Perhaps it would be useful, in this connection, to undertake a new excursion into the ambiguous realm of the conception of "Germany".

The matter is naturally very complicated – as complicated as the historical relationships and events which have led to the present situation.

Thus, there is sometimes talk of a single "Germany", as if a unified state organization still exists. In West Germany, there is

official talk of "Germany" when only the West German Federal Republic is meant. And so on.

"Germany", historically seen, is a highly variable political and geographical concept. I do not wish here to go all the way back to the map of Germany at the time of the Holy Roman Empire of the German nation, or to the Napoleonic Wars. Since 1914 alone Germany has on a number of occasions changed its physical shape substantially.

From 1871 on, as is known, there was a German Reich, which later was expanded into a "Greater German Reich" by German imperialism of the Nazi type. This German Reich was destroyed in the fires of the Second World War along with its Hitler armies. Then the victorious powers set up various occupation zones. And the US imperialists and reactionary West German forces in 1949 tore apart the German nation and whatever still existing remnants of cohesion had been left between the occupation zones – or which were supposed to remain in accordance with the Potsdam Agreement – and set up a West German imperialist separatist state, the "Federal Republic of Germany", in the areas under their domination. It was founded in order to restore the power of monopoly capital, state monopoly capitalism and militarism at least in the western occupation zones and for use as a bludgeon against the Socialist countries. The West German state still fulfils that role today, with sometimes one method and sometimes another being used against the Socialist countries.

For 20 years now, the German Democratic Republic and the Federal Republic of Germany have existed as sovereign states independent of each other and recognized on the basis of international law. Their relations with each other, in view of the fundamental difference, the antagonistic nature of their social systems, can in no way be seen or described as "internal German relations". Bonn uses this expression to demonstrate its sole representation pretension and its demand for the subordination of the GDR.

In view of the far-reaching diverging development it is also an illusion to want to create a sort of artificial over-all roof over the first German peace state, the GDR, and the West German Federal Republic, which is dominated by military and monopoly capitalist forces, somewhat in the style of the Holy Roman Empire of the German nation.

Thus a "solution of the German question" in terms of the urgent and immediate tasks of a European peace and security policy, can

only be the establishment of a regulated, peaceful existence side by side of the GDR and the FRG on the basis of their complete equality and their mutual recognition in accordance with international law. That is today the content of the "solution of the German question".

The fact that the peoples of the two German states speak the German language and that there are many family connections between them in no way changes the fact that the West German Federal Republic is chained to the global strategy of the USA and NATO and is pursuing a dangerous revanchist policy. The development of good neighbourly relations between the GDR and the FRG therefore depends primarily on the growth of the peace forces in West Germany. In view of the atomic arming and the revanchist policy in West Germany and the legal existence of a neo-nazi party, of the support for the bloody aggression against Vietnam by the USA also by the present West German government, of the support for the aggression of Israel against the Arab states, and so on, the most elementary prerequisites for good neighbourly relations still have to be created.

In this connection, it should obviously be the task of the West German government under Social Democratic leadership to end the catastrophic role of the West German Federal Republic catalogued here, and to crush the influence of militarism and revanchism, basing itself on the existing democratic forces within West Germany. Every step that the Brandt-Scheel government may take in this direction will at all times be welcomed and supported by the German Democratic Republic. It would be self-deception to believe that it is possible to bring Socialism and imperialism under one "roof" in some sort of secret manner.

So that no one misunderstands our standpoint on the problem of normalizing relations between the two German states, I would like to repeat in summary once more:

A unification of the Socialist German state with the West German state, which is still under the rule of monopoly capital, is impossible.

What is possible and necessary, and what we have proposed on numerous occasions, is a normal relationship on the basis of equality of rights and non-discrimination, such as are usual between sovereign states. That means that we desire a peaceful existence of the two states side by side and the step-by-step shaping of good neighbourliness, guaranteed by binding agreements based on international law.

The normalization of relations between the two German states means the recognition of the state frontiers, recognition of the GDR as a sovereign German state with equal rights, the abolition of all discriminatory laws and decrees in West Germany which are aimed against the GDR and its citizens, the renunciation by both German states of atomic weapons, of a share in control over atomic weapons, and of the production, storing and employment of biological and chemical weapons.

The normalization of state relations between the GDR and the FRG requires that the Bonn government give up its discriminatory policy against the GDR in third countries and in international organizations and throw overboard the ballast of the 20-year-long cold war of the CDU/CSU rulers.

On the one hand, there have been statements by Herr Brandt, and also by Foreign Minister Scheel, of a nonbinding character that the Hallstein doctrine supposedly no longer exists. On the other hand, we learn daily from our foreign missions and from official declarations of West German politicians that the Brandt-Scheel government in reality has very substantially stepped up its pressure on capitalist states and especially on the developing countries for the non-recognition of the GDR, and lately has again been linking this with the threat of massive retaliation. The West German foreign missions are intervening on a large scale, on the instructions of the Brandt-Scheel government, even against the establishment of economic relations, the exchange of trade missions, the conclusion of single foreign trade deals between the GDR and third states. The nature of the intervention against the GDR's trade with capitalist countries emphasizes that the Brandt-Scheel government wants to make such trade dependent upon the subordination of the GDR to the dictates of the West German imperialists. The new government in Bonn will naturally have to get this rotten tooth extracted also.

As far as relations between the two states in certain technical fields are concerned, negotiations have been started.

If the government of the West German Federal Republic desires negotiations between the two German states on the regulating of their relations on the basis of equality of rights and non-discrimination, then such negotiations can be begun.

We, in any case, consider it to be necessary that a treaty based on international law between the German Democratic Republic and the West German Federal Republic must be based on unrestricted

mutual recognition on state level, the recognition of the state frontiers, complete equality of rights and non-discrimination.

I would like to ask the government of the West German Federal Republic to reexamine its position and adjust it to reality, so that we can make progress in the obviously complicated matter of regulation of our inter-state relations.

The Attitude of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany

How should the Socialist Unity Party of Germany – in view of the many contradictions in the new West German government declaration, as well as in some government actions – react to the current policy of the West German Social Democrats and of the new West German coalition government?

Naturally, we shall have to check all the acts of the SPD/FDP coalition government with special care in the coming period. For what is ultimately decisive are deeds, not words.

We consider that the existing situation and the current state of development in West Germany require us to further everything that can serve to strengthen and develop parliamentary democracy, safeguard European peace, and democratic and Socialist progress there.

We see matters in this way: In West Germany, at this moment, the struggle for a parliamentary democracy that has an anti-militarist character and is opposed to the rise of neo-nazism is on the agenda. Such parliamentary democracy can be made reality only in a determined fight against the forces of the armament capitalists and the three big imperialist banks. This fight will be effectively supported by decisive action for the realization of democratic and social reforms and the disarmament demands formulated by the trade unions. Every success in this struggle for democratic progress in the manner indicated also results in the furthering of the process of creating understanding between the two German states on their regulated life side by side and their good neighbourly relations.

We have understanding for the fact that it is an unpleasant business for the government of the new coalition in Bonn, under fire from extreme conservative forces and revanchist politicians of all shades, to have to clear the field of those roadblocks set up during the 20-year rule of the CDU/CSU to bar the road to understanding between the two German states. But we can neither spare the West German coalition government this work nor take it over

ourselves. If we want to steer jointly towards a good neighbourly relationship side by side, within the framework of peaceful co-existence, then the cold war barriers must be swept away. The government of the new coalition in Bonn cannot expect some kind of special reward for that from the government of the GDR. For the obstacles must be cleared away by those who set them up in the first place. And we are not the ones who pursue a revanchist policy, a policy of claiming to be the sole representative of the German people, or a policy of atomic arming. That should really be clear to all.

Herr Brandt was realistic enough in his government declaration not to speak of the establishment of the unity of Germany. He too, evidently, understands that the prerequisites for a unified Germany are missing in a Federal Republic under the domination of monopoly capital, with a Bundeswehr trained and led in a militarist and imperialist spirit and tied to NATO and the US global strategy.

Nevertheless, the Constitution of the German Democratic Republic shows the people of the GDR and the people of the West German Federal Republic the way out. The establishment and cultivation of normal relations and cooperation between the two German states on the basis of equality of rights are principles laid down in our Constitution. The German Democratic Republic and its citizens, in accordance with our Constitution, strive to overcome the division of Germany forced on the German nation by imperialism to bring about the step-by-step rapprochement of the two German states up to their unification on the basis of democracy and Socialism. That has been already decided upon at the Seventh Congress of the SED.

That is and remains our clear national and class perspective.

Its implementation will to a great extent be determined by the successes of our daily work, the labour of all the working people in our country in shaping the developed system of Socialism, in mastering the scientific and technological revolution in the interests of the people, in further building and developing our Socialist democracy and of our Socialist community!

We are on the right road! We shall reach our goal!

The GDR – a Recognized Factor of Peace in Europe

From the Speech by Comrade Willi Stoph,
Member of the Political Bureau and Chairman of the Council
of Ministers of the GDR

The report of the Political Bureau and Comrades Walter Ulbricht and Günter Mittag paid tribute to the great achievements of the working people in preparation of and subsequent to the 20th anniversary of the German Democratic Republic for the continued all-round strengthening and consolidation of our workers' and farmers' state. The creative initiative of the people is finding expression during these months in the Socialist emulation campaign in honour of the 100th anniversary of the birth of V. I. Lenin and the 25th anniversary of the liberation. It aims at solving the complex task of the now beginning 1970s whose perspective is clearly outlined by the decisions of our party on shaping the developed social system of Socialism.

The Seventh Party Congress set the task, starting from the prognosis of social developments in the GDR, of working out the best possible structure of our national economy and especially developing those branches which render possible an above-average increase in labour productivity in the national economy and form the basis for implementing the scientific and technological revolution. The systematic realization of the decisions made at

the Seventh Party Congress and the Central Committee for the continued shaping and complex application of the economic system of Socialism made possible the further increase in the economic potential of the GDR.

Our successes are an expression of the ever more conscious and systematic utilization of the economic laws of Socialism. What is decisive for the continued strengthening of the GDR is the fulfilment of the structural tasks stipulated in the 1970 plan which demand the concentration of all available forces and means on the solution of these tasks, their most rational application and the full unfolding of science as a productive force.

The forthcoming 25th anniversary of the liberation confronts us with the fact that our Socialist state is the outcome of the world-historic victory of the Soviet Union over nazism and of the assiduous and unrelenting labour of millions of citizens led by the working class and its Marxist-Leninist party for a life free from imperialist exploitation and oppression. The successes of our Socialist construction have been achieved because the GDR has allied itself for ever indissolubly with the Soviet Union and other countries of the family of Socialist nations and has led a consistent struggle against West German imperialism and militarism.

The efforts made by the peoples of our continent for the safeguarding of European security are of the greatest topical significance for our objective of not permitting another war from being launched from German soil. As is generally known, the leading representatives of the fraternal Socialist countries paid special attention to this problem at their Moscow Meeting on 3 and 4 December 1969, and Walter Ulbricht also referred to it with great emphasis in his report to this session of our Central Committee. This is by no means coincidental, since all European peoples view the safeguarding of peace on our continent as a vital issue. We must, after all, realize that, although 25 years have elapsed since the victory of the anti-Hitler coalition over predatory Hitler fascism, we are still burdened with the task of placing peace in Europa on a solid basis.

We citizens of the GDR have full understanding for the fact that the peoples of those European countries, who liberated Europe from the juggernaut of Hitler fascism at great sacrifice are craving for final and permanent security to prevent a repetition of the disaster of the past. Our concurrence with this longing is all the firmer as we have, after all, eradicated, in conformity with international law and, in particular, with the Potsdam Agreement,

the roots of war and fascism, embarked on a fundamentally new road and developed the GDR into a recognized factor of peace in Europe.

Anybody striving for European security, finds himself naturally confronted with the question of the origin of those perils which produce insecurity and threaten peace. To discuss this question is all the more necessary as at present leading forces in West Germany and, above all in NATO, are making considerable efforts to divert attention from the real causes of tension, to deny the need for a European security conference and to sabotage it by delaying tactics. This became particularly manifest at the recent NATO Council meeting in Brussels where massive attempts were made to place new obstacles in the road of preparing the European security conference, to side-track, by way of voluble declarations, the security interests of the European peoples and replace them with a slightly-camouflaged hoary NATO strategy.

Decisive Cause of the Insecurity on Our Continent

Anyone who looks more deeply into these matters will be faced with the historic truth that the non-compliance with the crucial provisions of the Potsdam Agreement in the West German Federal Republic is the decisive cause of insecurity in Europe and the continuance of peace-endangering tensions.

Although even the West German Basic Law (constitution) states in Article 25 that the general rules of international law — which include, after all, the unrenounceable Potsdam Agreement — are to be part and parcel of West German federal law, the foundation of the Federal Republic and its development as such, sharply contradict the Potsdam Agreement according to which militarism and nazism are to be extirpated and the armament monopolies, which provided the war potential of Hitler fascism, supplied the necessary funds for its rapacious campaigns and made huge profits from them, are to be deprived of their power.

The refusal of the conservative circles, which hold sway in West Germany, to conform to international law is the cause of the Bonn system having become the principal disturber of the peace in Europe. The West German revanchist politicians of all shades have prevented the overcoming of Germany's disastrous militarist past.

The West German Federal Republic is the only country in Europe which questions the frontiers of its neighbours, and its consistent refusal unconditionally to recognize all European frontiers goes to show that up till now nothing has changed in this respect. Yet in the very interest of security nobody can be allowed to shirk responsibility for the implementation of the main provision of the Potsdam Agreement forever. The fact, therefore, that can we read in the government declaration of the Brandt/Scheel cabinet about "renewal" is one of the decisive tests of the value of this term.

There is, alas, no reason to assume that Bonn has learnt its lesson from history and will deal with the problems of the relations between the European states in a realistic manner in keeping with the spirit of our time. On the contrary: Just a few days ago we were informed that the community of interests established by the CDU/CSU and the militarist forces of West Germany with the aggressive circles of the USA is to continue as the predominant element of West German government policy. Federal Chancellor Brandt stated in a television interview that "both governments, the one in Washington and the other in Bonn" agreed, relying on the NATO military pact, "each in its way and in mutual contact, to want to do" what had to be done. "Each in its way", meaning a division of labour with US imperialism for the same goal. It is certainly not fortuitous that West German war minister Helmut Schmidt only recently spoke of "the era of manoeuvring confronting us".

One cannot help recalling a statement by Herr Brandt last February in New York on the occasion of the decoration of US General Clay who, as is generally known, was one of the most evil instigators of the cold war. "The Americans", said the present chancellor on that occasion, "expect, as we can well understand, not to be left alone in their world political responsibility." This very same General Clay is directly responsible for the establishment of the West German separatist state and the subsequent division of the German nation by imperialism.

There is no need to add anything on the moral evaluation of that profession of solidarity with US imperialism which has once more during these days been convicted of genocide and the most vicious war crimes in Vietnam, particularly as a few months ago Herr Brand himself had said that politics, at least no good politics, can be based on immorality. The programmatic declaration of the West German federal chancellor can obviously have no other meaning than that the policy of the CDU/CSU is to be continued

in which the requirements of US global strategy and not the interests of West German citizens are the determining factor.

Thus it does not come as a surprise that in recent times West German politicians have been vociferous in advocating a delay in the European security conference and unceasingly insisting on prior conditions, after US Secretary of State Rogers — on his visit in Bonn — according to western reports — “sharply criticized the proposals made by the Warsaw Pact for a European Security Conference”.

One cannot help being concerned about the fact that it was no other than the representatives of the West German Federal Republic who, together with the US delegates from the Pentagon, opposed at the NATO meeting those West European states which were, in the eyes of Washington, too, favourably disposed towards the proposal to convene a European security conference.

Thus we once again find the fact confirmed that the complicity of West Germany with the global strategy of US imperialism is in opposition to the interests of the citizens of the Federal Republic by encouraging the revanchist forces and obstructing the efforts of the European peoples for security and lasting peace on our continent.

A Change of Government, but No Change in Power

It is therefore the full and indisputable truth to say, as Comrade Walter Ulbricht did in his momentous speech at this session, that although there had been a change of government in West Germany, the actual power in the state had not changed hands. It has already been pointed out that in his government declaration Federal Chancellor Brandt spoke both of “continuity” and “renewal”. Facts, however, confirm the unbroken continuity of big capitalist power in West Germany, nor do the first political steps of the SPD/FDP government permit any other interpretation than the one — at least up to date — that although there is talk of “renewal”, “continuity” is being practised.

We ask Herr Brandt: How will he engage in a genuine peace policy while adhering to the aggressive revanchist demands of his predecessors? Was it not Herr Kiesinger who in his Declaration of 13 December 1966 acknowledged, quite openly, the illegal sole representation pretension, by stating: “This federal government, too, considers itself to be the only German government which has

been elected freely, legally and democratically and is therefore entitled to speak for the entire German nation."

Or is it anything but the continuation of the eastern policy, pursued in the past by the CDU, when West German Foreign Minister Scheel states that a European security conference "must not stabilize the status quo in Europe" but that the frontiers must be made "more penetrable"? Can we discern anything but the evil spirit of the ill-famed sole representation pretension when the same minister announces that "the West German government is legally entitled to speak" within the framework of the possible, "for the German nation as a whole"?

Incidentally, nothing has become known so far regarding any intentions of Bonn to invalidate the revanchist provisions of the West German Basic Law. Just think of the Preamble or Article 116 which makes all Germans, who in 1937 lived within the German borders, subjects of the Federal Republic. Nobody has up till now officially dissociated himself from the illegal, though officially made claims to the 1937 frontiers. The demonstrative emphasis by West German Chancellor Brandt that his government was acting in the spirit of the note issued by the Erhard government in 1966, must be taken as a direct confirmation of that claim, since the said note of the then CDU/CSU government expressly proclaimed the alleged continued existence of "Germany within the frontiers of 1937".

As in recent weeks official Bonn circles have been, time and again and in no uncertain terms, stating that West Germany's NATO membership was the basis of the Bonn eastern policy, a few words will not go amiss in this respect, too. As is generally known, Bonn, at that time led by the CDU/CSU, pledged itself in 1955 by way of the Paris treaties to strive only for objectives which conform to the interests of the Atlantic bloc and aim at the extension of the social system in the Federal Republic as well as the sphere of influence of NATO towards the East. These provisions are still in force and nobody can have the slightest doubt that they can not serve as a basis for, but are a barrier against the relaxation of tensions and understanding, for they are clearly directed at conquest.

Already its declaration of 25 March 1955 on the ratification of the Paris treaties by the West German Bundestag and Bundesrat the GDR government pointed out that this decision was a breach of the Potsdam Agreement and therefore violated international law and was incompatible with the national interests of Germany.

In that declaration of our government we read that one must be clear about the fact "that the western powers, Adenauer, the Bundestag and the Bundesrat, by ratifying the Paris treaties, had destroyed any possibility of negotiations on the peaceful reunification of Germany and had further aggravated the division of Germany".

We remember that even leading Social Democrats, apparently bowing to the pressure of a broad popular movement against the Paris treaties, then, that is, more than 14 years ago, stated that those who, like the CDU/CSU, signed these provisions, 'destroyed any chance of a peaceful solution of the German problem'. At present, however, we hear Chancellor Brandt say that the strengthening of NATO and the tying of West Germany to that military pact was point number one of his foreign policy. Whom does he want to believe that such an attitude could be brought into line with a policy which was really directed at peace and the relaxation of tension?

By explicitly referring to the Paris treaties, the West German chancellor stated a few days ago that "everything that we say or agree on, is subject to the provisions of the German Treaty which we have concluded with our western allies". This statement has once again stated in official terms that the present Bonn cabinet, too, feels bound by the Paris treaties, including Article 7, par. 2 which envisages the extension of jurisdiction of West German imperialism to the GDR and beyond. In addition – and I should like to stress this point – Herr Brandt's words on the reservation right of the western powers undoubtedly point to the intention to make all agreements to be concluded by the Bonn government in the sphere of its so-called eastern policy, relative, and to keep open a loophole for any subsequent revision or invalidation of such an agreement.

Finally, it is by no means a sign of "renewal" but rather proof of continuity with the previous CDU/CSU in connection with the NATO Conference that the rearming efforts of the Federal Republic are not to be curtailed either qualitatively or quantitatively but will rather be intensified. Even West German newspapers find it tough going to reconcile the words by which Chancellor Brandt in his government declaration promised to strive for relaxation, with his Minister Schmidt's pressure to "lower the atomic threshold", strengthen Bonn's right to have a say on the use of nuclear weapons in Europe as well as to accelerate the rearming of West Germany. It is worth noting that one of the leading

political weeklies in the Federal Republic spoke in this connection of a "double game".

As is known facts are stubborn things, and the facts say that, compared with other West European NATO countries, the West German armament industry is today in a phase of expansion which has by no means yet reached its culminating point, judging by the existing plans. Fostered by huge government investments, an aircraft and missile industry with approximately 50,000 employees has been established which is to be extended to twice its present size within the next few years. The expansion of the militarily significant branches of the chemical and electronic industries as well as the rapid extension of capacity in the construction of tanks and warships characterize decisive lines of development which exert an essential influence on the structure of the West German economy. Already in the era of the grand coalition direct expenditure for military research had, by 1969, risen to 977.7 million marks, Bonn envisages by 1972 a further increase of some 30 per cent. In its 1969 budget the Bonn government officially allocated approximately 31 per cent of its expenditure on science, which amounts to about 3.2 thousand million marks, to military research.

Regardless of the change of government in Bonn, the expansion and concentration of the West German arms monopolies are gathering momentum, their significance in the overall economy of West Germany is growing and their impact on Bonn policy is by no means declining. The system character of West German revanchism and expansionism has been proved by the facts.

On the Position of the GDR in International Law

The position of the German Democratic Republic in international law is not least characterized by the fact that we have consistently implemented the decisions of Potsdam and have, by overcoming militarism and nazism, created the foundation for the first German peace state, the GDR. This was an historic achievement, particularly also for the security of Europe and the peace of all nations. If today a few people in West Germany regard themselves as being very smart and would like to impress us with the demagogic question of what the GDR actually intended to do in favour of European security, we reply to them: First carry out the principal provisions of the Potsdam Agreement, extirpate

militarism and neo-nazism, politically, intellectually, economically and socially. Then you can ask questions once again.

Corresponding to the peaceful character of our workers' and farmers' state, the GDR has, since its foundation, been calling for relations of peaceful coexistence with all states including the West German Federal Republic. It goes without saying that relations of a peaceful kind and on a basis of equality, free from any discrimination can be established only on the basis of recognition in accordance with international law, and in this regard, too, our attitude coincides with the status and practice of every other sovereign state.

Certain circles in West Germany are obviously of the opinion that they could, by devising new terms, continue to avoid orderly relations based on international law. Thus they are nowadays talking of "special relations" by which term they imply nothing else but modified continuation of their arrogant claim to represent the whole of Germany. But that is no more than an completely unsuitable playing with words. Meanwhile we have even heard from official Bonn quarters that the issue was to get "a foot in the door of the GDR".

And furthermore: There are these or those special features, as we all know, in the relations between many sovereign states on our planet, such as between the Scandinavian countries and others. They participate on a basis of equality in international organizations and conclude treaties based on international law. There is nothing new in this at all and, if one wants to put it that way, nothing peculiar either. All of these states maintain relations in international law. None of the talk about "special relations", which originates from the arrogant sole representation claim, can be regarded as a constructive political attitude but merely as an attempt to sidetrack the issue which is meant to conceal the outworn idea of all or nothing vis-a-vis the GDR. This has always been hopeless and particularly fails to impress anyone today. Nor does the attempt to attribute this approach to us by crying: "Stop thief!" make any difference to the actual truth of the situation.

Since the foundation of our republic it has been the avowed aim of the CDU/CSU governments under Adenauer, Erhard and the government of the grand coalition under Kiesinger to deal with the Socialist German state in a special, namely, pronouncedly hostile and dominating manner. Those who make really unacceptable demands are, after all, the leading circles of the West German Federal Republic with their refusal to recognize the

principle of equality in their relations with the GDR. This attitude recalls only too clearly the ill-famed practices of imperialist states which keep the developing countries in bondage or are trying to do so. The same intention is also the basis of the numerous measures which are being applied in politics and economics, in science and in culture with a view to discriminating against the GDR. I should just like to remind you in this context of the anachronistic Allied Travel Board, of the attempts to discriminate against the GDR in the NATO states and the Common Market countries, to subject its citizens in West Germany to the handcuff laws and sabotage the membership and participation on an equal footing by our republic in international organizations.

The Bonn government must finally revoke the laws directed against the GDR and its citizens and stop interfering in the international relations of our republic. The developing of political, economical and other inter-state relations between the GDR and other European, Asian, African or Latin American countries, the participation and membership of the GDR on a basis of equality in international organizations is exclusively a matter for the parties concerned. Although the continuation of attempts to discriminate against the GDR is unable to stem the tide of international recognition of our republic, it is incompatible with a policy of international relaxation and security, and we flatly reject any such approaches.

An incident which took place only a short while ago demonstrates to what strange and embarrassing situations this meddling policy leads Bonn diplomats. Comrade Hermann Matern was, as you know, in Chile and was supposed to have discussions with leading representatives of that state. The West German ambassador tried to prevent this at the very last minute. A well-known bourgeois newspaper in Chile commented

"Rudolf Salat, Ambassador of the Federal Republic of Germany, came rushing into the Moneda. He was in such a hurry that it appeared as though he had taken an overdose of a very strong laxative."

"Salat rushed up the marble staircase to the presidential rooms in the Moneda and had his ardently coveted audience with the head of state."

This incident speaks for itself. Despite all his hurry the Bonn ambassador was unable to prevent the talks from taking their agreed upon course.

The party and state leadership of the German Democratic

Republic finds itself in complete agreement with all the citizens of our country in consistently repudiating any attempt at discrimination. The workers and farmers of the GDR, the citizens and cultural workers and, not least, the young generation leave no doubt that there will be nothing but scorn and jeers for anyone who tries to approach them in a presumptuous manner. Being upright people, all of them have sufficient self-respect not to tolerate either overt or covert impudence, particularly not from representatives of a system which has remained behind by an entire historical epoch and which has not even been able to provide elementary social and democratic rights let alone adequate educational facilities for the people under its rule.

Our Policy Was and Is Clear

Our policy was and is clear. It is unmistakably directed at strengthening peace, relaxation and European security. We are therefore striving for normal relations in international law with all states regardless of their social system, relations which are based on the principles of equality, non-interference in internal affairs and respect for the mutual frontiers and territories. Without the strict adherence to and application of these rules of international law there can be no normalization of relations between the German Democratic Republic and the Federal Republic of Germany. Everybody is well aware of the great variety of our proposals to this effect. It is imperative for the new Bonn government to jettison the policy of the CDU/CSU.

There was a great stir in West Germany around negotiations on transport. What is it all about? The GDR government had proposed, in the course of negotiations between representatives of the GDR Ministry of Transport and the West German Federal Ministry of Transport, an orderly regulation of inter-state traffic and, for this purpose, had submitted a draft of a comprehensive transport agreement. The draft is meant to regulate, on the basis of mutual recognition of and respect for the sovereign rights and competence regarding transport on the state territory concerned, the frontier-crossing traffic between the GDR and the West German Federal Republic. To this end international agreements are to apply as already being practised by the two states towards other states. That is a completely reasonable and acceptable proposal in every respect.

The negotiations, which were initiated last September between the

GDR Ministry of Postal and Telecommunication Services and the West German Federal Ministry of Postal and Telecommunication Services aim at reaching orderly agreements on the calculation and settlement of reciprocally rendered services. This is being done between the postal services of all states throughout the world. It is only the West German Ministry of Postal and Telecommunication Services which has so far been shirking its obligations towards the GDR postal services and has therefore run into heavy debt. This state of affairs can surely not continue for ever and a settlement must finally be found.

We expect the West German Federal Republic to honour its debts and to meet the justified demands of the GDR. It is necessary to get rid of the ballast of the past and tackle the various problems in accordance with the spirit of our time in a realistic manner.

The German Democratic Republic and the West German Federal Republic are two independent and sovereign states. They have been living side by side for over twenty years. Relations of peaceful coexistence and normal inter-state cooperation can develop only if they are based on equality and are free from any discrimination, that means that they are based on the internationally accepted rules of international law. No craftiness, to which apparently many people in Bonn are trying to resort instead of carrying out a realistic policy, will ever be able to distort our position.

As proposed by Comrade Walter Ulbricht, we are ready to negotiate on the conclusion of a treaty on the establishment of normal relations based on international law between the GDR and the FRG. May those responsible for the West German Federal Republic manifest the same readiness!

The year 1969 is approaching its end. It has been for us a year replete with work and success. Inspired by optimism and in firm and steadily consolidating alliance with the Soviet Union and other Socialist countries we enter the 1970s. We shall do everything in our power for the development and consolidation of our Socialist state and for a peaceful and secure future for our people.

A Decisive Phase of Social Developments in the German Democratic Republic

**From the Speech by Comrade Erich Honecker,
Member of the Political Bureau and Secretary of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany**

The tasks put forward at our session introduce a further decisive stage in shaping the developed social system of Socialism in the German Democratic Republic. The First Secretary of the Central Committee of our party, Comrade Walter Ulbricht, comprehensively characterized in his significant speech the phase of social development and the standards to be set for quality in the work of the party, state and economic bodies in 1970.

The historic importance of these tasks lies in the fact that we want to prove more clearly than before the superiority of Socialism over capitalism in all decisive fields, particularly in the economic sphere.

By setting the new tasks and helping party members and all working people more clearly to visualize the near future, we act in line with the tested principle of our Marxist-Leninist party to orientate all the forces of Socialist society thoroughly and in time on the solution of the main problems. In doing so, we first of all, as always, prepare ourselves within the party to solve the new problems, for it is the vanguard of the working class and all working people, it is the inspirer and organizer of social progress, it enjoys — as the results of 20 years in the GDR show — the complete confidence of the citizens in the German Democratic Republic.

We all have reason to tackle the work before us with optimism in view of the good balance drawn by the working people on the occasion of the 20th anniversary of the GDR's foundation. It gives witness to the fact that our party's policy of continuity based on Marxism-Leninism, has fully proved itself. It reflects the militancy of the party and the activity of the working people in carrying out the decisions of the Seventh Party Congress, the decisions of the Central Committee.

Principled Attitude and Convincing Ideological Work

Particularly the tasks for 1970 which are objective necessities resulting from the social demands and from the class struggle against imperialism make — as we know — very high demands on the whole party, on each member. For the leading bodies and for every branch this means raising the quality of the political and organizational work still further and overcoming the narrow-minded approach towards problems still existing sometimes. The best way of preparing all people for the tasks in the period of the long-term plan is to adopt a principled and creative attitude. Political and ideological work, living work with people, continuous development of Socialist consciousness are and will remain the basis of our work, the heart of the party's scientific leadership.

We work on the assumption that to strengthen the economy is the basis for developing all spheres of our life, is the foundation for further strengthening the German Democratic Republic. In his speech, Comrade Walter Ulbricht proved convincingly that particularly the level and speed of development in science and technology determine the political and economic strength of a state. So here we have a key problem which all party branches must recognize quickly in all its significance and on which the political, ideological and organizational activity — adapted to existing conditions — must be concentrated.

The main problems which face us in the scientific leadership of the party, state and economic bodies in the period ahead are above all the consistent realization of complex Socialist automation in the spheres laid down and complex Socialist rationalization in further factories and combines. If we make good progress here, if we are successful in achieving high labour productivity and pioneer performances in structure-determining fields, this is of great

importance for shaping the developed social system of Socialism and for the class struggle against imperialism.

So one can say that automation is above all a political task which is closely linked with a consistent realization of the leading role of the working class, with a continual increase in the strength of our Marxist-Leninist party and with the level of its scientific leadership. For the crucial issue is to prove the superiority of Socialism over capitalism in the scientific and technological revolution, above all, by proving that we are carrying out automation in the interests and for the benefit of the working people and that all workers, scientists and engineers are taking an active and creative part in it.

Important Lessons from Party Work in Complex Socialist Automation

Just how necessary a political approach to the central economic tasks is was clearly confirmed during work on the projects for complex Socialist automation in honour of the 20th anniversary of our republic. It would never have been possible to complete these tasks in 87 factories on such a high scientific and technological level, with such economic gains and at the necessary speed if we had seen automation simply as a technical, economic or organizational problem. Political and ideological clarity is one of the decisive prerequisites for big material, technical, economic and social performances. It was possible for the Political Bureau to report that the number of workers in the party has increased significantly and this fact is based on the political work done in the automated factories and departments. The strength of our party has further increased by admitting 71,550 candidates — 55,112 of them workers — in our ranks in this year. All this imparts important lessons to us for the future. From the experiences we have gathered, we must take note of three essentials for future work:

Firstly, the leading force in our Socialist society, the working class, must continue to push ahead in preparing and carrying out automation. In Socialist cooperation with the intelligentsia it raises the movement "Work, learn and live in a Socialist manner" onto a higher level.

Secondly, it is necessary to plan and carry out complex automation as an entity of raising labour productivity, making production most efficient at low costs, further increasing the level of education

and further improving the working and living conditions of the people.

Thirdly, the consistent and intelligent application of the principles of scientific leadership in the party — as decided at the 2nd and 10th meeting of the Central Committee — is one of the most important prerequisites for further automation. Needed for this is close and good cooperation with the Confederation of Free German Trade Unions and the Free German Youth with all working people, that is, purposeful political and ideological work with the people.

In his speech on the basic tasks for 1970, Comrade Walter Ulbricht dealt with the new problems which confront us after the 20th anniversary of the German Democratic Republic in complex Socialist automation and in developing the working and living conditions of the workers in the factories and localities. Everyone knows that the automated production process places much greater demands on the workers' educational level and their personal responsibility. It means that the new problems which arise in the factories and localities with regard to working and living conditions must be recognized and that the conditions for the reproduction of the workers' labour power must be improved through recreation, sport, culture and education. For this purpose it is necessary — in the future as it has been in the past — to organize strict party controls.

Level of Scientific Leadership — Key to Success

The 1970 plan has far-reaching aims. Compared to what we have achieved so far, the rate of growth planned is not small, in fact, it is very high. If any field were to remain behind, for example, research, development and technology, structural policy or continuity of supplies for the population, serious problems would arise which we would have to solve during the course of carrying out the plan. That is why the responsibility of all comrades, particularly those in the leading organs of the party, the state and the economy is very high. It must be welcomed that in connection with the questions of complex Socialist rationalization, the problems of the working and living conditions of the people which are — despite all achievements — still unsolved, are put openly.

Each of us who visited the automated factories in the last few months will confirm that the process of automation was a period of great political and ideological activity and of systematic study for us all — for ministers and works managers, for party secretaries in

the factories and the leading comrades from the county and district committees, for thousands of our party members and many workers.

I had the opportunity to be present during the inauguration of the Textile Combine in Cottbus. There the building of the first complete section of the automation project "VEB Textilkombinat Cottbus", which is of importance to the national economy, was completed in a period of only nine months. At the same time the parameters conforming to the highest international standards, according to which the project was designed, were surpassed.

The Cottbus county committee did purposeful political work for this. It was able to mobilize the comrades from the party branches down to the small cells and to enthuse all people working on this project. At the same time, consistency was shown in influencing the development of scientific leadership as a matter of principle. The decisions were strictly checked in accordance with the decisions of our party.

These exemplary performances were possible in Cottbus because the recommendations of party and government for close Socialist cooperation between designers, constructors, technologists, building and textile workers were applied and because the necessary number of scientific, technical and economic cadres were concentrated there.

It was impressive to see the enthusiasm not only of those immediately involved in the construction and employed in the combine, but also of thousands of Cottbus citizens who followed the first operations of the textile combine. The conviction and readiness to work for our good Socialist cause were clearly expressed in the words of the textile worker, Comrade Dalgert, who said during the inauguration that they all felt like revolutionaries of our time.

So it was possible to make the construction of this modern, high performance Socialist textile centre in Cottbus-Forst an affair for all people and to integrate this structure-determining task correctly into the locality. The solution of such tasks is no longer possible without this procedure.

All in all, if today we can look back on good results in automation up to now, it is a political characteristic that in this process the leading role of the working class and its party was strengthened and that the level of scientific leadership of party bodies and branches was raised. That was and remains the key to all our achievements.

I have only mentioned a few aspects here in order to show that in line with the decisions of the Seventh Party Congress the eco-

economic, scientific and technological problems must always be seen and solved in connection with the social relationships of people and particularly with the development of the working class. To recognize these inter-connections and to explain them to the people convincingly and from the aspect of future development — that is a decisive task for political leadership by the party.

The experiences of the year 1969 show clearly that those branches made most progress which organized their work in accordance with principles, which conducted their work for best performances in research, technology and economy in connection with campaigns for improving working conditions, for tidiness and cleanliness at work. On the other hand, party branches remained behind which did not concentrate their work on the problem as a whole and its inter-connections, but lost themselves in details, allowed party decisions to be violated and did not carry out systematic controls on their realization. And this is the case not only for the party organizations, but also for state and economic bodies.

Higher Qualification of Party Cadres Is a Precondition for Greater Strength of the Party

The realization of the Political Bureau decisions on the organization of science in the chemical industry has general significance over and above this industrial branch. It must be organized and realized on party lines. It is therefore necessary that the decision is thoroughly discussed in the main centres of the chemical industry and the chemical plant construction industry as well as in all secretariats of the county and district committees and to organize the systematic party control of its implementation. Based on the experiences collected and on tested principles of political leadership, we will check how decisions are carried out in the field of automation and thereby apply the most modern scientific and technical means of which the party disposes, as was decided at the 2nd and 10th meetings of the Central Committee. What is the essence of these decisions?

Basically, it is a question of explaining the great political, ideological, economic, scientific and technical tasks to all people and of gaining still more time for creative activity and for work with the people by applying a modern system of information. So the essence of these decisions is to increase the strength of our party, to continually improve the political, ideological and organizational

work of our party and employ the latest scientific and technical aids for this purpose.

A decisive factor for increasing the strength of the party is always the level of political and technical qualification of party cadres. This qualification must be combined with characteristics such as militancy, honesty, modesty, objectivity and perseverance. Party cadres must understand how to encourage the confidence of the workers in the party through patient, understanding work with the people and to encourage the development of Socialist consciousness.

The party member gains consistency mainly in the course of daily party work, in the struggle for the implementation of party decisions. That is why the branches and district committees should make more use of the actual practice of party life, high level branch meetings, voluntary work, party tasks to individual members and checking on how they are carried out — all this should be used even more to qualify the comrades.

Today we possess a system through which a growing number of comrades can be qualified politically and theoretically and through which a knowledge of the Marxist-Leninist science of organization can be imparted. All these measures aim at generalizing the best experiences of political leadership and, through application of the latest findings in science and technology, at raising the scientific quality of party leadership in line with the growing demands and making it still more effective.

The All-round Strengthening of the GDR — Our Contribution to the Struggle Against Imperialism

It is a matter of course that our party always lays down the tasks for further shaping the developed Socialist system in close connection with international events. When we raise labour productivity, when we develop our science, technology and culture, perfect our Socialist educational system and improve our defence, then we do this not only in our own interests. As an integral part of the Socialist community of states, in fraternal alliance with the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, we also want to fulfil our international duty towards the whole Communist and workers' movement and to make our contribution in the world-wide struggle between Socialism and imperialism.

Particularly in view of the crimes committed by the US aggressors against the Vietnamese people and of the Israeli war against the

Arab people inspired by the USA, imperialism is exposing itself in the eyes of the whole world as an inhuman system. Everyone can see how right the Secretary General of the CPSU, Comrade Leonid Brezhnev was, when he declared at the Moscow world meeting of Communist and workers' parties "that imperialism, as a social system, remains the main obstacle on the road of the historically inevitable advance of mankind to the triumph of freedom, peace and democracy".

We know only too well that imperialism has several faces. It conducts the struggle against Socialism and the revolutionary renewal of the world not only through wars of aggression such as in Vietnam and the Middle East. The changed relation of forces in the world — particularly the growing strength and influence of the Soviet Union and the other Socialist countries — has forced the imperialists to adapt themselves to the new conditions of struggle between the two systems. Limited in its power, but more aggressive than ever, imperialism tries under the pressure of facts, to pursue its old aims with new methods — particularly after the counter-revolutionary attacks on Czechoslovakia failed — and, if necessary, by regrouping its political forces. With regard to the Socialist countries in Europe it uses mainly psychological warfare and ideological subversion. Pleasant-sounding new words are used to cover up the old aims of global strategy against Socialism.

It is well known that the Moscow world meeting determined in its analysis, which has since been confirmed again and again, that imperialism can overcome neither its inherent internal nor external contradictions through military adventure or "new methods". But this also makes it unpredictable in its actions and dangerous. We must continue to be on guard against all kinds of political, ideological, economic and military activities. Anyone who sincerely wants to fight war and reaction today must go on the offensive against the imperialist system.

"Council of the Gods" Continues to Exist in the Bonn State

The struggle against aggressive West German imperialism takes a special position in this picture. As we all know, West Germany is the most aggressive imperialist country in Europe. There the laws of profit reign. After all, the founders of the West German separatist state and all the CDU/CSU-led Bonn governments that followed, including the grand coalition government, declared quite openly that

they consider themselves the main ally of the USA in Europe in order to revise the results of the Second World War in contradiction to the aims of the anti-Hitler coalition and the Potsdam Agreement and above all to abolish Socialism from German soil. The revanchist course by Bonn against the existing state borders was accompanied by a spread of neo-nazism and by the emergency laws at home and leads externally to the peace and security of the European nations being threatened. In other words: West Germany plays a special role in the US global strategy.

All this is well known. But as for some weeks now a new government under Social Democratic Chancellor Brandt has been in office, the question is naturally being put in West Germany: what has actually changed in Bonn? The speech by the First Secretary of the Central Committee and Chairman of the Council of State of the German Democratic Republic gives a comprehensive reply. All branches should thoroughly study this speech.

There is a new government on the Rhine — however, a new policy cannot be sighted. Even in the Federal Republic itself, there is nobody who would seriously deny that the rule of the big capitalist monopolies has remained. Flick and Abs continue to be Flick and Abs. Brandt discusses the policy and composition of the government with Abs. The concentration of the arms trusts, the formation of the military-industrial complex continues. The influence of the industrialists and financiers which penetrates all spheres of West German society has not been limited in any way. The key positions in the most important mass media, particularly in the Springer newspaper trust, are in the same hands as before. The commanders and the aggressive aims of the West German Bundeswehr have in no way changed, but, on the contrary, they are being perfected — as all facts show — in the old spirit and in full agreement with the NATO Supreme Command and the US military. The "Council of the Gods" continues to exist.

However, we do not overlook — as was noted at the meeting of party and state leaders of Socialist countries — that the election results in the West German Federal Republic and the new government are an "expression of changes among parts of the people in the Federal Republic of Germany, an expression of an increasing tendency among these circles directed at a realistic policy of cooperation and understanding between the states." At the same time, the participants of the meeting — as stated in the communique — expressed their unanimous opinion that the continuing dangerous phenomena of revanchism in the Federal Republic of Germany and the activation

of the neo-nazi forces must not be ignored and that one must continually be on guard against them.

Two Interests Confront Each Other in West Germany

Thus, as a result of the common policy of the Socialist countries and the sharpening contradictions inherent in the imperialist system, a situation has been reached which fully confirms the correctness of our policy. The revanchist politicians have landed in a blind alley with all their varying tactics so far and today two quite clear lines of interest confront each other in West Germany.

On the one hand there are those 16 million West German voters who showed at the general elections that they are sick of the conservative and peace-endangering course of the CDU/CSU in Bonn. Apart from social security, co-determination and domestic reforms, they demanded a change in foreign policy, above all, normal relations valid under international law with the Socialist countries and particularly with the German Democratic Republic. This would, indeed, correspond with the principles of peaceful coexistence.

On the other hand we see the efforts of big business which is in power in West Germany. It wants to adapt the Federal Republic through so-called reforms in its interests to the demands of present-day society and to arm it for the struggle with Socialism. In foreign policy its efforts are to continue the old revanchist course by camouflaging it with "new accents" and attempts to give the "new eastern policy" of the grand coalition a new face.

When the Brandt-Scheel government says in reply to the question of whose interests it intends to represent, that in future Bonn policy will be marked by "continuity" and "renewal", this is nothing more than an attempt to square the circle. But we leave it up to the citizens of the Federal Republic to judge whether the nice-sounding promises made during the election campaign are being fulfilled. We can only judge by the new government's deeds and even during its first few weeks in office - apart from the signature to the atomic weapons nonproliferation treaty - these were anything but encouraging. Many people in West Germany - from young Socialists and trade unionists to influential commentators - are asking today whether the old kernel of the Kiesinger-Brandt government is not becoming visible under the new shell of the Brandt-Scheel government.

Even a journal so close to the Bonn government as the *Europa-Archiv* informed its readers that "as chancellor, Willy Brandt will not

make any fundamental changes in foreign policy." But what was the main doctrine of West German foreign policy up to now? It was to change the status quo in Europe, the refusal to fully recognize European frontiers. So is this not to be changed? Is this how one is to interpret Chancellor Brandt's policy statement in which he based himself on the official Bonn note in 1966 which made the revanchist claim for the 1937 borders of the "German Reich"?

Facts We Cannot Overlook

Let us take a closer look at some of the new Bonn government's practical steps.

While hopes for a positive attitude towards a European security conference were roused by the policy statement, we are now witnessing how the new Bonn government is less and less disguising the preconditions it puts, preconditions which can have no other purpose but to delay this conference, desired by the European nations, in fact, to prevent it if possible. What else can it mean when West German Chancellor Brandt declares that a European security conference could only take place if the GDR — as Comrade Walter Ulbricht expressed it — accepts Bonn tutelage, accepts its demands to bow down to "inner-German relations" without recognition valid in international law. Otherwise, and these were his words, in Bonn's opinion there would be "no point in such a conference".

Meanwhile, American Secretary of State Rogers visited Brussels and Bonn and objected to support being given for a European security conference. As is reported from Bonn, he went home with the reassurance that as regards the new federal government's future policy, there is no reason for any American concern.

The letter from US President Richard Nixon to the Bonn government follows the same line. Brandt made public that his letter documents "unreserved confidence". According to Brandt, this letter reaffirms that the governments in Washington and Bonn agree to tackle the next political aims on the basis of the NATO alliance, "each in his way and in contact with one another".

So it cannot be overlooked that the foreign policy of the Brandt government is coordinated into the NATO bloc and is an integral part of the US imperialist global strategy. The leading newspaper of US big business, the International Herald Tribune confirms this on 10 December 1969: "NATO accepted the American approach. Gained thereby was a larger measure of American influence over

European diplomacy. The central focus is now on Willy Brandt, diplomatic scout or 'point man' for the West."

The Brandt-Scheel government's attitude to the non-proliferation treaty is also very revealing. As positive as it is, to put one's signature at last to the treaty as the 94th country, we cannot overlook the fact that it was signed with an endless list of reservations which is intended to at least delay ratification of the treaty.

While Brandt talked about readiness to limit armaments in his policy statement, the new Social Democratic Defence Minister, Helmut Schmidt, is further consolidating the Bundeswehr with great enthusiasm. His first official act was to demand retention of nuclear weapon carriers. Already at his inauguration, the Social Democratic Minister for the Bundeswehr gave the assurance that he intends consistently to continue the plans of his CDU predecessor Schröder.

Together with the British Secretary of Defence, Healey, Schmidt enforced the acceptance of Schröder's plan to lower the atomic threshold, i.e., earlier use of tactical nuclear weapons, at the latest meetings of the Nuclear Planning Group and the NATO Council. At the parliamentary meeting of the West European Union, Schmidt reaffirmed the Federal Republic's loyalty to NATO and declared: "We have no intention of weakening German contributions to NATO."

America is also at stake in Europe, he said, and expressly demanded that American troops stay in West Germany. "In the 1970s", said Schmidt, "the fundamental asymmetry between east and west can only be balanced out by the US presence in Europe."

Herr Schmidt reaffirmed the continuity of CDU/CSU military policies of West German militarism by the Brandt government in so far as he succeeded in having the infamous term "forward defence" taken into the decisions of the NATO Council's December meeting in Brussels. This so-called forward defence is nothing more than the strategical and tactical conception of aggression against the Socialist countries worked out by CDU War Minister Schröder and the Hitler generals in the Bundeswehr.

The accompaniment to this was a comment written by Albert Weinstein, military commentator and close confidant of Bundeswehr generals under the revealing heading "Negotiate and become Stronger". Weinstein wrote that Bonn's policy of security must be understood as a "combination of relaxation offensives and sufficient military presence". He becomes even franker when he says that "relaxation must be paid for with divisions, squadrons and an

arsenal of nuclear weapons". When in future people in Bonn talk about "relaxation" we will have to take this into consideration.

As regards the attitude of the new Bonn government to the GDR, we certainly did not overlook that Brandt talked about the existence of two German states and actually uttered the three letters GDR. But how is this to be reconciled with the express refusal to recognize the GDR under international law, as relations between sovereign states can exist only on the basis of international law? Here, it sounds very much as though the sole representation claim and the Hallstein doctrine — only verbally changed — are to remain in force. At least all concrete steps in foreign policy by the new government are turned in this direction. In this connection, a whole propaganda structure of so-called special and inner-German relations is being erected in order to pull the wool over peoples' eyes and encourage nationalism.

However, we will see how the government in the Federal Republic reacts to the constructive proposals that Comrade Walter Ulbricht placed before our plenary session for decision. We are offering it a big chance for a new beginning. From the reaction of the Bonn government one will see whether it continues the revanchist policy of all preceding West German governments or whether one can count on a true renewal of West German foreign policy. Bonn's attitude to the proposal for a treaty to establish normal relations valid in international law between the German Democratic Republic and the Federal Republic of Germany is a touchstone to show what the new government in Bonn means when it talks about peace and relaxation.

"New Accents" and Herr Wehner

When judging developments in West Germany one cannot overlook the fact that Federal Chancellor Brandt recently emphasized there could never be any cooperation with the Communists in the Federal Republic. However, speaking to the CDU/CSU he said in his policy statement: "This government will not only listen to the opinions of the opposition on all vital questions affecting the nation, but it will include them in its policies." Surely that is clear enough. One is reminded of an official document which the SPD executive passed and published in 1960. It was called "The Alternatives of Our Time" and had the significant sub-title "Dispute of Social Democracy with Communism."

It states point-blank that Social Democracy is in a better position than "conservatism" and "primitive crusade propaganda" to fight Communism. There — I quote — where "the ruling classes refuse to keep up with the times . . . continually growing tensions arise". The last part of this long-term document contains a whole catalogue of domestic and foreign policy measures to improve the imperialist system. It makes an appeal to accept the challenge of Communism and practise "a policy directed to the future" with the help of Social Democracy. In that same year, 1960, Wehner publicly declared in the West German Bundestag that the SPD was going over to the CDU/CSU and the NATO course.

Should anyone object that this is as old as Methuselum, he should read the infamous speech Wehner made at the "Socialist International" in Eastbourne in 1969 where he put up the same theses. They can be summarized as an offer to the big bourgeoisie: Take us, the Social Democratic leaders. In view of the onward march of Socialism, in view of the social problems arising from the scientific and technological revolution and in order to save the capitalist system from widespread international class struggle, we are better suited for this than the discredited and fairly inflexible forces of past years.

And it was Wehner who stated after the Brandt-Scheel government took office that the issue was "to get one's foot into the other's door". Just how he wants to do this he explained with the words: "We will have to do a great deal and also omit things in order to gradually achieve our aim over a long period . . . The prospects could improve to the degree that we gain sympathy, confidence and then advocates first in some places and then in many."

So there can be no doubt: We are now witnessing a large-scale attempt by the true ruling forces in West Germany — behind a fog of "new accents" in foreign policy" and a loudly proclaimed "reform in head and limbs" at home — to integrate the Social Democratic Party into the late capitalist system to an even greater extent in order to make it more attractive for the future and to guard it from serious upheavals.

It is no coincidence that prominent representatives of the imperialist theory of convergency are coming to the fore in West Germany at the moment with a common "Appeal to Act" which adds up to nothing more than a perpetuation of imperialism and a "metamorphosis" of Socialism on a world scale. The list of these "advisers" ranges from Brzezinski and the nuclear war theoretician Kahn to the new head planner in the Bonn Bundeswehr Ministry, Sommer.

Under the slogan of "bridge building" plans are once more being concocted for a "democratization of Communism", in which the infamous US anti-Communist specialist Brzezinski is playing a leading role. Relaxation in the spirit of the "new eastern policy" is called "a cooperative policy of rapprochement", which is to bring Eastern Europe closer to the west, as he expresses it. The aim is "to create a favourable climate for the positive evolution of the political systems in Eastern Europe". One need not explain what a man like Brzezinski — a man active in undermining Socialism in Czechoslovakia — understands by a positive evolution". For him this is synonymous with counter-revolution.

Brzezinski also names the means by which he wants to fight Socialism. Pointing expressly to the mass media he says very frankly: "Ideological softening up is the decisive cause of political transformation in the Communist societies." And he considers a Socialism of a "Social Democratic nature", specially cut to fit Europe, to be particularly suitable. Even frustrated attempts such as that in Czechoslovakia should not, says Brzezinski, prevent one trying to injure "the Socialist sphere of influence . . . in a different manner". The components of the theory of convergency are described not as an "end in itself" but as a "means to an end", not as the "aim of politics" but as its "instrument".

One could quote pages of how these gentlemen conceive penetration into the Socialist countries in accordance with the models worked out in the well-known "Grey Plans". And they are not even shy of praising some of our achievements. In fact, in Bonn, large-scale analyses are made of the situation in our educational system, our science and research, comparing this with that of West Germany. They hope to kill two birds with one stone: Firstly, they want to arouse the impression of being enlightened and objective, and secondly they want "contacts" without international recognition in order to lull political vigilance and in addition they want the knowledge of our experts in an attempt to close their own scientific gaps.

The contents of the "Grey Plans", however, hatched up by a so-called Research Committee of the Bonn government, show that ministers in Bonn find it difficult to fill the gaps in their own knowledge in certain fields. If this were not the case they would not have made these "Grey Plans" part and parcel of their government program. These plans have been carefully worked out and published every four years since 1953 and represent nothing less than a counter-revolutionary program to change the social

system in the German Democratic Republic on so-called X Day. Although some of the verbal sharpness was avoided in consideration of the "new eastern policy", it was officially declared in Bonn that all reports from 1953 to 1969 must be seen as "a practicable entity for every case", in fact, the "research work" should in future be extended beyond the GDR to member countries of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance.

Changes Will Have to Be Made in West Germany

It is in this light that one must see the most recent activities of the infamous "Kuratorium Unteilbares Deutschland" (Committee for an Indivisible Germany) which gathered in the separate political entity of West Berlin only a few days ago contrary to all international law. Even before this meeting, it publicly stated that internal reforms in the Federal Republic provided favourable soil for attempts to penetrate into the German Democratic Republic. Through the "change in Bonn", so the statement says, "conceptions of a third road receive new impetus". The authors admit fairly frankly that their aim is a "gradual" metamorphosis of the present social system "after other, shorter roads have proved impassable". Does one need more proof that these forces are trying to carry out their already frustrated policies by new methods? However, the wish will remain father to the thought. To all those in Bonn and elsewhere who plan changes in the Socialist countries we want to say: Changes have to take place, but in West Germany, for it is from there that European peace is threatened.

A few days ago a West German bourgeois newspaper asked, just what does it mean when the communique on the meeting of party and state leaders from the Socialist countries states that West Germany must learn the lessons of history, must throw off the ballast of the past and approach realistically and in the spirit of the time problems which cause tensions between European states.

Perhaps we can give a few pointers on the basis of our own experiences. After all, West Germany is still faced with a task that has long been fulfilled in the German Democratic Republic; carrying out the stipulations of the Potsdam Agreement which came into being through the sacrifice and struggle of the anti-Hitler coalition and above all the Soviet Union and which is today an integral part of existing international law. This concerns such decisive questions — already dealt with by Comrade Walter Ulbricht — as liquidation of

all fascist neo-nazi organizations, trends and ideologies, elimination of militarism and breaking the omnipotence of the arms trust.

So learning the lessons of history means for West Germany, recognizing the outcome of the Second World War, the status quo and the borders in Europe and pursuing a truly new policy on this basis. Particularly the coming 25th anniversary of liberation from and defeat of German fascism by the Soviet armed forces and the armed forces of the anti-Hitler coalition must remind us that the West German Federal Republic has the international duty to make its contribution so that a war never again emanates from German soil.

Unwaveringly Forward on Our Good Socialist Road

The position of the German Democratic Republic is clear. The interests of the working people and the urgent necessity to secure peace in Europe is the basis of all our decisions. Furthermore, we adhere to the unrenounceable principles of the common policy of the Socialist states, the essence of which is contained in the communique from the latest Moscow meeting. The proposal for a treaty on the establishment of relations between the German Democratic Republic and the Federal Republic of Germany valid in international law, put so convincingly by Comrade Walter Ulbricht, corresponds to the growing desire of the peoples that such relations be established between the two German states and that the existing European borders, including the Oder-Neisse border, be recognized as final and inviolable.

We can be certain that this, our consistent policy of peace, will find a positive echo in the whole world and that it will mobilize the working people of the German Democratic Republic to further strengthen our Socialist state in all fields. Irrespective of how West Germany may develop, we will continue on our good Socialist road in accordance with the decisions of the Seventh Party Congress. That lies in the interests of the people in the German Democratic Republic and also in the interests of the West German working class.

Statement

of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany
on the Results of the Moscow Meeting of Leading Personalities
of Fraternal Socialist Countries

The 12th session of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany (SED) fully agrees with the significant results of the Moscow meetings of leading personalities of fraternal Socialist countries. It approves the activities of the party and government delegation from the GDR headed by Comrade Walter Ulbricht.

The result of the Moscow Meeting, which re-affirms the correctness and success of the joint policy of the Socialist countries on questions of peace and international security, represents a new and constructive initiative of the Socialist states in the struggle for peace, for security in Europe and in the world and for international disarmament.

The Central Committee of the SED proclaims its determination to strengthen its efforts in line with the decisions of the Moscow meeting, so that the principles of peaceful coexistence become the general norm in relations between European states with different social systems. In this connection, the active preparation and early holding of an all-European conference on peace and security in which all European states would take part on a basis of equality, gains tremendous significance.

For the people of the German Democratic Republic it is of parti-

cular importance that the Moscow meeting unanimously agreed that all countries should take up relations with the German Democratic Republic based on international law and equality. Safeguarding peace also demands that all states recognize the existing European state frontiers — including the Oder-Neisse frontier — as final and inviolable.

The Central Committee of the SED expects that the urgent warnings of the Moscow communique to the West German government that it should learn the lessons of the past, throw off the ballast of the past and approach the burning issues of our day realistically will find sympathy in West Germany.

In accordance with the agreements of the Moscow meeting, the 12th sessions of the Central Committee calls upon all GDR citizens to further strengthen and consolidate the workers' and farmers' state on German soil and to continually be on guard against the dangerous appearances of revanchism and the activization of neo-nazi forces in West Germany.

The Central Committee of the SED expressly supports the protest of the Moscow meeting against the inhuman and criminal aggression of the USA in Vietnam. True to the principles of proletarian internationalism, the cause of peace, the independence and freedom of the peoples, the SED and the people of the GDR will continue to do everything in their power to support the just struggle of the heroic Vietnamese people in order to put an end to the barbarous imperialist aggression as quickly as possible. The Central Committee of the SED demands that the West German government cease all support for the US aggression in Vietnam.

The 12th session of the Central Committee expresses its deep satisfaction at the agreement of opinion between the participants of the Moscow meeting and welcomes the unanimously declared readiness to consult on the most important international problems and to coordinate joint actions in the struggle for peace and security — including European security.

The Central Committee of the SED conveys from its 12th session feelings of firm alliance and sincere gratitude to the Central Committee of the CPSU for the exemplary work it performed to make the Moscow meeting of fraternal Socialist countries such a success.

Berlin, 13 December 1969

Central Committee of the SED

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