

FOR  
EUROPEAN SECURITY  
AND RELAXATION  
BETWEEN THE  
TWO GERMAN STATES

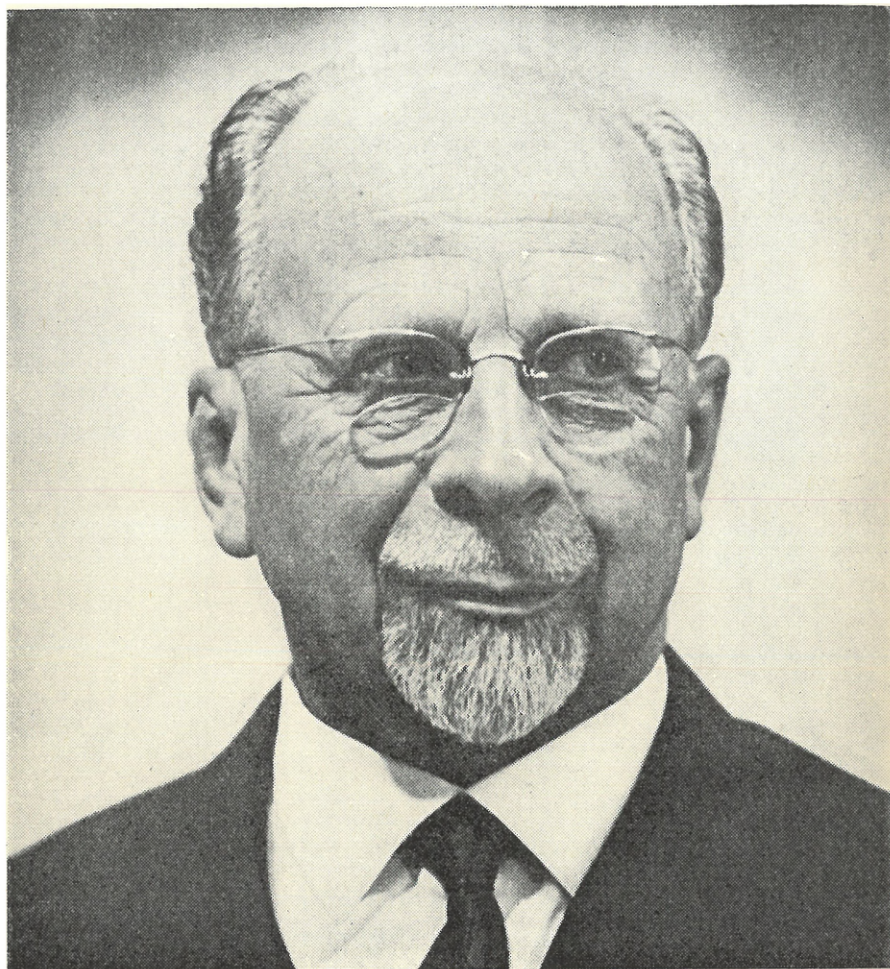
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*Documents on the National Policy of the GDR*  
5/1966



For European Security  
and Relaxation between the Two German States

**Walter Ulbricht, Chairman of the Council of State of the GDR and First Secretary of the Central Committee of the SED**



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VERLAG ZEIT IM BILD

Verlag Zeit im Bild, DDR — 801 Dresden

Translation by Intertext, DDR — 108 Berlin

Printed by Graßscher Grossbetrieb Völkerfreundschaft, DDR — 8023 Dresden

443/66 - 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 26

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*Report by Walter Ulbricht at the 13th session of the  
Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of  
Germany (SED) on 16 September 1966*





Dear Comrades,

Developments in the two months which have passed since the end of the session of the Political Advisory Committee of the countries of the Warsaw Pact in Bucharest have fully confirmed its perceptions and decisions.

In the past two months the striving of the European peoples and states for a firm safeguarding of peace has strengthened on the one side. Their concern is growing that the dirty war of the US imperialists in Vietnam increasingly endangers world peace. On the other side the ruling circles in Bonn make efforts to falsify the striving of the peoples for European security and utilize it for the penetration of the socialist countries with their imperialist policy.

The results of the session of the Warsaw Pact states and its documents have already been explained and evaluated in detail by various competent bodies of the German Democratic Republic. So I can restrict myself here to a few remarks and moreover to the treatment of a few problems concerning the GDR as well as European security.

The treatment of these political problems is a part of the discussion in preparation of the Seventh Congress of our Party. The 13th plenum of the Central Committee answers many current questions and suggestions for the discussion in the basic organizations of the Party.

## **The Shadow of the US Aggression in Vietnam**

As you know the signatory states of the Warsaw Pact had to deal with the extension of the criminal US aggression in Vietnam in their deliberations. They decided on the intensification of their all-round aid for the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and at the same pointed out the connection between the dirty war against the Vietnamese people and the situation in Europe.

The ever greater efforts of the European peoples and most of their governments for security in Europe arise not least from the insight that the intensified aggressiveness of the US imperialists and their dirty war in Vietnam are also directed against peace and relaxation on our continent. The fact that French head of state de Gaulle expressly based his withdrawal from the integrated NATO with the argument that he wants to prevent France from being involved against her will in a war of the USA which could be carried from Vietnam to Europe has caused a deep impression in many European countries. The seriousness of the situation has in this way been made especially visual.

In fact, the escalation of the US war against Vietnam does not allow the European states to speak of relaxation in Europe. Rather the European peoples have every reason to multiply their efforts to safeguard peace for our continent.

There exists a complicity between Washington, the aggressor, and Bonn, the potential war incendiary. There exists between them a kind of mutual

agreement. Bonn is ready to support the US war in Vietnam. As a price for it the USA is to give the West German imperialists support in every way for their policy of revenge.

The cynicism with which the ruling circles in Bonn sanction the outrages of the US murderers in Vietnam and promote them was shown by the statement of the chairman of the parliamentary group of the West German government party, Herr Barzel, when in June 1966 he declared Bonn's solidarity with the US war in Vietnam in a speech in Washington. On this occasion he also proclaimed the subjection of the West German Federal Republic to the dollar as well as to the political and military leadership of the US imperialists in the interest of the support of the USA for the West German policy of revenge.

Herr Barzel and other CDU politicians obviously think that if the USA were not to devastate Vietnam with fire and sword and murder countless Vietnamese people every day, then Bonn would not be confident that at a given time it would devastate Europe, too, with napalm and a hail of bombs in the interest of the West German policy of revenge. But obviously the line of reasoning of these CDU politicians is that fortunately the USA has no scruples about attacking other peoples and bringing war to other continents.

It is tragic for the international communist and working-class movement and for the cause of peace that in this situation the policy of the USA and West German imperialism is supported by the policy of division of the leadership of the Communist Party of China. We consider the shameful

attacks of the leadership of the Communist Party of China against the Soviet Union and other socialist states as being incompatible with the policy of a revolutionary party. It is known that Herr Adenauer, for example, always pinned his hopes on injury to the socialist camp arising from its being split by the Chinese leadership. I expressly declare that the Socialist Unity Party of Germany and the German Democratic Republic support the just struggle of the Vietnamese people so that the Geneva decisions may be implemented, the realization of which guarantees the freedom and independence of the Vietnamese people and makes the establishment of peace possible.

### **Program for Freedom and Security**

In the "Declaration on the Strengthening of Peace and Security in Europe" which was adopted at the session of the Political Advisory Committee of the countries of the Warsaw Pact a program for peace and security was developed on the basis of a realistic assessment of the situation and especially of the dangers threatening peace in Europe, a program which is acceptable to all European states and peoples. Its realization, however, will still require great efforts by all peace forces of Europe and will undoubtedly not be possible from one day to the next, for it is obvious that the government of the West German Federal Republic does everything it can to preserve the state of insecurity and tensions in Europe by means of its policy of revenge.

The states of the Warsaw Pact rightfully feel especially called upon to submit to all European peoples and their governments a constructive program of peace and security for our continent, for they represent the strongest European grouping of states that ever existed. They represent two-thirds of the European continent and more than half of its inhabitants. The European security conference proposed by them could considerably promote the creation of a system of collective security in Europe.

The states of the Warsaw Pact have called upon all European states to develop good neighbourly relations on the basis of the principles of independence and national sovereignty, equality of rights, non-interference in internal affairs and mutual advantage—on the basis of the principles of peaceful coexistence between states with different social systems. European cooperation requires the renunciation by all states of all discrimination and pressure—political or economic—towards other countries, their cooperation on the basis of equality and the establishment of normal relations between them, the establishment of normal relations with the two German states. This also includes the participation of the two German states on a basis of equality in the development and consolidation of European cooperation in various fields so that they, too, can make their full contribution to the cause of progress and peace in Europe.

The government in Bonn has addressed a hypocritical note to a number of European states which speaks of the renunciation of the use of force. It is known that the government of the German Democratic Republic has repeatedly addressed itself to the government in Bonn with the proposal

to reach agreement on the renunciation of force. But the present proposal of the Bonn government has a different purpose, for the government in Bonn insists on expressly *not* renouncing the use of force towards the German Democratic Republic. But even the note to the other socialist states does not contain a clear formulation of the renunciation of force towards them, for this note negates the main principle of a renunciation of force, i. e., the recognition of all existing frontiers in Europe.

It is well known that the Hitler government used to prepare all its aggressions with declarations on the renunciation of force. It is also known that the Hitler government never recognized the existing frontiers. Then it carried through aggressions while alleging that it had been called upon by the population of the country concerned and therefore has the right to cross the frontiers.

It is expressly emphasized in the Declaration of the Warsaw Pact states:

“It is necessary in the interest of the normalization of the situation in Europe that all states in and outside Europe base their foreign policy actions on the recognition of the really existing frontiers between the European states which have come into existence after the most devastating war in the history of mankind. These frontiers include the Polish frontier on the rivers Oder and Neisse and the frontiers between the two German states.”

In the spirit of the joint declaration of the Warsaw Pact states, Comrade Cyrankiewicz, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Poland, stressed in his speech on the occasion of the 27th anniversary of the fascist attack on Poland that “all socialist states must

maintain untiring political vigilance". Comrade Cyrankiewicz underlined the absolute priority of political considerations over economic, trade and other questions with regard to West Germany. The prime minister of the People's Republic of Poland summarized the conditions for the normalization of relations with West Germany in the following words:

"Naturally we want the normalization of our relations with the German Federal Republic just as we want to live peacefully with every country. The conditions for this normalization have already been formulated by us several times. They are simple and are quite self-evident to everyone:

Recognition of the frontiers and renunciation of all territorial demands;

recognition of the German Democratic Republic and the establishment of mutual relations on the basis of respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity;

renunciation of the insane idea of representing the whole of Germany in Utopian frontiers from the irretrievable past;

renunciation of all demands for atomic weapons in any form."

The Declaration of the Warsaw Pact states corresponds to the peace policy long since consistently pursued by the German Democratic Republic. We are determined to promote the implementation of this program for peace and security in Europe with all our strength and to work for the preparation of a European security conference and at the same time for the lasting success of its deliberations together with our friends and allies and all those who are interested in peace and security.

## **The Two German States, Reunification and the European Security Conference**

Speaking of European security we must proceed from the fact that the sources of insecurity and the danger of war must be removed. Since two world wars began from German soil, the renunciation by the two German states of the right of disposal over nuclear weapons and their will to disarmament is the most important question of European security. Thus the demand of the government in Bonn for the shared disposal over atomic weapons is aimed directly against any relaxation and against any agreement on European security.

The question has been posed as to which states should take part in such an all-European security conference. Naturally, all European states. It is self-evident that the preparation of such a conference demands consultations between the governments of two or more states. The government of the German Democratic Republic sees its task to be to develop our relations with all European states through the extension of political, economic and cultural relations in the spirit of our peace doctrine.

The Bonn government opposes a European security conference. Referring to its sole representation pretension it demands the exclusion of the German peace state—the German Democratic Republic—from such a conference.

This unrealistic, revanchist demand is based on the allegation of West German propaganda that the cause of insecurity in Europe is the existence



of two German states. First the ruling circles of West Germany should be allowed to extend their rule over the GDR before further steps in the direction of European security could be taken.

As is well known, tensions in Germany which naturally also affect Europe do not have their cause in the existence of two German states. It is known that a united Germany unleashed two world wars. The causes of tensions lie in Bonn's policy of revenge, in the hostile attitude of the West German ruling circles to the German Democratic Republic, in their imperialist demand for the annexation of the German Democratic Republic, in Bonn's rejection of any understanding on a way to a German confederation.

The essence of the German question consists, as has been proved repeatedly, in the safeguarding of peace through the overcoming of German militarism and the armament economy. The peaceful settlement of the German question requires the implementation of the principles of the Potsdam Agreement also in West Germany and the creation of certainty that war never again begins from German soil. This means that the safeguarding of peace must be in the first place if the German people and the peoples of Europe are to be spared a new catastrophe.

It is sometimes said that reunification must not be withheld for ever from such a highly developed civilized nation as the German nation. But nobody prevents German reunification other than the West German monopolists, revanchists and militarists. By the way, it should also not be forgotten that there are two traditions and two cultures in Germany. There

is, on the one hand, the barbaric tradition and anti-culture of German imperialism which culminated in the murder of millions of human beings in the gas-chambers of Auschwitz and other concentration camps and which at present also finds expression in the support of the barbaric war of the USA in Vietnam and in atomic war preparation. On the other hand, there is the progressive tradition of the German nation and its humanist German culture which is today represented by the GDR and by the progressive forces of the working class and humanistically minded intellectuals in West Germany. They alone serve the truly national interests of the German people.

Of great importance for the safeguarding of peace in Europe and relaxation in the relations between the two German states is the proposal of the German Democratic Republic for admission to the United Nations. It must be recognized that West Germany is the second centre of war danger in the world. Two world wars started from German soil. The question of admission of the two German states to the United Nations is therefore at the same time a question of European security. Such a decision of the UN would facilitate the rapprochement of the two German states and would perhaps make it possible to preclude conflicts and war dangers in time.

Mr. U Thant, Secretary General of the United Nations, declared in his introductory report to the 20th session of the General Assembly that the United Nations has not yet reached the goal of universality in its membership. He stated that this reduces the effectiveness of the UN. Secretary General U Thant hopes that it will be possible to solve this question. In

the meantime all countries should be encouraged and put into a position to follow the work of the organization more closely and directly and be given certain opportunities to contribute to the deliberations of the United Nations. We welcome the suggestion that all states should be given the opportunity to cooperate in the UN office in Geneva and in the regional economic commissions and other UN organizations.

## **Two German States—Two Social Systems**

As a realistic politician one has to differentiate between the next steps to relaxation which are not only possible but necessary in the relations between a socialist GDR and a capitalist West Germany and the problem of reunification. We do everything we can to bring about relaxation and a normalization of relations between the two German states.

We do not share responsibility for the division of Germany. We wanted a united, peaceful, democratic Germany within the meaning of the Potsdam Agreement and wanted to struggle within it for an anti-fascist, democratic system. But since the US imperialists and the other imperialist western powers were afraid of a democratic development they split Germany, supported by West German reactionary forces.

Now socialism and imperialism face one another directly in Germany, frontier to frontier, embodied by the two German states. The consequence is that here every sharpening of the struggle between socialism and im-

perialism appears in an especially pointed form. This is so because the West German imperialists have their minds fixed on extending their political and economic power to the territory of the German Democratic Republic and want to destroy socialism and democracy in the GDR.

This underlines the importance of European security for the German people. Guaranteed European security is also the framework within which it would be possible to solve the German problems step by step. On the other hand, of course, any understanding between the two German states on the renunciation of atomic weapons and concrete measures for disarmament, for respect for the existing frontiers would have a positive effect on European security.

Thus it is of national and European importance that the Socialist Unity Party of Germany and the German Democratic Republic have submitted a large number of proposals for also realizing the principles of peaceful coexistence in the relations between the two German states. The government of the German Democratic Republic does not think that relations between the two German states must be hostile although they have different social systems.

It is clear that peaceful coexistence needs at least two partners. It is impossible to realize it when one partner objects to recognizing its principles and replies to all proposals with an intensified sole representation pretension and revanchist policy. The ruling circles of the Federal Republic strive for the restoration of an imperialist Greater Germany and for their supremacy in Europe. One should not indulge in illusions and has to grasp

the simple truth that the reunification of Germany can take place only in the process of the checking, repulsing and overcoming of the forces of revanchism and militarism in West Germany. We therefore are of the opinion that anyone who allows himself to be blackmailed into not recognizing the German Democratic Republic as a state with equal rights with others strengthens West German revanchism and militarism and harms European security.

The Declaration of the Warsaw Pact states leaves no place for any plans of Bonn to play the socialist states off against one another with the help of a "more elastic eastern policy", to separate the countries of people's democracy from the Soviet Union and isolate the GDR from the socialist camp. It is clearly stated: "The territorial claims of the West German revanchists must be resolutely rejected. They are absolutely unfounded and without any perspective. The question of frontiers in Europe has been settled definitively and irrevocably. The peoples of Europe are in a position to bar the way to revanchism.

"One of the most important prerequisites for the guarantee of European security is the inviolability of the frontiers existing between the European states, including the frontiers of the sovereign German Democratic Republic, Poland and Czechoslovakia. The states represented at this conference confirm their determination to smash any aggression waged against them by the forces of imperialism and reaction.

"For their part the signatory states of the Warsaw Pact declare that they have no territorial demands at all on any European state."

And it further states: "The interests of peace and security in Europe and in the entire world as well as the interests of the German people require that the ruling circles of the West German Federal Republic make allowance for the real situation in Europe. That means that they must recognize that there are two German states. They must abandon their demands for the revision of European frontiers, the presumption to represent the whole of Germany and the attempts to exert pressure on other states which want to recognize the German Democratic Republic. They must cut themselves loose from the criminal Munich dictate and recognize that it was illegal from the very beginning. They must prove in deed that they will really learn the lessons of history, put an end to militarism and revanchism and carry through a policy of the normalization of relations between the states, of the development of cooperation and friendship among the peoples."

It is expressly stated in the Declaration: "As concerns the question of the unification of the two German states, the way to its realization leads via relaxation, the step-by-step rapprochement between the two sovereign German states and agreements between them, via disarmament agreements in Germany and in Europe on the basis of the principle that the future united Germany will be a really peace-loving, democratic state which will never again be a threat to its neighbours and to peace in Europe."

This declaration in fact leaves no room for any manipulations.

## Running Amuck with the Sole Representation Presumption

We think that security and peace in Europe require the normalization of relations between all European states and not least between the two German states. We are therefore also for normal relations between the West German Federal Republic and all socialist countries. But this normalization of relations logically presupposes that the West German Federal Republic should recognize the valid norms of international law, renounce its revanchist policy, sole representation presumption and claims to territories of other states and should embrace a policy of peaceful co-existence between states with different social systems. Otherwise one could hardly speak of normal relations. A Bonn government whose declared aim it is, for example, to dismember Poland is naturally scarcely conceivable as a partner of "normal relations" with the same Poland.

As is well known, Bonn itself barred the way to a normalization of its relations with the socialist countries at the time when it proclaimed the thesis known as the Hallstein doctrine, that it will not maintain diplomatic relations with any state—with the sole exception of the Soviet Union as the chief victorious power—which recognizes the German Democratic Republic and maintains normal relations with it. Recently Bonn even sharpened the Hallstein doctrine to the end that every country is threatened with reprisals up to the breaking off of diplomatic relations if it improves its own relations with the German Democratic Republic in any way, i. e., if it develops them further in a positive sense.

One issue of this imperialist doctrine with which Bonn presumes to dictate the foreign policy of other states was, for example, the breaking off of diplomatic relations with Yugoslavia after that country had taken up normal diplomatic relations with the GDR.

The German Democratic Republic sharply condemns the policy of murder of West German fascist circles against Yugoslav diplomats and other Yugoslav citizens. West German citizens need not be astonished that this banditry discredits the Federal Republic in the world since Bonn is the protector of fascist elements from various countries such as Yugoslavia, Italy, etc.

In the recent period Bonn even drives the impudence of its sole representation pretension and interference in the foreign policy of other states—counter to international law—so far that it protested with the Indian government with strong threats against the plan to open an Indian trade mission in the GDR capital. Thus the Bonn government presented itself as the government of a state with a neo-colonialist policy.

It seems to me that the Bonn government has become hopelessly entangled in the undergrowth of its own imperialist presumption.

It is known that the facts of life are stronger than the Hallstein doctrine. In Moscow there are diplomatic representatives of the two German states of equal rank. In the other socialist countries there are embassies of the German Democratic Republic and in a few of them West German trade representations, too. In Helsinki the official representatives of the two German states have the same rank. In a few Arab states the German De-



mocratic Republic is officially present, but not the West German Federal Republic. In other states in turn there exist these or those representations of the German Democratic Republic along with diplomatic representations of the West German Federal Republic. That is the situation today.

The home and foreign policy of the German Democratic Republic has thus perforated the Hallstein doctrine with the help of which we were to be isolated. The contrast between reality and the Hallstein doctrine will become still more evident when diplomatic representations of the two German states become active with equal rights alongside one another in further capitals. Anyone who then still wants to maintain the thesis that West Germany cannot tolerate other states maintaining normal relations with the GDR, will make a fool of himself. According to the intensified Hallstein doctrine Bonn would have to run amuck even against the further development of economic and political relations between the GDR and socialist countries if it does not want to become completely unworthy of belief towards other states which yield to its blackmailing attempts. Thus Bonn has manoeuvred itself into an adventurous situation with its Hallstein doctrine.

*All elements of revanchist policy and European tension are combined in the sole representation presumption of the Bonn government: the ignoring of the results of the Second World War, the preparation for the attempt at a forcible annexation of the GDR, the claim to territories of the People's Republic of Poland, the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic and the Soviet Union, the claim to hegemony in Europe, and the claim to dictate*

the foreign policy of other states in the spirit of Bonn's revanchist demands.

It is known that with the help of this sole representation presumption Bonn wants to declare citizens of other states to be subjects of the West German Federal Republic under its jurisdiction. This not only serves future aggression, it is obviously also the juridical basis for the recruitment of future fifth columns of West German militarism. Thus the sole representation presumption of the Bonn government is an act of aggression. It constantly endangers peace in Europe and is a chief cause of the great tensions which harm the security and peace of our continent.

No government can ignore the fact that Bonn plays falsely, always considering whether it can blackmail the government in question with economic or political threats and enticements or not. It seems to me that Bonn must become clear about what it wants—Hallstein doctrine, policy of revenge, sole representation presumption on the one side and normalization of relations on the other are incompatible.

*We therefore demand that the government of the West German Federal Republic renounce all territorial demands, revanchist policy and the sole representation presumption in the interest of European security. That is the prerequisite for the stabilization of peace and security in Europe.*

It is also necessary for all European states to normalize their relations with the two German states, that all discrimination ceases, that the institution of the cold war of the NATO against the German Democratic Republic and its citizens known as the Travel Board is abolished, in short, that the reality of the coexistence of the two German states which cannot be abo-

lished anyhow, is recognized in a matter-of-fact way. This will contribute essentially to the creation of an atmosphere of peace and security in Europe, the more so since in the seventeen years of its existence the German Democratic Republic has become an essential element of European security.

### **National Interests and International Cooperation**

Dear Comrades,

In working out their strategy and tactics the communist and working-class parties of the socialist countries, especially those states united in the Warsaw defence alliance, are guided by the assessment of the character of our epoch given in the declaration of the Moscow Consultation of November 1960. As the chief characteristic of this our epoch whose content is the transition from capitalism to socialism, the struggle between socialism and capitalism is emphasized in the declaration. This stresses the role of the world socialist system as the greatest historic achievement of the international working class, as the most important revolutionary force of our epoch.

The principles of national sovereignty are holy to the peoples of the socialist countries. They protect these principles from the attacks of imperialism. But the effective defence of the national sovereignty and territorial integrity of every socialist state as well as the successful struggle of the peoples for political and economic independence are guaranteed not

in going it alone but only in the firm joining of the states of the socialist community.

The documents of the 23rd Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union as well as of the conference of the Political Advisory Committee of the Warsaw Pact states refer to the new phase of the sharpening of the imperialist acts of aggression, antagonisms and rivalries. The logical consequence of this is the necessity of a new phase of close fraternal international cooperation of the states of the socialist community in the interest of peace, progress and security.

This is true not only of cooperation in the political and military fields. The scientific-technical revolution makes greater demands and imposes harder conditions for the struggle and the competition between socialism and capitalism in the economic field. The socialist states do not gain the necessary advance in time in the competition with the developed capitalist industrial states when they try to master the requirements of the technical revolution alone or only in bilateral cooperation.

The socialist states can win time when they develop the national economy and its potentials to the greatest degree in every country to attain and maintain the leadership in research, development and production in the decisive sections of the scientific-technical revolution through joint efforts. It corresponds to the historic role of the world socialist system as well as with the national interests of every socialist state to advance into the front row of the economically and scientific and technically developed states.

To be sure, we are for the development of advantageous economic and scientific-technical relations with capitalist countries. But it would mean underestimating the laws of development of the class struggle between the two systems to believe that the highest scientific-technical level and the highest national economic effectiveness could be attained primarily through economic cooperation with the capitalist countries. Certainly we should develop economic and scientific-technical relations with the capitalist countries, but the accent is on international cooperation of the socialist countries. In the final analysis this is also a question of European security.

### **On the Crisis of the Bonn Revanchist Policy**

In the few months which have passed since the session of the Political Advisory Committee of the countries of the Warsaw Pact, the contradictions in the entire imperialist camp and also within important imperialist countries as, for example, in West Germany, Britain and the USA, have sharpened. One of the consequences of these contradictions is the NATO crisis which has now become almost permanent. Consequences of these contradictions have also come to light in the economic, political and military spheres within the West German Federal Republic.

A few NATO states obviously do not wish to be involved in the adventures of US imperialism or West German imperialism. These states know

the aggressive plans of the West German imperialism very precisely, of course. And for this very reason they make especially eager efforts to prevent West Germany from being given the shared disposal over nuclear weapons. The striving of President de Gaulle of the French Republic to take an initiative for understanding among the European states—under French patronage, if possible—against the policy of hegemony of West German imperialism is not least directed against the Washington—Bonn axis which makes the other NATO partners increasingly uneasy. De Gaulle takes the French national interests as a basis. He seeks a way to a certain European security. But this is precisely what the policy of the West German imperialists wants to prevent. Thus the contradiction between the West German aggressive militarist interests and the interests of other NATO states on the European continent is growing.

In all this we do not overlook the fact that de Gaulle's attitude is unbalanced in many respects. We see a contradiction to his striving for European security in his rejection of normal diplomatic relations with the German Democratic Republic as is demanded by the Communist Party, the Socialist Party and many bourgeois circles in France.

Recently, worry about being involved in adventures with unforeseeable consequences through the Bonn revanchist policy has been growing in Italy, too. There is a revival of terrorism in Southern Tyrol which is stirred up by extremist circles in West Germany with the benevolent support of the Bonn government. In this connection leading Italian newspapers come to the conviction that the old vice of militarism is very much alive in West

Germany and that it would be dangerous to forget the lessons of the past. Perhaps the Italian government will now better understand our repeated warnings about West German revanchism and militarism. We think that it is also in the interest of the Italian people and the security of Italy that normal, good relations are brought about between the German Democratic Republic and Italy.

The alarm about the consequences of the West German revanchist policy and intensified armament is growing in the states of Europe. Even a leading US American weekly (*US News and World Report*) which is close to the American State Department and propagates West Germany as the USA's most important ally must admit that the prospects of West German armament are for many Europeans much more terrifying "than the threat of communism".

### **What Is Actually Happening in West Germany?**

Everyone in West Germany today talks about crises: crisis in the government, crisis in the Bundeswehr, crisis in the economy, crisis in foreign policy, etc. The sounds of self-satisfaction about the economic miracle, unshakable stability, elimination of all capitalist contradictions have died away. Gone with the wind is the certainty that the forward strategy will be victorious. Our timely forecast that the insurmountable contradictions

within German imperialism were bound to make themselves increasingly felt in the course of time has been proved right.

Now, too, we view developments in the Federal Republic from a scientific and realistic point of view. We regard the wrangle over persons as an expression of genuine contradictions and crisis-like developments.

There, a whole campaign is being conducted against the Erhard government. What is the matter with that government? Herr Erhard attempted to continue the policy of Adenauer, his predecessor, and to adapt this policy somewhat to the changed conditions. But, being what they are these changed conditions have to be reckoned with. They cannot be manipulated at will. The relation of forces, for instance, is a hard fact. The Adenauer policy was a policy of revenge pursued from the "position of strength" and with the help of atomic blackmail on the part of the USA. Herr Strauss, as war minister, tried to adapt this policy to the changing situation. He wanted to attain the revanchist ends by stepping up rearmament and atomic armament even more and by combining psychological with sub-limited warfare.

The first Adenauer government failed to reach its aim. The second Adenauer government could not reach its aim either. Nor did Herr Strauss succeed in carrying the Adenauer policy into effect by applying different methods. And Herr Erhard is grappling with that policy which he took over and which has been unfit from the very outset, trying to bring into harmony, in one way or other, the revanchism of the ruling circles in Bonn and the imperialist interests of the USA, and, into the bargain, the interests



of President de Gaulle. This, however, cannot be done, either by Herr Erhard or by anyone else.

We can predict today that any other government in West Germany which does not abandon the policy pursued so far and fails to show a genuine and real alternative policy is condemned to failure as well.

The normalization of relations between the two German states was sacrificed to this unsuccessful policy of revenge and tensions. In the interest of this unsuccessful policy hostility towards the German Democratic Republic was declared a principle, and by the end of 1965 193 thousand million marks had been squandered on rearmament. Now, even allies of the Bonn government prove to be less and less prepared to support the revanchist forward strategy and sacrifice their own country for the interests of the West German militarists. Even in the USA the circle of persons who under present conditions consider the political conception of Adenauer, Strauss and Barzel to be unrealistic is growing. Not a few politicians in West Germany and the USA understand quite well that the consequence of such an adventurous policy would be the destruction of Germany in a nuclear war.

Hence, most of the Bonn government's allies seek a road by which they can expand their influence to the east—employing especially the method of penetrating into the socialist countries—without exposing their own existence and rule to so great a risk.

Adenauer would like to give a new turn to things. That is why he called on the USA to get out of Vietnam as quickly as possible and concentrate

on Europe as the main scene of the global conflict. He thereby wants to enable the crisis-ridden policy of revenge of the Bonn imperialists and militarists to move forward.

What is happening at present in the field of economic policy is the stepped-up struggle for profits and the maintenance of competitiveness on the world market. This struggle is meeting with difficulties because, at the same time, structural crises are spreading in individual economic spheres (mining, steel industry, textile industry) which tend to expand to other fields, too. There have been signs of crisis on the capital market which have also spread to the stock-exchange. These signs of crisis are aggravated by the greater recklessness concerning the concentration of capital and by the elimination of peasant and middle-class circles from the private-capitalist process of production.

The main causes of this development include the stepped-up rearmament and the striving of the military for direct influence on the country's policy and economy. As a consequence of the intensified monopolization of the West German economy and the forced rearmament, prices go up, weighing heavily on the workers and the working population of West Germany. The monopolies make use of the various signs of crisis to dismiss workers and office employees with a view to creating a permanent reserve army of unemployed.

Since each of the ruling groups seeks to clear itself of any responsibility for this development and its consequences, and, above all, to prevent its own rates of profit going down, the competitive struggle between various

political groups is also being aggravated. The circle around Adenauer, Strauss, Barzel and Gerstenmaier, wants, so to speak, to jump out of the frying pan into the fire, i. e., to solve the problems by means of even more severe dictatorial domestic-policy measures and by stepping up the imperialist policy of expansion. That is why the right-wing circles call for a strong man. The Erhard government is now trying to manoeuvre between the various groups of big capitalists and, in its foreign policy, to meet the interests of the USA and those of de Gaulle. This is comparable to squaring the circle.

Let me remind you that when taking office Herr Erhard declared he wanted to pursue a policy of the centre. It is obvious that in effect he has side-slipped to the right. Under pressure from the right wing of the CDU/CSU, with Adenauer, Strauss and Barzel at the head, and as a result of the policy of the SPD leadership being adapted to CDU policy, the Erhard government has drifted to the right. The unrealistic demand for the re-establishment of the borders of 1937, the demand for a share in the control of nuclear weapons, the forced rearmament, the enabling laws and the shifting of the costs of this imperialist policy on to the working people with the help of an economic enabling law are characteristic features of this development. The SPD leadership has followed the CDU all along this road, always a few steps behind. But this policy is in contradiction to the conditions of development of the Federal Republic, the present situation in Europe and the relation of forces in the world. Nor can any of these questions be solved by a new technique of government as recommended by Herr Strauss.

The misfortune lies in the fact that the attitude of the SPD leadership is similar to the one it adopted in 1932 towards the Brüning and von Papen governments, i. e., it does not develop a policy of its own that would correspond to the conditions of development of the Federal Republic and the interests of the people.

### **How Does the Situation Present Itself from the Higher Level of the Capital of the German Peace State?**

From here one has a better view into relationships because one commands a wider view to east and west, to north and south and because we stand here on the solid foundation of a peace order. I do not have the intention at this stage to recommend that Herr Erhard should take the road which corresponds to the experiences of the GDR and the democratic forces in the European countries. But even *if a centre policy were pursued in Bonn* this would be of use for the people of the two German states and European security, i. e., a policy starting from the consideration that it is inevitable for the two German states to live side by side for a long time and that therefore steps should be taken to maintain the status quo. Such a centre policy makes it appear recommendable to stop talking about re-establishing the frontiers of 1937 and to give up the illusion that there could ever be a situation or opportunities making it possible to extend capitalist rule in West Germany towards the east. After all, we do not demand of the

ruling circles in West Germany that they should take over socialism as practised in the GDR. Hence, we start from the real possibilities.

*If there are no intentions of conquest there is no obstacle to negotiations with the GDR government on normalizing relations.*

*If there are no demands for the revision of frontiers and no intentions to conquer the GDR it will be possible to normalize the Federal Republic's relations with the socialist states of Europe.*

*If there is no striving for frontier revisions and for changes in the status quo there is no reason for rearmament. A renunciation by either German state of any share in the control of nuclear weapons and atomic armament would be welcomed not only by people in the two German states but by all European peoples.*

*If the federal government were to adopt a centre policy it could at once cut its arms expenditure by half, which would have a favourable effect on its competitiveness. Then it would be easier, too, to expand economic relations between the two German states.*

*If a centre policy, i. e., a democratic policy, was adopted and if emergency laws and other measures aggravating the cold war between the two German states were renounced it would serve relaxation in Germany and the West German people would be very much satisfied with it.*

*If they stopped speculating on X-day in Bonn it would be possible to turn to a policy of understanding which could begin with an expansion of the economic relations between the two German states.*

The statement published in the CDU organ *Rheinischer Merkur* accord-

ing to which the CDU could not derive political successes from a normalization of state relations and an expansion of economic relations is erroneous. It would be a success for the people since tensions would be eased and the danger of war reduced. However, as regards the "sole representation claim" of the CDU/CSU nothing would be gained. The West German politicians should not forget that grave damage was done to the people of the GDR by the division of Germany engineered by the USA and certain West German politicians. Moreover, during the period of the open frontier, the economy and the people of the GDR were systematically injured. It would serve relaxation if through the granting of long-term credits the good will was shown to enable the GDR to repair at least part of this damage.

If by means of a centre policy the trade unions' right of co-determination was implemented and thus an improvement in social conditions achieved, this, too, would be beneficial to the relations between the two German states and the working people of the two German states.

So, we hold that a policy of relaxation should begin with negotiations between the governments of the two German states. It would be of great importance then if the questions relating to European security were discussed and a consultation held on what steps should be taken by both German states. Such a policy would serve to bring about peaceful coexistence in Germany and in Europe.

As regards our proposal for political negotiations between the party executive of the SPD and the Central Committee of the SED, between the

trade union executives in the two German states and the leading bodies of other social organizations, we should like to have it understood in this same spirit. It is an illusion to believe that anything could be achieved by some form of discussion on technical questions. What is topical are political talks on the subjects which I have set forth in connection with my remarks on a centre policy. Of course, we are also prepared at the negotiations to hear and examine other proposals.

As we see, a matter-of-fact analysis shows that, *from the standpoint of the people's interests, there is only one way out, i. e., a different and better policy*, a democratic policy renouncing any share in the control of nuclear weapons, armament for war and revenge, following the road of understanding and ensuring the democratic right of co-determination of the working people.

*What does the West German working class, what do the West German people want?* The people want social security, full employment and economic stability, the maintenance and improvement of social achievements. The people are against the emergency decree legislation, against any restriction of democratic rights. They demand the right to co-determination for the working people in the enterprises and in economic policy. The people want peace and normal relations with all states.

And even though many citizens in West Germany have not yet come to realize the importance of the German Democratic Republic, it is unmistakable that the appreciation is growing and so is the *desire for good relations with the German Democratic Republic*.

These are undoubtedly *ideas and demands of a bourgeois-democratic character*. Every West German citizen can endorse them with a good conscience. If I were a West German trade union leader or West German politician I would regard such demands as a matter of course and would work for them.

In this situation it would be only natural if the SPD, the trade unions, the communists, the DFU, the representatives of the intelligentsia, humanistically-minded members of the CDU and the FDP and *all champions of peace and understanding came to agreement on a democratic platform*. Let me remind you that in the election campaign in North Rhine-Westphalia the majority of the voters undoubtedly backed such demands. Naturally, in this connection a particularly great responsibility rests on the SPD as the only legal opposition party in parliament.

*But, what happens in the SPD leadership?* In view of the differences between former Hitler generals and the no less reactionary war minister, Herr *Schmidt*, a member of the executive of the Social Democratic Party, sides with the Hitler generals. He gives German militarism good advice on how to organize a proper German general staff, true to tradition, and how to enable it to gain stronger influence on the policy of the Bonn government.

How does Herr *Schiller*, economic policy expert of the SPD executive, comment upon the so-called stabilization law which, as is known, shifts all the difficulties of the present situation on to the workers, peasants, towns and villages? Does he, by any chance, propose to cut down on



armament, to save thousands of millions in this way and thus to solve many problems? No! The expenditures on armament and militarism are sacred to Herr Schiller, too. He merely has a number of proposals regarding the wording, but for the rest he is committed to the cause of safeguarding the power of the monopolies.

As regards foreign policy, Messrs. Wehner and Erler support the foreign policy of the USA in general, and in particular they attempt to justify the dirty war in Vietnam.

And, so far as the relations between the two German states are concerned, the SPD leadership, as is known, stands without reservation on the side of the CDU/CSU and its government in their struggle against the German Democratic Republic.

*Thus, the SPD leadership continues to cling to a joint policy with the CDU/CSU and fails to evolve a policy of its own. But, such an independent democratic policy is desired by the masses ever more urgently, not to mention the rallying democratic forces in the country.*

By its letters to the West German social democrats, our party, the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, endeavoured to build a bridge for the SPD in order to promote not only the rallying of the democratic forces in West Germany but also the normalization of relations with the SED and the GDR.

Many social democratic comrades think that the fact that two meetings were not held was the cause for the dialogue becoming more difficult. But this is not the case. The causes are more deep-rooted. They simply lie in

the fact that the SPD leadership refuses to part with the policy of the West German big bourgeoisie and its leading party, the CDU/CSU.

The obstruction of the dialogue began with the rejection of political negotiations between the party executives of the SED and the SPD. It should be easily understandable that the rejection of such negotiations was tantamount to a rejection of even an attempt to reach understanding by way of matter-of-fact talks. The entire significance of this rejection of political negotiations was brought to light when the SPD leadership took part in drafting and approved that law which was to establish the legal jurisdiction of the West German Federal Republic over all Germans even beyond the West German borders, an act by which the SPD leadership, at the same time, sided with those political representatives of the West German big bourgeoisie who would like to treat any socialist as a criminal.

It is understandable that the CDU leadership with Adenauer, Barzel and Erhard at the head, enthusiastically took advantage of the readiness of the SPD leadership to make common cause with the CDU against the SED. The CDU leadership did not conceal the fact that by German policy it understands the extension of the power of the West German monopolies and Hitler generals to the GDR. We were therefore forced to disclose to the public, in the form of documents, the Bonn government's entire plan of aggression including psychological warfare, sub-limited warfare and the plundering of the GDR.

Social-democratic leaders took part in drafting these documents. And this brings us to the cardinal question:

## What Does the Germany Policy of the Social Democratic Leaders Consist In?

Making common cause with the CDU/CSU, they want to solve the German question in accordance with the government and economic system of West Germany. They harbour the illusion that in this way, supported by social democratic votes from the GDR, the SPD would succeed in gaining a majority in a future German Reichstag. This is of course nonsense. In every respect. After all, the bourgeoisie, too, in pursuing rearmament, the emergency legislation and in organizing the formed society, does so not only in order to be able to rule over West Germany, but later over the whole of Germany as well. It wants to create guarantees ensuring the rule of German monopoly capital and the militarists and the strengthening of their political, economic and military potential. The policy of common cause with the CDU as pursued by the SPD leaders encourages the West German militarists as became especially obvious during the crisis in the Bundeswehr leadership. The policy of common cause with the CDU is not only directed against the interests of the working class and the peace-loving forces but also against Germany's future as a nation.

This policy of the social democratic leadership is fundamentally opposed to the national, social and peaceful interests of our German people. *Nevertheless, we are of the opinion that the dialogue is necessary and will be continued* although it has been greatly hampered by the very recent attitude of the SPD leaders. *We shall not stop seeking, by way of nego-*

*tiations, rapprochement and the settlement of at least such partial issues as are conducive to normalizing relations between the two parties and the two German states.*

The social democratic press alleges that the SED has turned to a united front and popular front policy from below. By "below" it evidently means the working class and the people. We have always advocated a united front with the working class and the people. The particularity of our dialogue, however, has been and continues to be the fact that now as before we also favour a dialogue with the leaderships of the SPD, the trade unions and the other social organizations.

Speaking at the 7th regular congress of the West German Chemical, Paper and Ceramic Workers' Industrial Union its first chairman, Brother Wilhelm Gefeller, commented favourably on a common stand by the working classes of the two German states. In agreement with the views of the members of the DGB he declared that it was necessary "by every means to prevent a new catastrophe". This danger was to be obviated by reaching an understanding among the workers, especially between SPD, SED and trade unions. He approached me with the appeal that everything should be done from our side in order to make it possible to continue the dialogue. We very much appreciate the exposition given by Brother Gefeller and the statement of the trade union congress. We see in this the sincere will of West German trade unionists to reach an understanding between the working classes and their organizations in the two German states in spite of all difficulties. From this meeting of the Central

Committee of the SED I should like to tell Brother Wilhelm Gefeller and the other officials and members of the Chemical, Paper and Ceramic Workers' Industrial Union as well as all trade unionists that we shall do everything possible to fulfil this desire, which we share.

At the same time, I invite the members of the trade union executives in West Germany to promote rapprochement by sending study groups to the German Democratic Republic to study our socialist economic and government system as well as the rights of the trade unions.

### **The Hour of Truth Has Come**

The present policy of the Bonn government and the parties represented in the West German parliament has from year to year deepened and widened the gulf separating the two German states. Viewing the development of relations between the two German states we cannot help noting to our regret that they have grown permanently worse. Through the fault of the ruling parties and their politicians in West Germany the atmosphere between the two German states has become ever more hostile, against our will. We have submitted dozens of constructive proposals designed to improve relations and the atmosphere, bring about matter-of-fact cooperation, step-by-step rapprochement and understanding. But, Bonn replied with even more intrigues against peace and security in Germany and Europe.

The citizens of West Germany with the working class and its organizations as well as all forces interested in peace and security in the lead, should draw the conclusion, at least from the most recent developments, that the hour of truth has come. Nobody should go on kidding himself.

*The truth is:* The Second World War took place, its results and consequences cannot be reversed. If Bonn goes on subscribing to a policy which aims at subsequently winning the Hitler war, then West Germany will end up in catastrophe.

*The truth is:* If the West German Federal Republic keeps opposing all efforts for peace and security in Europe, if the government in Bonn continues refusing to make a contribution towards security in Europe, then West Germany will become increasingly isolated and will be in the pillory of history. Developments will overtake the die-hard "marchers to the east" and revenge-seeking politicians.

*The truth is:* For almost 17 years now there have been two independent sovereign German states and, in addition, the social territory of West Berlin on the territory left over from the former German Reich. Seventeen years after its founding, the German Democratic Republic, which is successfully building socialism, is a consolidated state and does not require the West German Federal Republic for its own continued development. Neither the Bonn Bundeswehr nor NATO or the USA can do anything about these facts. By its refusal to recognize the facts of history the West German Federal Republic blocks the highly necessary pacification in the relations between the two German states, their peaceful cooperation, their

living side by side, security in Germany and Europe, and makes any striving for reunification illusory.

*The truth is:* It is only through rapprochement, understanding and normalization of the relations between the two German states, only through mutual recognition of their equal rights that the road to the solution of the German question can be opened.

When the West Germans come to realize this truth and think about it in a proper way, when the representatives of the West German Federal Republic begin to act in accordance with the truth, then we shall be able to reach understanding on many things which today appear not to admit of solution.

A unified Germany can be and must be only one which directs all its national ambition to peaceful work, the cultivation of humanity, the flourishing of science and culture and the wellbeing of all its citizens, a Germany which constitutes a guarantee of peace and security in Europe and cultivates friendship with all other peoples.

Since the two German states were founded the situation has developed in such a way and the relation of forces in Europe is such that *a prolonged period during which the two German states live side by side must be reckoned with.* All the clamour of certain revenge-seeking politicians in Bonn is to serve, above all, the purpose of diverting the attention of the working people in West Germany from their own interests and from the struggle against their exploiters. Nationalism and chauvinism are to help the ruling circles in West Germany to overcome their internal difficulties.

What is most important is the fact that our Party, that the German Democratic Republic and all GDR citizens propagate the fundamental truth.

### **The Historic Lesson Since the Founding of the German Reich:**

The German people can live without crises and catastrophes and can achieve a secure peace and happiness only if they win confidence and esteem in the world through a consistent peace policy and peaceful labour, through the great accomplishments of its scientists, engineers and workers. There is only one road to a solution, i. e., the road of democracy, disarmament, the neutrality of Germany and friendly relations with all peoples and states of good will.





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