

THE PATH  
TO THE FUTURE  
FATHERLAND  
OF THE  
GERMANS

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*Documents on the National Policy of the GDR*

1/1966



## The Path to the Future Fatherland of the Germans

Meeting commemorating the 20th anniversary of the founding of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany in the Berlin Dynamo Sport Hall on 21 April 1966.



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VERLAG ZEIT IM BILD



*Speech of Comrade Walter Ulbricht in the Dynamo Sports  
Hall in Berlin on 21 April 1966*

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*The Socialist Unity Party of Germany (SED) is following a policy directed at solving the vital questions affecting the German nation in a peaceful and democratic manner. More than 150 offers to negotiate, made by the German Democratic Republic and addressed to the Government and social organisations in West Germany, are eloquent expression of this policy. The readiness to come to an understanding on the path to a unified and peaceful fatherland of the Germans and to overcome the obstacles lying on this path also characterise the most recent national initiative instituted by the Socialist Unity Party.*

*In accordance with the policy of a peaceful understanding with the Social Democratic Party of Germany that it has been following for a long time now, the Socialist Unity Party has proposed an open and fundamental discussion on the basic questions of the nation to all members and sympathisers of West German social democracy.*

*The Socialist Unity Party is not entering this discussion empty-handed. On the occasion of the twentieth anniversary of the founding of the Socialist Unity Party, Walter Ulbricht, Chairman of the State Council and First Secretary of the Central Committee of the SED, developed a constructive programme for an understanding between the Socialist Unity Party and the Social Democratic Party as well as between the two German states. The principal concern of this programme is, through the common power of the two largest German parties, to help to victory the struggle for peace and security, unity and progress in Germany.*

*The speech of the Chairman of the State Council and First Secretary of the Central Committee of the SED, Walter Ulbricht, published in this booklet and also the material contained in the subsequent booklets of this documentation series are part of a discussion aimed at clarifying and formulating in the whole of Germany those principles which alone make possible a step forwards in the solution of the national question.*



Dear Comrades, Dear Guests and Friends,

I welcome you most cordially in the name of the Central Committee of our party. I extend my special greeting to the old comrades throughout the Republic, the companions-in-struggle in the founding of our successful Socialist Unity Party of Germany.

To many of the comrades gathered here—former members of the Communist Party of Germany (KPD) or the Social Democratic Party (SPD)—the notable events of twenty years ago which found their climax in the unification of the two working-class parties into the Socialist Unity Party of Germany (SED) are still vivid, as if it happened but yesterday.

The two decades which have passed since then were filled to the brim with epoch-making events and revolutionary transformations which fundamentally changed the face and the destiny of Germany. Two revolutionary transformations took place in this period whose significance is also felt well beyond the frontiers of the German Democratic Republic, the anti-fascist—democratic revolution and the socialist revolution.

The social democrats and communists who joined in the Socialist Unity Party of Germany and hundreds of thousands of young comrades who

gathered around them have accomplished a tremendous work in these twenty years, a work which has the recognition of the peace-loving peoples. Often working under the most difficult circumstances, our comrades have worked miracles in self-sacrificing, even heroic work. I want to thank all these comrades in the name of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany for their loyalty, for the great work they have accomplished in these two decades and at the same time congratulate them on their successes. What did our country look like in 1945–46? And what has been created under the leadership of the party! We can be proud of what we have achieved!

### *The Historical Significance of the Unification*

Very many members of our party do not know the division of the German working class from personal experience. But these younger comrades for whom the unity of the working class in the German Democratic Republic is a matter of course should always remember:

This unity is and remains the pledge of the victory of peace and humanity, of democracy and socialism in the whole of Germany.

On the mountains of rubble left to us as a heritage of the German imperialists after their Second World War the idea grew in our people that only the German working class is entitled to make the historical claim to the leadership of the nation, that only under the leadership of the united working class in alliance with the other working people can a peaceful and happy future of the German people be secured.

The national task long since put on the agenda by history could also be solved only under the leadership of the party of the united working class, the task of taking up relations of friendship and trustful cooperation with the most progressive country in the world, with the socialist world power of the Soviet Union. With enormous sacrifices the Soviet Union had saved Europe and its humanist culture from the barbaric enslavement of the misanthropic German imperialists and their Hitlers and Himmlers. It had become clear to many Germans that Germany can prosper only in sincere friendship with this country of the highest social progress. The 23rd Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU) has demonstrated to the entire people the purposeful peace policy and the systematic and planned character of communist construction in the Soviet

Union. We are proud of having tied the link of firm friendship with the glorious Soviet people.

The victory of the peoples of the anti-Hitler coalition over German fascism obliged the German working class and the people to learn the lessons of history and make use of the great opportunity to construct a peace-loving and progressive Germany.

The memorable fusion of the Communist Party and the Social Democratic Party was not only the decisive turning-point in the eventful history of class struggles in Germany but at the same time a national event of the first rank. The basis for the peaceful and happy future of the German people was laid twenty years ago.

The unification of the parties of the working class was the decisive prerequisite for all the achievements and successes of the working people of our Republic since then. It is the source of the force which mastered the immense difficulties of our construction. With the unification of the two working-class parties twenty years ago the foundation was created on which in this part of Germany a strong, flourishing socialist state came into existence in a historically short period out of the rubble and ruins

of war, a state whose economic, scientific and cultural potentials and political significance and international authority are constantly growing.

Thus the German people have realized their right of self-determination in the German Democratic Republic.

We can say with full right that the overcoming of the split in the working class and the establishment of its unity on a revolutionary basis is the hitherto greatest achievement in the now almost 120 years of the history of the German working-class movement since the Communist Manifesto and the establishment of the KPD.

The revolutionary theory of the two greatest sons of the German people, Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, a long common way in the old revolutionary German social democracy as well as the progressive and humanist traditions of the German workers' movement were undoubtedly strong unifying links between communists and social democrats.

With their merger a genuine amalgamation of the two streams of the working-class movement was introduced and the road taken to a united Marxist-Leninist party of the German working-class.

The unification of the two parties gave and gives the working class the strength to play the leading role in the shaping of the new system and in the fulfilment of the national mission.

Under the leadership of the SED a firm alliance of the working class with the peasantry, the intelligentsia, the craftsmen and tradesmen as well as with broad circles of the bourgeoisie was created and a cooperation borne by mutual confidence with the other anti-fascist democratic parties was brought about.

### *Balance-Sheet of the Amalgamation of the Workers' Parties*

In these twenty years our Socialist Unity Party of Germany has become the strongest of the German parties, a powerful force. It has swept the idlers aside and it shapes the future of Germany in a disciplined, united, conscious manner, always ready to take up the fight, guided by the scientific theory of Marxism-Leninism.

Our party enjoys the confidence of the people. It is based not least on the fact that the German Marxists have correctly foreseen developments and always told the truth to the German working class and the

entire people, even when large sections of the people did not want to hear an unpleasant truth. We always assessed developments realistically and never built up our policy on illusions.

It was social democrats, revolutionary social democrats, old social democrats such as Karl Liebknecht, Rosa Luxemburg, Franz Mehring, Clara Zetkin, Wilhelm Pieck and many others who at the outbreak of the First World War stormed against the policy of the social democratic leaders when these politicians became an appendage of the Kaiser's imperialist war policy. Let us not forget that the unity of the SPD was broken as a result of the reactionary pro-imperialist policy of its leaders at that time and that the real social democrats then had no other opportunity than to rally all social democrats who did not want to submit to this fateful policy.

At the end of the First World War we warningly pointed out that the maintenance of the rule of the armament trusts, the big banks and their militarists, that the policy of revenge for the military defeat and the change in the frontiers which had come into existence after the war would lead to new crises and wars.

We perceived in good time and also stated that Hitler meant war, although large sections of the people did not want to believe us then. And when Hitler began his wars we proved that his defeat was certain. We swam against the stream of public opinion fabricated by the big bourgeoisie with their press trusts, but we always told the truth to the German working class and our German people.

We also told the truth to the German working class and the German people when after the defeat of Hitler the imperialist occupation powers together with the German monopolists and bankers set about splitting Germany and restoring the power of the old corrupters of our fatherland in the western occupation zones under the mask of economic reconstruction.

We appealed to the responsibility of the German workers and all working people and struggled against the division of Germany. Our efforts to create the united front of the working class in the whole of Germany, which corresponded with the longing of the majority of the German working class, also served the liberation of Germany from the vestiges of fascism as well as the preservation of the unity of Germany.

Finally we developed a German policy together with all forces of good will possessed of a sense of responsibility, a policy which is based on the vital interests of the great majority of our peace-loving people.

### *We Have Paved the Way for Humanity*

The attempt is often made, also in the reply of the Social Democratic Party executive to our Open Letter to separate the German question from humanity. That cannot be done.

Anyone who really wants to do something human for the German people pursues a policy which makes all wars impossible in the future.

Anyone who really wants to do something for humanity shows and enters upon a road which leads to disarmament and social security and to the end of the national division.

Anyone who really wants to do something for humanity shows and pursues a policy which leads to a Germany which is not governed by reaction and does not become a scene of action for the big capitalist trusts and banks, for militarists, reaction and the unleashing of dangerous international crises up to and including war.

Anyone who really wants to do something for humanity pursues a policy which leads to understanding between the two German states, which puts an end once for all to the cold and undercover war against the GDR.

We must have learned from the history of Germany how to struggle for humanity and how not. Only he who struggled against German imperialism in the imperial period, who opposed the unleashing of war and issued the slogan in the war to turn the weapons against one's own imperialists, only he really did something for humanity.

Only he did something for humanity in Germany who proposed to defeat national socialism through a joint big anti-fascist front of the working class and the democratic forces of the bourgeoisie.

Only he really did something for true humanity who during the war did everything possible to liquidate the Hitler regime. And only he did something for humanity who after 1945 directed every effort to ensuring that a Germany does not come into existence again in which the old warmongers and reactionaries seize power anew.

Only he did and does something for humanity who directs every effort of the people to finally expelling from the life of the people the reac-

tionary rulers in West Germany, the continuers of the Hitler policy in new forms.

This is the real struggle for humanity!

Mere phrases about humanity which do not mitigate the danger of the West German militarist reaction are of no use whatever. It is necessary to say this frankly to our social democratic friends so that nobody allows himself to be duped by those false friends who in the name of humanity do the traditional business of German imperialist reaction and the US imperialists.

By the way, who dares in West German or West Berlin to utter the word humanity when at the same time he supports the cruel war of the US imperialists against the Vietnamese people?

In our part of Germany, in the German Democratic Republic, we have realized in the sense of true humanity what had been striven for by social democrats and trade unionists in the militant period of German social democracy, what had been fixed in their programs and what was demanded by progressive citizens for the completion of the bourgeois revolution.

Our goal was and is a really human Germany, a Germany of peace and peaceful work in which only the interests of the people and not the interests of armament industrialists and other war profiteers decide.

In realizing this goal we have studied and taken to heart the lessons of the unfortunate Weimar Republic. We have learned that after the war it could not be enough simply to remove the rubble, get the economy going again, but postpone the complicated problems of the reorganization of society for an indefinite period. Such a policy benefits the restoration of the old pernicious forces of monopoly capital. This was proved by Weimar, and this is proved by the development of the West German Federal Republic in the last two decades.

The task was rather to create the guarantees for the rule of the anti-fascist democratic forces along with removing the rubble and getting the economy going. The power of German imperialism, the rule of the big monopolies and the feudal big landowners, the power of militarism had to be uprooted. Along with reconstruction the property of the people in the enterprises of the big war profiteers and war criminals was safeguarded, and thereby the possibility was taken from the feudal and big

capitalist forces of reoccupying their power positions at a later date. The working class set about taking into its own hands not only the administration of the state and economy, but also and especially the conscious shaping of social production. We did the most difficult things first. We understood that the working people must erect their house on solid foundations. Thus the German working people became masters of their country and of their own destinies.

Thus we see that the working people of the GDR and the working people of West Germany took different roads. Both here and there they cleared away the rubble and built up the enterprises. But in West Germany the rule of reaction was restored because of the split in the working class and the dictatorship of the imperialist occupation powers. In the GDR, however, the working people rules and is building its socialist system. Can there be any doubt as to which way was better?

The leadership of West German social democracy repeated the mistake of Weimar. It persisted in the illusion that it was possible to grow into democracy and socialism on a "third way" by way of the restoration of the rule of monopoly capital and the big banks. In reality the deeper

causes of exploitation, the crises remained in existence. With its "third way" the SPD leadership only supplies German reaction with the "democratic" facade behind which the multi-millionaires, their war economy leaders and Hitler generals again extended their old power apparatus and made anti-communism the ruling state doctrine. The Hitler war economy leaders at the head of the big trusts, the Hitlerite Gestapo officials in the West German Office for the Protection of the Constitution, the Hitler hanging judges in the judiciary and the Hitler generals at the head of the army, that is the result of this "third way".

In view of such relations of power, which can only be characterized as the dictatorship of monopoly capital and its militarists, it is illusory to expect the urgently necessary transformation of society and the securing of a real co-determination of the working people only from elections.

The attempt of the SPD leadership to change the majority situation by outdoing the revanchist big bourgeoisie in nationalism and pushing back the CDU with a policy of adaptation, has finally brought the SPD policy into the same blind alley in which CDU/CSU policy hopelessly sits.

Our balance-sheet of the last two decades shows the victory of two

revolutions—the anti-fascist democratic and the socialist transformation. It was a continuous revolutionary process. The only successful revolution in German history was carried through in a democratic way on the territory of the GDR.

On the occasion of the 20th anniversary of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany we present the working class in the two German states with the *History of the German Working-Class Movement* in eight volumes. This work contains the lessons acquired by the older generation in decades of hard struggles and in thorough scientific study. It is not enough to know on the basis of the laws of social development that the working class is called upon to replace the decaying class of the bourgeoisie. Guided by the scientific theory of Marxism-Leninism, the revolutionary party of the working class has worked out the strategy and tactics of the struggle for political power in our period. The historical work ends with chapter XV, with the decision on the program of socialism. The present speech contains the syllabus for chapter XVI. It shows the way of the struggle and the unification of the working class and the peace-loving democratic forces of the GDR and the West German Federal Republic.

Our party can proudly state, together with the bloc parties and mass organizations in the National Front, that it has paved the way for humanity.

It was in the sense of humanity that under the leadership of the SED the working people not only extirpated fascism and militarism but also the exploitation of man by man. This was the greatest deed for humanity and freedom.

Through the overcoming of the power of the monopolies and the transfer of the enterprises and banks into national property as well as through the purging of the administrations of war criminals and lackeys of the monopolists, the workers and working people for the first time received possibilities of developing their creative forces. They proved their abilities, their sense of responsibility and their initiative in the democratic reorganization of political and economic conditions. They learned to manage the state and economy. A democratic school system came into existence on a humanist basis with the school reform. Democratic conditions were introduced in the villages with the land reform. Freed from Junker and capitalist exploitation, the former farm-hands, agricultural

labourers and working peasants learned to run farms themselves and govern with the support of the working class.

A growing number of workers, farmers, engineers, scientists and other members of the intelligentsia as well as craftsmen and forces of the bourgeoisie ready for construction took an active part in setting up the anti-fascist-democratic system. They did self-sacrificing work in the solution of the complicated political, economic and cultural tasks of that time. The equality of rights of women was realized step by step as well as the basic rights of the young generation.

Under the leadership of our party the working class won the decisive positions in the state, economy and cultural life and enjoying the trust and cooperation of all working people. The restoration of the old reactionary forces was made impossible. The conditions were created for the socialist development in a peaceful and democratic manner.

This peaceful transition from the anti-fascist democratic to the socialist transformation had already been contained in the "Principles and Aims of the SED" adopted at the unification congress. We have creatively applied the theory worked out by Lenin in his work *Two Tactics of*

*Social Democracy in the Democratic Revolution* on the transition from the bourgeois-democratic to the socialist revolution under the specific conditions of development in Germany.

In the process of the deep-going socialist revolution which took place with an open frontier with the imperialist camp hard conflicts were sometimes necessary. In their course the reactionary forces were defeated and the forces of democracy and socialism increasingly asserted themselves.

In the construction of socialist economy and culture new socialist relations between the people developed and are developing. A socialist community of people is maturing which masters the complicated problems of the technical revolution in the period of the all-round construction of socialism. We consider this development of people in the process of the revolutionary transformation of social reality as the greatest success of the last two decades.

What a difference between people in the former Soviet occupation zone of 1946 and the conscious and self-confident citizens of the socialist GDR in 1966. Let us not forget that most of them are still the same people.

We are happy to be able to state that the majority of those millions of people who believed the mendacious slogans of the fascist leadership, are today educated, self-confident co-shapers of the new socialist life. Our party was in a position to change the consciousness of the people because it had the strength to change life, because it had the strength to destroy the economic foundations of imperialist policy and ideology.

A straight road leads from the historic appeal of the Communist Party of Germany of 11 June 1945 via the "Principles and Aims of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany" adopted by the unification congress to the program of the all-round construction of socialism in the GDR which was adopted at the Sixth Congress. The working out and realization of the economic system of socialism has led to a remarkable upswing in industry and agriculture, in trade and the crafts. The further way of socialist construction in the period of the long-range plan up to 1970 was fixed at the 11th session of the Central Committee. The strength and the certainty of further successes lie in the community of the work of our people for the shaping of a new social system.

## *Great Tasks Still Lie Ahead*

Together with all forces united in the National Front, our party has fulfilled the basic tasks concerning the GDR. As regards the basic solution of the national question, we have created solid foundations for this in the GDR. Yet big and difficult tasks still lie ahead. They can only be accomplished in a way conforming to the interests of the German working class and with the national and social interests of the entire nation if the working-class parties in the east and west come to an understanding and come together on at least a minimum of common conceptions and joint action.

I am convinced that I will meet with the approval of West German workers when I say that the CDU/CSU leadership can continue its revanchist policy and its demands for a share in the control of atomic weapons only as long as it can count on tolerance or support from among the ranks of social democracy. Those wishing to prevent the CDU/CSU from plunging West Germany into a catastrophe must help to bring about the community of the Social Democratic and the Socialist Unity

Parties, the community of the working class of the West German Federal Republic and the GDR. All workers consider the fact that representatives of trusts should conduct negotiations with representatives of the GDR, whereas trade union officials are prohibited from conducting joint consultations, to be a contradiction.

In view of the barbaric war of the US against the Vietnamese liberation movement and the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and in view of the moral and material support of the brutal aggression of the US imperialists by the ruling circles in Bonn, it is high time to rally the forces of peace, democracy and progress.

West Germany has become the second centre of war provocation in the world and the main disturber of the peace in Europe.

Precisely for this reason we addressed our Open Letter to the delegates of the forthcoming Dortmund Congress of the Social Democratic Party and to all members and friends of social democracy in West Germany.

We put to the SPD delegates and members the question:

1. Are you in favour of negotiations and an understanding between the governments of the two German states with the aim of relaxation and

the creation of the prerequisites for their cooperation and step-by-step unification?

What do we mean by an understanding with a view to relaxation?

We have openly stated that relaxation can only be considered once both German states have renounced atomic armament and all claims to sharing control over atomic weapons. All men and women who are neither willing to live under the threat of the atomic bomb nor under the martial law of emergency regulations must be mobilized in the spirit of the Easter March Movement.

Unfortunately we have not yet received a clear answer to our clear question. Atomic armament in West Germany and the revanchist policy of Hitler generals are inhuman. This inhumanity cannot be reduced by the GDR opening its frontiers so that the Hitler generals can march in. This was what happened once in Austria and Czechoslovakia. It is a good thing that these matters are openly discussed.

Of course this discussion serves the aim of finding common ways to the normalization of relations between the two German states. These include the normalization and extension of economic relations not only

between West German enterprises and representatives of the GDR Ministry of Foreign and Inter German Trade, but also of the direct relations between the economic ministries of both German states. The decisive point is that the normalization of relations must serve the safeguarding of peace. It must not be useful to the revanchists and atomic war politicians.

The exchange of opinions and arguments and the discussion to bring about a clarification of mutual interests and a community of views have begun. Thousands of social democratic comrades and trade unionists in West Germany are already participating in the dialogue between the SPD and SED. They have recognized that the conception of the Bonn government, striving for a military alliance with the most aggressive of imperialist states, the USA, is internationally discrediting the West German Federal Republic and isolating it also from those countries of Western Europe not interested in military adventures and taking a more realistic view of the situation than is being done in Bonn.

A great fear still prevails among the leaders of the West German social democrats of being reproved by the CDU/CSU for having started

a discussion with us. But the time of the divine right of kings is long past and we should like to encourage the members of the SPD leadership to refrain from making the way in which they continue their discussion with us dependent upon the divine right of the CDU/CSU.

Fear of the reactionary party of the bourgeoisie is a bad counsellor and has always been fatal for the working class, as the course of history has proved.

Despite the pressure and the anti-communist campaign of the state power in Bonn, a growing number of West German social democrats are becoming aware that all attempts of the Bonn government to implement the aggressive forward strategy would find a terrible end in the fire of atomic war. Many have convinced themselves that no success could be attained by the undercover war against the GDR and that the extremely extensive plans of the so-called Research Advisory Council of the Bonn government are only good enough to be collected by the rag-picker and to be taken to a paper-mill.

The awareness, which has become unpleasant to many social democrats, that they are stuck in a blind alley together with the CDU, and the need

to find a way out of that blind alley are at the root of the discussion at present in progress in West Germany on the reality of the frontiers which have existed for the past 20 years; certain circles of the Evangelical Church have recently joined this discussion.

We see a remarkable parallel development in the struggle waged by the intellectuals, the trade unions and social democracy against the continued curtailment of democracy coupled with emergency regulations. The fact that prominent scientists and other intellectuals have made contact with the trade unions in order to discuss joint measures to be taken against the emergency dictatorship of the property-owning bourgeoisie shows that important democratic forces have become active in the Federal Republic.

On the other hand we do not fail to recognize the fact that fascist forces are forming inside and outside the CDU/CSU. This has become evident in several recent elections in West Germany and was emphasized by the increased arrogance and aggressiveness of West German policy. Under the slogan of the "formed society" a group of CDU leaders is about to develop the immediate and totalitarian claims to power of the

big bourgeoisie into a firm system with the aim of restraining the democratic movement of the people and, if need be, to suppress it with force.

### *On the Way to the Future Fatherland of the Germans*

The key to the safeguarding of peace, to European security and a peaceful solution of the German question—as far as West Germany is concerned—thus lies in the hands of the working class and its allies, in the hands of the social democrats, socialists, communists, trade unionists and non-party workers, with intellectuals also playing an important part.

Without guarantees that a war shall never again start from German soil a solution of the German question is absolutely impossible. Such guarantees are demanded by the vital interests of the German people themselves. And they are with justification being demanded by Germany's neighbours who were attacked by German militarists twice in the first half of this century.

The transformations effected in the GDR and the complete deprivation of power of the imperialist and militarist forces interested in war and

conquest and the corresponding consistent peace policy of the GDR provide the German people and their neighbours with such guarantees, as far as this lies within our power.

In West Germany an entirely different situation prevails. The basic provisions of the Potsdam Agreement were not carried out there, although the majority of the population was in favour of an anti-fascist democratic development. Therefore a peaceful solution of the German question and a unification of the German states are not possible before the prerequisites for a peaceful policy as laid down within the Potsdam Agreement have been created in West Germany by means of basic internal changes.

We cannot omit including the position of Germany in the world of today and in the world of tomorrow in our considerations.

The world has undergone considerable changes since the time when the unified German state, usurped by the fascist lackeys of the German imperialists, suffered an annihilating defeat in the rapacious war which it had organized. The German people in both German states must acknowledge these changes and act accordingly if they wish to open the road to a unified Germany. The peoples have drawn their conclusions

from the fact that German imperialists twice plunged the world into devastating wars.

Along with the Soviet Union a number of states have emerged whose policy is directed towards the safeguarding of peace and combating the aggressive imperialist policy, that source of war danger. Those states are vigilant and ward off the danger resulting from the policy of the West German partial state, which claims to be the successor of the Hitler Reich and which increases world tensions by its striving for atomic weapons and its territorial claims.

The story spread by West German anti-communists about the possibility of inciting the socialist countries of Europe against each other has burst like a soap bubble. The 23rd Congress of the CPSU demonstrated the internal firmness, the creative power and resoluteness of the party of Lenin and of the peoples of the Soviet Union. No one with all five senses intact could believe that in this present period, when the majority of the peoples of Europe live in the Soviet Union and in socialist states, the Soviet Union could be willing to encourage the dismantling of socialism in the GDR. At the 23rd Congress 86 communist and working-class

parties of the whole world proclaimed their fraternal sympathy with the Soviet Union, the heroically fighting people of Vietnam and with the workers' and farmers' state in Germany, the German Democratic Republic. The peoples are against the adventurers in West Germany.

The peoples of not a few capitalist states of Europe and the world are heedful of the lesson taught by two wars and are defending themselves against having their lives and future put at stake as a result of the actions of West German revanchist politicians.

Finding the way towards a future united Germany in the world of today and tomorrow means respecting the demands of the peoples for peace and security.

These demands are in conformity with the vital interests of the German working people. In this spirit we consider it urgently necessary for the Federal Republic also to take the road of a consistent peace policy.

A realistic estimate of the international situation and the position of the German states in Europe shows that there never can be a united Germany belonging to one of the two opposed military alliances. Anyone who calls for a united Germany within the alliance of US imperialism, NATO

or as a part of a Bonn-Washington axis—as the Bonn government does—has in fact abandoned the idea of the unification of the German states.

I cannot consider the present rulers in Bonn to be so foolish as not to know that their so-called “legal claims” to the frontiers of 1937 virtually mean war. But a war starting in West Germany—with or without a Bonn-Washington axis—would mean the certain annihilation of the West German Federal Republic.

The talk about the frontiers of 1937 is therefore a dangerous game of war and testifies to very limited political thinking. The West Germans should at last recognize that in 1945 a full stop was set to mark the ultimate end of an entire period of German history. The present frontiers are the result of the criminal rapacious wars of the German imperialists and their monstrous misdeeds. To the West Germans I can only say: it will make no difference if you cling ten times to the apron strings of the USA. You will attain nothing! Do stop pitying yourselves at last and moaning over the frontiers forfeited by the German imperialists and over the frontier between the two German states and between the GDR and West Berlin. It would be more sensible finally to carry out such

democratic transformations in West Germany as would make possible the fusion of the two German states and West Berlin into a German confederation. That would ensure the German people a peaceful life. That would serve to ensure a peaceful and happy future for Germany. And it would at the same time allow the solution of human problems at present without a possible solution, and the elimination of burdens.

By developing its relations with other peoples in a spirit of peace and good neighbourliness the German people are serving their own interests and beginning to solve their national problem in the only realistic way.

During the elections to the Bundestag the SPD brought up the question of the German peace treaty. Since nothing was said in detail about the content of such a peace treaty we asked the question in our Open Letter:

2. What is your attitude towards the peace treaty?

What are the ideas of the SPD about the preparation and content of a peace treaty?

Unfortunately the SPD Executive failed to reply to this question as well as in its answer. The GDR government had submitted a proposal for the drafting of a peace treaty to the four powers on 4 September 1958.

The Soviet government declared that it would do everything in its power to bring about the conclusion of a peace treaty with Germany. In January 1959 the USSR submitted the draft of a peace treaty to all states which had participated with their armed forces in the war against Hitler. This draft contained the proposal that the allied powers should conclude a peace treaty with Germany, which was at present being represented by the German Democratic Republic and the German Federal Republic, or in the case of the existence of a German confederation with the latter.

The characteristic feature of this draft was the formulation of the conditions to guarantee a peaceful German state. The treaty should not only close the books on the war unleashed by Hitler Germany. It should also provide the guarantees that a war would never again start from German soil. The possibility of a peaceful and democratic development and fruitful cooperation with other states as an equal member of the family of nations should be guaranteed to Germany. The SPD leaders are fully familiar with the Soviet Union's draft of a peace treaty and with the proposal of the German Democratic Republic. They are also familiar with the proposals of the western powers which mean a non-peaceful

solution of the German question. It is generally recognized that the attitude towards atomic armament and disarmament shows whether a peaceful or a military solution of the German question is desired. The questions raised in the letter of the SED to the delegates of the SPD Congress were not only addressed to all members and friends of social democracy, but to all citizens of West Germany.

We should start with disarmament in Germany. The Bonn government has unfortunately taken no steps whatsoever up to the present with a view to developing a policy of peace, disarmament and military neutrality or to join such a policy. On the contrary, its real political interest is expressed by revanchist policy, accelerated armament, in particular the drive for control of atomic weapons and the striving for a society shaped according to the dictate of the monopolies. The conception of a "formed society" has taken over a great deal from Hitler. That is dictatorship in the service of the big monopolies with Hitlerite methods, as for example reflected by the emergency legislation.

The recently published so-called peace note of the Bonn government was described even by some of its allies as being no more than a scanty

fig-leaf for the policy conducted up to the present and which is to be continued in the old spirit. The world very soon recognized that here the old aggressive policy of revenge has been wrapped up in non-committal peace phrases. Some said that this note had a very American flavour.

Every West German citizen should stop once to think about the reasons why quite a few Western European allies of Bonn will have absolutely nothing to do with the revanchist policy of that government and are moving away from it? How should one explain the fact that French President de Gaulle, who obviously is not a communist, should wish at this particular moment to take France out of the danger zone of war provocation? Is he not doing so because he knows the details of Bonn's aggressive "forward strategy" and its axis with Washington, including the plans for the escalation of war, and because he considers these intentions to be adventurous and suicidal?

De Gaulle certainly knows more about these things than the citizens of the West German Federal Republic, who are being deceived by their government. Obviously de Gaulle takes a more realistic viewpoint of the situation.

The West Germans should draw the objective conclusion from his action that it is also high time for them at last to conduct a German policy instead of following that of the USA and finally to advance a West German contribution to stabilizing European security. It can become mortally dangerous to stare as though hypnotized at the Bonn-Washington axis and to insist on revanchist plans which in any case have no prospects of ever being implemented. If the security of the European peoples and that of the Germans is to be ensured, the West Germans must at last make a real contribution, putting a stop to the doings of the adventurers in Bonn.

The first prerequisite for peaceful coexistence of the two German states and of a peaceful solution of the German question is the creation of an atmosphere of relaxation in Europe by the renunciation of revanchist plans and atomic armament by the Bonn government. The governments of the USSR, the People's Republic of Poland and the GDR have submitted to the European states proposals for a treaty on European security. We propose that negotiations should be conducted on this proposal by all European states.

To the West German Federal Republic we propose a peaceful understanding. We propose serving the cause of humanity by disarmament. The proposals for a peaceful understanding proclaimed by us on 1 January 1966 can be accepted by all men of good will as a basis for negotiations:

both German states renounce atomic armament and every form of control over atomic weapons;

the two German states recognize the existing frontiers in Europe;

the German Democratic Republic and the West German Federal Republic open diplomatic relations with all states of NATO and the Warsaw Treaty in the interests of peace and European security;

the two German states declare their readiness for negotiations on disarmament in Germany;

the two German states solemnly renounce all measures, laws and regulations which block the road towards overcoming the division and reunification, such as atomic armament, emergency legislation, etc.;

the governments of both German states open negotiations with the aim of normalizing relations between the two states and their citizens.

If the Bonn government demands first moves, then we can only say that it is now the turn of those who have up till now failed to fulfil the terms of the Potsdam Agreement.

The question is sometimes raised as to how things will go on if the attempt of the Socialist Unity Party and the government of the German Democratic Republic to bring about an understanding with the West German state should not lead to results for an extended period.

I shall reply to this question so that no one in West Germany may remain under any illusion.

The German Democratic Republic has everything necessary to complete socialist construction out of its own resources, through its economic agreements with the Soviet Union, the socialist and other countries. Our military alliances guarantee a firm protection of our frontiers, which, as everyone knows, would be defended by the Warsaw Treaty alliance in a joint military action in the event of an attack.

Therefore an understanding with the West German state is not essential for the further construction of our socialist democracy and our socialist economy. We desire such an understanding as quickly as possible. But we

emphasize that our construction of socialism in no way depends on our relationship with the West German state. The time is past when we were obliged to build up socialism whilst having our pockets continuously picked from outside. The firm and well protected frontiers of the German Democratic Republic set an end once and for all to this plundering and disruption of our construction work.

As concerns the preservation of peace, we can do a great deal, together with the entire socialist camp and with all peace-loving forces in the world, to prevent a new world war. And we hope that it will be prevented despite the dangerous policy of US imperialism and its West German imperialist supporters. I should like to observe in this connection that the struggle for the preservation of peace would be more or less hopeless without the rapidly increasing economic, political and not least the military strength of the Soviet Union. Our efforts alone will not suffice to transform the existing aggressive, monopoly West German state into a peaceful, democratic state ready to reach an understanding. For this it is necessary above all to bring about an understanding between the workers and the organizations of the workers of both German states.

That is why we have taken the initiative in an effort to bring about a dialogue with the West German social democrats, the members and friends of the Social Democratic Party on questions on which we will have to come to a common point of view in order to advance at all.

### *On the Preparation of a German Confederation*

We consider that the most important aim must be an exchange of opinions between the two great German parties, the SPD and the SED, about the way of a peaceful settlement of the German question. In the letter to the delegates of the Dortmund Congress of the SPD and to all members and friends of social democracy in West Germany, we raised the question:

3. What should the united Germany which you are striving for look like?

Is it to be a German state in which the people take the final decision, or shall the tune be called by multimillionaires and Hitler generals?

As the SPD Executive has as yet failed to reply to this essential question as well, I should like to go into the position of the SED somewhat more closely, in order to animate the dialogue on a constructive basis.

The SPD leaders will know that the so-called "Research Advisory Council of the All-German Ministry in Bonn", which also includes representatives of the SPD, drew up a comprehensive documentation for "X Day". This documentation states that German unity should serve the purpose of extending the domain of the big West German monopolies and of militarism to the German Democratic Republic, too. The "formed society" of state monopoly capitalism in West Germany is to be extended to the GDR. The whole of that documentation is not worth the paper on which it is written.

The Bonn government thus intends to implement its "exclusive representation claim" in the spirit of extending the rule of the big monopolies, big landowners and Hitler generals to the east. It would like to export militarism.

We, on the other hand, are realistically thinking people. We have no intention simply to export our socialist system of society to West Germany. We have no model such as that drawn up by the so-called research council. We base our considerations on the interests and the will of the people. The working class of West Germany and peace-loving, democratic-

minded sections of the population should conceive reunification as a means of liberating themselves from the strait-jacket of the formed society. We will certainly meet with the agreement of the working class, the social democrats and trade unionists in that we consider the road to reunification to be a long struggle between the peaceful and democratic forces and those of reaction and militarism.

Our proposal for the formation of a confederation serves the aim of facilitating the transition by the people without injury by virtue of their own strength.

We are convinced that peace-loving Germans will be supported by the peoples of Europe fighting for European security.

Our statements on reunited Germany are meant as proposals and as a basis of discussion between the working class of the two German states, between the two strongest German political parties, the SED and the SPD, between the trade unions, between Christian circles of the population and between all democratic forces of the parties existing in Germany.

Any solution of the German question including the unification of the German states must be based on their rapprochement and understanding

and their cooperation in the sense of a German confederation. There is no other way.

The conclusion of a peaceful understanding, above all between the two German working-class parties of the east and west, and also between the two German states is thus indispensable.

This will give their governments an opportunity to come to an agreement on the specific details of the preparation of their cooperation within the framework of the German confederation.

In this connection I should like to recall that some time ago a representative of the Adenauer government and a representative of the GDR government discussed the formation of a German confederation. If at that time agreement had been reached, as we had desired, we should have been spared the constant deepening of the gulf of division since that time. The People's Chamber and the government of the German Democratic Republic have not only on one occasion advanced the proposal of this only remaining way to overcome the split. In case the SPD leaders should support the CDU opinion that reunification is a matter of concern of the four powers, they are faced with the fact that as a result

of the specific interests of US finance capital during these past 20 years the four powers have not advanced a single step. Peace-loving forces in Germany will thus first have to reach an understanding themselves.

We renew our offer today. We are preparing to turn the idea of a German confederation into reality and for a new, united homeland of the Germans to arise one day out of the cooperation and assembly within the framework of that confederation.

It is comparatively simple for us to say what the GDR should and will do in order to prepare that way and to provide for a respected position for the future Germany in the world of tomorrow.

The German Democratic Republic will unswervingly continue its peace policy and its socialist construction, so that the power of its ideas may exert an even greater effect on the workers and all peace-loving forces in the other German state. The strength of our system arises from the agreement of the interests of the citizens with the well understood interests of society and its state. The Socialist Unity Party of Germany and the government of our workers' and farmers' state will make every endeavour to ensure that the interests of individual citizens and those

of work collectives correspond even better and more harmoniously with the interests of society. As regards the basic political problems, such as for instance the struggle for peace, these interests have always been in agreement.

In the economic sphere we have a complicated phase of development behind us. It was difficult to give shape to the new after the catastrophe of the war. Since we experienced these things ourselves, we are taking such a resolute stand in favour of imposing the historically necessary social transformations in peace through the struggle of the forces of democracy.

During the first years our state had to demand a great effort from individual citizens and from work collectives; these efforts hardly appeared to harmonize with their interests. Yet they were absolutely necessary for making possible higher living standards, even though slow at first but still continuous and certain. I recall the slogan: First work more and then live better! In the meantime we have achieved a great deal. Today every citizen of the GDR who does honest work is aware that doing good work is to his own advantage.

The safeguarding of our state frontier in Berlin made sure that we should no longer be deprived of the fruits of our labour. Only after this step had been taken did it become possible to bring the laws of socialist economics to full effectiveness. The new system of economic planning and management released new impulses for creative work. As a result of self-sacrificing work in the past, the fruits of joint labour at present are ripening much faster than previously.

We have firm ground under our feet on our way, which to begin with demanded much sweat and toil from the working people. We have begun the construction of our new house with the laying of solid foundations, not with the carpet for the living room or the refrigerator in the kitchen.

In West Germany the inevitable new construction of the foundations of society has so far been prevented by the CSU/CDU, the party of West German monopoly capital, and the US occupation authorities. In an effort to divert the attention of the West German working class and of all working people from this inevitable necessity, a so-called state of prosperity was conjured up with the aid of the Marshall Plan and other anaesthetics.

We have always held the opinion that a high living standard presupposes the safeguarding of life itself. In West Germany, however, the majority of the workers allow themselves to be hypnotized by a refrigerator and television set, electric washing machines and motorcars. In this way they allowed themselves to be misled into confiding their destiny once again to the same old imperialist wreckers of the German people, grossly neglecting the foundations of their house and the safeguarding of their own lives and of the life of their people.

At times many West German workers nurtured the illusion that they were better off than workers of the GDR. Yet today it has already become clear that workers of the GDR, led by the united party of the working class and by the establishment of their workers' and farmers' state and the construction of socialism have gone the better and safer way. We have laid the solid foundations of the rule of the people, the foundations of socialism. That was the hard start. Television sets, refrigerators and washing machines are coming into the fore today, and the number of motorcars will also increase.

In West Germany, on the other hand, the Ruhr miners have to

recognize today, for example, that their "prosperous society", their "social market economy" have kept them from the main thing, namely, from laying the foundations of society. They see today what their much-praised "social partnership" is worth. And the "formed society", headed by the dictatorship of a small clique of the big bourgeoisie, with their emergency regulations and their militarism is to prevent them from drawing the correct conclusions from these correct perceptions.

The good results of previous work allow us to implement a new long-term plan in the GDR, which has set bold goals to all workers. As a modern socialist industrial state with an intensive agriculture, the GDR will receive and consolidate a good place within the group of advanced industrial states of the world. It will make further advances in the field of science by making considerable progress in the technical revolution.

Great tasks can also be set to socialist agriculture, as the material interest of cooperative farmers in modern agricultural production has proved to be a powerful driving force. Farmers are living in security for the first time in German history.

In accordance with the requirements of the modern socialist state we

shall implement our great plan for a unified system of education and for a socialist national culture step by step.

The living standard of the citizens of our Republic will be determined by the results of their own work, in other words, it will constantly rise.

During the coming years socialist democracy in the GDR will be experiencing an even more successful development.

These perspectives are all the more important, in the light of the fact that even a man such as the bourgeois philosopher Jaspers felt obliged to note the process of continuous deterioration and decadence of formal bourgeois democracy in West Germany and to warn against the danger of renewed fascism linked with the so-called "formed society" of the big arms monopolies and militarism. It is noteworthy to us Marxists that such a scholar, who has no sympathy for our policy and world outlook should come to conclusions similar to ours in an unprejudiced analysis of West German facts.

West German and foreign observers of our country cannot fail to confirm that the people of the GDR are increasingly clearly and firmly identifying themselves with their state and society, and that the citizens

of this workers' and farmers' state in Germany are increasingly being guided in their actions by the interests of society. They have no differences with that society. They feel profoundly linked with it.

We are certain that the gradually growing socialist community of the citizens of our Republic will not fail to exert an effect on West Germany, and that they are making an essential contribution towards shaping the face of the future fatherland of the Germans.

In this way we are preparing for the formation of a German confederation.

### *What Must Be Changed in West Germany*

Undoubtedly much must be changed in the West German Federal Republic before the process of the joining of the two German states and the special territory of West Berlin can begin. The West German working class and all West German working people are faced with the task of making up for much that should have been done or at least begun energetically already twenty years ago. This is difficult, of course.

On the other hand, the West German working people and other

patriots have it much easier today than the people of the GDR. For the people of the GDR have successfully carried through two historical transformations in the past twenty years. Thus experiences are available as to how the historical tasks can be solved, what is suitable and what is not suitable. The West German working class with its allies, the farmers, intellectuals and the middle classes and all peace-loving and democratic forces can thus easier find and enter the way which corresponds to the specific conditions of West Germany.

The West German monopolists and their politicians know but one conception of a future united Germany. With regard to the power conditions it does not essentially differ from the Germany of 1914 and the Germany of 1939.

We openly declare that such a united, but aggressive and war-thirsty German state in which the monopolists and militarists exercise power will never exist again. It will not exist because the people of the GDR who have built up an up-to-date peace state for themselves do not want it. It will not exist because a growing part of the West German population does not want it, either. It will not exist because the progressive states

and the peoples of Europe, especially the Soviet people and even influential circles in most imperialist countries do not want it, either.

In order to advance the next important steps it is therefore necessary for those patriotic forces in West Germany which have a genuine interest in a peaceful settlement of the German question to gain in political influence.

The solid core of this great movement for peace, democracy and progress should be formed by the trade unions, the Social Democratic Party, the Communist Party, progressive intellectuals and the working peasants around which all democratic and peaceful forces could group themselves.

We are not of the opinion that first all a kind of a second GDR should be created on West German territory so that later a uniform German peace state could be erected. But we share the view of many West Germans that the common road to the great aim can only be found when the policy of the West German state is based on the vital interests of the working people.

In the decisions and discussions of West German trade union organiza-

tions, of organizations of the Social Democratic Party, the Communist Party, the Socialist Youth, the young trade unionists, the teachers' associations, etc., there are many demands, proposals and ideas which all aim at the necessary social reorganization of the West German Federal Republic. They make allowance for the present state of development in West Germany.

In the following are summarized the most important of these demands, proposals and ideas which are contained in the decisions of the Easter March movement of the opponents of atomic armament, the decisions of trade union organizations and of socialist organizations, of circles of intellectuals and the decisions of peasant organizations. Naturally no claim is made here to completeness, of a fully rounded-off picture of the necessary social transformation. This can only be a sketchy compilation of important spheres which, however, make the aim and the way clearly visible, seen as a whole.

The point is the realization of the most elementary demands of humanity and the safeguarding of peace. The movement for peace, democracy and progress developing in West Germany is based on the

most elementary general democratic demands. Progressive members of the Bundestag demand a reform of parliament which restores the full rights of the deputies. These progressive parliamentarians demand the right to check on the enforcement of the laws and to report back to the population.

In the letter to the social democratic comrades we referred to the fact that the concentration of capital and the technical revolution imperatively demand the struggle for co-determination and the trade unions' right of control in the economy and in the enterprises.

Important trade union forces rightfully demand a change in the relations of power in West German big industry, above all. This is necessary in order to create lasting foundations for the livelihood of the working people and their future policy.

Recently the social democratic scientist Vilmar proved that with the now attained high level of the concentration of capital and production, armament economy is an essential and bearing element of late capitalism which secures the basis of the economic and political existence of the ruling circles and at the same time determines its political action. Vilmar

proves that the co-determination of the working people in the economy, the democratic control of the large enterprises and the planning of the national economy compellingly result from the political and economic interests of the working people—and naturally he earns for it the sharp attacks of the trusts and their press.

It is of special significance to bring the newspaper trusts such as the Springer trust, etc., under control so as to end the cold war agitation and warmongering.

A democratic land reform ensuring peasant property is also opportune. Naturally such a land reform must not be an imitation of the measures which were necessary in the GDR and stood the test here. In West Germany different conditions have developed under state monopoly capitalism. The working peasants in West Germany increasingly seek for ways, through mutual help, joint and cooperative work, to utilize the advantages of modern agricultural methods—as far as this is possible at all under capitalist conditions.

Through repulsing the influence of the big banks and trusts it would be possible at once to make the Raiffeisen cooperatives democratic

organs of the peasants again. They would play a major part in the development of mutual help and joint work, in buying and selling and the processing of agricultural products.

Tenant farming plays a big role in West Germany. All farmers who have leased land from the state or from big landowners could continue to cultivate it if they want to. Exorbitant rents would be reduced to a normal rate immediately. Land from the land reserve should also be made available to interested agricultural labourers, peasants with little land and especially peasant communities. Rents for land from big landed property could be used to finance peasant communities, the joint purchase of large machines, for the erection of cooperative buildings, etc. Naturally tenure agreements between farm enterprises would be untouched by these measures.

We ask the West German population: Is it not high time to realize the equality of rights for women in West Germany, too? It is not enough to talk about it, it must be forced through with the help of the trade unions so that equal pay for the same work is paid to women and men alike, so that women are given leading positions in the state, economy

and the educational system on a basis of equality. Naturally this requires special measures for the advancement of women and support for their social rise.

Young people rightfully demand the guarantee of the basic rights of the young generation. This is the right to learn a vocation, the right to an education, the same right for the youth of the working class to go to college and receive material support during study. A law for the protection of working youth is urgently needed. The trade unions have made many good proposals on this, but their realization is still lacking.

One of the most important measures of the democratic forces in West Germany would be the removal from the state apparatus, the police, the administration of justice and especially the army of the militarist, revanchist and extreme reactionary forces which bear a heavy guilt for the past and today again brutally represent the interests and claims to power of the big monopolies and realize their aggressive policy which is hostile to the people. What is needed is not a repetition of the denazification comedy which thrashed the little ones and let the big ones escape unmolested.

Democracy is impossible as long as war and nazi criminals and their like-minded friends sit at the levers of power. A stop must finally be put to the pernicious development in which the constitution is systematically undermined by the misuse of the law, where people are persecuted for the views they hold and the emergency dictatorship is prepared step by step.

The basic constitutional rights of the citizens must be restored. In the parliaments and in all executive organs and other state administrative bodies such citizens should have decisive influence upon state leadership who stand up resolutely for these elementary rights of the people, who sincerely work for peace, disarmament and understanding.

Upright state officials may continue to be employed and their pension right will be guaranteed. But above all those forces of the working people who up to now have been largely excluded from co-determination in the Bonn state, the workers, peasants, progressive intellectuals and democratically minded forces of the bourgeoisie will have to take over important functions. In many cases outstanding social democratic specialists in the communities and provinces could be made good use of. All the good

traditions existing in this respect in the history of our people, especially in the history of the working-class movement should be brought to life again.

The burden of the state monopoly redistribution of the national income in favour of armament and the profits of the monopolies has been placed on the West German provinces and communities. The share of the provinces and communities in the tax revenues could be essentially increased. The provinces and especially the communities could thus be put into a position to fulfil those state tasks which are in the interest of the working people. The educational system, road and bridge construction, the health service and the various communal facilities and institutions could be sufficiently promoted financially. Thus 3,000 dwellings alone could be built for the price of one destroyer with missile weapons. A sum of 360 million marks which is wasted by Bonn for armament in a few days would suffice to build 260 central schools in rural areas.

It is urgently necessary to democratize the educational system and modernize it, enforce the right to education for all and purge the entire instructional material from the evil spirit of militarism, the policy of

revenge and war propaganda. An educational system must be created which guarantees all children the right to education and gives them a general knowledge—irrespective of the social position of the parents—which by far exceeds the level of the present eight-class school (compulsory nine or ten-class school). It has to guarantee that the children are educated in the spirit of humanism, democracy, peace and understanding among the peoples. It is furthermore necessary to provide an up-to-date vocational training corresponding to the development of the scientific-technical revolution, varied opportunities to acquire college entrance standard and attend colleges and universities, independent of the social position of the family.

Such an educational system corresponds to the action program of the German Trade Union Federation (DGB), the demands of the 7th youth conference of the Metalworkers' Industrial Union at its meeting in May last year, the demands of the progressive student organizations and also the educational policy principles of the SPD.

In the field of culture and art the democratic demands of the intellectual and cultural workers must be realized and the influence of those

forces which today try to force their reactionary stamp on West German intellectual life repulsed.

We greatly esteem the humanist scientists and artists of the Federal Republic who raise their voice for relaxation and peace in Germany under conditions which are very complicated for them, who courageously oppose armament and the atomic equipment of the Bundeswehr, who stand up against emergency legislation and other methods of war preparation and call the war of the USA in Vietnam what it is, a dirty crime.

### *Relations between State and Church*

In West Germany the perception is growing that here, too, the relations between state and church should be regulated in a democratic way, i.e., on the basis of freedom of religious belief for all citizens, tolerance and the protection of the undisturbed exercise of religion as is the case in the modern states of Europe.

Such a regulation excludes the imperialist misuse of the church for alien interests contradicting the tasks of the church and the love for peace of religious citizens. The churches and the Christians do not need a

military ministrations agreement, for example, which leads them to the side of fascist generals but they do need the cooperation with all people of good will for the safeguarding of peace.

During the Second Vatican Council the head of the Catholic church declared that reason, the readiness for negotiation and understanding, confidence and treaties are principles for the regulation of relations between the peoples. And in his speech to the UN General Assembly Pope Paul VI announced:

“You propose an extremely simple and fruitful kind of coexistence to the multitude of states which can no longer ignore each other: You recognize and differentiate among each other.”

Similar declarations also became known from the side of oecumenical bodies of the protestant and orthodox churches. The realization of such principles and their observance by the church leaders in the two German states could undoubtedly have a positive effect on the normalization of relations between them. This is also in the well-understood interest of the churches, for then and only then are normal relations between the churches in the two German states guaranteed.

In the development of relations of confidence borne by the spirit of mutual respect between the state authorities and the representatives of the churches, use should be made of those good experiences which dignitaries of the churches in the two German states have been able to gather in standing up for peace and understanding during the past two decades, in their cooperation with the authorities of socialist and anti-imperialist states. Dignitaries of the churches who in past years supported the peaceful solution of the national question as patriots will enjoy honour and recognition today and in the future.

What is the question at issue then?

It is a question of shifting from the rule of the millionaires over the millions to a system in which the basic rights of people have a firm material economic and political basis.

It is a question of transforming the seeming democracy in which the electors can vote every fourth year, it is true, but in which they have nothing to determine in fact, into a genuine democracy in which the citizens actively shape their social life, in which they make active use of their rights and fulfil their duties.

That will be the democracy which is necessary in West Germany so that the road to peace and understanding of the two German states, the road to the fatherland of the Germans can be entered.

This would also be the right way to prepare the first concrete step to this aim, the German confederation!

### *West Berlin and the German Confederation*

Occasionally the question arises as to what position will be occupied by West Berlin within a German confederation and what kind of relations will then exist between the German Democratic Republic and West Berlin.

Firstly I want to state that West Berlin, which is located on the territory of the GDR, does not belong to the West German Federal Republic and moreover will never belong to it. On the other hand I do not doubt that West Berlin, too, will be a part of the German confederation. The position of West Berlin and its position with respect to the GDR within a confederation will depend to a great extent on the behaviour of the West Berliners and especially of the West Berlin Senate up to this time.

The continuation of a front-line city policy from which the cold war against the GDR is conducted would certainly not contribute very much to strengthening the future position of West Berlin in a German confederation. And every attempt to bring about complications through provocations of this or that kind will cost the West Berliners dear.

Therefore, it would be most reasonable and for the West Berliners the most beneficial if West Berlin would not allow itself to be involved in any adventures by the Bonn revanchist politicians. The West Berliners should be quite satisfied with the status quo. Everything that worries many West Berliners at present will be settled in a reasonable way after the formation of a German confederation and the conclusion of a German peace treaty.

I want to tell the West Berliners as well as the West Germans that all measures which are necessary for the security of the GDR, its peaceful life and construction will be carried through. Nothing can be changed on this score. But when a German confederation will have come into existence, when West Germany will have finally renounced revanchist policy and armament, its striving to share control over atomic weapons,

then we shall be able to give up many measures which are today necessary not only in the interest of the people of the GDR, but also in the interest of the population of West Germany and West Berlin.

*On the Possibilities of the Confederated German States  
in the Transitional Period until Unification*

A peaceful solution must be found and realized for the national and political questions of vital importance, and the two German states must approach each other and reach understanding. This would provide the foundations for realizing those ideas which deal with the economic and social development of the Germans in the last third of our century.

We Marxist-Leninists consider it our duty to set forth this order of priority unmistakably. We do not want the illusion to arise that the people of West Germany could solve the great problems of the social and educational system, of culture and the humanist sciences as long as reactionary forces rule there. We also cannot agree that social democratic leaders speak about the vistas of technical development and at the same time evade the burning social and political questions.

Although the confederation of the two German states will not yet settle the national question completely it will create important democratic foundations which make it easier than hitherto for the Germans to play an important role in the world as a power of peace and progress.

We frankly say that in the age of the scientific-technical revolution the social transformation in the sense of the new shaping of social life is an inevitable commandment of the time. The growing together of the two German states in the period of the confederation is a struggle for the creative development of democracy in the state, in the economy and in the field of culture.

It should be self-evident that in the period of the confederation all cold war agitation and war propaganda are stopped. The freedom of opinion and world outlook is ensured only when the people free themselves from the pressure of war-greedy forces. It is therefore necessary to break the power of the masters of such opinion monopolies as the Springer trust. As long as the Springer trust and similar opinion factories rule there can be no freedom to form one's own opinion.

The interests of democratic development necessitate the transfer of the big trusts into national property with the indemnification of the shareholders in the period of the confederation. The participation of small shareholder shall be secured to the fullest extent.

We are certain that our people will highly appreciate the deeds of all those, among them also the members of the capitalist class, who have served the nation well, who have worked and are working for understanding and a peaceful and democratic development in Germany.

All those managers, directors, leading scientists and technicians who are connected with the people and their democratic system would certainly take an important place in society on which they could exercise all their abilities and talents for the benefit of the whole whereby they would receive adequate remuneration for their work.

Also the members of the liberal professions, the doctors, lawyers, writers, artists, etc., will experience new strong impulses under the new system for their creative activity in the spirit of humanism.

Instead of the dictatorship of the big banks which in economic life force their will upon the small and medium enterprisers and make them

dependent, which manipulates the so-called free market economy according to its profit interests, modern methods of national economic programming will prove to be useful and help to secure full employment, stability of the currency and social progress.

The social development would pave the way for an agrarian policy proceeding in the farmers' interests in West Germany, too. In West Germany the monopoly capitalist state, the feudal lords, finance capital, private big landed property, the banks, insurance companies and other capitalist companies—i.e., 1.4 per cent of all owners—possess one-third of the entire real estate. The peasant farmsteads of up to 20 hectares, however, i.e., some 88 per cent of all owners, must do with 37 per cent of the landed property. It is obvious that a land reform is necessary in West Germany.

The land of the feudal lords, the trusts, banks and insurance companies should be made available for cooperative use by those who cultivate it today. The state would grant them the necessary material and other aid during this transition.

If the people are in agreement, the feudal lords who in any case will

forfeit their land, could keep a few castles and palaces and amuse themselves there with illusionary alliances of "reigning dynasties" and similar amusements as long as their bank account allows it. Indemnifications for private big landed property could be granted from armament funds saved. Naturally no farmer would understand it if those big landowners who are known as war criminals were also indemnified.

Private big landowners who after 1945 have served the German nation, the safeguarding of peace, the rapprochement and understanding of the Germans and reunification especially well should be allowed to keep landed property up to 150 hectares if they want it. Furthermore they would be enabled to exercise functions in the new system according to their capabilities which correspond with their experiences in the management of large agricultural enterprises.

Such a democratic land reform would also pave the way for a generous program for the improvement of the school system in the village, the placing of the village school on an equal footing with the city school, for tuition and teaching materials free of charge, no fees at agricultural schools and adequate grants at agricultural colleges.

Much could be done immediately to lighten the work of woman farmers, too, through communal institutions.

The progressive traditions of foreign policy, the consistent peace policy of the German Democratic Republic will be for the benefit of the German confederation and its external effectiveness.

With regard to their economic potentials the two confederated German states taken together would be the world's third economic power with a big lead over the fourth. The confederation would have available a considerable industrial, agricultural and scientific potential. Pledged to the policy of peace and disarmament the two member states of the German confederation would be able to guarantee their citizens a secure existence in prosperity which is based on the certainty that war will never again start from German soil.

But we have a different picture of the future life of the Germans in mind than that on which the present rulers in Bonn try to fix the mass of our contemporaries in West Germany. Philistine satiety, the stupid race for prestige consumption and desire for prominence as well as political passivity, coupled with nationalist arrogance and political ignorance do

not fit into our conceptions. We reject all that. That is out of the question for us. We believe rather that it is important and will also be possible then to do much more than fully satisfy the material needs of all citizens including those who cannot fully care for themselves with their own strength. Only when the working people and their allies are in power will more resources, strength and time be available to give all citizens a modern education and make accessible to them the treasures of knowledge, culture and art. Not limited by private property and the concentration of power, the rights and liberties of the citizens will fully develop.

To the extent to which working hours can be further shortened, active artistic creation, continued vocational education and the acquisition of knowledge in which people are personally interested will assume an increasingly larger share of personal life. But the participation of the citizens in public life will also grow. They will discuss, decide and solve their political and other social problems in the communities and towns ever more independently. Democratic activity and political responsibility will become genuine virtues of the Germans.

The two confederated German states will make use of their great economic power for peaceful performances in the fields of research and technology, art and welfare and an exemplary domestic system in the service of man and mankind.

The economic relations between the two confederated German states will be essentially intensified and brought to a level which corresponds with the requirements of the technical revolution. Practical West German economic circles already emphasize that in six to eight years a considerable part of the trade between the two states will consist of industrial plant. It is self-evident that the close scientific-technical and economic cooperation in such transactions will continue to favourably influence the development of normal state and other relations.

In a confederation the GDR can be of considerable help to the Federal Republic in opening up large new markets in the socialist states for its products, especially for industrial plants. The industry of the confederated German states will effect big sales which secure its full employment for a long time and which offer a close cooperation between enterprises in the two German states. In this sense the confederated German

states will become an important factor of the increasing economic interdependence in the whole of Europe.

The confederated German states will be able to grant all peoples in the world who have entered upon the road of the construction of independent, sovereign national economies large material, cultural and organizational assistance. The German people will then be in an essentially better position than up to now to remove the scourge of hunger from millions of people in the Asian, African and Latin American countries by supplying them with the means of production and granting them other assistance which allows the peoples concerned to rapidly increase their own agricultural production.

Further important steps can be taken to make the citizens of the two German states benefit from the advantages resulting from the policy of peace underlying the confederation treaty. Thus tourist traffic between the two German states could be considerably extended and normalized. The security installations at the frontiers between the two German states and between the GDR and West Berlin can then be adapted to the conditions of peaceful coexistence.

Another big opportunity would be to complete the integrated educational system and make it effective for the entire nation; at present we are laying its foundation stone in the GDR. It will provide all prerequisites for reaching a new blossoming of the sciences in Germany on this basis. Research and teaching will be so promoted with a part of the means made available from disarmament that German science can once again achieve its world-wide reputation. Colleges and universities will be so extended and modernized that the democratic demand for "the same opportunities for all gifted young people, irrespective of the social position of their parents" can be fully realized in the whole of Germany.

Social system and public institutions could be shaped to meet the demands of coming decades.

Instead of concentrating the creative forces on the construction of complicated weapons systems which in case of war would lead to the mass destruction of human life and the foundations of life, all resources will be available to combat on a large scale with the combined effort of medical scientists, biologists, physicists, cyberneticists, technicians, etc., cancer and other diseases menacing mankind today. Much could be done

to arrange the work places at which the working people spend a large part of their life according to the modern conceptions of industrial hygiene.

Large resources become free to create a modern structure for modernizing the towns and villages, raising dwelling conditions and extending an up-to-date traffic system which will cope with the great burdens. Such expensive projects as the purification of the air and the waterways in the industrial areas and noise abatement in factories and traffic centres could then be realized successfully.

Older people who have a long life full of labour behind them could be given back a considerable part of what they achieved for society in their working years. All modern possibilities of social policy, medicine and psychology would be used to give the evening of life of aged working people purpose and content.

Thus out of the democratic development of the confederation will grow the peaceful reunification of Germany.

Dear Comrades,

Twenty years ago today one great aim stood in the foreground at the joining of the KPD and SPD into the Socialist Unity Party of Germany: The leading role of the German working class in state and society which was long demanded by historical and social development had to be realized, the destroyed country bleeding from thousands of wounds had to be led out of the greatest catastrophe of its history, and the destiny of the German people had to be turned to the good.

Today, on the 20th anniversary of the unification of the German working class we can state with pride that we have honourably fulfilled the historical and social tasks in that part of Germany for which we are responsible, in the German Democratic Republic.

But nevertheless on this 20th anniversary we must again deal, out of national responsibility and in view of conditions in West Germany, with quite similar questions which were already on the agenda two decades ago.

And what day would be more appropriate than this one to call into the consciousness of the working class and all progressive forces in the

West German Federal Republic that the necessary changes will be impossible without a great movement for peace, democracy and progress in West Germany grouped around the working class. Likewise the overcoming of the division and the unification of the German states into a peace-loving, democratic Germany cannot be realized without a rapprochement and understanding of the SED and SPD on the basic questions of the future of the nation.

On the 20th anniversary of the unification of the two working-class parties into the Socialist Unity Party of Germany we again stand on the threshold of decisive historical developments. The future way of the whole of Germany must be fixed. The German working class in the east and west is faced with the task of maintaining its good name in the face of history and concluding the great work of national rebirth.

The Socialist Unity Party of Germany will exert all its forces to realize this great social and national aim.

Long live the Socialist Unity Party of Germany!

Friendship!

Published in this series of documents:

No. 1/1966 *The Path to the Future Fatherland of the Germans*

No. 2/1966 *Dialogue on the Vital Questions affecting  
the German Nation*

No. 3/1966 *The Unity of Germany must serve Peace*

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