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

Berlin, 16 and 17 September 1971

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Communique

of the Second Session of the Central Committee of the
Socialist Unity Party of Germany

The Central Committee of the SED met for its Second Session after the Eighth Party Congress on 16 and 17 September 1971.

Comrade Hermann Axen delivered the report of the Political Bureau, Comrade Erich Honecker, First Secretary of the Central Committee, spoke on the preparation and holding of the elections for the People's Chamber and the county assemblies.

Following an extensive discussion the Central Committee confirmed the report of the Political Bureau and the speech.

It passed a decision on the Quadripartite Agreement on West Berlin.

According to the Statute of the party, the Central Committee confirmed the candidates of the SED proposed to be elected to the People's Chamber and the department heads of the Central Committee.

The Central Committee conveyed best wishes to Walter Ulbricht for his further restoration to health.

**From the Report of the Political Bureau
to the Second Session of the Central Committee
of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany (SED)**

Reporter: Comrade Hermann Axen,
Member of the Political Bureau and Secretary of the
Central Committee

**I. Conclusions Drawn from the Decisions
of the Eighth Party Congress in the Field of Domestic Policy
and Their Implementation**

Dear Comrades,

The period covered by the report embraces three months of strenuous work in drawing conclusions from the decisions of the Eighth Congress of the SED and of implementing them.

The comprehensive discussion with the people centred on the report of the Central Committee to the Eighth Congress made by Comrade Erich Honecker, First Secretary of the Central Committee, the report of Comrade Willi Stoph, Member of the Political Bureau and Chairman of the Council of Ministers, on the Directive for the Five-Year Plan for the Period 1971 to 1975 and the further decisions of the Congress.

The significant speech by Comrade Leonid Ilyich Brezhnev, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, at our Congress was received with great attention. It is assessed as a new expression of the firmness of our fraternal alliance, of the friendly relations and all-sided collaboration between our parties and peoples.

The course and the decisions of the Eighth Congress have found a loud echo and general wide approval among all members and candidate members of our party, in the working class, among cooperative farmers and intellectuals. The working people of the GDR see in this the continuity and creative development of the tested Marxist-Leninist policy of our party.

The leading party organs and basic organizations are carrying out comprehensive political, ideological and organizational work in order to make the party members and citizens of the GDR acquainted with the documents of the Eighth Congress and to link the thorough study of its decisions with concrete measures for their implementation.

The delegates to the Congress greatly supported this by speaking at party events, workers' meetings and in differentiated discussions with cooperative farmers, cultural workers and intellectuals and with other working people. They have considerably contributed to the fact that the objective and optimistic atmosphere of the Eighth Congress is continued in the party organizations and in the work teams.

The following points are emphasized in the popular discussions as the main results of the Eighth Congress:

1. The Eighth Congress gave a Marxist-Leninist analysis of the international situation, of the class forces and the class struggle in the international arena which was understandable for party members and all working people and derived therefrom the line and tasks of the foreign policy of our party and our state.
2. The Eighth Congress exactly assessed the social development in our republic, answered the questions posed by life and scientifically substantiated the further shaping of the developed Socialist society. It especially emphasized the leading position and growing role of the working class and its Marxist-Leninist party.
3. The Eighth Congress convincingly demonstrated the Marxist-Leninist policy, the militancy, the unity and cohesion of our party and its firm alliance with the working class and the entire people.
4. The Eighth Congress became a significant forum of proletarian internationalism. It manifested the firm alliance and tested militant unity between the SED and the CPSU as well as the advancing union of the main revolutionary streams of our time in the struggle against imperialism, for Socialism, peace and international security.

Immediately after the Eighth Congress the Political Bureau adopted decisions on its propagation in the party organizations, state organs and in the mass organizations.

Proceeding from a matter-of-fact and critical assessment of the situation in their own sphere of responsibility it was discussed in the sessions of the county committees, all district party-activists groups and in two meetings in every branch, how the decisions of the highest forum of our party, relying on the proposals of the comrades and non-party working people, are being carried out. Members and candidate members of the Political Bureau have explained the general line of the party and concrete conclusions for its implementation in county committee sessions and meetings of party-activists. The interview given by Comrade Erich Honecker

to the Soviet television service on 25 August proved to be a great aid in explaining and implementing the decisions of the Party Congress.

It was emphasized at the consultation of the Secretariat of the Central Committee with the first secretaries of the country committees on 19 August that the implementation of the decisions of the Eighth Congress requires long-term, purposeful and persistent work. That demands of all leading party organs and branches, of all comrades, a militant attitude and a creative approach to the implementation of the main task of the five-year plan adopted by the Party Congress. These goals understandable to all and worth striving for and the road marked out for their realization presuppose constructive impatience and the search for the best solutions in mastering the complicated problems.

A report was given to the Political Bureau by the Erfurt County Committee on the implementation of the decisions of the Eighth Congress in industrial enterprises. It was ascertained that the Erfurt County Committee, had made progress in its political and ideological work, especially within the working class, in propagating and implementing the decisions of the Eighth Congress. That is expressed in the growing militancy of numerous party organizations, in good performances in Socialist emulation to fulfil the plan and in the supplementary production of consumer goods. The Political Bureau of the Central Committee drew the attention of the county committee in Erfurt to the necessity of further raising the level of political and ideological work in order to make the creative power of the working class and of all working people ever more comprehensively effective in carrying out the tasks determined by the Party Congress. The county committee should intensify its efforts so that the matter-of-fact and forward-pointing spirit of the Eighth Congress determines the style of work of all party organizations. It is a question of penetrating more deeply into the essence of the decisions of the Eighth Congress and of more systematically generalizing the best experiences gained in implementing them in order more quickly to overcome the unjustified differences in the level of the leadership in individual district committees and branches. The party organizations are to be enabled purposefully to lead the struggle for the effective utilization of the fixed assets, for the organization of multi-shift work, for the economic use of material and energy and for a strict economy in general.

The mass media bear a high responsibility for disseminating the ideas of the Eighth Congress and for mobilizing the citizens for the solution of the tasks set.

The party press helps, by means of a broad exchange of ideas and experience, to organize Socialist emulation and to lead the struggle for the continuous fulfilment of the national economic plan doing justice to contractual obligations. The central organ of our party, Neues Deutschland, seized upon a valuable initiative with the discussion "The 1971 plan—how is it being mastered?" It is a question of the word of the worker, the opinion of the manager, the ideas of the innovator, the initiative of every Socialist team.

The Secretariat of the Central Committee consulted with the management of the television service on how the critical and constructive proposals of the Congress for improving the program of television broadcasts are to be realized. The necessary conclusions are still to be drawn from the talks concerning the quality and mass effectiveness of the broadcasts of the German Television Service. This requires close cooperation between the State Television Committee and the working people, especially with the artists and cultural workers.

The Political Bureau passed a decision on the improvement of party and mass propaganda with respect to content and organization. In the months of October, November and December the theoretical basic questions of the Eighth Congress will be worked through in all circles and seminars of the annual party instruction courses. With the decision of the Political Bureau on "The main tasks of the annual party instruction course and their further development in the years 1971 to 1975" the content and structure of Marxist-Leninist educational work in the party was fixed for a long period. This gives all members and candidate members of the party the opportunity to study Marxist-Leninist theory in its inseparable unity with the revolutionary struggle of the party.

This is served by the schooling of candidate members, the circles for basic Marxist-Leninist knowledge, seminars for studying the history of the CPSU, the political economy of Socialism and the economic policy of the SED, seminars for studying the history of the SED and lecture series aimed primarily at the further Marxist-Leninist education of cadres.

In continuation of the comradely collaboration of our party with the friendly parties in the Democratic Bloc and in the National Front, Comrade Erich Honecker, First Secretary of the Central Committee, explained the basic ideas of the Eighth Congress in a friendly talk with the Chairmen of the Democratic Farmers' Party of Germany, the Christian Democratic Union of Germany, the Liberal Democratic Party of Germany, the Acting Chairman of the

National Democratic Party of Germany and the President of the National Council of the National Front.

The chairmen of the friendly parties and the President of the National Council announced their full approval with the statements of Comrade Honecker on the general line of our domestic and foreign policy. They gave the assurance that the members of their parties will help to implement the decisions of the Eighth Congress through concrete performances.

The Central Committee highly esteems the efforts undertaken by the members of the friendly parties and citizens close to them in honour of the Eighth Congress and the propagation of its decisions. In accordance with the principles of its tested alliance policy the Socialist Unity Party of Germany will also in future discuss every further step of social development jointly with its alliance partners and take each such step together with them.

The committee of the National Front are making the citizens acquainted with the decisions of the Eighth Congress in hundreds of meetings and talks in residential districts and with tenants' associations, with the private partners of enterprises with state participation, craftsmen and business people, in Christian circles and with women and young people. New initiatives are developing in the towns and communities for the all-round strengthening of the GDR. The emulation "Help to beautify our towns and communities" shows the creative, democratic participation of the people in the fulfilment of the tasks of the local state organs for improving the living conditions of the population.

Implementing the Decisions in the Economic Sphere

The Eighth Congress decided on the main task of the five-year plan. This basic orientation of the Congress, which proves that the welfare of the people is in the forefront of our work, has found general approval among the workers, cooperative farmers and intellectuals and brought about new initiatives for implementing the 1971 plan and increasing its effectiveness.

The results of the plan fulfilment in the first eight months of 1971 show that our Socialist planned economy is developing in a stable manner. As was already stated at the Party Congress the solution of complicated development problems, as, for example, the safeguarding of the necessary material, energy and manpower balances, requires great efforts and a long time.

Corresponding to the decisions of the Secretariat and the National Executive of the Confederation of Free German Trade Unions (FDGB) the trade union organizations link the thorough

propagation of the decisions of the Eighth Congress with a new upsurge in Socialist emulation.

Management in the state and economic organs was intensively directed at taking better account of the law of the planned proportional development of the national economy and at promoting the direct participation of the working class in its direction and planning and in raising plan discipline.

The experience of the foundry workers in the Elstertal Steel Foundry in Silbitz, in the Nationally-Owned Pipe Combine in Riesa and in many other enterprises confirm anew that the organization of the emulation in accordance with the concrete conditions of the individual enterprise forms the prerequisite for every worker being able to take part in the fulfilment of the aims set.

We can state that the important political task of the Eighth Congress—the intensification of social production—has been undertaken in an exemplary way in a number of enterprises by means of Socialist rationalization.

The results of the plan fulfilment in the first half of 1971 were analyzed in the Political Bureau and in the Council of Ministers in July and the necessary conclusions drawn from it for increasing the political and ideological work of the county and district committees and for the strict direction of plan implementation by the Council of Ministers and its organs.

The respective decision, which was explained by Comrade Erich Honecker at the meeting of the Secretariat of the Central Committee with the first secretaries of the county committees, is the basis for the further implementation of the plan and for the management of the state and economic organs and also for the control by the party organizations.

His orientation is directed above all at:

Concentrating all efforts in Socialist emulation on the fulfilment of the 1971 national economic plan and to organize the necessary concrete tasks of rationalization, the innovators' movement, the exchange of experience and mutual assistance.

Establishing working groups in enterprises which, because of arrears in plan fulfilment, cause economic disturbances on a national scale, in order to implement the necessary measures on the spot for eliminating the arrears jointly with the managements and working people of these enterprises.

Making, at short notice, the still necessary decisions on the supply of material for the second half of the year, on preparing for the winter and on safeguarding the supply of commodities for the people.

The Political Bureau and Secretariat have constantly dealt with the implementation of the national economic plan in important fields and adopted concrete measures, for example, on safeguarding the supplies of coal and energy, on fulfilling the plan for research and technological measures.

The results of the plan fulfilment show that the building industry, with brisk organization and good building preparation is in a position to achieve a high rate of growth. Thus, it was possible, by raising labour productivity by more than seven per cent, to achieve a plan lead. The people benefit from this. By the end of August they had 38,100 new dwellings, that is 4,350 more than in the same period of the previous year. A further 5,400 dwellings were basically repaired and enlarged and 3,000 modernized.

The Eighth Congress emphasized that to raise the production of consumer goods and to expand the services is a basic concern aiming at ever better satisfying the growing requirements of the people.

We can state with satisfaction that the decisions of the Eighth Congress have resulted in a big initiative on the part of the working people in the enterprises and combines of the consumer goods industry for the systematic and supplementary production of consumer goods.

Great importance has also the initiative of enterprises and combines of the producers of means of production to give effective support in Socialist team work to enterprises of the consumer goods industry in rationalization and, by means of increased deliveries, to create the necessary material prerequisites for increasing the production of consumer goods.

The Political Bureau and Secretariat jointly with the government decided to make available further consumer goods in addition to the confirmed 1971 supply plan. This concerns goods which are especially urgently needed.

The county and district committees also dealt thoroughly in the period under review with supply tasks and organized intensified activities in this direction on the part of the party organizations.

The experience gained confirms that the ideological work of the party organizations in the state and economic organs and in the production and trade enterprises must above all be directed at having questions of supply and the organization of an adequate and rational production of consumer goods in the sense of the decisions of the Party Congress considered an important state affair which require a corresponding approach.

An important economic event in the period covered by the report

was the Leipzig Autumn Fair in which exhibitors from 52 countries took part.

This fair which proved the growing economic power of the GDR and again underlined its significance as an international trading centre was above all under the sign of the deepening of the scientific, technical and economic collaboration between the GDR and the USSR and the other CMEA (Council for Mutual Economic Assistance) countries.

The 1971 Leipzig Autumn Fair at the same time contributed to further expanding our trade relations with other countries. In the forefront of the work of the industrial and foreign trade organs was the conclusion at this fair of export and import transactions for safeguarding the 1971 national economic plan and for a continuous implementation of the 1972 plan.

It is now necessary

- to ensure the complete fulfilment of the export obligations, especially with the USSR, on schedule and in good quality;
- to eliminate the arrears in deliveries which have arisen;
- to conclude further contracts to ensure exports in 1971 and the continuous implementation of the 1972 plan;
- to guarantee the implementation, on schedule, of the imports decisive for supplies, especially of raw materials and fuel, metallurgical products and consumer goods.

Implementing the Decisions in Agriculture

The Political Bureau and the Secretariat have regularly dealt with the implementation of the decisions of the Eighth Congress in the field of agriculture. It was expressed in the branch meetings of the party, in the general meetings of the agricultural production co-operatives (LPGs) and in the meetings of employees of the nationally-owned farms (VEGs) that the line adopted at the Party Congress for the further Socialist intensification, the transition to industrial-type forms of production, gives all cooperative farmers and farm workers a clear orientation on supplying the people with food and for the further flourishing of our Socialist agriculture.

The broad approval is expressed in the initiatives of the Socialist emulation for the fulfilment of the 1971 national economic plan. On this basis it was possible on a national level to fulfil the proportional plan for the market production of slaughter animals, milk and eggs by 31 August. The state grain plan was likewise fulfilled.

By exceeding the plan tasks in a large number of LPGs and VEGs at the present time the non-fulfilment of the plan for slaughter

animals, especially in Leipzig and Erfurt counties, could be equalized.

Because of the extraordinarily unfavourable weather conditions this spring and summer the harvest in our republic had to be brought in under very complicated conditions. The great industry and pains of the cooperative farmers and farm workers were impaired twice by unusual drought and heat. The drought led to the loss of some 4.6 million tons of grain units of plant products in GDR agriculture, that is over 20 per cent of the planned gross harvest. This quantity is accordingly not available as fodder for animal stocks. The Central Committee has been informed about measures introduced. They are directed at fulfilling the 1971 plan and at ensuring the planned yields for 1972 for supplying the population, especially with slaughter animals and milk.

At the Eighth Congress the further promotion of cooperation was decided upon as the suitable and correct way for the GDR to increase production, to be successful in intensification and shift over to industry-type methods of production in our Socialist agriculture. The experiences of this year's harvest confirm that it is necessary to apply the existing good experiences of cooperative work in every county more quickly and purposefully to all LPGs and VEGs.

The experiences of the past months induce the Political Bureau to point out that the ideological and political work in the branches of the LPGs and VEGs must be strengthened in connection with a purposeful party education in order to apply the decisions of the Eighth Congress. It is necessary to make every party member acquainted with his responsibility and share in the implementation of the main task and in the solution of the problems of social development. It is a question of enabling the leading forces always to be guided in their own sphere of responsibility by the tasks of strengthening the GDR and the Socialist community of states. Every party member in the LPGs and VEGs as well as in the party and state organs must constantly cooperate closely with non-party people, consult with them and carefully evaluate their suggestions so that all necessary decisions are made expertly and unbureaucratically.

In accordance with the decision of the Secretariat of the Central Committee first measures for implementing the decisions of the Eighth Congress in agriculture were dealt with at the agricultural exhibition in a conference with leading cadres of the party, state and economic organs and of the LPGs, horticultural production cooperatives (GPGs) and VEGs. In connection with this the most

advanced experiences in increasing production, in further intensification, the development of cooperation and also for the strengthening of political and ideological work were imparted. They must now be applied everywhere.

II. The Implementation of the Decisions of the Eighth Congress in the Field of Foreign Policy and International Relations

In the period covered by the report the Political Bureau was actively engaged in implementing the foreign policy decisions of the Eighth Congress. Our steps and measures were and are consistently directed at ensuring the most favourable external conditions for the construction of Socialism.

The GDR in the Socialist Community of States

Our efforts centred on the elaboration and implementation of important foreign policy actions jointly with the Soviet Union and the other fraternal countries of the Warsaw Treaty. These initiatives agreed upon served in the first place the goal of further consolidating the alliance of the Socialist community of states and enforcing the Leninist principles of peaceful coexistence between Socialist and capitalist states.

The Political Bureau consistently maintained the line of the Eighth Congress of firmly anchoring the GDR in the Socialist community of states.

The friendly meeting of leaders of the Communist and workers' parties of a number of Socialist countries with Soviet party and state leaders which took place on the Crimea on 2 August 1971 showed the further growth in the unity and integrity of the fraternal Socialist countries. This meeting was an extremely important political action, in order—as was declared in the statement of our Political Bureau on 11 August 1971—to discuss and coordinate all important questions of international policy collectively and thus do justice to the high responsibility of the Socialist states as the main force in the struggle for peace and progress.

As was announced in the communiqué on the Crimea meeting exceptional attention was devoted during the exchange of views to questions of consolidating European security. Participants in the meeting expressed the conviction that the basic interests of the European peoples demand active steps to the relaxation of tensions on the part of all European states. The calling of an all-

European conference, the ratification of the treaties between the FRG and the USSR and the People's Republic of Poland, the regulation of the West Berlin problem, the recognition of the invalidity of the Munich Agreement from the very beginning, the limitation of armament and armed forces in Europe should be important milestones on the road to bringing about a lasting European peace.

On the basis of the report of Comrade Erich Honecker, First Secretary of the Central Committee, the Political Bureau assesses the meeting on the Crimea as an "event of great international importance". "It served", as the Political Bureau stated, "the implementation of the joint policy of our Marxist-Leninist parties in the construction of Socialism and Communism, in the struggle for peace and international security."

Indeed, the Soviet Union and the fraternal Socialist countries firmly allied with it prove to be the forward-pressing core of world historical development.

The participants of the Crimea conference designated as an event of historic significance the unanimous adoption of the complex program, covering a period of 15 to 20 years, for the further deepening and perfection of Socialist economic integration at the 25th session of the CMEA from 27 to 29 July 1971.

"The realization of this long-term program", the participants in the Crimea meeting stated, "will actively contribute to fulfilling the task of further raising the standard of living of the working people, to the further consolidation of the political and economic unity and cohesion of the fraternal Socialist countries and play a historic role in guaranteeing new victories of Socialism and Communism, in consolidating peace and international security."

In the two years since the 23rd (special) meeting of the CMEA in Moscow extensive work has been done by representatives of the member countries of the CMEA in order to prepare a comprehensive long-term program of systematic collaboration in decisive spheres of the economy, science, technology and other fields. Special merit in bringing about this now adopted complex program is due to the Central Committee of the CPSU and the Council of Ministers of the USSR.

The Political Bureau and the Council of Ministers have approved the report of the government delegation headed by Comrade Stoph and expressed its appreciation to the delegation for the constructive work and to all those who participated in working out the complex program.

As is emphasized in the communiqué on the treatment of the

complex program in the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the SED and in the Council of Ministers of the GDR a further decisive step to the consolidation of the unity and cohesion of the countries of the CMEA, to the strengthening of their economic and defence force in the class struggle with imperialism has been taken with the acceptance of this document.

With the complex program the countries of our Socialist community have a jointly coordinated basic line of their collaboration for a long period of time, which is of great political and social significance. The economic, scientific and technological cooperation is thereby increasingly characterized by a long-term planned interlacing of the research and production potential of the participating countries.

The unfolding of Socialist economic integration is a decisive factor for the stable and continuous development of the national economy of the GDR.

The Political Bureau and the Council of Ministers have charged the competent organs with introducing appropriate measures for fulfilling the provisions of the program of integration. The certainty was expressed that the working people of the GDR will make the implementation of the tasks arising out of the complex program their cause and that they will further strengthen our community of states and our republic by a continuous fulfilment of the plans in all spheres, by exports according to contract to the Soviet Union and the other CMEA countries.

In the period covered by the report the bilateral relations between the GDR and the fraternal countries were further expanded. On 5 August 1971 a meeting was held between Comrade Erich Honecker, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the SED, and Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the CPSU, and Comrade N. Podgorny, member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the CPSU and Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR.

The talks, which took place in a cordial and comradely atmosphere and reaffirmed the complete unanimity of views of the two sides, served the exchange of information about the implementation of the decisions of the 24th Congress of the CPSU and the Eighth Congress of the SED and the further improvement and deepening of the cooperation between our two parties and states. Special attention was devoted to international problems, above all to questions of guaranteeing European security and the role which the Soviet Union and the GDR, as a sovereign Socialist state in Central Europe, play. The governments of the USSR and

the GDR concluded a new consular agreement on 3 September 1971.

The visit of Comrade Piotr Jaroszewicz, member of the Political Bureau of the Polish United Workers' Party and Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Poland, in the GDR on 16 July 1971 contributed to the further consolidation of relations between the GDR and the People's Republic of Poland. Agreements were made on the expansion of cooperation in such important fields as the basic materials industry, the chemical industry, engineering, light industry and the building industry. A further step to the all-sided unfolding of relations between the GDR and the People's Republic of Poland was the signing of the state treaty on cooperation in the field of transport.

Comrade Willi Stoph, Chairman of the Council of Ministers, conducted talks in a cordial atmosphere with Comrade Lubomir Strougal, Chairman of the Government of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, during a visit to the agricultural exhibition in Markleeberg on 12 and 13 July, on questions of economic, scientific and technological cooperation. The frontier-crossing traffic between our countries was improved with the conclusion of a protocol on the fixing of frontier-crossing points on the common state border. The deepening of relations between the GDR and the People's Republic of Poland and the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic is not only directed at the growing economic collaboration but also at the improvement of tourist traffic so that the citizens of our three countries come ever closer to each other.

The development of relations between the GDR and the Republic of Cuba was served by the visit of Raul Roa Garcia, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Cuba. In the talks conducted with Comrade Raul Roa Garcia by Erich Honecker, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the SED, Comrade Willi Stoph, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the GDR, and Comrade Otto Winzer, Minister of Foreign Affairs, the desire was affirmed by both sides that the relations between the GDR and the Republic of Cuba be developed universally and on a long-term basis on the foundations of Marxism-Leninism and Socialist internationalism.

A party and government delegation of the GDR headed by Comrade Alfred Neumann, member of the Political Bureau and First Deputy Chairman of the Council of Ministers, visited the Mongolian People's Republic from 8 to 13 July 1971 to take part in the celebrations for the 50th anniversary of the Mongolian people's revolution. The delegation took part in the dedication of the carpet factory erected with the aid of the GDR and of the second building

stage of the meat combine in Ulan Bator. The visit of the delegation was a new demonstration of the unbreakable friendship between our parties and peoples.

Whereas the states of the Socialist community are introducing a higher phase of their cooperation with the decisions of the 25th session of the CMEA the general crisis of capitalism is deepening extraordinarily as a result of the clearly visible derangement of the imperialist currency system following the collapse of the dollar as the main capitalist currency. The attempt to overcome the imperialist currency dilemma by means of various kinds of manipulations can neither abolish the causes nor lessen the sharpening of imperialist antagonism. All contradictions of the imperialist system are intensified still more harshly as a result of the dollar crisis. As always under capitalism the burden of the currency crisis is also this time to be shifted onto the shoulders of the working people.

On the initiative of the Political Bureau the Council of Ministers has taken the necessary steps to protect the stable currency of the GDR from the effects of the capitalist currency chaos.

Struggle for European Security

It was declared at the Eighth Congress in point 5 of the peace concept of the GDR developed in the report of activity by Comrade Erich Honecker, First Secretary of the Central Committee, that the GDR continues to be prepared to normalize its relations with West Berlin and thereby to contribute to the relaxation of tension in the centre of Europe. "In this sense", Comrade Erich Honecker stated at the time, "the GDR wishes success for the four-power negotiations on West Berlin." This clear and principled attitude directed at peace and security is bearing fruit.

After consultations and in agreement with the Soviet Union the GDR undertook big efforts to make a constructive contribution to bringing about the quadripartite agreement on West Berlin.

This aim was served by the meeting between Comrade Erich Honecker and Comrade A. A. Gromyko, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the USSR, who was in Berlin for consultations. Several meetings between Comrade Erich Honecker and Comrade P. A. Abrassimov, Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the USSR in the GDR, likewise served the discussion of problems of concern to both states. On the occasion of a visit by Comrade Otto Winzer, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the GDR, in Moscow in August 1971 current problems of security and detente in Europe and questions of bilateral relations between the GDR and the

USSR were dealt with in talks with Comrade A. A. Gromyko, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the USSR.

The Central Committee of the SED welcomes the quadripartite agreement on West Berlin of 3 September as an important contribution to the relaxation of tension in Europe and the safeguarding of peace.

In the interview by Neues Deutschland with Comrade Erich Honecker on 5 September and also in the interviews with Comrades Walter Ulbricht and Willi Stoph and in the statement of the Council of Ministers of the GDR the great political significance of the agreement was thoroughly assessed and evaluated in all its aspects.

It was especially emphasized in the interview of the First Secretary of the Central Committee:

– Now that the governments of the four signatory states obligate themselves in the agreement to avoid tensions, to prevent complications and to settle disputes solely with peaceful means, the misuse of West Berlin, which has lasted for decades, as a disruptive factor in the heart of Europe, as a bridgehead of the cold war against the Socialist countries will be put a stop to. That is in the interest of all peoples of our continent and will undoubtedly favour further steps to bringing about peace and security on our continent such as the ratification of the treaties of Warsaw and Moscow and the calling and holding of a European security conference. Thus, the agreement is a gain for everyone who is interested in peace and detente.

– The international position of the German Democratic Republic was significantly strengthened by this agreement in which the three western powers for the first time expressed themselves in a manner binding in international law about the GDR as a sovereign state, about its frontiers and its relations with West Berlin and the FRG. Thus, with the agreement, the existence of the GDR, the FRG and West Berlin has been confirmed by all four powers in an agreement valid in international law. That is a further important step towards recognizing realities in Europe. Moreover it should become clear to the last doubter after an exact study of the text of the agreement that Berlin is the capital of the sovereign German Democratic Republic.

– It is of special significance for the avoidance of conflicts and for the security of Europe that the three western powers have for the first time confirmed by their signatures and in a manner binding in international law that West Berlin is not a part of the FRG and is not governed by it. In connection with this the agreement

calls for the dismantling of the so-called political Bundespräsenz (federal presence) of the FRG in West Berlin.

On the whole, the agreement confirms the statement of our Eighth Congress that West Berlin has a special political status.

The conclusion of the four-power agreement on West Berlin is in the first place due to the consistent and wise Leninist foreign policy of the Soviet Union and the states of the Socialist community. We also rightly consider it a success of the Socialist foreign policy of the GDR as set forth at the Eighth Congress. The governments of the USSR and GDR have shown both firmness of principle as also flexibility and an accommodating spirit in the course of the lengthy and complicated negotiations.

The exchange of letters between Comrade Erich Honecker, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the SED, and Comrade Leonid Ilyich Brezhnev, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the CPSU, characterize in a clear way the importance of the quadripartite agreement for detente in Europe, for the interests of all peoples. Comrade Brezhnev underlined that the agreement "fully and completely considers the sovereign rights and interests of the German Democratic Republic. It contributes to raising the international authority of the Socialist German state, its role and influence in international affairs."

The Central Committee of the SED expresses from this session its profound cordial thanks on behalf of the people of the German Democratic Republic to the Central Committee of the CPSU and the Soviet government for this truly Leninist policy serving the interest of peace and international security and for the trusting fraternal cooperation.

The Political Bureau has often dealt with the questions which were and are the subject of the talks on the level of state secretaries between the government of the GDR and the government of the FRG and between the government of the GDR and the Senate of West Berlin.

In agreement with the decisions of the Eighth Congress the Political Bureau gave the necessary directives so that in negotiations with the government of the FRG a traffic agreement and an agreement on civil transit traffic of persons of the FRG and goods from the FRG to and from West Berlin can be concluded.

In the negotiations with the Senate of West Berlin it is a question of arriving at an agreement on questions of normalizing relations and facilities and improvements in traffic from and to West Berlin. The GDR seeks to lead both the negotiations with the FRG and

with West Berlin to positive results in the interest of a relaxation of tension.

In the period covered by the report our special attention was devoted to the preparation of a European security conference. The discussion of the problems of a conference was continued in bilateral and multilateral talks and numerous diplomatic contacts both with representatives of the countries of the Warsaw Treaty and with West and North European countries.

A consultative meeting was held in Brussels from 22 to 24 June 1971 at which well-known personalities and representatives of social organizations from numerous European countries took part. The committee of the GDR for European Security was represented at this meeting by a delegation headed by its chairman, Professor Steenbeck.

The consultative meeting decided to prepare a representative forum of the European public which is to give emphasis to the demands for security and collaboration on our continent through the cooperation of the broadest forces of the peoples.

The 1971 Baltic Sea Week demonstrated the striving of our state for good neighbourly relations and closer cooperation with all North European countries. The considerably larger participation of parliamentary deputies, representatives of various parties and mass organizations, of culture and sport reflected the growing interest shown in the Baltic Sea Week and the peace policy of the GDR by the North European countries. The participants in the conferences of parliamentarians, workers, women, young people and students overwhelmingly favoured the calling of a European security conference, the establishment of diplomatic relations with the GDR and the admission of the GDR to the United Nations and its participation on a basis of equality in the UN environmental control conference in Stockholm in 1972.

After the signing of the quadripartite agreement on West Berlin the government of the Republic of Finland proposed to the government of the GDR and to the government of the FRG that state treaties on the regulation of all relations including the establishment of diplomatic relations be concluded. The government of the GDR welcomed this initiative and declared its readiness to open the corresponding negotiations.

Relations with the Nationally-liberated States and the National Revolutionary Liberation Movement

In the period covered by the report our party and the GDR also expressed their profound sympathy with the peoples of Indochina heroically fighting against the US aggression. The Council

of Ministers of the GDR expressly supported in a declaration the seven-point program of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Vietnam. We shall continue to support our Vietnamese brother people and all peoples in this region to the best of our ability. At the same time we decisively oppose those political and diplomatic intrigues of US imperialism which, in view of the impossibility of a military success, aim at arranging a neo-colonialist predomination by US imperialism in this area at the expense of the liberty and sovereignty of the peoples of Indochina.

The support of the Arab peoples in the anti-imperialist struggle and the further strengthening of friendly relations were served by the visit to the GDR of Abdel Halim Khaddam, Deputy Chairman of the Council of Ministers and Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Syrian Arab Republic. The negotiations by the foreign ministers of our two countries have contributed to the consolidation of solidarity and collaboration. Full agreement was reached on all questions dealt with in the talks between the Foreign Minister of the Democratic Republic of Somalia and Comrade Horst Sindermann, member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the SED and First Deputy Chairman of the Council of Ministers, and Comrade Otto Winzer, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the GDR.

The consistent policy of the GDR for peace and national independence is being increasingly recognized and appreciated by the peoples, especially the nationally-liberated states. In the period covered by the report this was expressed among other things in the establishment of diplomatic relations between the Republic of Chad and the GDR and in the conclusion of an agreement with the Kingdom of Nepal on the establishment of relations on the level of general consulates.

Cabinet member Dr. Karan Singh visited the GDR from 22 to 24 June as representative of the Indian government and informed our government about the serious threat to peace and international security arising out of the tragic events in East Pakistan. This visit expressed the appreciation of the clear political attitude of the GDR and its humanitarian support. The development of good relations between the GDR and India was also served by the visit of a delegation of the People's Chamber in August which was received for a very friendly talk by Prime Minister Indira Gandhi.

An expression of the growing cooperation between the GDR and the Republic of Chile is the conclusion of the significant long-term agreement on trade and scientific and technological collaboration. A solid foundation is laid with this agreement for the further development of our economic cooperation.

Development of Relations with the Communist and Workers' Parties and with the Revolutionary Democratic Parties

In accordance with the resolution of the Eighth Congress of the SED our party actively promoted the exchange of delegations and experience with the Communist and workers' parties and with the revolutionary democratic parties.

Of special importance was the exchange of delegations with the CPSU, which gave valuable experience to our party. The Central Committee sent several delegations to the USSR and other Socialist countries to study various problems. Delegations and leading comrades of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the Polish United Workers' Party, the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, the Bulgarian Communist Party, the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, the Mongolian Revolutionary People's Party, the Party of Working People of Vietnam and the Communist Party of Cuba visited the GDR as guests of the Central Committee.

These visits served the exchange of experience in the construction of Socialism and Communism, especially in the field of political and ideological work and the economic development in the fraternal Socialist countries.

Fraternal cooperation with the Communist and workers' parties of capitalist countries was also further developed. In the period covered by the report delegations of the Communist Party of Norway and the Left Party-Communists (Sweden) visited the GDR. In July 1971 Comrade Knud Jespersen, Chairman of the Communist Party of Denmark, and Comrade Aarne Saarinen, Chairman of the Communist Party of Finland, visited the GDR at the invitation of the Central Committee of the SED. From Latin America a study delegation of the Communist Party of Argentina and Comrade Cheddi Jagan, General Secretary of the Progressive People's Party of Guyana, visited the GDR. Our Central Committee received a delegation of the Communist Party of India.

The exchange of experience centred on questions of the construction of the developed Socialist society and the alliance policy of the GDR. The representatives of the fraternal parties reported on the successes and problems of the struggle of the working class and all working people of their countries.

During the most recent visit of a delegation of the Organization of the National Front of the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen further measures for the development of mutual relations were decided upon. In the period covered by the report our press expressed our point of view on several occasions on the attitude

of the Chinese leaders, also in connection with the announcement of an agreement about a visit by the US President to the People's Republic of China. The establishment of diplomatic relations by the USA with the People's Republic of China would correspond to the norms of international law and would be a long overdue step. There would be nothing sensational about that in itself. The government of the GDR worked and still works, like the Soviet Union and the other fraternal Socialist countries, for the recognition of the legitimate rights of the People's Republic of China in international life and for her admission to the United Nations.

At the same time, however, it cannot be overlooked that Peking's "flirt" with Washington is undoubtedly inspired by anti-Soviet and anti-Socialist aims and is thus directed against the world-spanning anti-imperialist liberation movement of the peoples.

The efforts of the Mao group to come to an arrangement with the US imperialists are accompanied by a conspicuous increase in activity by the Chinese leadership in the Balkans. They are obviously making use of certain nationalistic tendencies deviating from a proletarian class point of view, which, among others, is expressed in approval of the Maoist slogans of the so-called cultural revolution or of the "struggle against the super-powers", and aim at undermining the unity of the Socialist community of states. That is an undertaking that has no real perspective, but which nevertheless is to be given attention at present.

Naturally, the course of historical developments will be determined neither by Mao Tse-tung nor by Nixon but in the first place by the growing power and unity of the Socialist community of states with the Soviet Union as its main force and by the growing union of the three powerful revolutionary mainstreams of our epoch. The entire course of international developments, as the participants in the Crimea Conference emphasized, confirms the correctness of the assessments and conclusions of the International Conference of Communist and Workers' Parties in 1969 which are the unshakable foundations of the policy of the Marxist-Leninist parties.
Comrades,

Summing up the Political Bureau considers that the Eighth Congress of the SED has led to a new, big upsurge in the creative work of our party and of the people of the GDR in all fields of social life. It continues to be important to realize by deeds its historic decisions jointly with the working class and the entire people with the expertness and enthusiasm of the Eighth Congress.

Preparation and Holding of the Elections to the People's Chamber and the County Assemblies

Speech by Erich Honecker,
First Secretary of the Central Committee of the SED

Comrades,

In a few weeks time, on 14 November 1971, the elections to the supreme people's representative body, the People's Chamber and the county assemblies will be held in the German Democratic Republic. In connection with this forthcoming event the deputies will give an account to the population on their activities in the past four years. The preparation and holding of the elections offer great possibilities to discuss the program on the further organization of the developed Socialist society, elaborated by the Eighth Congress of our Socialist Unity Party of Germany, and to implement it step by step through matter-of-fact and creative work. All decisions passed by our Eighth Party Congress serve the well-being of the people, as is correctly understood by the citizens.

The main task of the election movement must be to make it clear that, in implementing these decisions, every step has to be made jointly with the working class, the cooperative farmers, the intellectuals and all working people, with the women and young people, that means: every step must be made jointly with the people. The citizens of our country must become acquainted more profoundly with the wealth of ideas of the Party Congress. Discussions are to be held on how the tasks can be solved better and new initiatives and new energy be roused for the solution of these tasks and that the most meritorious people from among the working people be selected as people's representatives. The manner of approaching the problems and the plain language which determined and permeated the entire work of the Eighth Party Congress will have to stand a new test in the discussions with the electorate.

A phase of our social life is lying ahead of us which will impressively underline the wielding of political power by the working class and its allies, the living Socialist democracy in our republic, the growing maturity of the consciousness and the Socialist relations between the people. The committees, the branches, all members and candidate members of our party should be guided by the fact

that the preparation and holding of the elections will put the greatest demands on the activities of the Socialist Unity Party and all parties and organizations united in the National Front—the greatest demands in the period following the Eighth Congress.

Our Balance Sheet Is Positive— Life Has Become More Beautiful Thanks to the Diligence of the Entire Population

As has always been the case the deputies will again give an account on the work they accomplished in the past four years and the candidates will be introduced to their electors. In this way the aims and roads of further Socialist developments in all fields of society, as mapped out at the Eighth Party Congress, are to be made clearer and, in accordance with our principle "Take part in working, planning and governing", every citizen is to be involved in the implementation of these new tasks.

We can draw up a positive balance sheet. Every year that has passed since the last elections to the People's Chamber and the county assemblies has brought new progress for our Socialist cause in the German Democratic Republic. These results could be attained thanks to the diligence and efforts of the working class, the cooperative farmers, the members of the intelligentsia and all the other working people: men, women and young people of our Socialist homeland. They were possible thanks to the clear political leadership by our Marxist-Leninist party and its Central Committee, the friendly and fruitful cooperation of all parties and organizations in the National Front, and the responsible activities of the people's representatives, the government and the other organs of our state.

This positive balance sheet was drawn up by the Eighth Congress of the Socialist Unity Party and can be proved by the fact that the national income has increased by more than one-fourth in the past five years so that it totalled 108 thousand million marks in 1970. The growth in the national income was attained entirely through an increase in labour productivity. Industrial goods production grew by 37 per cent. The sum employed for investments was 52 per cent higher than that spent in the last five-year plan period. A start was made in developing the scientific and technological revolution and to link it increasingly with the advantages of the Socialist economic system. The material and cultural living standards of the citizens have been essentially raised. The real income per head of the population in 1970 was 22 per cent higher than that of 1965.

It was possible to introduce the five-day working week. We have made progress in implementing our policy of raising minimum pensions and minimum wages and the incomes of certain professional groups. A total of 365,000 new or basically repaired flats improved the living conditions of the citizens. New city centres and residential areas have come into being where fascism and war once had left behind great devastations.

It is due to the diligent work of the entire people that life has become more beautiful. Our Socialist state power and the Socialist economy have been further strengthened and consolidated. However great were the tasks we had to solve everybody sees and feels that our efforts have been worth while and that they benefit the whole of society and every individual citizen of our republic.

When bringing to mind all the results gained in the past electoral period it becomes clear that our successes are not restricted to this or that field of social life. They rather comprise the entirety of decisive conditions on which the stable development and the secure future of our Socialist state depend: the further deepening of our fraternal alliance with the Soviet Union, the ever firmer anchoring of the German Democratic Republic in the Socialist community of states, the development of Socialist integration of the member countries of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance and the safeguarding of peace for our Socialist construction. Peace in Europe has become more secure and more stable.

Comrades

Our time is rich in events and important decisions in the embittered struggle conducted on a world scale between the classes, between Socialism and capitalism, between the forces of peace and those of aggression, between progress and reaction. There was no reprieve in this struggle in the past four years and there will be none in the coming period.

The international balance of forces has further changed in favour of Socialism. Life itself has produced the evidence that today three mighty revolutionary currents are the driving forces of the historical progress of mankind, which imperialism is not able to stop: the world Socialist system, the international working-class movement and the national liberation movement of the peoples.

The Soviet Union is the Main Force in the Struggle for Peace and Progress

The countries of the Socialist camp, above all, the Soviet Union, constitute the main force in the struggle for peace and progress

in the world. It is the world-historical decisions of the 24th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, it is the further advance of Soviet society on the road to Communism that exert a tremendous influence on the revolutionary changes in our time. The prospects of the genuinely free, genuinely just life which is worthy of human beings and aspired for by all peoples is being translated into reality in the country of Lenin. Our Socialist German republic, the German Democratic Republic, has a share in these prospects and participates in shaping them.

The fraternal alliance with the Soviet Union, the firm and unshakable place of our state in the community of Socialist countries therefore were and continue to be a supreme concern, because they are the basis for the realization of the vital interests of the working class and all citizens of the German Democratic Republic. From year to year we have deepened and further developed our all-round cooperation with the Soviet Union in the political, ideological, economic, scientific and technological, and military field. The pooling of our countries' material and intellectual potentials is of decisive significance for the further organization of the developed Socialist society in our republic. It is proletarian internationalism in action.

In the same Leninist spirit we render our contribution to the further deepening and perfection of the cooperation and to the development of Socialist economic integration of all countries of the Socialist community of states. The targets of the Aggregate Program of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance, mapped out for the coming 15 to 20 years, shows what great possibilities, abilities and experiences our community has at its disposal. It is precisely these targets which show that the growing unity and cohesion, the joint actions of the Socialist states, determine the new successes in the construction of Socialism and Communism and in all important questions of international politics.

The powerful historical example given by the Soviet Union and the entire community of states, which clearly determines the present and the future, the stability of these countries' development and their increasing international prestige are particularly today more attractive and more convincing for the peoples, because the general crisis of capitalism is sharpening drastically and imperialism shows even clearer its inability to solve the development problems of society and to offer the people secure prospects. The sharp slump of the exchange value of the American Dollar and the consequences connected with it not only for the USA but for the entire capitalist world, give proof of the intensification of the

contradictions inherent in the imperialist system, particularly the basic contradiction between capital and labour. Unemployment and short-time work, increasing social insecurity, coercive measures against the interests of the working people in the USA, the FRG and other imperialist states are accompanied by the disintegration of social life, by coercive ideas and actions, by crimes of unprecedented dimensions. That is the disgusting picture of that prehistoric society from which mankind is freeing itself, from which it is entering into its real history in our epoch of the worldwide transition from capitalism to Socialism. In view of these conditions the humanist values, the security and optimism make themselves felt even more clearly—those humanist values inherent in our Socialist society and which we have further developed in the last few years, too.

The Stronger Socialism—The More Secure Peace

Comrades,

Our elections to the People's Chamber and the county assemblies take place in a time that is characterized by significant progress taking place in strengthening the international positions of Socialism. The international balance of forces which has changed in favour of Socialism and peace is the decisive foundation for those great political processes which we are witnessing and actively co-shaping. Today, everybody can convince himself of the correctness of our assessment: the stronger Socialism, the stronger the community of Socialist states—the more secure is peace.

There has been no generation on German soil since the turn of the century which was spared the horrors and the consequences of one or even two imperialist wars of aggression against other peoples. Today it is only the older generation who know the fascist crimes, the horrors of that time from their own experience. In our republic a youth is growing up that does not know war from immediate experience. And precisely because youth should never experience war so many sacrifices have been made. And it was also this aim to which we devoted our struggle for the new social system and against imperialism in the 25 years after the Second World War.

In full agreement with the great peace program adopted by the 24th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the Eighth Congress of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany determined the aims of our republic's foreign policy. They are directed towards creating the most favourable external conditions for the

construction of Socialism also in the future. Our internationalist position is, last but not least, expressed in the active policy of peaceful coexistence between states with differing social systems—the Leninist policy which pushes back the aggressive forces of imperialism and which is in harmony with the interests of all peoples in peace and which creates new possibilities for the progressive forces in the capitalist countries in their just struggle. We pursue this constructive policy in close alliance with the Soviet Union and with all states of the Warsaw Treaty. It is precisely our union that is the guarantee for the successes of our foreign policy.

Comrades,

We feel great satisfaction at the determination and perseverance with which the CPSU leadership and the Soviet government are implementing the peace program adopted by the 24th Party Congress. Again and again Soviet diplomacy submits new initiatives. It opens up new possibilities for the solution of complicated international problems, encourages the peoples to intensify their struggle for peace and security and frustrates dangerous imperialist plans. Only recently, the Soviet Union submitted the proposal to discuss the convocation of a world conference for disarmament at the next General Assembly of the United Nations. Mankind is to be freed from the threat of an atomic war. As everybody knows, the Soviet Union has submitted concrete proposals to this end. We support these proposals most emphatically.

Our Constructive Contribution to European Security

Peace in the world is largely dependent on the safeguarding of peace on our continent. Basing itself on this fact the Soviet Union and also the GDR directed their attention above all on the problems that must be solved in Europe. It can be stated that these efforts are producing positive results, including, above all, the signing of the Quadripartite Agreement on West Berlin. Thanks to the consistent and at the same time flexible foreign policy of the Soviet Union it was possible, following lengthy and complicated negotiations, to make important progress on the road to security in Europe.

The German Democratic Republic rendered its constructive contribution in this respect. Our consistent policy of structuring the GDR as a Socialist state, of complete and final demarcation of the GDR from the imperialist FRG as well as the establishment of

relations with the FRG on the basis of the principles of international law and our policy of firm and irrevocable integration of the GDR in the Socialist community bears increasingly good results. The insoluble anchoring of the GDR in the Warsaw Treaty as well as its bilateral treaties of alliance continue to be a good foundation for a successful policy of peaceful coexistence according to the decisions of the Eighth Party Congress.

It is known that West Berlin, since it was misused for a revanchist and peace endangering policy, has played the role of a centre of crisis in the heart of Europe for two decades. Who does not remember the terms coined out of hatred against Socialism and against our republic which describe West Berlin as the "thorn in the flesh" of the GDR, as a "centre of troubles", yes, as the "cheapest atomic bomb"! Those forces who pursued a policy under these slogans have undoubtedly suffered a heavy defeat. It must be stated again that the ambassadors of the four powers signed an agreement on West Berlin. The capital of the German Democratic Republic, Berlin, is not a subject of this agreement. The unambiguous statement of the four power agreement that West Berlin is not part of the FRG and must not be governed by it confirms the fact that West Berlin has a special political status. As far as the so-called Bundespräsenz (Federal presence) in West Berlin is concerned, the text of the Quadripartite Agreement shows that the exercise of official powers and official acts by the FRG in the city are to be considered illegal in the future. The agreement of the four powers treats the German Democratic Republic and the FRG as subjects under international law. All in all, it can be stated that the position in international law of the GDR has been essentially consolidated. Problems of European politics—this has been proved once again—cannot be settled without the German Democratic Republic and without its active participation.

It goes without saying that in so great a cause as the safeguarding of peace in Europe, all sides must show a feeling for realities, good-will and friendly advances. Our party and the government of the German Democratic Republic declared early this year that they are ready to react positively to every step which brings us closer to a genuine relaxation of tensions in Europe. This can, of course, only be done when the sovereign rights and the legitimate interests of our republic are taken into account. We left no doubt with regard to this question. And we acted jointly with our allies. The Quadripartite Agreement gives information about what facilities will be granted by us following consultations and an agreement with the government of the German Democratic Republic with

regard to transits via the territory of the German Democratic Republic as well as with regard to the possibilities for permanent residents in West Berlin to enter the German Democratic Republic after the conclusion of the respective treaties with the FRG and West Berlin. We have likewise made progress in the talks and negotiations between authorized representatives of the GDR government and the FRG government as well as with the Senate of West Berlin—talks and negotiations which have been conducted for months.

Treaties Could Be Signed Immediately

It seems, however, that some people believe that they can bring into play certain old intentions against the German Democratic Republic, so to say belatedly after the signing of the Quadripartite Agreement. However, if they did not succeed in doing so in the past they will be much less successful now. In the negotiations with the FRG and the Senate of West Berlin the German Democratic Republic exercises its sovereign competencies and sovereign rights both with regard to the questions of passenger transits and with regard to the question of visits of West Berliners to the German Democratic Republic, including its capital. This is in line with the treaties concluded between the GDR and the Soviet Union in 1955 and 1964. And the competencies of the German Democratic Republic have been recognized by the undersigned of the Quadripartite Agreement on West Berlin. We would welcome it if the FRG answered the GDR's friendly advances by showing a realistic approach to the questions which call for a solution. The proposals made by the German Democratic Republic have been at the disposal of Bonn and West Berlin for a long time and make immediate constructive agreements possible. The government of the FRG and the West Berlin Senate need do nothing but show the same constructive attitude in order to arrive at good results at an early date, results beneficial to all concerned.

As far as the catchword of "retardations" brought into play by the western propaganda is concerned it should be recalled that we never had to wait for the green light whereas others asserted they had to wait for the "all clear". At present the situation is such that in view of the signed four-power agreement, the GDR and the FRG as well as the GDR and the Senate of West Berlin are able to arrive at contractual agreements irrespective of all attacks by circles in the FRG and in West Berlin hostile to the relaxation of tensions. But whoever tries to hamper such a development by any intentions of blackmail vis-a-vis the German Democratic Republic

will have to shoulder responsibility for the consequences resulting from such an attitude. Our draft treaties and agreements which take the existing realities into account and which already consider not unimportant points of view of the partner are on the table and could be signed at any hour. Irrespective of the difficulties which cropped up in the negotiations with the FRG and the Senate of West Berlin we consider it possible now as before that the negotiations can be led to a speedy and positive end if all parties concerned show good-will. On behalf of the Central Committee of our party I should like to emphasize again that we will continue our good and constructive policy elaborated by the Eight Party Congress and that, in the future too, we will strive for positive results in the interest of European security, patiently and persistently.

Comrades,

We stressed, in agreement with the Soviet Union, that the results reached with regard to the West Berlin problem create new possibilities for the convocation of a European security conference, since it has been proved that complicated political problems can be settled by negotiations. This reasonable course must be followed also in the future. It is, above all, necessary to ratify the treaty signed a year ago by the USSR and the FRG and the treaty concluded between the People's Republic of Poland and the FRG so that they can play their positive role in political life.

The German Democratic Republic has always highly assessed these treaties because they confirm as valid in international law the frontiers of Europe resulting from the Second World War and the post-war developments—including the frontier between the GDR and the FRG. Everybody will understand, I hope, that there is no longer any reason and pretence for further delaying the necessary ratification. Realistically minded circles in the FRG likewise speak out in favour of the ratification because they comprehend that the ratification of the treaties signed in Moscow and Warsaw is of benefit to all those concerned and, last but not least, also serves the interests of the population of the Federal Republic.

When considering things in their overall relationship it becomes clear: The policy of peaceful coexistence progresses and the influence Socialism exerts on the processes of historical developments becomes increasingly evident. But not without struggle. Now as before, a hard battle is going on in the world between the forces of peace and progress and imperialist reaction. That is why we underline the statement made at the Eighth Party Congress that the active policy of peaceful coexistence between states with different social systems never neutralizes the basic contradiction

between Socialism and imperialism and does not mean ideological coexistence. A clear class position, the ideological controversy with imperialism, vigilance and, above all, actions for the comprehensive strengthening of our republic are therefore the basic condition for the German Democratic Republic rendering its contribution, at the side of the Soviet Union, in the community of the Warsaw Treaty states, for the implementation of the joint foreign policy program.

Good Work for the Fulfilment of the 1971 Plan Is the Best Care for the Welfare of All Citizens

Comrades,

Our economic policy as decided upon at the Eighth Party Congress and fixed in the Directive for the Development of the National Economy of the German Democratic Republic in the period from 1971 to 1975 will play a big role in the election campaign. The people deal with economic questions which exert a multifarious influence on our daily life. And the good work of every individual, of all working people for the fulfilment of the 1971 plan constitutes an important contribution to the well-being of the citizens and their families.

The Directive outlines the further development of our Socialist economy and of Socialist society up to 1975. In order to create the preconditions for the further increase in the material and cultural living standards of the people it provides for a new considerable increase in the economic power of our republic. By 1975 the national income will grow by 26 to 28 per cent. Industrial goods production will be raised by 34 to 36 per cent in the same period and labour productivity by 35 to 37 per cent.

Thereby, comrades, we must proceed from the fact that every percent means much more today than five years ago and will be worth even more at the end of this five-year plan. Whereas a one-per-cent increase in goods production totalled 1.2 thousand million marks in 1965 the sum was 1.6 thousand million in 1970 and will amount to 2.3 thousand million marks in 1975.

We will determinedly continue along the course of linking up the scientific and technological revolution with the advantages of our Socialist economic system. There must not be any vagueness with regard to this question.

The fulfilment of the target we have set ourselves for the coming five years will make it possible to raise the real incomes of the population by 21 to 23 per cent. A remarkable growth in consumer

goods production in industry and agriculture is envisaged in order to guarantee stable supplies for the population. The commodity funds of retail trade will be increased by 14 to 15 thousand million marks by 1975.

It is known that we have set ourselves the task of creating 500,000 flats in the period covered by the five-year plan, especially in order to improve the living conditions of the working class in centres of industrial development. The educational system will likewise be further developed and ten-year secondary school education will have been realized in general by 1975.

We should thoroughly explain to our citizens the perspective mapped out in the Directive on the Five-Year Plan in the election campaign. The five-year plan which is elaborated on the basis of this Directive will be completed very soon.

In the weeks and months lying behind us great efforts were made in the enterprises, agricultural production cooperatives and scientific institutions which produced a number of significant results for the national economy. The plan for industrial goods production in the first eight months has been fulfilled with 100.7 per cent. As compared with the same period last year production grew by 6.1 per cent. These figures represent a favourable balance sheet. However, it is known that average figures do not reflect reality in its entirety. At the Eighth Party Congress we openly spoke about our difficulties and will continue to do so in the future, too. It is true, there exist also a number of negative aspects despite all the progress made in economic developments.

In industry contractual obligations could not fully be met. There are arrears totalling some 1.2 thousand million marks. On the other hand, there are advance supplies worth 2.6 thousand million marks. One cannot, of course, simply set off these sums against each other. The goods not delivered bring about production problems for the contracting partners whereas the advance supplies often only serve to increase the stocks. The disproportion between final production and the supplying industry has been reduced with regard to some items but continues to exist with regard to others in its full dimension.

In short: the energy, material and manpower balance does not tally. Disproportions continue to exist in our economy. They badly influence the supplies for the population and many spheres of production. In connection with the coming winter it must be stated that the demand for energy is not in line with that available.

Strict Course towards Stable Production and Supplies

It must be stated clearly that this situation underlines the necessity of the consequences drawn by the Eighth Party Congress when thoroughly dealing with and answering the basic questions of our further economic course and energetically steering along the course of stability in production and supplies. The situation proves that it was correct and urgent for the 14th Session of the Central Committee to introduce a development in which the economic targets and the real possibilities of the German Democratic Republic are in full agreement again. However, the present problems must, at the same time, be viewed from another aspect: such national economic questions cannot be solved overnight and also not in weeks and months. A lot of time is required for opening up an open-cast lignite mine, erecting a power station, for opening up new capacities for the supply industry. We must likewise be aware of the fact that a considerable part of our accumulations has been used for investments that will come to bear after 1972/73 only.

Despite all the detail-work one must not lose sight of the perspective. That is also true of the economy. Of course, sometimes there are things that can and must be changed and improved quickly. Much has already been done. As a general rule, however, we have to prepare ourselves for long-term and purposeful work. The Eighth Party Congress stated that it will take us several years in some cases to overcome certain disproportions completely. This must be taken serious. It is important for all electors to know: our party and government are aware of the situation, of its positive and negative aspects. They will direct the work with a calm and firm hand, supported above all by the trade unions and the Socialist youth organization. The correct road has been mapped out. Every citizen can and will make his contribution and in this way we will jointly master our tasks.

The question of what has to be done now can be answered clearly: The decisions of the Eighth Party Congress must be translated into reality with initiative and energy, with consistency and understanding. To have a correct and deep insight into the decisions is, of course, very important. The Party Congress continued our systematic economic policy and, at the same time, clearly accentuated its further development. In order that our national economy continues to grow and to be efficient it is, above all, necessary to carefully observe the objective economic laws of

Socialism, in particular the law governing the planned and proportional development of the national economy. This is of decisive importance for the elaboration and fulfilment of the main task of the five-year plan covering the period from 1971 to 1975.

The Main Task Requires a Change in Thought and Action

The main task put forward by the Eighth Party Congress has met with wide response and the working people have started to implement it. However, it becomes clear even today that its fulfilment on all levels requires a considerable change in thought and action. It is necessary everywhere to delve deeply into the nature of the main task and, above all, to draw the conclusions for one's own work. If there were some people who believed that it was sufficient to carry on the old practices under new headlines, so to say, they will probably have been set right in the meantime. It is positive that the consideration of these questions is in full swing—in the industrial combines and enterprises, in the ministries and scientific institutions. Life requires all those bearing responsibility not to lose time or to stop half-way in the intellectual comprehension and practical assessment of the decisive orientation of the Party Congress.

Our main task consists in further raising the material and cultural living standards of the people on the basis of a high tempo of development in Socialist production, an increase in efficiency, in scientific and technological progress and in the growth of labour productivity. This is, of course, much more than a formulation of a general direction and intention. Rather the decisive position is occupied by the requirements of the people under the conditions of Socialist planned economy. It delineates the essential point of departure for management and planning and for the entire work of our economy. The further organization of the economic system of Socialism according to the line mapped out by the Eighth Party Congress is a demand on all those bearing responsibility in our society.

I do not intend to deal in detail with the results so far attained in solving the tasks set by the Eighth Party Congress. The measures we have fixed are common knowledge. They apply to the energy, material and manpower balance and also to problems of supplies for the population.

Many enterprise collectives of the light industry increased their production. But also working people of other branches, particularly of electrical engineering, supplied more goods to meet the de-

mands of the population or helped to create the conditions for better supplies. Now it is necessary to organize a closer cooperation between the enterprises producing consumer goods, their supplying partners and between producers and trade. The citizen will benefit from all the efforts undertaken by the production enterprises only if he is offered high-quality goods.

The Political Bureau of our party and the government of the German Democratic Republic made decisions concerning the production and additional imports of certain products for the population, of which there is a shortage at present. This will take effect. The home market will no longer be the cinderella of our economic upswing. In a few months time the commodities offered in the shops will show this. However, in order to fully overcome the present difficulties a lot of work will have to be done.

It must not be forgotten that it is not this or that individual measure that will be decisive but the systematic and efficient development of production in the economy as a whole. The main task of the five-year plan expresses the aim of our economic policy together with its prerequisites. Thus the ever better satisfaction of the requirements of the working people will be implemented to the extent to which we earn the means for realizing this task.

Everybody at His Place of Work Bears His Share of Responsibility

Every individual at his place of work bears his share of responsibility for the working class, for our people. The tasks of the 1971 national economic plan show what must and can be done now, what must and can be done first. That is why we attach great importance to the conscientious and all-round fulfilment of the plan.

Socialist rationalization is of decisive importance for the implementation of our economic targets. It is known that the Eighth Party Congress characterized it as a political task of the first order and one that is important for the whole of society. Partial and full automation which will be continued or started in accordance with our national economic possibilities and requirements are a component part of Socialist rationalization.

Our party designated these demanding aims as a program of confidence in the sense of responsibility and the great abilities of the working people. The remarkable development of the innovators' movement in the recent period confirms that the aims have been understood correctly. Precisely in connection with rationalization we should again like to underline one guiding principle on which the Eighth Party Congress laid great weight: the economic conditions

prevailing in our republic make it necessary for us to consistently raise social production by means of intensification.

It must, of course, be exactly calculated what benefits a measure, a technological improvement will produce. But still another calculation has to be taken into account: how many jobs, how much material and energy will be saved through it? There are still plenty of reserves. We are short of raw material deposits but our country has at its disposal an educated and experienced working class, intelligent cooperative farmers, capable scientists and technicians and working people. They are a valuable treasure. It is our concern to use this wealth for the welfare of the people.

To economize on working time and places of work is a deserving and creative task for our Socialist economy the results of which become effective in the economy as a whole, far beyond the enterprise concerned. A similar statement could be made with regard to cutting down the consumption of energy and material. At present the working people are conducting a hard struggle for the fulfilment of the 1971 plan. The workers and cooperative farmers, the scientists and technicians, the economic officials and all the other working people who are doing everything in their power deserve the appreciation and respect of our society.

But also those working people who are not yet able to meet all the requirements of the economy deserve our respect. We feel, for instance, great respect for the smelters who, despite the extremely hot summer, did not tire in their efforts to meet their obligations and spare their partners many a trouble through over-fulfilling their targets. Our party organizations and the trade unions should conscientiously see to it that nowhere should the principle be forgotten: honour to whom honour is due. I deliberately speak of honour and not of bonuses. If the workers in some enterprises state that they sometimes miss a word of gratitude by their managers when they accomplished a task well these managers have got reason enough to think over this criticism.

On the other hand, it must be clear that the great readiness of the working people puts high demands on every manager, the obligation to trustfully consult the working people, to listen to their proposals and to observe them duly, to support their initiative and to see to it that, through good management, the best possible result is attained.

At some places it has become customary that there are discussions with the workers only if everything runs smoothly. There are no discussions when difficulties arise, when there are any deficiencies. Such an attitude must be energetically counteracted. It is, of course,

not possible to direct the initiative of the working people towards a task for the realization of which the necessary material is lacking. But joint thinking is all the more necessary when there are problems. What wealth of knowledge, creative spirit and experience the workers' collectives have got! And this wealth must by no means be left unused in complicated situations. Solutions have to be found jointly with the working people—solutions which must not in the first place result in special shifts and over-time work. It is necessary to provide more room for the working people's initiatives so that every individual is enabled to cooperate in solving the tasks with the best of his abilities. Here is a wide sphere of action for the trade unions. We are convinced that they will also purposefully continue to mobilize the Socialist emulation contests of the masses, started after the Eighth Party Congress.

It is precisely the creative discussions with the working people that must be regarded as an active preparation for the elections. It goes without saying that the enterprises, the centres of the working class where the material foundations for the further organization of our Socialist society are being created, cannot be left out of our election movement.

Comrades,

The cooperative farmers and agricultural workers accomplished great deeds this year. At present they are undertaking all efforts to fulfil the 1971 plan continuously despite this year's extreme weather conditions and to create the conditions for a good start into the coming plan period.

The late spring, the extreme heat in May and the drought which started in July resulted in plant production being at least 20 per cent lower than provided for by the plan. These 20 per cent correspond to a quantity of fodder that would be sufficient to produce, for instance, a million tons of milk and 500,000 tons of slaughtering cattle. Up till now our agriculture has never suffered such losses due to elementary natural influences.

Experience teaches us that there is only one road to master this situation: all working people in agriculture, all social forces and the entire population in the villages will act and work jointly. Good ideological work will promote understanding and initiative.

The Crops Must be Harvested Without Loss

The Political Bureau of our party and the government of the German Democratic Republic have thoroughly analyzed the situation and agreed on measures to resolutely counteract the consequences

of the drought. The cooperative farmers will get every help possible so that they will be able to meet conscientiously their most important obligation arising for them from the alliance between workers and farmers: stable supplies with foodstuffs for the population. Since it is impossible to fully compensate the losses in agricultural production, additional imports of fodder grain and protein fodder were decided upon.

What has, above all, to be done in the weeks and months to come? The most important thing now is to systematically supply the population with potatoes and to guarantee the seeds for 1972. And also with regard to sugar beet the highest possible output must be guaranteed. Everybody's hands in the villages are needed, because everything that has grown must be harvested without loss.

The requirements of the population for meat and milk in the coming year must likewise not be forgotten. Therefore, live-stock must not be reduced so that the foundations of agricultural production will not be adversely affected in the future. This is particularly true of cows, brood-sows and ewes. It goes without saying that it is, therefore, necessary to produce the greatest possible amount of additional fodder. One of the greatest reserves lies in the highest possible cultivation of autumn sown intermediate crops. The fodder has to be used reasonably and rationally. These tasks are also the main concern of the people's representative bodies of the local councils and commissions of the National Front in the villages in preparation for the forthcoming elections.

It will be of no less importance to foster the initiatives of the rural population for the improvement of the working and living conditions and the beautification of the villages. The developing relations of cooperation between the Socialist agricultural enterprises make it possible systematically to make joint investments and, through the cooperation of several communities, to create flats, kindergartens, schools, social, health and service facilities which will make the life of the people more pleasant.

Comrades,

The questions regarding the further development of intellectual and cultural life as outlined by our Eighth Party Congress will, of course, also play a big role in the election campaign. It is precisely these questions that are of great importance for the education of intelligent and convinced builders of Socialism, who think and act in the spirit of Socialist patriotism and proletarian internationalism. We welcome very much that the scientists, artists and cultural work-

ers of our republic consider it their task not only to do excellent work in their respective fields but also directly to participate in political discussions with the working people.

Comrades,

The government and the economic organs are preparing the 1972 plan and are about to complete the work on the five-year plan covering the period from 1971 to 1975. The long-term guidelines for our economic development mapped out by the Party Congress are being translated into concrete tasks.

In this, important development trends must be continued purposefully. It will be necessary to further expand the capacities of our consumer goods industry in accordance with the requirements of the main task of our five-year plan. Priority must be given to the development of the supply industry since efficiency in the first stage of production is the indispensable foundation for the systematic and proportional development of the entire economy. Science and technology have got to make a decisive contribution to a higher national economic efficiency. And the quality of the products is likewise greatly influenced by their work. Practice shows that further great efforts must be made in order to develop and produce at low-cost—according to the planned new technological processes—materials, high-quality products and machines for our economy, for the population as well as for exports.

We can state that we do not forget about the future when dealing with present tasks. On the other hand, we plan for the future without losing sight of the present requirements, not for a single moment. For the results of this year's plan will and must be the basis for all the coming plans. The present and the future must be considered and mastered as a complex if the national economy and the property of the people are to flourish. We are guided by this idea in our economic policy.

Some people beyond our western frontier will certainly be surprised that we deal so thoroughly with concrete facts and projects of the economy in connection with the elections. It is known that under capitalism the working people and the electors have no say in the enterprises. With us, however, the people, the electors are, at the same time, the owners of the national resources and the means of production. It will, therefore, be the general concern of the election movement to discuss thoroughly on how this big joint property can best be used to the benefit of all, by means of joint work.

Socialist Democracy is the Sovereign Self-Determination of the Working People

Comrades!

At the start of the election drive we can rely upon the fact that Socialist democracy in the German Democratic Republic has stood the test and has consolidated in the course of the past years. Our Eighth Party Congress stated in its resolution that the leading role of the working class in state and society has grown. Its alliance with the class of cooperative farmers, the intelligentsia and the other strata of the population has strengthened. The political and moral unity of the people is developing on this basis.

The policy of friendly co-operation with the allied parties as well as with the mass organizations united in the Democratic Bloc and in the National Front has proved to be successful, too. It is our aim, together with the alliance partners, to shape Socialist society and to promote civic responsibility, the Socialist morale and conduct of all citizens.

The Party Congress emphatically stressed that the main concern of the Party consists in purposeful work for further consolidation of Socialist state power. The Leninist principle of democratic centralism which combines central state management and planning with the growing creative activity of the working people in a qualified and effective manner, is consistently put into reality. The active and direct participation of millions of working people in the management of our state is the characteristic difference between our Socialist democracy and bourgeois democracy. Our democracy is thus a true sovereign self-determination exercised by the working people. The extent of our Socialist democracy becomes obvious by some figures from the election period now ending.

There are 204,432 citizens from the ranks of the working class, cooperative farmers, intelligentsia, artists, cultural workers and other strata of the population working as deputies in community assemblies, borough and city assemblies, in district and county assemblies and in the People's Chamber. 400,000 citizens work in the standing committees and active groups of local representative bodies. 335,000 citizens, members of all parties, mass organizations and non-party people, among them 100,000 women and 40,000 youth participate in the work of National Front commissions. One in five of the 7,2 million members of the Confederation of Free German Trade Unions holds a trade union office. 632,714 people support the teachers in the education and training of young people

in 96,576 class-parent-teacher committees and 6,453 parent-teacher councils of the general polytechnical schools.

Behind these figures which could be extended and which express the close links between our citizens and the Socialist state, stand the sense of responsibility, activity and diligent work with all their problems and efforts arising, but above all the joint success. We can rely upon the large reservoir of devoted, experienced and intelligent people in the election preparations beginning everywhere now.

What course will the election drive take?

Public meetings attended by the delegates of the electorate will be held by the National Front at the beginning of October. Elected representatives of all sections of the population from enterprises, cooperative farms, institutions and residential areas participate in these meetings. The candidates for the People's Chamber and the county assemblies introduce themselves to their electors, suggestions are made the election and the succession of the candidates on the ballot papers and the organizational plan for the election drive on district level is decided upon. The meetings take place in enterprises, agricultural production cooperatives, in residential areas, administrative bodies and institutions.

Varied Opportunities for Candidates to Meet their Electors

Further opportunities for the introduction of the candidates exist in meetings of Socialist teams and at tenants' meetings.

The candidates should meet their voters in those areas where they will be active in future. Enterprises, state farms, agricultural production cooperatives and other institutions should invite the candidates. The participation of the candidates in discussions, question and reply meetings, especially with young people, those who cast their vote for the first time, in cultural events, discussions on specific problems etc. serves to establish good contacts between the electors and the future deputies. Canvassers of the National Front are to visit all people entitled to vote to discuss with them the election appeal of the National Front and to make them acquainted with the candidates. With the display of the electoral registers finally begins the distribution of the notification with the register numbers by canvassers. Individual talks with the electors will be held during this procedure, too.

These statements make obvious that the key objective is not a large number of representative events but rather the direct contact with the electors. Everyone knows from his own experience that nothing comes about automatically. Therefore it is necessary

to base these activities on clear conceptions. An important preliminary decision on the composition and the efficiency of our state organs is already made by the choice, examination and nomination of the candidates. It is made in connection with the candidates giving account of their work during their previous term of office. This giving of account by deputies and state officials is a firm principle in our state and especially observed in pre-election times.

Open and trustful discussions with the working people on the joint solving of concrete problems arising out of the decisions made by the Eighth Party Congress should be the main content of these meetings. The deputies will explain in their reports on the passed electoral period the comprehensive work performed by the People's Chamber for the shaping of the developed Socialist society, including, above all, our Socialist Constitution which was thoroughly discussed with the people and adopted by a truly democratic referendum. Finally, one has to mention the laws on the national economy and the national budget, social jurisdiction, the fight against contraventions of the law and the Socialist nature conservation act.

Our county assemblies have attained valuable successes, too—both in developing the economy and in the spheres of intellectual and cultural life, physical culture and sports. Better supply of the population, increase in the consumer goods production, improvement of services, in housing construction and maintenance—these are tasks solved by these organs by way of well conceived territorial coordination and employment of reserves, by better organization and control and the winning over of the citizens for active collaboration. Noticeable success in the improvement of the people's working and living conditions is achieved where continuous work in this direction is performed, where the people's representative bodies, their organs and deputies closely work together with the social organizations and collectives, above all with the enterprises, on a basis of confidence.

Comrades, we are of the opinion that the creative initiative, which was developed in the competition "Participate in beautifying our towns and villages" must further be promoted and that the support of still more citizens be against for this work in the pre-election period.

The Way a Candidate Should Distinguish Himself

When giving account of their activities the deputies will also report on their share in preparing, implementing and controlling decisions and on their work in the committees, standing commis-

sions and other bodies and how their relationship with the electors has developed. Thus the reporting will become an exchange of opinions and experience on a broad level and further deepen the collaboration between the elected peoples's representatives, the state organs and the population. In this connection we consider it to be correct that also those members of the Council of Ministers and managers of state organs on a central and county level who are not deputies should discuss problems with the citizens in the enterprises, institutions and residential areas.

The Eighth Congress of our Party stressed the political responsibility of the deputies and officials of the state organs and appreciated their work for the benefit of Socialist society and all citizens, thus underlining at the same time the importance of increasing their authority.

Candidates for the People's Chamber and county assemblies should be distinguished by the following characteristic features:

- by their close links with the working class and the other strata of the working population, by their consistent work for Socialism and their friendship with the Soviet Union, by their active social work;
- by a high discipline and a sense of Socialist civic responsibility in the implementation of Party and government decisions, by their ability to explain these decisions in a convincing and understandable manner, to promote the citizens' initiative and actively to work for the realization of their justified interests;
- by modesty, respect for other people and their ideas, suggestions and criticism, by a high working morale and exemplary personal conduct.

The election of the judges of the Supreme Court and the judges and lay judges for the county courts is prepared in connection with the elections for the People's Chamber and the county assemblies. Therefore judges will participate in the election meetings and report on their activities. These accounts serve the democratic control by the public on the work of the legal organs. Our citizens are to become more familiar with the essence and content of our Socialist jurisdiction so that they will consider it an expression and a safeguard of their own interests and make the norms of Socialist law the basis for their own conduct.

A law does not become effective only by existing on paper. It must be known and be consciously applied and realized. Only then can it benefit the social sense of responsibility of the citizens and their collectives and promote their conscious participation in the solution of social tasks. In this sense our Socialist jurisdiction and its implementation are components of our Socialist democracy.

Concrete Tasks for Every Comrade Must Be Laid Down in the Branch Meetings

We recommend that all branches thoroughly analyze the 2nd Session of the Central Committee and deal with the tasks in preparation and holding of the elections in membership meetings at the end of September or the beginning of October. Proceeding from the election appeal of the National Front, all comrades should be given concrete information for the discussions with the people and the tasks for the election period should be laid down. Every comrade should receive a task in support of the election at meetings of all party members in the residential areas and communities.

Comrades, we are faced by a period of hard work but it will be worth while. The elections will greatly contribute to the realization of the decisions of the Eighth Party Congress and that will be of benefit to the German Democratic Republic and our people.

Resolution

of the Second Session of the Central Committee
of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany
on the Quadripartite Agreement on West Berlin

The Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany welcomes the Quadripartite Agreement on West Berlin which was signed by the ambassadors of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, the United States of America and the French Republic on 3 September 1971.

The Central Committee of the SED states:

1. This agreement is of far-reaching importance for the safeguarding of peace and for the creation of an atmosphere of detente in Europe. The SED, the people of the GDR feel deep satisfaction that it has been possible to make a great advance towards the relaxation of tension with regard to one of the most complicated questions in Europe. It constitutes a success for all those interested in consolidating the confidence and cooperation between the states on the European continent and the whole of the world. Those forces which poison the atmosphere with their revanchist policy and continuously try to provoke new tensions in the heart of our continent are losing their basis.
2. This agreement is, above all, a result of the consistent, persevering and wise peace policy of the Soviet Union, the coordinated policy of the states of the Socialist community. The Central Committee of the SED expresses its sincere thanks to the Central Committee of the CPSU and the government of the Soviet Union for this new manifestation and success of Leninist foreign policy which is directed towards creating the most favourable external conditions for the construction of Socialism and Communism, towards establishing relations of peaceful coexistence between Socialist and capitalist states. The signing of the agreement proves that the peace program of the 24th Congress of the CPSU is in line with the vital interests of the peoples and is being implemented successfully.

3. The German Democratic Republic for its part has done everything in order to support the successful conclusion of the Quadripartite negotiations through its own initiative. The Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany is deeply satisfied with the active and fruitful consultations which took place continuously in the past months between the Central Committee of the CPSU, the government of the Soviet Union and the Central Committee of the SED and the government of the GDR as well as with the agreement reached. A settlement was found on questions concerning West Berlin which is of benefit to all those concerned whereby the sovereign rights and legitimate interests of the GDR have been fully observed and supported.
4. The Central Committee of the SED states with satisfaction that in this agreement the three western powers have for the first time confirmed the existence of the German Democratic Republic as a sovereign state, its frontiers, its territory and its relations with the FRG and West Berlin in a form valid in international law. This step is welcomed by all those forces in the world working for the recognition realities. It gives proof of the fact that the establishment of normal relations with the GDR which are valid in international law is a question ready for solution, and serves peace and the relaxation of tensions.
5. It is of particular importance for the avoidance of conflicts and for security in Europe that the three western powers declared for the first time and in a form which is binding in international law that West Berlin is not a constituent part of the FRG and is not to be governed by it. Thus the political and international fact was confirmed, a fact which was always underlined by the Soviet Union, the GDR and the other Socialist states, that West Berlin is a city with a special political status and never belonged to the FRG and will never belong to it.
6. The Central Committee considers the Quadripartite Agreement to be a confirmation of the correctness and effectiveness of the peace program adopted by the Eighth Party Congress. In close community with the Soviet Union and the other Socialist states, in alliance with all peace-loving forces, the GDR will continue to do everything in its power in order to foster the cause of peace and security.
7. The GDR is anxious that the negotiations with the government of the FRG and the Senate of West Berlin should produce speedy and positive results. The Central Committee expects the government of the FRG and the Senate of West Berlin to show the necessary realism and good-will so that the corresponding

agreements can be concluded in the interests of all those concerned and in the interest of easing tensions in Europe.

8. The Central Committee of the SED expresses its conviction that further steps on the road to the solution of matured European and other international questions are possible. The early ratification of the treaties of the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of Poland with the FRG would contribute towards opening a new chapter in the history of our continent. Following the successful negotiations of the four powers the convocation of an all-European conference on questions of security and cooperation can and should be prepared without further delay.

The Central Committee of the SED calls upon all members of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, all working people in the GDR, to make their contribution to the implementation of our Socialist foreign policy, the consolidation of peace and security through new deeds for the strengthening of our republic.

Answer to Topical Questions

Comrade Erich Honecker, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, gave the following interview to "Neues Deutschland", organ of the Central Committee of the SED, on 4 September 1971 in connection with the agreement of the ambassadors of the four powers on the problems of West Berlin:

Question: Comrade Honecker, how do you assess the agreement of the ambassadors of the four powers on the problems of West Berlin, the texts of which were published yesterday?

Answer: What I would like to stress first is the great significance of this agreement for the preservation of peace and for relaxation of tension in Europe. There is no doubt that we have made good progress on this road. The misuse of West Berlin as a disturbing factor in the heart of Europe, as a bridgehead of the cold war against the Socialist countries of Europe, which has now been taking place for decades, is only too well known. Therefore, it is in the interest of all peoples of our continent when already at the beginning of the agreement the intention is expressed to contribute to the elimination of tension. The contractually fixed stipulations serve this aim.

It is quite clear that this is particularly important of the German Democratic Republic. The GDR has always been considered a thorn in the flesh by the imperialist powers. The consolidation of peace corresponds to the elementary vital interests of our state and its citizens. We have great tasks to fulfil in the further development of our Socialist society and one of the favourable external conditions we require for this is above all a stable peace.

But I would like to stress here once more that the agreement is to the benefit of all peoples, because it contributes to making peace more secure for all. This is also true for the reasonably and realistically thinking circles in the Federal Republic of Germany.

If the lengthy and strenuous negotiations on West Berlin by the ambassadors of the four powers have led to the now officially announced significant result, then I would like to stress to whom the thanks for this result are above all due. The result is due to the consistent, wise and persistent peace policy of the Soviet Union and the states of the Socialist community. Our sincere thanks are due above all to the Central Committee of the Communist Party

of the Soviet Union and the government of the Soviet Union for their Leninist foreign policy which is directed at the establishment of relations of peaceful coexistence between Socialist and capitalist states.

We are very satisfied about the active and fruitful consultations carried out regularly during the period of the negotiations by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Soviet government with the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany and the government of the German Democratic Republic. During the complete course of the negotiations the German Democratic Republic has always made its constructive contribution so that we can rightly consider the result now achieved as also being a success of our foreign policy as set forth and determined at the Eighth Party Congress.

In addition we are pleased that the jointly discussed and coordinated foreign policy of the Socialist community of states makes such steps in the interest of European peace possible. We are convinced that this joint consistent course will also prove its worth in future.

Question: Comrade Honecker, you have already explained the benefit of the four-power agreement. What effects do the results of the negotiations have in detail for the position of the German Democratic Republic?

Answer: In the four-power agreement, the three western powers—the USA, Great Britain and France—have for the first time expressed themselves bindingly on the German Democratic Republic as a sovereign state, on its borders and its relations with the Federal Republic of Germany and with West Berlin. We highly esteem this fact. Indeed, an international agreement is in question in which the German Democratic Republic, its territory and its borders are mentioned. This agreement bears the signatures of the representatives of the governments of the USA, Great Britain and France. The reference by the three western powers to the German Democratic Republic has therefore the character of being binding in international law. Thus, the position of the German Democratic Republic in international law has no doubt been strengthened.

Question: Will the agreement of the four powers have further effects on the consolidation of peace effects which go beyond those directly involved?

Answer: The signing of the agreement of the four powers on West Berlin has great significance for the further implementation of the peace program decided upon at the 24th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. With regard to Europe this comprehensive peace program envisages to proceed from the recognition of the territorial changes which have arisen as a result of the Second World War and to bring about a fundamental turn to a relaxation of tension and promote peace on this continent. The agreement on West Berlin naturally facilitates further progress in this direction.

Question: An important step towards European peace, which is on the agenda, is the ratification of the treaties of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the Polish People's Republic with the Federal Republic of Germany. Can it be assumed that the signing of the agreement of the four powers will be of positive significance in this connection?

Answer: You are right, the signing of the agreement of the four powers on West Berlin creates favourable conditions for the ratification of these treaties. I believe that there are sufficient realistically thinking people in the Federal Republic of Germany who will utilize the chance of the moment and contribute with the ratification of the treaties between the Soviet Union and the Federal Republic of Germany as well as between the Polish People's Republic and the Federal Republic of Germany to a new page being turned in the history of our continent after the Second World War. Thus, no doubt, a new better atmosphere could arise in Europe.

Question: That means, that over and above the ratification of the treaties, the cause of European security can now be further advanced?

Answer: Yes, and that is of very great bearing. The problems which burden the situation in Europe at the same time endanger peace in the world in general. The peaceful solution to these problems, the safeguarding of peace in Europe are therefore a decisive contribution to world peace. The Soviet Union and the other members of the Socialist community of states, including the German Democratic Republic, have undertaken many initiatives for improving the situation in Europe in particular. For a long time now, the Socialist states have been directing their efforts towards a European

security conference. Necessary prerequisites for this exist, and the agreement of the four powers on West Berlin improves the prerequisites. Now, nobody can any longer claim that issues under dispute for many years in Europe could not be solved by negotiations. Realities have to be taken as a basis. The agreement between the four powers on one of the most complicated problems of the situation in the centre of Europe is an example of this.

Question: One obstacle which was placed in the way of relaxation in Europe is the refusal of certain states to recognize the German Democratic Republic. Can it be said that the prospects for a further relaxation of tension have also improved on this point?

Answer: Certainly. I have already pointed out that the three western powers have taken notice of the existence of the German Democratic Republic in a form valid in international law, for the first time. The development which now appears in outlines and can lead to further progress in the question of European security will also further raise the international prestige of the German Democratic Republic.

Question: The German Democratic Republic and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics always worked for a settlement on West Berlin. However, it was not attained during the past years. It always seemed possible and necessary to us. The question is asked why the agreement became possible now?

Answer: It became possible on account of the really existing relation of forces in the world and on account of the jointly deliberated and coordinated peace policy of the Soviet Union and the Socialist community of states including the German Democratic Republic. The policy of peace and relaxation of tension is increasingly supported by the peoples; that is also true of the people of the Federal Republic of Germany. Thus, we were able to state already at the Moscow Conference of Communist and Workers' Parties in 1969 that real possibilities exist for solving the most important problems of our time in the interest of peace, democracy and Socialism. These possibilities were purposefully and perseveringly utilized by the Soviet Union and the other states of the Socialist community. Now this active peace policy is showing success. As regards the German Democratic Republic, we have declared at the Eighth Congress of the Socialist Unity Party: we open-mindedly consider all proposals and ideas promoting the peaceful coexistence of European peoples

and states—no matter from what side they are proposed. We have expressed our readiness to react positively to steps of the Brandt government which take the real situation into account. Furthermore, we stated that we are determined to do everything in our power in order to bring issues to a solution which today still burden the situation in Europe and disturb the coexistence of the peoples. We do not only say so, but also act accordingly. In this spirit we have supported each and every step of the Soviet Union and all Socialist fraternal countries for the consolidation of peace.

Question: And what steps have been undertaken by the German Democratic Republic on its own part?

Answer: We have taken numerous initiatives in order to make our constructive contribution to the common aim. I remind you, for instance, of the proposal of Comrade Walter Ulbricht, Chairman of the GDR Council of State, of 17 December 1969 to the President of the Federal Republic of Germany that a treaty be concluded on the establishment of relations valid in international law between the GDR and the FRG. I here only draw attention to the talks between State Secretary Dr. Michael Kohl of the Council of Ministers of the German Democratic Republic, and Egon Bahr State Secretary in the Federal Chancellor's Office of the Federal Republic of Germany, as well as the talks between State Secretary Günter Kohrt, of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and the mandatory of the Senate of West Berlin, Head of the Senate Chancellory Ulrich Müller. As is known, these talks were opened up on the initiative of Comrade Willi Stoph, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the German Democratic Republic. We have always conducted them from the point of view of relaxation of tension and peaceful coexistence. We are convinced that matters will develop well in view of the latest progress. We shall do our best to achieve this end.

Question: I would like to put some questions relating directly to the West Berlin agreement. What new aspects of decisive significance result in this respect?

Answer: It is of particular significance for the prevention of conflicts and for the security of Europe that the three western powers have undersigned for the first time in a form valid in international law that West Berlin is not a constituent part of the Federal Republic and is not governed by it. This corresponds to the realities existing in international law which the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

and the German Democratic Republic have always stood up for. It is confirmed by the three western powers that provisions of the Basic Law (constitution) of the Federal Republic and of the constitution valid in West Berlin which are not in conformity with the mentioned stipulation have been suspended and continue not to be in effect.

Question: This is true in connection with the systematic reduction of the so-called Bundespräsenz (presence of the Federal Republic) in West Berlin. What are the specific results?

Answer: As can be seen from the annex to the quadripartite agreement, the three powers have explicitly declared that the Federal President, the Federal Chancellor, the Federal Government, the Federal Assembly, the Federal Parliament, and the Federal Council including their committees and party groups, the federal ministers, the ministries as well as their branches and all federal courts as well as other state institutions of the Federal Republic of Germany are not to carry out any constitutional or official acts in West Berlin which are contradictory to the stipulation that West Berlin is not a constituent part of the Federal Republic and is not governed by it. In future no meetings of the Federal Assembly and no plenary sessions of the Federal Parliament will take place in West Berlin anymore.

Our cooperative spirit consists in the fact that from time to time individual party groups and committees of the Federal Parliament can meet in West Berlin, but not at the same time, if problems are on the agenda which concern West Berlin, as for instance, financial problems. In addition, it is stipulated that the Federal Republic of Germany will be represented in West Berlin by a permanent liaison agency with the authorities of the three powers and with the Senate.

Question: Was it not claimed by certain quarters up to now that the "whole of Berlin" should be on the agenda during negotiations?

Answer: It is clearly stated in the agreement of the four powers what is to be said in this respect. Negotiations took place about the Western Sectors of Berlin, their inhabitants, the transit between the Western Sectors of Berlin and the Federal Republic of Germany, and about the representation of these Sectors abroad. Democratic Berlin has been the capital of the German Democratic

Republic for more than two decades. It is not the object of the four-power agreement.

Question: The quadripartite agreement stipulates that concrete provisions on transport and travel opportunities of West Berlin citizens will be agreed upon by the "competent German authorities". Meant are the Government of the German Democratic Republic, the Government of the Federal Republic of Germany and the Senate of West Berlin. How do you judge the status of the negotiations of the German Democratic Republic with the Federal Republic of Germany and the German Democratic Republic with West Berlin?

Answer: It is known that talks between representatives of the government of the German Democratic Republic and the Federal Republic of Germany have already been taking place for some time. Subject of these talks is a traffic agreement between the two different independent, sovereign states, further, an agreement on the transit of persons and goods between the Federal Republic of Germany and West Berlin on the traffic routes of the German Democratic Republic. That in this respect—as internationally customary—the traffic routes of the German Democratic Republic are not to be abused and the public order existing in the German Democratic Republic has to be adhered to is a matter of course.

It can be concluded from the quadripartite agreement that consultations have taken place on this question between the Soviet Union and the German Democratic Republic and agreements have been concluded. There also exist agreements between the Soviet Union and the German Democratic Republic with regard to trips by West Berlin citizens into the GDR as well as transport and communication connections. Concrete agreements on these questions will be negotiated between representatives of the German Democratic Republic and the Senate of West Berlin.

We hope that the partners in the negotiations from the Federal Republic of Germany and from West Berlin also have the will to bring the negotiations to a successful close and to conclude the necessary agreements.

Incidentally, I would like to underline in this connection that now for the first time in an agreement valid in international law between the four big powers—that is between the Soviet Union, the USA, Great Britain and France—the German Democratic Republic and the Federal Republic of Germany are officially named in the different forms. Everybody can see that from the texts

of the agreement. This also once more shows that the German Democratic Republic and the Federal Republic of Germany are subjects of international law.

Question: It is provided in the four-power agreement that the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics will set up a consulate-general in West Berlin. How is this to be assessed?

Answer: It is only natural that the Soviet Union will have its consulate-general in West Berlin. That is one of the elements of the improvement of the situation as is also envisaged in the agreement.

Question: Are there elements contained in the four-power agreement which constitute a cooperative spirit on our part?

Answer: Such a cooperative spirit corresponds by all means to our fundamental attitude on the solution of international questions. A great cause is in question, the safeguarding of peace. In this respect agreements from the point of view of mutual benefit must be concluded. The question is whether the obligingness serves the real aim, in this case relaxation of tension and the consolidation of peace in Europe. A further question for us is in the given case whether the sovereign rights and the legitimate interests of the German Democratic Republic are preserved. Both questions must be answered positively. That is why our cooperative spirit was correct and beneficial.

As already said, we have always set out from the opinion that a settlement of the issues concerning West Berlin—with the preservation of the sovereign rights and legitimate interests of the German Democratic Republic—must benefit all parties concerned. Thus, the inhabitants of West Berlin will appreciate that the transit traffic through the territory of the German Democratic Republic receives a contractual basis and its arrangement is facilitated, for instance, by means of sealed trains and nonstop busses. We do not care about a seal more or less. The permanent inhabitants of West Berlin will also welcome that according to concrete agreements between the Government of the German Democratic Republic and the West Berlin Senate the entry into the German Democratic Republic including its capital is made possible. The respective problems are on the agenda of the present negotiations between the representatives of the Government of the German Democratic Republic and the Federal Republic of Germany as

well as between the German Democratic Republic and the Senate of West Berlin. This still more underlines the role of the German Democratic Republic and the independent character of its agreements.

Question: How does the settlement on West Berlin correspond with the peace concept which you, Comrade Honecker, explained at the Eighth Party Congress on behalf of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany?

Answer: In point 5 of the peace concept the German Democratic Republic declares its readiness to make its contribution to the normalization of the relationship with West Berlin and thus to a relaxation of tension in the centre of Europe. In this spirit we wished success to the four power negotiations. We had declared it to be absolutely necessary to recognize the reality that West Berlin is a city with a special political status, has never belonged to the Federal Republic and will never belong to it. We said that on this basis it is possible to bring all pending issues to a solution in the interest of the consolidation of European peace and, not least, in the interest of the population of West Berlin.

Therefore, it has been confirmed that the concept decided upon by us at the Eighth Party Congress is constructive and realistic and stands in conformity with the peace endeavours of the Soviet Union and the other Socialist states. The big advance in the field to which point 5 of our concept refers no doubt improves the conditions for us for making progress also on the other four points in close community with the Soviet Union and the other fraternal countries.

Question: We have always started out from the concept that the Potsdam Agreement forms the basis for a European peace order. What is the relation of the four power agreement on West Berlin to the Potsdam Agreement?

Answer: The proper meaning of the Potsdam Agreement is to create conditions in Central Europe that do not permit a war ever again being plotted by the German imperialists. Particularly West Berlin was for a long time a source of tensions, it was misused by revanchist forces as a spearhead against the German Democratic Republic and the whole Socialist community. When, therefore, an agreement was concluded on West Berlin which serves the relaxation of tension and the consolidation of peace, then this is fully in

conformity with the spirit of the Potsdam Agreement. The signatory powers of the Potsdam Agreement have arrived at a new joint agreement after 26 years. No doubt further steps will be necessary in order to consolidate and further develop this positive change in the European situation. This is all the more so as quite a number of serious obstacles on the road to a lasting peace and security still have to be overcome which were and are erected by imperialist reaction.

Question: How can we in the German Democratic Republic contribute that the consolidation of peace in Europe makes further progress?

Answer: As I already said, we shall do everything in our power to make our constructive contribution in the interest of European peace and in the interest of the people of the German Democratic Republic. At the Eighth Party Congress we have set ourselves the main aim of doing everything possible for the welfare of the working people. The decisions in the field of foreign policy, which are directed at peace, relaxation of tension and security, correspond to this task. Such are our words, such are our thoughts and such is also our practical policy. The most important contribution which we can and must make to the joint active peace policy is the all-sided strengthening of our German Democratic Republic. On this we concentrate all our efforts in accordance with the decisions of the Eighth Party Congress. In this sense every citizen of the German Democratic Republic is carrying out a policy of peace.

A Success for All Who Desire Peace

In connection with the signing of the agreement on West Berlin by the four powers Walter Ulbricht, Chairman of the Council of State of the GDR, answered the following questions put by ADN on 6 September 1971:

ADN: The successful conclusion of the negotiations on West Berlin between the USSR, the USA, Great Britain and France as well as the signing of the West Berlin Agreement effected in the meantime give occasion to recall postwar history in which, as is known, the so-called West Berlin problem has played no small role. How would you, Comrade Chairman of the Council of State, assess the agreement reached, taking into account historical experiences?

Walter Ulbricht: The Quadripartite Agreement on West Berlin is, no doubt, an important event of great international impact. The worldwide response to the agreement—the positive voices clearly predominate—gives proof of the fact that the agreement constitutes a real success for all those who desire a secure peace and are guided by reason and realism. The Council of State of the German Democratic Republic fully approves the Quadripartite Agreement on West Berlin which was signed on 3 September 1971. Who would blame us for stressing the special role and the historic merit of the Soviet Union whose resolute course of peaceful coexistence between states with differing social systems, which is determined by the spirit of Leninism, has again produced an impressive result. On such an occasion it is quite natural to recall the course of history. The tasks of our time and those of the future can be solved only by taking into account the experiences gained from history and the lessons to be drawn from it. This holds particularly true of young people who did not for themselves witness the origination of the problems which have to be settled today in the interests of peace.

As far as the so-called West Berlin problem is concerned it is incontestable that it was not by chance that such a problem could crop up at all and that dangers to peace and security resulted from this problem.

It rather was the consequence of the deliberately conceived

imperialist strategy which aimed at correcting the results of the victory won by the anti-Hitler coalition in the Second World War in favour of imperialism.

In contrast, and in line with the interests of all peoples, the policy pursued by the Soviet Union was directed towards lasting security and a stable peace. Due to this policy of the Soviet Union and the other states of the Warsaw Treaty—last but not least also of the GDR—the prerequisites could be created which made it possible to reach the present results in the complicated West Berlin question. The fact that this success could be attained only in 1971 is not our fault, as proved by the history of the past 20 years.

ADN: Comrade Ulbricht, would you please explain in more detail how the West Berlin problem, a danger to peace, arose?

Walter Ulbricht: I will gladly do so. As is known, the powers of the anti-Hitler-coalition laid down in the Potsdam Agreement the principles of international law for uprooting German militarism and aggressive imperialism once and for all. With regard to Berlin it was clear that the former German capital as part of the Soviet occupation zone was to be the seat of the Allied Control Council for the occupation period. Following the liberation of Berlin by the glorious Soviet Army the three western partners of the Allied Control Council were allowed to station troops in the western sectors of Berlin.

The complication arose when the strategic line of the extremist forces of US imperialism took effect, namely to frustrate the implementation of the Potsdam Agreement by splitting off West Germany and to introduce the phase of the so-called cold war with the aggressive policy of rolling back Socialism in Europe. The reactionary circles in West Germany immediately saw a chance and fell in with the US strategy.

This imperialist concept which was directed mainly against the anti-fascist and democratic developments in what was then the Soviet occupation zone and later the GDR as well as the other Socialist countries gave West Berlin a special position as a bridge-head. That is the real reason why a West Berlin problem developed and with it all the known conflicts and the resulting dangers for peace.

ADN: Comrade Chairman of the State Council, can you give some details?

Walter Ulbricht: The year 1948 was the culmination point. At that time the western imperialist circles carried through the separate currency reform in the western zones, in violation of the Potsdam Agreement. Only a short time later the same was done in West Berlin although the western powers had bindingly declared a few days earlier that a uniform currency would be valid in all parts of Berlin—that of the Soviet occupation zone. The separate currency reform meant that the western sectors were split off economically. Then the political separation followed connected with many manoeuvres.

At that time prominent politicians in the west coined the notorious words that West Berlin must be the "cheapest atomic bomb", a "thorn in the flesh" of the GDR, a "frontline city" against Socialism. In those years we had to witness how our working people were robbed thoroughly in the name of "all-German fraternity". A life-and-death struggle was waged against the GDR. In order to secure peace the Soviet Union as well as the German Democratic Republic proposed a peace treaty to the Federal Republic as early as 1952. The Adenauer government, however, rejected this proposal.

Owing to the strength of the Socialist community, above all, the Soviet Union, and also the firm union of the working class and the other working people in the GDR with their Socialist state, all the plans conceived by the separatists were doomed to failure. It is, however, quite understandable that the citizens of our state do not believe the words of people who for years have pursued such a policy vis-a-vis the GDR. Treaties valid in international law are necessary which give peace and European security a stable foundation. It is precisely in view of this that the GDR population welcomes the agreement of the four powers on West Berlin. Nobody will believe, of course, that thus enemies have turned into friends of Socialism.

ADN: Comrade Ulbricht, you said it was not we who must be blamed for the settlement coming about only this year. Would you please explain this statement?

Walter Ulbricht: The Soviet Union and the German Democratic Republic have undertaken many steps in the postwar years in order to bring about a settlement of those problems in Europe which are in the interest of peace, security and the relaxation of tension. This historical truth can be proved at any time. In close coordination with the Soviet Union and the other member states

of the Warsaw Treaty our republic has likewise made its constructive contribution. Our offers for negotiations or our proposals for a permit settlement as well as my proposal to the president of the Federal Republic to conclude a treaty on the establishment of relations valid in international law between the German Democratic Republic and the Federal Republic of Germany should be mentioned here.

But the other side showed no readiness as long as certain circles believed that they could roll back the GDR in one way or another in line with the spirit of imperialist policy of revenge. It is no imputation to state this since these motives have been admitted in the meantime by competent politicians in the west.

Meanwhile, even inveterate proponents of this policy had to take of the changes in the international balance of forces. The number of people who are guided by realism has grown and it has become possible to conclude the important four-power agreement on West Berlin. Further steps on the road to European security will thus certainly be fostered. It is, above all, important to ratify the treaty concluded between the USSR and the FRG and that concluded between the People's Republic of Poland and the FRG so that they can play their positive role in the life of the peoples.

ADN: Comrade Chairman, what is the main task of our people according to your opinion?

Walter Ulbricht: In firm fraternal alliance with the Soviet Union and in agreement with the jointly elaborated program of the Warsaw Treaty states we will also in future actively work for peace and European security: The comprehensive strengthening of our Socialist German Democratic Republic according to the general line mapped out by the Eighth Congress of the SED, to the fulfilment of which our party and our people devote all their strength, is and will continue to be the foundation for this.

ADN: Thank you for this interview, Comrade Chairman of the State Council and many good wishes for the further restoration of your health.

A Success for Peace and Security in Europe

Willi Stoph, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the GDR gave an interview to ADN on 7 September 1971 in connection with the conclusion of the Quatripartite Agreement on West Berlin.

The interview has the following text:

Question: Comrade Chairmann, the German Democratic Republic has continuously worked for the easing of tensions with regard to West Berlin. How do you assess in this connection the agreement on problems regarding West Berlin, reached by the ambassadors of the four powers?

Answer: As already expressed in our government declaration I consider it to be positive. It is true, the GDR—in full agreement with the USSR and on the basis of the jointly adopted line of the member states of the Warsaw Treaty—has for years now made consistent efforts to bring about an understanding on questions regarding West Berlin in order to remove the causes of differences and conflicts. We persistently worked for the settlement of these questions in the interests of the people and their peaceful future and were thus in line with the requirements of European security. We were and are ready to make our contribution to this end.

Unlike the GDR, certain aggressive circles, especially in the FRG, did everything in their power to make West Berlin a bridge-head of cold war against the GDR and other Socialist states and to misuse it for a revision of the results of the Second World War.

The present result of the negotiations between the ambassadors of the four powers could, above all, be attained thanks to the purposeful peace policy of the USSR. The GDR for its part has done everything to actively support the successful conclusion of the four-power negotiations. During the entire period of the negotiations the Central Committee of the SED and the government of the GDR were in close contact with the Central Committee of the CPSU and the government of the USSR, which gave proof of the full agreement of the opinions of our fraternally linked Socialist states.

I should like to take this occasion to cordially thank our Soviet friends for their untiring efforts to safeguard peace, efforts which gained great success by the agreement on West Berlin.

Question: Comrade Chairman, the FRG's attempts to claim sovereign powers in and for West Berlin have in the past repeatedly resulted in tensions. Does the Quadripartite Agreement on West Berlin change the situation?

Answer: We do expect this. The respective provisions laid down in the Quadripartite Agreement belong to the central points of the agreement. The FRG repeatedly raised illegal claims on West Berlin and acted accordingly. This policy was directed against the GDR, other Socialist states and against European security. Again and again it produced serious tensions and complications and was, above all, harmful to the interests of the West Berlin population.

Putting an end to these assumptions was and is an indispensable prerequisite for the normalization of West Berlin's relations with the German Democratic Republic.

We have always made this unmistakably clear. I myself, for instance, turned to the governing mayor of West Berlin on 29 March 1965, in the name of the Council of Ministers, in connection with the then planned illegal session of the FRG Bundestag in West Berlin. I emphasized that measures of that kind are only suited to intensify tensions, to burden the relations between the GDR and West Berlin and to harm the West Berlin population.

We also warned against the equally illegal session of the Federal Assembly for the election of the Federal President of the FRG in West Berlin in March 1969 because such actions prevent an agreement on pending questions. As is known, the government of the FRG and the West Berlin Senate preferred to carry through the illegal session of the Federal Assembly in West Berlin and thus thwarted our offer for agreements which took into account the legitimate interests and sovereign rights of the GDR and the needs of the West Berlin population.

In this connection I should like to mention my letter of 24 February of this year to Herr Schütz, governing mayor of West Berlin. The letter stated that the GDR was ready again for mutually advantageous solutions, in case the West Berlin Senate would spare the city further unnecessary complications. The attitude always taken by the GDR government with regard to easing the West Berlin question and the preconditions for an orderly agreement between the GDR and West Berlin is expressly confirmed by the Quadripartite Agreement on West Berlin.

The Quadripartite Agreement reaffirms as binding in international law that West Berlin is not a constituent part of the FRG and must not be governed by it. Provisions in the basic law of the

FRG as well as the constitution of West Berlin which are in contradiction to the stipulations of the Quadripartite Agreement are ineffective. State organs of the FRG are not allowed to carry out constitutional acts or official duties in West Berlin.

Question: Comrade Chairman, what steps does the government of the German Democratic Republic consider necessary in order to make further progress on the road embarked upon with the agreement on West Berlin by the ambassadors of the four powers?

Answer: On 24 August 1971 the Council of Ministers of the GDR underlined its readiness to continue to render its contribution to bringing into effect the agreement through constructive proposals and negotiations. In the spirit of this statement the German Democratic Republic will do everything in its power so that the negotiations with the authorized representative of the FRG government will bear speedy and positive results. The same holds true of the negotiations between authorized representatives of the GDR government and the Senate of West Berlin. We expect the government of the FRG and the Senate of West Berlin to show the necessary realism and good-will so that the respective agreements can be concluded with the government of the German Democratic Republic.

There are voices in the FRG and West Berlin which cannot refrain from expressing their uneasiness about the Quadripartite Agreement and, therefore, deliberately minimize the importance of this treaty. Generally speaking, this only proves to what degree the enemies of detente are cornered by the development of events.

The international policy pursued by the GDR and the other Socialist states is clear for everybody to see and gives proof of their consistent stand for peace. We are prepared to conclude the agreements mentioned, to fulfil them and master the practical problems resulting from them, for instance, in handling the transit traffic of passengers and goods, with the matter-of-factness and sovereignty corresponding with our foreign policy as a Socialist state.

Question: What prospects are opened up, in your opinion, Comrade Chairman, for the solution of European problems which have matured and thus for the safeguarding of peace and security as well as a lasting easing of tensions thanks to the conclusion of the Quadripartite Agreement?

Answer: By positively assessing the importance the Quadripartite Agreement has for the normalization and the easing of the situation on the European continent the government of the German Democratic Republic is in harmony with all people of good-will. Both the friendly Socialist states and representatives of governments in capitalist countries consider the agreement to be an important contribution to the solution of pending European problems. This is especially true of the preparation and holding of the all-European conference on questions of security and peaceful cooperation. Finland and other European countries maintain that with the Quadripartite Agreement on West Berlin objections and reservations against the immediate preparation for the conference have become null and void. At any rate, one thing should be incontestable: the Quadripartite Agreement proves that negotiations and fruitful agreements on the solution of even the most complicated international problems are possible if all sides concerned make existing realities their point of departure. It is only in this way that the safeguarding of peace and a lasting detente can be promoted seriously. The time has come now for the ratification of the treaties concluded between the USSR and the FRG and between the People's Republic of Poland and the FRG. There is no reason for delaying this important question any longer.

Following the conclusion of the Quadripartite Agreement it has become more difficult to continue to deny the existence of the sovereign German Democratic Republic. Our approval of this agreement stresses our constructive attitude towards all questions which serve the relaxation of tension and European security. But the Quadripartite Agreement likewise underlines unmistakably that the important European problems cannot be solved without, let alone at the cost of, the GDR.

**Message addressed
by Comrade Erich Honecker,
First Secretary of the Central Committee
of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany
to Comrade Leonid Brezhnev, General Secretary
of the Central Committee of the CPSU**

Comrade L. I. Brezhnev
General Secretary of the Central Committee of the CPSU

Moscow

Dear Comrade Brezhnev,

The Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany assessed the signing of the quadripartite agreement on West Berlin as a great success of the peaceful foreign policy of the USSR as well as of the coordinated line of the fraternal countries and parties. The treaty is of great importance for the safeguarding of peace and for the relaxation of tension in Europe. It is in line with the basic interests of the population of the GDR, the FRG and West Berlin.

The Central Committee of the SED highly appreciates the fact that for the first time the sovereignty of the GDR's relations with the other German state and West Berlin has been confirmed in the quadripartite agreement by the three western powers.

The signing of the treaty is of advantage for all those who are interested in a consolidation of world peace, who stand up for a strengthening of confidence and cooperation among the states, for the transformation of Europe into a zone of lasting peace, for the solution of important problems on a realistic basis.

A speedy coming into force of this important international agreement would benefit the interests of all peoples. We hope that its signing will lead to a positive solution of other unsettled European and international problems which have matured.

The Central Committee of the SED expresses its honest thanks and its deep satisfaction to the Central Committee of the CPSU on the active and fruitful consultations held with us in the course of the negotiations.

The Socialist Unity Party of Germany will do its utmost to promote a successful conclusion of the negotiations and the achievement of an agreement in connection with all questions resulting from the quadripartite agreement.

The Central Committee of the SED expresses its conviction that the active cooperation between our parties and countries will further develop and strengthen as laid down in the decisions made at the 24th Congress of the CPSU and the Eighth Congress of the SED. Thus, a contribution will be made to the solution of problems regarding the consolidation of peace in the whole world.

Yours fraternally,

Erich Honecker
First Secretary of the Central Committee
of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany

Berlin, 8 September 1971

**Message addressed
by Comrade Leonid Brezhnev,
General Secretary of the Central Committee
of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union
to Comrade Erich Honecker,
First Secretary of the Central Committee
of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany**

Comrade Erich Honecker
First Secretary of the Central Committee
of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany

Dear Comrade Honecker,

The Central Committee of the CPSU and I thank you very much for the high assessment of the efforts of the Soviet Union in connection with the signing of the quadripartite agreement on West Berlin by the Central Committee of the SED.

The agreement arrived at is undoubtedly a success of the policy of peaceful coexistence, of the Socialist countries' course directed at consolidating peace, security and cooperation in Europe which found their expression in the decisions made at the 24th Congress of the CPSU and the Eighth Congress of the SED.

It is a precondition for a healthier atmosphere in the centre of Europe, for the removal of frictions and complications in connection with West Berlin which frequently poisoned the political atmosphere in this area. The treaty proceeds from the territorial and political realities which have come into existence in Europe and takes fully into account the sovereign rights and interests of the German Democratic Republic. It contributes to an increase of the international authority of the Socialist German state, its role and influence in international affairs.

We share your opinion that the signing of the quadripartite treaty will have a favourable effect on the solution of other European and international problems which have matured. The Soviet Union together with the other fraternal Socialist countries will continue to undertake efforts in this direction.

The Central Committee of the CPSU highly appreciates the

close cooperation between our parties and states which has again proved itself in the settlement of one of the most complicated problems in the international situation arisen after the war. The Central Committee of the CPSU is firmly convinced that this cooperation will further strengthen and grow in the interest of the Socialist community, of peace and security for all peoples.

Yours fraternally,

Leonid Brezhnev
General Secretary of the Central Committee of the
Communist Party of the Soviet Union

Moscow, 10 September 1971

**Message addressed
by Comrade Willi Stoph,
Chairman of the Council of Ministers
of the German Democratic Republic
to Comrade Alexey Kosygin, Chairman of the Council
of Ministers of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics**

Comrade A. N. Kosygin
Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Union of Soviet
Socialist Republics

Moscow

Dear Comrade Chairman,

Please, permit me to inform you in connection with the agreement between the Soviet Union, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, the United States of America and the French Republic of 3 September 1971 that the government of the German Democratic Republic welcomes this agreement as an important contribution to the safeguarding of peace and the relaxation of tension in Europe. It considers the quadripartite agreement an important step towards the solution of European and other international questions which have matured and is determined to contribute to the realization of this agreement in accordance with the decisions of the Eighth Congress of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany. At the same time the government of the GDR expresses its expectation that the government of the Federal Republic and the Senate of West Berlin are prepared to lead the planned negotiations in a spirit of reason and good will to a positive result.

Permit me, to assure you on this occasion of the high appreciation and the gratitude of the people and the government of the German Democratic Republic for the constructive Leninist foreign policy pursued by the government of the Soviet Union which is directed at the realization of peaceful coexistence between states with different social orders. The agreement of the four powers on West Berlin confirms the experience that everyone who advocates detente will finally win.

The government of the German Democratic Republic considers

the positive result of the quadripartite negotiations to be a convincing example for the success of the coordinated activities of the Socialist states in foreign policy. May I express my conviction that this policy based on the fraternal alliance with the Soviet Union will bring about further successes.

Yours fraternally,

W. Stoph
Chairman of the Council of Ministers
of the German Democratic Republic

Berlin, 8 September 1971

**Message addressed
by Comrade Alexey Kosygin,
Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Union
of Soviet Socialist Republics
to Comrade Willi Stoph,
Chairman of the Council
of Ministers of the German Democratic Republic**

Comrade Willi Stoph
Chairman of the Council of Ministers
of the German Democratic Republic

Dear Comrade Chairman,

The Soviet government as well as the government of the German Democratic Republic consider the quadripartite agreement on West Berlin an important contribution to the warranting of peace and the reduction of international friction. In addition to the treaties concluded by the Soviet Union and Poland with the FRG, this treaty is assigned to become an essential element in the system of international agreements which are based on the recognition of the territorial and political realities existing in Europe and serve the strengthening of peace in Europe. The signing of the treaty creates favourable preconditions for further steps towards the solution of urgent international problems and towards European cooperation.

The Soviet government highly appreciates the efforts of the German Democratic Republic which in close cooperation with the Soviet Union actively contributed to the achievement of the agreement on West Berlin. The preparedness expressed by the government of the GDR to make an effective contribution to the conclusion of corresponding agreements with the FRG government and the Senate of West Berlin in the course of exercising its sovereign rights, again proves convincingly the loyalty of the Socialist German state to the ideals of peace and understanding among the peoples, the cause of relaxation of tension and cooperation.

Permit me, dear Comrade Stoph, to express my conviction that the fraternal relations which have developed between our countries

will be further improved and consolidated to the benefit of the people of the Soviet Union and the GDR, in the interest of the Socialist community of states and of European and world peace.

Yours fraternally,

Alexey Kosygin
Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Union of Soviet
Socialist Republics

Kremlin, Moscow, 10 September 1971

**Message addressed
by the Chairman
of the Council of Ministers of the GDR
to the Presidents of France and of the USA
and the Prime Minister of Great Britain**

Comrade Willi Stoph, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the German Democratic Republic addressed letters to the President of the French Republic, the President of the United States of America and the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland in connection with the quadripartite agreement on West Berlin.

The letters were handed over to the Ambassadors of the United States and the chargé d'affaires a.i. of France and Great Britain in the Czechoslovakian Socialist Republic by the good offices of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic in Prague on Thursday.

The letter to the President of the French Republic has the following wording:

Mister President!

Permit me in connection with the agreement concluded between the French Republic, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, the Union of the Soviet Socialist Republics and the United States of America on 3 September 1971 to inform you that the Government of the German Democratic Republic welcomes this agreement as an important contribution to the safeguarding of peace and détente in Europe. It considers this agreement to be an important step towards the solution of matured European and other international questions.

The quadripartite agreement confirms the experience that all parties who advocate détente benefit.

It is the aim of the Government of the German Democratic Republic to make a constructive contribution to guaranteeing peace in Europe also in future. It expresses its expectation that

the Federal Government and the Senate of West Berlin are also prepared to carry out the envisaged negotiations in a spirit of reason and good will towards a positive result.

Respectfully yours,

Willi Stoph
Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the
German Democratic Republic

The message addressed to the US President and the Premier of Great Britain have the same wording.

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