

**A CONTRIBUTION OF THE
GERMAN DEMOCRATIC
REPUBLIC
TO PEACE IN EUROPE**

Documents on the National Policy of the GDR

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*Report by Walter Ulbricht at the 14th Session
of the Central Committee of the
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Dear Comrades,

The latest developments in the West German Federal Republic require an explanatory word.

We have objectively examined the government declaration of Herr Kiesinger and must say that its tone was a little calmer than that of earlier government declarations, that it renounced making a direct attack on other states and that there are also nuances with regard to what were up to now taboos, but in actual fact the government declaration was in tune with the well-known policy of the ruling circles in Bonn. The *Bayernkurier* wrote that Kiesinger's government program corresponds to the wellknown political conception of Strauss.

West German Federal Chancellor Kiesinger emphasizes in his government declaration that the Bonn parties had carried through the most thorough inventory up to now of the possibilities and necessities of German policy. But when one nevertheless examines the contents of the government declaration it becomes obvious that there is not very much of an inventory to be seen. The new federal chancellor and the new and old ministers of the CDU/CSU naturally do not want to admit publicly that their policy is bankrupt. That is understandable. But what is less understandable is the fact that the social democrats who joined the government completely renounced any inventory which, until recently, had been demanded by them so often. Thus the social democratic ministers have neither made the attempt to make the inventory for the CDU/CSU nor asserted the correct conclusions.

A New Situation and Its Causes

So, let us begin with the main question of the inventory. The main question is that developments in the West German Federal Republic were determined by the restorative forces of armament capital and militarism. This policy aimed at reversing the results of the Second World War, winning supremacy in Europe and subjecting the GDR to the capitalist system and militarism of West Germany. And this policy had to fail because it is in opposition to the vital interests of the European peoples and the real relation of forces in the world.

The failure of the political conception pursued since the founding of the West German separatist state and of the revanchist policy and the reckless armament, the renunciation of the SPD (Social Democratic Party) leadership of an alternative and the spreading of neo-nazi currents have led to a new situation. We did not wish this development. And we would have been very glad if there had not been such a development, but rather such a development which would have been in the interest of peace, democracy and the relation of the two German states to each other. But unfortunately the SPD leadership did not listen to our warn-

ings and our proposals. When will the time finally come that the SPD will understand that our warnings and proposals cannot be ignored if one wants to serve the people?

It is a disgrace that only two decades after the greatest national catastrophe into which fascist German imperialism had plunged Germany and our people a neo-nazi party enters West German parliaments and in addition neo-nazi currents make their open appearance in many spheres.

Where are the causes?

We have always assessed the non-implementation of the Potsdam Agreement by the imperialist western powers and the West German governments as an extremely dangerous state of affairs. The penetration of decisive parts of the West German power apparatus with old nazis and a number of seriously incriminated war criminals in many functions was one of the consequences of the systematic violation of the agreements of Potsdam which demanded the uprooting of militarism and nazism. And now the situation is such that these old nazis and their successors educated by them in the administration of justice, the police, the big trust administrations, the foreign office and many other state authorities protect the neo-nazi party, its sub-organizations and all other neo-nazi trends. I recall that in the Weimar period monarchist judges, Steel Helmet officials and others safeguarded the activities of nazi and other reactionary associations in a similar way.

In the West German press an open discussion has for some time been carried through on the fact that the West German Bundeswehr which was built up and is led by Hitler generals, as is well known, has neo-nazi forces to a great extent in all officer ranks. A summary of all this shows that considerable parts of the executive and other power positions of the West German state are under the strong influence of neo-nazi circles.

Parallels to the Development of Fascism before 1933

Let us recall developments after the First World War. At that time, too, the conservative forces and the Hitler adherents started a nationalist propaganda to undermine the Weimar Republic and impose the guilt for the consequences of the lost war on the democratic forces. Is there any difference between the appearance of the nazi leaders in Munich in 1923 and the nationalist appearance of the leaders of the NPD and the CDU/CSU in Munich in 1966? Is there an essential difference between the daily agitation of the newspapers of the Springer trust and other capitalist opinion factories and the propaganda of the newspapers of the Hugenberg trust at that time? Neo-nazism was produced by the nationalist policy of revenge of the CDU/CSU leadership. To this is

added the effect of the anti-communist propaganda of the ruling classes which has poisoned people's minds for almost half a century.

Furthermore, the immoderate and extensive armament, the high costs of the West German power apparatus and the basic contradictions of West German monopoly capitalism have led to serious appearances of crisis. Attempts have been made to persuade West German workers and working people that monopoly capitalism is free from crises and disturbances. We warned against such illusions. Now ever broader masses are involved in these crisis phenomena. There is no wonder that the fear of existence is now seizing ever broader sections. And everybody knows that the political conception pursued since the founding of the West German Federal Republic has come to nought. This anti-democratic and anti-social policy and military armament induced the ruling circles to ban the Communist Party. And the Adenauer circle succeeded by means of the conspiracy with Wehner to induce the right-wing SPD leaders to renounce a social democratic alternative.

The intensified concentration of capital which is taking place at present, along with the extremely sharpened trade rivalry, is ruining many small and middle capitalists. These circles of the small and middle capitalists and businessmen represent the first economic basis of the neo-nazi movement in its present state. These circles also bore the lion's share of the electoral costs of the NPD in the recent period.

There are indications that a part of the West German monopolies works with three trumps, with the CDU/CSU as the party of finance capital, with the SPD in order to exert pressure on the trade unions and with the nazi NPD to bind large petty bourgeois circles to the ruling system. They reckon that the rigorous shifting of the burdens of an unheard-of costly armament and the revanchist policy as well as the deficit of thousands of millions in the state budget on to the shoulders of the broad masses with the active cooperation of the SPD ministers could give the neo-nazi party a considerable upswing.

It is indeed a serious offence against the West German working people and the entire peace-loving population of West Germany when the SPD ministers now wear out the SPD by supporting the CDU policy and give the neo-nazis new opportunities.

The Neo-nazi Danger—Not Limited to the NPD

It is a mistake and even a great danger not to see that neo-nazism in the West German Federal Republic is not confined to the NPD. There is neo-nazism as well in the CDU and CSU and in the government in Bonn, too. Bonn Minister of the Interior Lücke, for example, recently praised the neo-nazi NPD and its adherents as standing firmly on the ground of democracy. This is understandable, for Lücke is the father of

the emergency constitution which indisputably has a militarist and neo-nazi character. The resemblance even extends to the erection of concentration camps. At the same time that Herr Lücke was strictly rejecting a ban on the neo-nazi party he declared that a cancellation of the illegal ban of the Communist Party is out of the question. In fact the Communist Party is the most active champion in the defence of the democratic rights of the West German Basic Law (constitution). Thus, nobody can allege that the neo-nazi spirit is inherent only in the NPD.

Instead of nominating the chancellor in this situation as the strongest party of the West German Federal Republic and forming a government under the leadership of the SPD, the SPD ministers joined the CDU/CSU government. There is now a government program of the CDU/CSU under the chancellorship of Herr Kiesinger to which the SPD ministers subordinated themselves.

After reading this government declaration nobody can allege that the declarations formerly made by the present SPD ministers found their expression there.

What's it all about? The CDU/CSU has won social democratic ministers for its government in order to rush through quite a number of undemocratic laws directed against the social interests with the necessary two-thirds majority. The intended reform of the electoral laws is especially directed against democratic forces in the West German Federal Republic. This electoral law reform is to secure the rule of the party oligarchy which is allied with state monopoly capitalism and prevent the appearance of an opposition democratic party in parliament. This corresponds to the resolutions of the CDU Congress in the autumn of last year. There the extension of the "formed rule" was demanded as the main task. The SPD ministers are to safeguard this plan with respect to the working class and the working population.

Totalitarian Program to Be Realized with the Help of the SPD

In working on this "formed rule" the CDU/CSU, as I already stressed in my speech on the 20th anniversary of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, is making an effort to extend the direct and totalitarian claims to rule of the big bourgeoisie into a fixed system with the aim of halting the democratic movement of the forces of the people and suppressing it forcibly if need arises. Since the Erhard government was not able to realize this totalitarian program of the CDU/CSU leadership and the Federal Republic isolated itself because of its revanchist policy and the Hallstein doctrine, the social democratic leadership was called in to help enforce this policy.

The next tasks set to the SPD ministers are to help the CDU/CSU in the already agreed upon continued reduction of the democratic stipula-

tions of the Basic Law, the completion of the legal foundations for the planned emergency dictatorship, the introduction of an undemocratic suffrage reform tailored to meet the needs and interests of the CDU/CSU, the shifting of the costs of the reckless armament and expansionist policy and of the crisis in the state budget on to the shoulders of the working masses.

SPD ministers and a former trade union leader, Herr Leber, are to make joint efforts to see that the trade unions are induced to do nothing and exert no special resistance to the planned attacks against democracy and the social possessions of the working class. Thus, the home policy of the new Bonn cabinet is clearly oriented upon a sharp rightist course.

By the way, the new West German head of government expressly confirmed in his government declaration as well as in other expressions that the inclusion of a few SPD ministers in the CDU/CSU government has but a transitional character. He left no doubt about it, either, that in his person the CDU/CSU determines the directives of policy in this new cabinet. His public underlining of the standpoint that he, the CDU federal chancellor, determines the line of policy and makes decisions in the cabinet is characteristic of the position of the SPD ministers in this Bonn government.

So much on the questions of home policy on which I had to say something, for we cannot be indifferent to the life and the fate of the workers, farmers and intellectuals in West Germany. Moreover, this home policy has great effects on relations between the two German states.

What Is the Foreign Policy Program?

The conception of the foreign policy of the Kiesinger government resembles that of the previous CDU/CSU government like one rotten egg resembles another. But there are nuances. A few new formulations are to help the government to lead the West German Federal Republic out of its isolation. But the population of West Germany and the world public expected something new. After the foreign policy of the CDU/CSU and also that of the SPD leaders got into a blind alley, many politicians and politically interested people at home and abroad expected, naturally, that a coalition government would finally proceed from the real situation and have the courage to design a new policy. It was hoped in the western countries that the government in Bonn would decide in favour of a positive attitude on the nonproliferation of nuclear weapons in any form. It was expected that the government in Bonn would change over to a policy of understanding, i. e., that it would make a positive contribution to European security. And everybody had ex-

pected that this government would have the courage to follow a consistent policy of relaxation and understanding between the two German states.

But what does the government declaration say? What kind of a foreign policy program has been submitted by the new government in Bonn?

All expectations of the politicians who wanted to concede good will to the Bonn government have been disappointed. What are the facts? The facts indicate that the new Kiesinger government can only be a transitional cabinet for it did not even make the most elementary desires of the population a part of its government program.

What does the government program say? Herr Kiesinger says that the government wants to relax the situation with regard to the other German state and the other European states. But he does not speak concretely on the real intentions of his government. If his words are not to sound empty it is necessary to set forth the real intentions, that is, to bring about normal state relations through official negotiations between the governments of the two German states and through official negotiations with the governments of the socialist states which belong to the Warsaw Pact system. Obviously Herr Kiesinger considers the tactics of the division of labour to be suitable. The contents of the government declaration are formulated in as general and ambiguous a way as possible, with the exception of the internal economic measures. Afterwards it is the business of the ministers to make the truth on the real policy more precise.

Armament is to be continued. The position of the previous CDU/CSU governments on the question of joint control over atomic weapons in any form was maintained. On Wednesday the NATO formed a so-called nuclear planning group in Paris. In this planning group seven states will be represented as permanent members. West Germany is also among these states. According to the admission of War Minister Schröder this planning group has to examine the question of how the allies and West Germany are to be involved in nuclear planning, including the use of nuclear weapons. Federal Defence Minister Schröder formulated the intentions more precisely in the NATO nuclear planning commission on 14 December. Schröder demanded a stronger involvement in nuclear planning including the use of nuclear weapons and suggested, in the name of his government, "a special influence on the decision on the release of atomic weapons for NATO allies". The Federal Republic strives for greater participation in the nuclear policy of the alliance. Thereupon the British NATO delegate declared that the creation of the NATO nuclear planning group means the end of those solutions which had been discussed under the names of Atlantic Nuclear Force (ANF) or Multilateral Force (MLF) by the NATO at various times.

The Washington–Bonn axis is characterized as being of vital importance for West Germany as well as NATO. But everybody understands that this means writing off the reunification of Germany, for there cannot be a united imperialist Germany which is in addition one-sidedly subordinated to the Washington–Bonn axis.

The government in Bonn, like its predecessors, at the same time works for a stronger cooperation with France. But how does it intend to have closer cooperation with France when at the same time it accepts the policy of the hegemony of the USA in West Europe, when it does not renounce joint control over nuclear weapons, does not recognize the European frontiers and is also not willing to take part in bringing about European security with the same rights as all the other European states? The Kiesinger government is in fact a provisional government which, like its predecessors, will try in vain to square the circle.

Not even the Oder-Neisse frontier is recognized. Nor is the Munich Agreement called invalid from the very outset. It is only declared that the Munich Agreement is invalid *now*. But at the same time the Bonn government makes demands with regard to a so-called duty to protect all resettlers. This so-called protection duty is derived from the Munich Agreement, as is well known.

After thorough examination it turns out that the demand for the frontiers of 1937 remains in existence as a factor endangering European peace and security.

Torpedo Against European Security

The standpoint of Bonn's sole representation pretension is also taken over by the new government. This is a torpedo against the understanding of the two German states as well as against European security. As a technical variation it has been newly added that contacts between authorities of the two German states do not mean recognition of a second German state and that Bonn intends to decide on it from case to case. But Herr Kiesinger certainly understands very well as West German federal chancellor that contacts between authorities are dependent on normal relations between the governments of the two states. In reality such relations are established through regular negotiations in accordance with international law.

The special territory of West Berlin situated in the heart of the German Democratic Republic which legally belongs to the GDR and is temporarily occupied by the western powers is also claimed as part of the West German Federal Republic by the new Bonn government in violation of international law.

The offer to exchange declarations on the renunciation of force which serves to camouflage the revanchist policy against the GDR is repeated

with respect to the socialist states—with the sole exception of the German Democratic Republic. A slight deviation is the readiness professed by Herr Kiesinger—I quote literally—“to involve the unsolved problem of German partition in this offer”. Why does the head of the West German government not express himself clearly? Obviously this hazy formulation serves deception, the evasion of the necessary clear statement of the readiness of the government of the West German Federal Republic to exchange declarations on the renunciation of the use of force with the government of the German Democratic Republic, too, or to renounce the use of force contractually.

The Kiesinger government wants to make arrangements on the sovereign GDR with this manoeuvre not only with other states and even the closest allies of the GDR, it rather wants in this way to have its revanchist sole representation pretension legalized indirectly by other socialist states, of all countries.

The entire program of the new Bonn government—despite a few social democratic ministers—is thus essentially the revanchist and socially reactionary program of the CDU/CSU leadership with regard to home and foreign policy, that means the program of a marked right-wing course.

The pact of the social democratic ministers with Strauss and Kiesinger thus presents itself as the continuation and extension in foreign policy of the revanchist policy directed against peace and European security and, in home policy, as support for the attempt to stabilize state monopoly capitalism, whereby democratic rights are also to be radically restricted with the extension of the formed rule.

The social democratic Minister of Economics Schiller declared that he is in accord with the economic and financial policy of Herr Strauss. But the financial policy of Herr Strauss, which is a directive for social democrat Schiller, contains social restrictions and huge presents for monopoly capital in the form of the abolition of the coupon tax and the granting of favourable investment credits.

There is also unanimity of opinion between the social democratic ministers and the project of the CDU/CSU leadership to rush the emergency legislation through. Minister of the Interior Lücke declared on 14 September that he intends a broad enlightenment action on the emergency laws. He even intends to use the church for this purpose. All this confirms the apprehensions of many West German social democrats that these social democratic ministers decided for the rule of monopoly capital not only in the West German sphere. In addition they strive for a monopoly capitalist greater Germany, that is a united Germany in which the big monopolies exercise actual power together with the neo-nazi-infiltrated Bundeswehr and its Hitler generals. Herr Wehner wants to play the musical accompaniment to it. In view of such a situation it is obviously unnecessary to rack one's brains about what

decorative elements the social democratic ministers contributed to the political platform of the new government of the CDU/CSU.

What Kind of Germany Do the SPD Ministers Want?

I think it can be concluded that the social democratic ministers in the Bonn government have now given a clear reply to the central question which we have repeatedly posed in our letters to the Social Democratic Party of Germany. This question "What kind of Germany do you want?" the social democratic ministers have now answered, and in the sense of the rule of monopoly capital and its militarists over the whole of Germany.

Thereby they have decided on a policy as was practised in the bunker of "Fallex 66". The direct continuation of "Fallex 66" is just this policy of the Bonn coalition. The right-wing social democratic leaders to our deep regret have made a serious fundamental decision.

In West Germany, by the way, it is a well-known fact that the man who was chiefly responsible for the new Bonn government was the representative of the big West German banks, Herr Abs. I must say, this inclusion of SPD ministers in the government of West German monopoly capital to salvage the bankrupt CDU/CSU policy was a very good trick.

He cunningly involved the right-wing SPD leaders and at the same time launched Messrs. Strauss from the CSU and Dr. Schiller from the SPD into key cabinet positions as minister of finance and economics minister as was desired by himself, Krupp and the chemical monopolies. In their zeal to be looked upon as fit to join the government by the big bourgeoisie these SPD leaders made this transaction very easy for Herr Abs.

We regret that the SPD ministers lent themselves in this way to the business of the CDU/CSU leadership as junior partners.

The SPD ministers in the Bonn CDU/CSU government have explained their fatal step as follows: The SPD as the party which has to maintain the state, was obliged to pull the state cart out of the swamp into which it had been directed by the CDU/CSU. Naturally this explanation is by no means convincing. What kind of state cart is this? Without doubt it is the CDU/CSU cart of the formed society of monopoly capital, of the shipwrecked Bonn policy and the emergency dictatorship. Why, the whole German people ask, must the social democratic leaders lend themselves to playing the role of the horse which is to pull this CDU/CSU cart out of the mud?

What Were the Opportunities of the SPD?

The SPD had the possibility of reforming the West German state according to social conceptions. It had the possibility of ensuring a foreign policy which serves European security, of clearing up the financial mismanagement, etc. Already today an SPD federal chancellor could steer the state at the head of an SPD-FDP (Free Democratic Party) coalition. In that case the SPD leadership would have had to have the courage to renounce the unrealistic Bonn sole representation pretension.

On behalf of the Political Bureau of our party, before the government in Bonn was formed, I had declared our readiness, in a letter to the SPD leadership, to reach understanding with a West German SPD-FDP government led by the SPD, and with all those forces in West Germany which are determined to oppose a neo-nazi and social-reactionary development. This letter started out by saying: "We do not want to hide the fact that we are worried by the advance of the neo-nazis for whom the CDU/CSU is paving the way as pace-maker. In view of the experiences which you, Comrade Brandt, and not a few of your party friends, like us, have had with German fascism, we believe we can assume that the struggle against a neo-nazi development in West Germany is in the joint interests of our two parties."

This, our declaration, corresponded to the common interests of the working class, the peace-loving population of the GDR and the working people of West Germany. Both sides are interested in the normalization of relations between the two German states. The present SPD ministers in Bonn, however, preferred to disregard the opportunity to give the West German Federal Republic a social democratic government.

Crisis Can Only Be Overcome by a New Policy

One can look at the matter from whatever side one likes: the solution of the crisis of the CDU/CSU policy seen at long range is not possible by shifting the burden of the mismanagement by the CDU/CSU on to the masses of the people. What was, is and remains necessary, is a new policy of the West German Federal Republic at home and in particular also externally. By maintaining the course of revenge externally and the antidemocratic course at home with a few tactical variants, the attempts to get out of the isolation and the difficulties must fail because of the dishonesty of the plan and the deficiencies of the means. The weak points of the CDU/CSU leadership are so obvious that the social democratic fig leaf is not able to conceal them.

This applies to any West German government which does not realistically acknowledge historical facts. Only by taking up and fostering normal relations with the government of the German Democratic Republic will Bonn find a way out of its blind alley.

The peaceful living alongside each other, and if possible also living with each other, of the two German states is an extremely important element of European security. As it is, nobody can change anything in the fact of the existence of the two German states, which was also once again stressed by Comrade Kosygin, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR, before the world public in Paris. It is therefore essential to assess matters soberly and realistically and to draw the necessary conclusions.

Without the establishment of at least normal relations between the governments of the two German states the settlement of human relations is unthinkable.

The Bonn government—including its social democratic ministers—is now obstinately sticking to the strange thesis that the establishment and development of official and normal, good-neighbourly relations between the two German states, which naturally would have to be based on mutual respect, recognition and equality of rights, would endanger peace in Europe and make reunification impossible.

In reality it is the other way around. The sole representation pretension and the revanchist policy contain in any case dangerous elements of the breach of peace and the threat of the use of force and in addition the negation of a settlement by an agreement which presupposes a peaceful understanding of all participants. But those who even deny the existence of the indispensable partner, who want to place the citizens of the German Democratic Republic under West German jurisdiction, who conduct all sorts of discriminatory measures against the German Democratic Republic and its citizens, just those people endanger peace in Germany and in Europe. For they pursue a policy and aims the realization of which would mean war.

The persistence on the position of the sole representation pretension blocks the peaceful living alongside each other and living together of the two German states and makes impossible every matter-of-fact and valid agreement between the governments of the two German states.

Herr Wehner has now said that Bonn was in a position to revise the policy of non-recognition if the workers' and farmers' power and socialism were liquidated in the German Democratic Republic. Herr Wehner imagines that first socialism will be buried under the sign of capitalist "democracy" and that they will then be ready to recognize a no longer existing socialist government. This is what he calls mutual concessions. He is of the opinion that under these conditions official negotiations between the governments of the two German states would be possible. This also corresponds to the conception of some leading politicians in the USA. Does Herr Wehner really believe that GDR citizens are foolish enough to let themselves be exploited for the high honour of West German big capital?

Nobody Can Escape Realities

Every West German citizen ought to be clear that anyone who strives for a peaceful and orderly living alongside each other and living together of the two German states cannot escape realities. It is inevitable that at first these realities, i. e., the actual and legal existence of two German states must be recognized. After that it ought to be possible in negotiations between the two governments to search for possible ways to solve the currently still unsolved—and in view of the sole representation pretension of the Bonn government—at present also insoluble questions. There is no other way.

As regards the Socialist Unity Party of Germany and the German peace state, the GDR, we maintain our agreement, now as before, to reach understanding with West German social democracy and with all those forces in West Germany which oppose neo-nazi and social reactionary developments and which are courageously supporting the cause of peace, democracy and understanding. We appeal to West German social democracy, the trade unions, the working peasants, West German intellectuals, to youth and women and to the democratic forces of the bourgeoisie and propose reaching understanding on a minimum program of joint interests and on joint actions.

What Could Be the Main Ideas of Such a Minimum Program?

1. The promotion of the conclusion of an international agreement which contains the prohibition of the proliferation of nuclear arms in every form.
2. The promotion of the holding of a security conference of all European states which serves the aim of guaranteeing peace and security for all European peoples and states.
3. The establishment and fostering of normal and correct relations between the governments of the two German states with the aim of ensuring their peaceful living alongside each other and living together on a basis of equality.
4. Agreement on a reduction of the arms budget in the West German Federal Republic and in the German Democratic Republic by 50 per cent.
5. Understanding on the neutrality of the two German states to be guaranteed by the powers. In our opinion this would at the same time be a decisive progress on the road to the peaceful settlement of the German questions.

The reduction of the Bonn arms budget—which amounts currently to more than 20 thousand million marks—by 50 per cent would enable the West German government to make economies in budget expenditures

amounting to some ten thousand million marks a year. This means that the sum which is needed to meet the West German budget deficit could be raised in this way.

We do not want to hide the fact that for the GDR, too, a reduction of defence expenditures would make possible the solution of many a task which has had to be put aside up to now. Such an agreement would therefore be of benefit to the citizens of both German states and in addition a contribution to European security which would be welcomed by the majority of the other peoples and states. This would be a realistic way to solve the political crisis in Bonn which at the same time would serve the cause of peace and finally also the cause of the coexistence of the two German states.

Dear Comrades,

We are of the opinion that these proposals are a good and useful contribution to the "dialogue" which we are continuing without being discouraged by setbacks. At the same time they are a contribution to the cause of peace in Europe.

We are of the opinion that the new escalation of the criminal US aggression against the Vietnamese people by the bombing of the centre of the capital of the sovereign Democratic Republic of Vietnam is also a threat to peace in Europe.

West Germans and in particular West German social democrats and all peace-loving citizens bear a tremendous responsibility. We appeal to the social democratic ministers in the Bonn government to see that the political and material support of the dirty war in Vietnam is stopped.

We appeal to all West Germans: Compel your government to end support for the US war! Protest against the dirty war of the USA against a little peace-loving people! Demand from the government a new, peaceful policy of understanding and guarantees of European security! Put an end to the policy of revenge and the sole representation pretension!

Induce your government to take up normal and matter-of-fact relations with the GDR!

Peace and European security must triumph! And the Germans in both German states must make a big contribution to this aim.

I ask you, West German workers, West German peasants, West German citizens: Must West Germany always take a right-wing course, the dangerous course of the reactionary forces which since 1914 have brought such immense catastrophes upon the German people? When is one finally going to realize in West Germany that the enemy is on the right and when will the correct consequences finally be drawn in West Germany?

(Headings added by the editor.)

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