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

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From the Report of the Political Bureau to the 12th Session of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany

given by Comrade Werner Jarowinsky, candidate member of the Political Bureau and Secretary of the Central Committee

In the period covered by the report, the party did good, fruitful work in carrying out the decisions of the Seventh Party Congress. Under the well-trying leadership of our party there was a significant upsurge, a more dynamic social life, a development of Socialist consciousness among millions of people. Intellectual life continued to unfold, an eagerness to learn gripped large sections of our population.

By creative work, by pioneering and top performances in production, by outstanding works of science and culture, by further progress in education—that is how people in the German Democratic Republic use their right of self-determination, achieve a higher level of civic consciousness and consolidate their political and moral unity.

We can rightly characterize the 20th year of the German Democratic Republic as a period of great initiative and creative work by the whole people for the all-round strengthening of our republic, for the construction of the developed social system of Socialism.

In his important speech on the occasion of the 20th anniversary of the GDR, Comrade Walter Ulbricht comprehensively analyzed the most important results and experiences of our joint successful struggle and drew principled conclusions about the transition of our republic into the third decade.

The Political Bureau addressed a message to the citizens of the German Democratic Republic, thanking them for the good work done in preparation of the 20th anniversary.

During the period covered by the report it was clearly shown that our most important achievement is the transformation in people, is the development of truly Socialist human relations as can be felt and seen everywhere.

Comrade Leonid Brezhnev, General Secretary of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, in his speech at the ceremonies in honour of the 20th anniversary, described the education of the new man as one of the most important results of developments in our republic.

In its report to the 12th session, the Political Bureau can state:

During the period covered by the report it has been possible to achieve greater dynamics in development, an accelerated growth in the whole of social development. The sub-systems of the developed social system of Socialism were further worked out and became more effective in their interrelationships—politically, ideologically, economically, scientifically and culturally.

In close connection with Socialist emulation, it was possible to increase labour productivity considerably. In a large number of factories, the application of the economic system of Socialism was directly connected with overcoming the problems involved in the scientific and technological revolution such as the automation of entire production complexes, thus reaching a new quality in the struggle for higher labour productivity within a short time.

The friendship and cooperation between the people of the German Democratic Republic and the Soviet Union, between the Socialist Unity Party and the CPSU has been expanded and deepened. It increasingly embraces all sides of social development, the unfolding of the economic system of Socialism, the joint development and application of automation systems and modern methods of Socialist management.

The alliance with the Socialist family of nations, the fraternal parties, our bonds with the struggles of the anti-imperialist nation-states and the national liberation movements and with the workers of the capitalist countries were consolidated and deepened.

The international authority of the German Democratic Republic significantly increased.

I. Implementing the Economic System of Socialism During the 1969 Plan

I. On the Results of the 1969 Plan Fulfilment and the Socialist Emulation

In his Survey of the Past and a Glance at the Future on the 20th Anniversary of the German Democratic Republic, Comrade Walter Ulbricht characterized the successful development of our Socialist society.

Economic development is an essential part of this balance. In 1969, the people in the German Democratic Republic produced five times as much as in the first year of our republic's existence. The annual national income now exceeds 100 thousand million marks and has quadrupled since 1949.

The results of the 1969 national economic plan so far reflect the economic growth of our republic. By the end of November 1969 industrial production increased by 8.4 per cent and the national income by 5 per cent compared to the same period last year. Labour productivity rose by 8 per cent.

These figures confirm the correctness of the decisions made at the Seventh Party Congress, the development and application of the economic system of Socialism and of the structural changes introduced.

They unequivocally refute all revisionist prophecies about an alleged necessity to apply market economy theories to Socialist economy.

The initiative of the working class, cooperative farmers, intellectuals and all working strata led, in the emulation in honour of the 20th anniversary, to the most important performances up to now for the further all-sided strengthening of the GDR.

Socialist teamwork and the innovators' movement have an outstanding share in the emulation results. As many as 2.2 million working people work in more than 125,000 Socialist teams. In 1969 more than 600,000 innovators obtained economic benefits with their proposals which for the first time exceeded two thousand million marks.

The performances of young people in the solution of tasks of the scientific and technological revolution were also impressive. In 1969 more than 600,000 young people took part in the "Fair of the Masters of Tomorrow". The emulation movement on eco-

nomizing with raw material brought economic gains of 732 million marks.

In making awards to the best in the Socialist emulation Comrade Walter Ulbricht emphasized that the success of the emulation rests primarily on

- progress in the organization of science;
- the ever better employment of planning and management methods of the economic system;
- the growing social perception, the increasing readiness and the economic abilities of the working people for increasing labour productivity, especially by means of automation.

The new yardsticks and goals for the continuation of the Socialist emulation arise out of this. They consist in

- constantly raising the contribution of the enterprises to the national income by means of laying the scientific groundwork and the development of new engineering techniques, the mechanization and automation of important production processes;
- reaching world standards in the main products;
- exactly maintaining delivery and performance contracts;
- systematically reducing costs, especially the cost of materials, and in
- performing reliable quality work on every job.

On a Few Questions of the Organization of Science and Complex Socialist Automation

During the period covered by the report, the Political Bureau gave precedence to tasks which are decisive for the new long-term plan. In future, economic growth, increase in labour productivity and the national income will be achieved through structural changes, system automation, complex rationalization and the use of science as a productive force.

The Political Bureau made decisions on the organization of science in the chemical industry, carrying out complex automation projects and the work of engineering offices, automation departments and groups for product rationalization.

On the basis of the economic system of Socialism, priority must be given to perfecting the social organization of scientific and technical work so that all conditions necessary for the development of the creative initiative and wealth of ideas by our workers,

scientists and engineers are provided in the struggle for pioneering and top performances.

What is new is the organic combination of the economic system of Socialism with the modern Socialist organization of science and the universal automation of complex systems of production.

Mastering and applying the modern organization of science is a key question for our economy because it is here that basic problems of future development, of a continued high dynamics of growth come together.

In October, the Political Bureau considered proposals made by a working group on basic changes within the field of the Ministry of the Chemical Industry and adopted a decision on the organization of science.

The Political Bureau proceeds from the fact that science is more and more becoming a direct productive force, a main source for increasing labour productivity and the national income. The economic system of Socialism and the scientific and technological revolution demand the comprehensive application of the Marxist-Leninist science of organization, of the Socialist organization of science.

Modern Socialist organization of science is the specific form of applying the Marxist-Leninist science of organization to scientific and technical work.

The main tasks on the road to pioneering and top performances are laid down in concrete form in the decision of the Political Bureau which based itself on the ideas expressed by Comrade Walter Ulbricht in his speech for the 20th anniversary, that research projects should be planned and carried out from the very first step in such a way that a fully automated flow process results.

This guarantees that in future the GDR will be able to achieve high and steadily growing gains through its priority development of structure-determining branches of industry.

Modern Socialist organization of science is described as the key problem for a high rate of development and the introduction of scientific findings in production. There is no doubt that this tempo will considerably increase in the 1970s throughout the world.

The main question which the organization of science must solve now is the organic combination of scientific and technical work with the whole social reproduction process on the basis of the economic system of Socialism. Research and development for pioneering and top performances, for working out engineering techniques and automated production plus the methods of scien-

tific management are to be organized as one complex from the very beginning.

The decision on the organization of science in the chemical industry has general significance for all branches of industry and for continuing the third reform of higher education and the academy reform.

However, we can solve all the problems involved fully successfully only if cooperation with the Soviet Union is increased. After the GDR party and government delegation had visited the USSR in July this year, a higher stage of scientific, technical and economic cooperation was introduced.

Over and above the solution of individual production and research problems, we began to expand cooperation to the complex processes of organizing the economic system of Socialism, to the complex automation of entire production systems and to the development of modern methods of management, particularly in the field of the Socialist organization of science.

The complex automation carried through in honour of the 20th anniversary was a breakthrough to a new quality in the struggle for higher labour productivity.

Most of the automation projects in 1969 resulted in increased labour productivity of 50 per cent and more.

Experience in the enterprises shows that automation is above all a political and ideological task which makes great demands on party work. Excellent results were achieved wherever the factory consistently aimed at world standards, drew all the workers into solving the problems through Socialist emulation, organized team work and applied the Marxist-Leninist science of organization—particularly in operational research—in connection with electronic data processing.

One of the most decisive results of complex Socialist automation is the higher level of planning and management of economic and factory processes that developed. The factory reproduction and management system was reorganized with the help of operational research and the preparation of production was included in the automation process.

Of the many automation projects which set new standards for the application of the economic system, for a comprehensive increase in performance I would mention only the Textile Integrated Works in Cottbus, the Machine Tool Factory in Magdeburg and the Integrated Cable Works in Berlin.

An essential factor for the success of the automation projects

was that many factories and integrated works created their own capacities for producing specific rationalization and automation means such as the Wilhelm Pieck Chemical Fibre Works Schwarza and the Tool Factory in Königsee.

Comrade Walter Ulbricht described it as the dialectics of our automation that it is born of creative work and at the same time helps produce new conditions for creative work.

Basic changes in working and living conditions are linked with complex automation. Its effects go far beyond the job and the enterprise and extend to the family and residential area. Automation not only puts greater demands on scientific and technical knowledge, experiences and abilities of the working people, it also sets new standards for the organization of work itself.

In many enterprises, automation was directly linked with complex work studies and the organization of work. Experience shows that working conditions could be improved and efficiency increased by 20 to 30 per cent.

Experience teaches us that in preparing automation projects, one must also consider measures to develop corresponding Socialist living conditions. Through Socialist automation and increasing qualification, the habits and needs of the people also change.

For this reason, a number of structure-determining enterprises and integrated works have begun creating—together with the local state bodies and the social forces in their area—new possibilities for leisure time, for active relaxation through sports and games and for creative participation in cultural life.

Those enterprises which cannot be automated from central means should thoroughly study the lessons to be learnt from the automation projects. Complex Socialist automation imparts important lessons for complex rationalization and partial automation.

On the Publication of the Book The Political Economy of Socialism and Its Application in the GDR

A substantial contribution of the social sciences of the GDR to the creative application of Marxism-Leninism was made by the book *The Political Economy of Socialism and Its Application in the GDR*.

The book was written in Socialist team work under the direct leadership of the Political Bureau and particularly Comrade Walter Ulbricht.

This book has created further prerequisites for working people

to acquire the theoretical knowledge they need independently and creatively to apply the theories of the political economy of Socialism in organizing the economic system in the GDR and mastering the scientific and technological revolution.

The book has great political and ideological significance which is linked with practical consequences for the solution of economic problems. It helps one to understand the objective requirements such as in complex automation—taking into consideration the system character of the economic laws of Socialism.

It also gives a clear line of argumentation against all forms of revisionism and dogmatism in the field of economic policy.

II. Further Development of the Integrated Socialist Educational System

During the period under review, the Political Bureau dealt thoroughly with the further development of the integrated Socialist educational system. It made a number of fundamental decisions on basic education, vocational training, higher education and the systematic further training of working people.

We have continued the tested practice of our party during the transition to a new stage of social development – based on the new requirements—of giving precedence to training and further training.

The Main Direction of Public Education up to 1980

During the period under review, the Political Bureau and the Council of Ministers adopted

a plan of measures from the Ministry of Education on the further enforcement of the educational law for the period up to 1980,

a proposal to hold the Educational Congress in Berlin from 5 to 7 May 1970 and

the gradual reorganization of the Deutsche Paedagogische Zentralinstitut (German Educational Central Institute) into an Akademie der Paedagogischen Wissenschaften der DDR (Academy of Educational Science of the GDR).

The fact that the Political Bureau has concerned itself with the program for the further enforcement of the integrated Socialist educational system up to 1980 at the present moment, underlines once again the great significance of education for shaping the developed social system of Socialism. The educational system is

the first social sphere for which concrete plans were worked out up to 1980.

The plan from the Ministry of Education is the instrument of planning and management in the hands of the state organs responsible for the educational system. It serves the complex development of the system of education and all its component parts.

The measures are directed at fulfilling the main task of our educational law as laid down in our Socialist Constitution: to guarantee ten years of compulsory schooling for all children. At the moment some 80 per cent of those leaving the 8th grade go on to the 9th and 10th classes. In order to fulfil our program it is necessary to put the new curriculum into practice in all schools in a high quality.

It is essential that the necessary material conditions be provided on a long-term, systematic basis. It is also necessary for the competent state bodies, enterprises and institutions to organize the production of modern teaching and learning aids.

The appeal by the Maxim Gorky Secondary School in Berlin and the initiative of the Ernst Thälmann Integrated Works in Magdeburg and other factories, scientific institutions and social organizations to support schools is the correct road to mobilizing all social forces for the solution of problems in the field of public education.

The content of teachers' training was changed on the basis of the requirements of the integrated Socialist educational system and the third reform of higher education. It is now important to carry out the new study and teaching programs in all training colleges in good quality. The study program and the post-graduate study of teachers, educationists and school officials must become more strongly permeated with Marxist-Leninist ideology. Thorough familiarity with the new findings of their specialized science and the best experiences from practical work must enable teachers to master the higher demands which arise from the new curriculum in their daily work.

Through the envisaged foundation of the new Academy of Educational Science, better prerequisites will be made to carry on scientific work and research systematically, concentrate on the main tasks and develop international cooperation, above all with the Soviet Union.

The Pedagogical Congress must be prepared by new initiatives from teachers, educationists, school officials, educational experts and all social forces. It is important to achieve further progress in all schools and educational institutions and to develop a

creative atmosphere. The Seventh Pedagogical Congress will deal with the higher educational level corresponding to the requirements of the developed social system of Socialism and the scientific and technological revolution in the next decade.

The Seventh Pedagogical Congress aims to make clear the growing responsibility of the whole of society for the education of youth to be good Socialists, citizens and internationalists and worthily to prepare the 100th anniversary of the birth of Lenin in this sense.

On Carrying Out the Third Reform of Higher Education

The Political Bureau discussed the continuation of the third reform of higher education and adopted important decisions to raise the number of natural science and technical college cadres and improve the basic study of Marxism-Leninism.

The most important results of the higher educational reform during the period covered by this report lie in

- the construction of a new type of scientific college for structure-determining branches of the economy,
- qualified training, based on the newly introduced curricula for Marxism-Leninism, for mathematics, the natural and the technical sciences,
- increased number of university students,
- pioneering and top performances in research.

Ten new engineering colleges were opened at the beginning of the 1969–70 academic year where 4,450 students began their studies.

In accordance with a decision by the Secretariat of the Central Committee, a new skeleton program was worked out for basic Marxist-Leninist studies.

At the same time, new curricula were worked out for 17 basic study directions at 68 sections in mathematics and the natural and technical sciences and introduced as from autumn 1969. The curricula are an important step to scientific and productive studies. The experiences gained hereby should be generalized for all educational institutions.

The total number of students at the universities and colleges has increased to more than 122,000, an increase of 30 per cent compared to the year before.

At the beginning of the 1969–70 academic year, 26,800 direct and 7,450 correspondence course students began studying at

colleges and universities. In addition, 2,760 technical school engineers began a four year correspondence course in September at newly organized technical education institutions to qualify as graduate engineers. In accordance with the plan, in 1969 60 per cent more students were accepted in the natural and technical sciences than the year before. Thus, prerequisites were created to train the number of natural science and technical university level cadres planned for 1980 by 1975.

In line with the orientation given by the 10th session of the Central Committee, the research potential of the universities and colleges was concentrated still further and research was done in greater cooperation with industry.

It is and will remain decisive, to direct the content of work at colleges and universities more to the central tasks of society. After contractual relations with industry have been concluded, the formation of sections has taken place and new basic curricula have been worked out, this task is gaining central importance.

In continuing the third reform of higher education, such questions must be solved as arise through the new quality demanded of training and research. This includes the perfection of the curricula, rationalization of studies through application of new learning and teaching methods, and systematic further education of scientists and graduates.

The systematic study of Marxism-Leninism, a thorough knowledge of Marxist-Leninist theory by scientists and students, is of utmost significance.

One of the most outstanding scientific performances during the period of this report was the Third Central Exhibition of Achievements of Students and Young Scientists in Rostock. It showed how the third higher educational reform is being put into practice in all its diversity and it expressed the outstanding work being done by the Socialist youth organization in this process.

The 2,400 scientific and artistic exhibits were chosen from 30,000 works after a big competition. It is significant that students of all subjects concerned themselves with questions of how to apply Marxism-Leninism creatively.

Research-based teaching combined with scientific and productive study are increasingly becoming the main principle of education—as confirmed by the Central Exhibition of Achievements—and lead to remarkable scientific findings with high economic gains.

Thus a team of students and scientists from the Technical

University in Dresden developed simulators to overcome ground water problems, for example, in the brown coal (lignite) industry. They have already brought a gain of 50 million marks. The work for greater economy in building multi-storey flats has brought benefits to the whole economy. Great interest was aroused by the demonstration models of basic logical functions and arithmetic functions from the Engineering College for Precision Engineering in Glashütte, the learning machine developed at the Technical College in Magdeburg and many similar exhibits to rationalize and intensify training.

This initiative developed by students and scientists now demands that an integrated system of research, development, production and application of modern learning and teaching aids be speedily worked out and applied.

Following on from these achievements, the scientists and students of Rostock University made an appeal at the celebration for the 550th anniversary of the existence of their university to continue the Socialist emulation at the institutions of higher education in honour of Lenin and thus make their contribution to the strengthening of the German Democratic Republic.

On the Academy Reform

The academy reform has also been continued successfully. Worth mentioning is the progress made in reorganizing the research potential of the Academy of Sciences and its integration into the social reproduction process.

A significant performance is the collaboration of scientists from the German Academy of Sciences in the intercosmos project of the Soviet Union and other Socialist countries.

In specialized cooperation with Soviet and other scientists, top natural science and technical performances could be made in the field of electronics.

The Political Bureau decision on the organization of science for the GDR's chemical industry is also of great significance for continuing the academy reform. It sets new standards for the German Academy of Sciences.

Essential for the future work of the academy is how it concentrates its research capacity still more on structure-determining projects, collaborates in enterprise-sponsored research in the large-scale research centres and orientates still more on the inter-discipline research of priority tasks of the economy.

On the Systematic and Further Training of the Working People

Experiences made in applying the economic system and in the automation projects show that the forms of training the working people and their further education, particularly in the enterprises, is no longer sufficient.

Using the advantages and driving forces of Socialism means that the people must gain a better understanding of social connections, that they must become capable of running automated production systems and help in planning and management in all its aspects.

Continuous, systematic study is increasingly becoming an objective social necessity.

The Political Bureau confirmed the draft of "Principles for the Training and Further Education of the Working People in Shaping the Developed Social System of Socialism in the GDR", presented by a joint commission of the Council of Ministers and the National Executive of the Confederation of Free German Trade Unions.

The Political Bureau recommended that these principles be discussed in a larger number of enterprises, integrated works and cooperatives.

On the basis of the forecast and long-range plans, an integrated system of training and further education of the people is to be set up which will be closely linked with the Socialist organization of science and whose main support will be the enterprises and integrated works.

The system of training and further education aims to give the people a greater understanding of social connections, make them more capable of mastering modern techniques and technology, complex automated production processes and taking part creatively in the planning and running the state, economy and cultural life.

The system of training and further education ranges from learning at one's place of work, through the educational institutions of the enterprises and integrated works up to the post-graduate arrangements at colleges and the leading academies plus the evening schools and educational events held by the mass organizations.

The system includes:

- the training and further training of workers and foremen, mainly in the enterprises and integrated works;
- the further training of technical and university cadres and the

medium-level managerial staff in the enterprises and integrated works, in the academies of the branches of industry and in agreement with the research associations of the technical colleges and universities;

–the further training of the leading cadres in the institutes for Socialist economic management and the special leadership academies;

–deepening and extending the working people's general knowledge at evening schools and in enterprise establishments;

–imparting and spreading the latest findings of society, science and technology by social organizations;

–qualification of all cadres participating in training and further training.

The managers of integrated works and enterprises are responsible for the further training of the working people. For the political and ideological work of the party and trade unions, the problem is to encourage the desire to learn and to harmonize the striving for education with the needs of society.

III. Further Strengthening the International Positions of the GDR and its Authority in the World

In the field of international relations and the foreign policy of the GDR, good work was done during the period covered by the report in fulfilling party decisions. Success in the international arena plays an important part in the positive balance we were able to draw at the 20th anniversary of our republic's foundation.

1969 became an important year for developing and strengthening the international positions of our Socialist German peace state:

International positions were consolidated and extended. The German Democratic Republic became an active factor in the international arena. The interests of peace and security demand that all countries take up relations of equality on the basis of international law with the German Democratic Republic.

The German Democratic Republic plays a growingly significant role in the struggle to consolidate peace and guarantee European security. Even the governments of capitalist countries must take

into account its political initiative in the struggle for peace and security and its growing international influence.

On the 20th anniversary, the world's conception of the German Democratic Republic as a peace-loving, consolidated and dynamically developing Socialist country became clearer than ever. The superiority of the Socialist system in the German Democratic Republic as compared to the state-monopoly system in West Germany becomes growingly obvious.

These international successes originate from our continuous internal growth, the consolidation of the German Democratic Republic on the road to the developed Socialist system and the close cooperation with the Soviet Union and the other Socialist brother countries, the all-round strengthening of the Socialist community of states within the framework of the Warsaw Treaty and the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance.

GDR Progress in Foreign Policy

The German Democratic Republic took up normal relations in international law with seven countries in the Middle East and Asia. This considerably strengthened the global position of the German Democratic Republic under international law.

Never before in the 20-year history of our workers' and farmers' state has there developed such a huge, world-wide campaign to normalize relations with our republic. In many countries a movement for the normalization of relations with the German Democratic Republic grew up, involving the broadest forces of society, Communists, Social Democrats, trade unionists, Christians, bourgeois politicians, well-known journalists, artists and outstanding intellectuals. The demands made ranged from the establishment and intensification of greater cultural, sport and other links, the development or strengthening of economic, scientific and technical relations on a basis of equality including the conclusion of appropriate agreements and the establishment of suitable representations up to the establishment of normal diplomatic relations.

New societies and committees for friendship with the GDR were formed in twelve countries. National congresses of friends of the German Democratic Republic, conferences, forums and seminars on a national and local level dealing with problems of recognizing the German Democratic Republic took place in eleven countries. As a result, nine national committees were formed to fight for

normal relations with the German Democratic Republic. Parliamentarians of various political colours joined forces in several West European parliaments and in nationally liberated states, to demand diplomatic recognition of the GDR.

In May 1970 the International Standing Committee for Recognition of the German Democratic Republic decided to organize a "European Week for Recognition of the GDR".

Characteristic of the international movement for recognition of the German Democratic Republic is that

- new political and social forces were drawn in;
- in the various countries it is becoming more active, better organized and gaining mass influence and
- it is growing beyond the borders of the individual countries and is becoming international.

This cooperation between organizations of the friends of the German Democratic Republic is expressed by the foundation of the International Committee for the Recognition of the German Democratic Republic in Helsinki, by the "Africa-GDR Friendship" conference and the All-Indian Conference of Friends of the GDR in New Delhi.

The judgements of the foreign delegations who visited the German Democratic Republic for the 20th anniversary, the echoes in the world press and the statements made by people of the most varying opinions in other countries show that to a growing extent the picture of the German Democratic Republic as a consolidated, Socialist, German peace state is penetrating the minds of the people. The unity of the theory and policy of the party and government with social practice, the visible unity of party, state power and the people plus the correct combination of Socialist patriotism and proletarian internationalism was described by most guests and observers as characteristic of the positive development of the German Democratic Republic.

A visible expression of the growing role played by the German Democratic Republic in the international sphere was the fact that statesmen, party leaders and other important public figures from 84 countries took part in the celebrations for the 20th anniversary.

The close alliance between the Marxist-Leninist parties, the people and states of the Socialist countries was demonstrated by the presence of such of their leading representatives as comrades Leonid Brezhnev, Władysław Gomułka, Gustav Husak, János Kádár, Todor Zhivkov, Yumshagin Zedenbal, Pham Van Dong plus outstanding figures from the Rumanian Socialist Republic, the

Korean People's Democratic Republic, the Republic of Cuba and the Socialist Federative Republic of Yugoslavia all of whom transmitted the best wishes of their people for the success of our Socialist undertaking and our common struggle.

Raising the status of GDR foreign representations and the establishment of new foreign representations in the capital of the German Democratic Republic are living witnesses of the growing international prestige of our state.

The governments of the German Democratic Republic and the Republic of Guinea agreed to raise the status of their representations to the rank of consulate-general. The government of the Indian Republic set up a state trade representation in our capital. It was possible to put the existing economic, scientific, technical and other relations in part for the first time on a long-term contractual basis with a whole number of countries.

New Initiatives for Guaranteeing European Security

Guided by the principles and aims of our consistent policy of peace, the Political Bureau paid great attention during this period under review to new measures which could guarantee security on the European continent. It is with satisfaction that we note:

Timely, correct and internationally very effective were the proposals of the Communist and workers' parties in Europe contained in the documents of their Karlovy Vary conference in the spring of 1967 and in the main document of the International Conference of Communist and Workers' Parties in June 1969 in Moscow and the proposals by the countries of the Warsaw Treaty at the session of its Political Consultative Committee in Budapest on 17 March 1969. The conditions for calling an all-European security conference have matured.

That is a first success, thanks to the consistent struggle of the progressive forces in Europe—headed by the community of Socialist countries—for the solution of basic problems of European security in the face of resistance by the aggressive imperialist forces.

True to its responsibility as signatory of the Budapest Appeal, the government of the German Democratic Republic was and is seeking to make an active and constructive contribution to a European conference. This is also reflected in the government's reply to the Finnish memorandum of 6 May 1969 which welcomes

Finland's initiative. The German Democratic Republic reaffirms its full support for a European security conference without preconditions and the opportunity for all European states to take part in its preparation and execution on a basis of equality.

The conference of foreign ministers of the Warsaw Treaty countries in Prague on 30 and 31 October 1969 gave a new and significant impulse. We welcome the joint declaration of the foreign ministers proposing that a European security conference be held in the first six months of 1970 in Helsinki. The proposed agenda of such a first all-European conference is realistic and timely:

1. Guaranteeing European security and renouncing the use of force or threat of force in relations between European states;
2. Extending trade and economic, scientific and technical relations on an equal basis with the aim of developing political collaboration between the European states.

Through the proposals of the Prague foreign ministers' conference and the recommendations on the time and agenda imparted to all European governments, the struggle for a collective European security system received new impetus. The success of this conference would be an important step forward in solving the basic questions of European security. It would become possible to go about settling complicated questions of European security.

By dealing with the question of renunciation of force through an official agreement, the renunciation of wars in Europe would be laid down. This would be of great significance for the consolidation of peace in Europe and would correspond to the policy of security of the Socialist states. We also fully support the proposal to conclude an agreement between the European states on the extension of relations based on equality in the spheres of trade, economy, science and technology which would also be aimed at the development of political collaboration between European countries. Acceptance of such a document at a European security conference would be a good basis for economic, scientific and technical cooperation free of all discrimination and for the recognition of the sovereign equality of all states on our continent.

The struggle for security and peace on our continent also serves the efforts of the Socialist states to have agreements concluded on arms limitation and disarmament. The German Democratic Republic became active in this field, too, during the period under review. At its 14th meeting on 24 September 1969 the People's Chamber of the German Democratic Republic discussed the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons and approved it

unanimously. By having the Treaty ratified by the Chairman of the Council of State, comrade Walter Ulbricht, and by depositing the ratification document in Moscow, the German Democratic Republic has contributed towards the treaty on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons coming into force soon and thereby towards halting the arms race and the conclusion of further measures to limit arms.

The declaration by the central committees of the Communist and workers' parties on the situation in the Middle East is dictated by the same concern for peace and international security.

This declaration is of basic significance for further political and ideological work and for our solidarity campaign for the Arab countries. It points out that the dangerously sharpening tensions in the Middle East are the result of the aggressive policy of warmongering imperialist circles which are driving towards a new military conflict.

The Arab states, which are hit by the Israeli aggression and also the Arab people of Palestine, who are carrying on a just, national, anti-imperialist liberation struggle, are assured of solidarity from the Socialist countries and of all-round support.

All peoples and peace-loving countries are called upon to give the Arab nations effective support in their just struggle.

Activities to Strengthen and Further Consolidate the Socialist Community of States

The acceleration of our efforts for the political, ideological, economic, scientific, technical and military strengthening and the further consolidation of the Socialist community of states was and is the central issue of our party's international activities.

Much attention was paid to further developing and consolidating the Warsaw Treaty and the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance. We were and are of the firm opinion that the all-round consolidation of the alliance between the Socialist countries is a basic prerequisite for success in the struggle against the aggressive policy of imperialism and for a lasting guarantee of European security. Therefore, our party, together with the CPSU and other fraternal parties concentrated on perfecting the military organization and striking force of the defence alliance and on improving the forms of systematic and effective coordination in the international activities of the member-states.

Our party, together with the fraternal parties of the countries of the CMEA was very active in putting into practice the decisions of the extraordinary 23rd CMEA meeting.

During the period covered by the report our party further consolidated the brotherly alliance between the SED and the CPSU, between the GDR and the USSR. The varied forms of collaboration were extended with a higher benefit and the friendship between our people deepened. High standards were set for the fulfilment of these big tasks by the results of the GDR party and government visit to the Soviet Union and the decisions of the 11th session of our Central Committee.

Political consultations between the party and state leadership of the GDR and the USSR were systematically extended. Support for the GDR by the Soviet Union in the international arena was expanded.

Economic, scientific and technical cooperation was substantially developed in accordance with mutual agreements.

Fraternal relations with other members of the Warsaw Treaty and of the CMEA were also further deepened. The latest consultations in the bilateral economic commissions with almost all Socialist countries resulted in the expansion of economic collaboration.

Our party's relations with the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia were further developed and consolidated. The members and candidate members of our party consider the decisions of the September session of the Central Committee of the CPC to be an expression of the successful efforts to consolidate its ranks on a Marxist-Leninist basis. We support the assessment of the events in Czechoslovakia and the lessons drawn from them for the struggle against imperialism and for further union of the communist and workers' parties put forward by comrade Gustav Husak, First Secretary of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, in his speech in Berlin on 6 October 1969. The Central Committee of the SED reaffirms our party's support for the struggle of the Czechoslovak comrades to solve the big and complicated problems before them.

Our party has always considered help and support for the heroic Vietnamese people as a first rank international duty and acted accordingly. The talks between the Vietnamese party and government delegation headed by Comrade Pham Van Dong, member of the Political Bureau of the Party of Labour in Vietnam and Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, and the First Secretary of the Socialist Unity Party, comrade Walter Ulbricht, and other leading representatives of the

party and state, the agreements made during the visit and the many meetings with the population manifest anew the fact that the friendship between our peoples and parties is close and inseparable. Our solidarity with the Vietnamese people and their struggle is deeply felt. We are determined to give the heroic Vietnamese people all possible political, economic and moral support in their struggle against the US aggressors.

In this report we wish again to express all our abhorrence and anger at the war crimes and crimes against humanity which the US barbarians are committing against the Vietnamese people, against its men, women and children. We demand: End the US imperialist crimes in Vietnam and withdraw US troops from this suffering country. We insist on the immediate punishment of all those responsible for or who carried out the massacre of the Vietnamese population.

On the Ideological and Theoretical Work of the SED and Other Fraternal Parties in Evaluating and Implementing the Documents of the International Meeting

Many fraternal parties have discussed and approved the decisions of the International Conference of Communist and Workers' Parties at congresses and conferences or meetings of their central committees in the last few months. In their final statements they confirm the results of the conference and draw conclusions for their own future struggle. Considerable attention was paid to ideological and theoretical work.

There is no doubt whatever that the International Conference created favourable conditions for a new and broad offensive of Marxism-Leninism. The fraternal parties see this as one of their most important tasks.

After the appeal by the Conference for the 100th anniversary of the birth of V. I. Lenin, most of the fraternal parties made decisions preparing for this event.

On the basis of the decisions of the 11th session of the Central Committee, our party began the comprehensive study and systematic evaluation of the material of the International Conference.

The International Conference of Communist and Workers' Parties led to greater theoretical and scientific work in our party.

Contributions to deepening the theoretical knowledge of the International Meeting were the international scientific conferences

held by the CPSU and other fraternal parties, for example, the theoretical conference on problems of the national liberation movements held in Alma Ata.

The international theoretical conference on "Leninism and the Present" was of theoretical and practical importance. It was called by the editorial board of the journal Problems of Peace and Socialism and took place in Prague from 19 to 21 November 1969. Forty Communist and workers' parties took part, including a delegation from the SED headed by Werner Lamberz, Secretary of the Central Committee.

This conference carried particular weight because it was the first theoretical conference after the Moscow Conference and also the first consultation of this kind in preparation for the Lenin anniversary celebrations.

The discussion confirmed the validity of all fundamental Leninist theses as a theoretical and practical basis for the revolutionary working-class movement at the present time. The vast majority of speakers came to grips with left and right-wing opportunist conceptions in a principled way. Particular emphasis was placed on countering nationalist conceptions.

The meeting called by the editorial council of the same journal from 30 October to 3 November in Prague also served to intensify ideological and theoretical work on the basis of Marxism-Leninism. This meeting, attended by a delegation headed by Comrade Hermann Axen, underlined the great significance of collective bodies of the fraternal parties for the propagation of Marxism-Leninism, for working out new problems, for the struggle against bourgeois ideology and opportunism of all shades, for an exchange of opinions and experiences between the parties, for the consolidation and integrity of the world Communist movement on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

Exchange of Delegations and Experiences

The exchange of delegations and experiences between the SED and fraternal parties developed steadily in the period covered by the report. Altogether 51 party delegations visited the German Democratic Republic at the invitation of the Central Committee of the SED in 1969. The SED Central Committee sent 23 delegations.

The exchange of delegations and experiences was particularly intensive with the CPSU. In line with the conception agreed upon,

basic questions of working out and finding practical solutions for new problems of social development in the present stage of constructing Socialism and Communism were the main subjects of exchange.

An expression of our party's and the GDR people's fraternity with the Polish United Workers' Party and the People's Republic of Poland was the presence of comrade Willi Stoph, member of the Political Bureau and Chairman of the Council of Ministers, and Erich Honecker, member of the Political Bureau, at the celebrations for the 25th anniversary of the foundation of the People's Republic of Poland.

Comrade Willi Stoph went to Czechoslovakia for talks on invitation of comrade Oldrich Cernik, chairman of the Czechoslovak government.

A party and government delegation from the GDR headed by comrade Hermann Matern took part in the celebrations of the 25th anniversary of the Slovakian National Uprising in Banska Bystrica. Within the framework of exchanges between our party and the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, a delegation from the SED Central Committee visited Prague under the leadership of comrade Paul Verner.

A highlight of deepening cooperation between the SED and the Bulgarian Communist Party was the visit to the GDR of a party and government delegation from the People's Republic of Bulgaria under the leadership of comrade Todor Zhivkov, First Secretary of the Bulgarian Communist Party and Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Bulgarian People's Republic.

A GDR party and government delegation headed by Political Bureau member comrade Hermann Matern took part in the celebrations to mark the 25th anniversary of the Socialist revolution in Bulgaria. A delegation of the Central Committee of the SED headed by comrade Günter Mittag conducted an extensive exchange of experiences in the People's Republic of Bulgaria on basic problems of the economic system.

A party and government delegation from the GDR under the leadership of comrade Erich Mückenberger went to Hanoi to attend the funeral of comrade Ho Chi Minh, Chairman of the Vietnamese Party of Labour and President of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam.

In comrade Ho Chi Minh the international Communist movement lost one of its outstanding representatives. He played an important role in the Comintern, in the struggle of the Vietnamese people

for freedom and independence against imperialism. Comrade Ho Chi Minh was closely bound with the struggle of the revolutionary German working-class movement and with the GDR. We shall always revere the memory of this great patriot and internationalist.

Delegations of the Central Committee of our party were guests at congresses of other parties including one headed by Political Bureau member Hermann Matern to the 15th Congress of the Communist Party of Chile and a delegation of the Central Committee to the 10th Congress of the Rumanian Communist Party under the leadership of Central Committee member Kurt Tiedke.

A party and government delegation headed by comrade Paul Verner had the opportunity to hold cordial talks with Houari Boumedienne, Chairman of the Revolutionary Council and Kait Ahmed, responsible for the party apparatus and other functionaries of the FNL and the Algerian government on the policies of the two parties. The delegation was able to see for itself the efforts made and the achievements of the Algerian people in the last few years under the FNL in political, economic and cultural fields.

At the invitation of Sekou Toure, President of the Republic of Guinea, and the executive of the Democratic Party, an SED delegation under Political Bureau member comrade Albert Norden visited the Republic of Guinea.

On the invitation of our party, a meeting took place in Berlin on 17 November between a delegation of the SED Central Committee and the delegation of the Executive of the German Communist Party. The delegations exchanged views on important political questions and on the development of relations between the two parties.

The representatives of the two parties underlined the common interest of the working class and all working people in the Federal Republic and the German Democratic Republic in ensuring that a war never again breaks out from German soil. They agreed that the renunciation of nuclear weapons, overcoming the conservative right-wing policy of the CDU/CSU, recognition of all borders as they were laid down after 1945 in Europe—including the border between the two German states—, the recognition of the GDR in international law and the declaration of the invalidity of the Munich Agreement are necessary from the very beginning.

Our delegation paid tribute to the courageous struggle of the Communists in the Federal Republic against right-wing forces,

against great power policy, militarism and neo-nazism, the struggle of all democrats and Socialists in the Federal Republic to overcome the power of big business, for a policy of peace and the democratic renewal of the Federal Republic. The working people in the GDR feel closely linked with the working class and all people in the Federal Republic who are fighting for peace, democracy and social progress.

On 3 and 4 December a meeting of leaders from Socialist countries took place in Moscow, attended by an SED delegation of comrades Willi Stoph, Erich Honecker, Hermann Axen and Otto Winzer headed by Walter Ulbricht.

This meeting was an important step to strengthening the unity and international position of the Socialist community of states. The Political Bureau confirmed the results of this discussion and thanked comrade Walter Ulbricht and the members of the delegation for their work.

IV. On Some Experiences and Results of Party Leadership

During the period covered by the report outstanding achievements were made in all fields of life and our workers' and farmers' state strengthened in an all-round manner under the leadership of the party.

In this period, too, our party convincingly proved that—guided by the theory of Marxism-Leninism and by deliberate, united action—it is capable of revolutionizing social existence and the consciousness of millions of people. It has proved itself an inspirer and organizer of our achievements in all stages of our struggle.

In putting the decisions into practice, it has proved to be correct that the party concentrated still more on the mental development of the people, that it saw all new tasks of social development as an inseparable part of the political, ideological, mental and cultural problems and solved them in comradely cooperation with the people.

Today we can say:

—The leading role and fighting strength of the party were significantly increased in this period, the level of party work raised and the scientific leadership perfected still further.

—The confidence between our party and the working people, its authority among them grew and consolidated. Many tested cadres,

workers, cooperative farmers and scientists have joined the ranks of our party. Since the beginning of this year up to 30 November 1969, 71,550 candidate members—77 per cent of them workers—have been accepted into the party.

—A large group of cadres has developed, people who are loyal to Socialism and have the confidence of the people.

—We have much good experience in political and ideological work. Through it, the degree of consciousness and active, creative work of the whole population in organizing the developed system of Socialism was raised.

The orientation of the party, political and ideological work, a lively intellectual life and a good relationship to the people in the centre of activity, means creating the firm foundations for strengthening the fighting strength of the party.

The solution of complicated tasks of our whole social development places great demands on all party members.

The activities of our party cadres in this spirit is the prerequisite for educating the people to become pioneers and innovators and developing an urge for research, to being impatient with mismanagement, to revolutionary optimism and a feeling of personal responsibility for the whole.

The preparation, management and carrying out of many automation projects gave us important experience. It was shown that it is correct and necessary to apply diverse and differentiated methods of party work, and to perfect still further the scientific leadership and the practical organization of party work.

Under the leadership of the party it became possible to make automation the affair of all workers in a large number of enterprises, make it the affair of large Socialist teams working in accordance with new standards—in close cooperation with the state organs, trade unions and youth organizations.

This could be achieved because the members and candidate members of our party always made the greatest demands and applied the new standards to themselves.

This could be achieved because the aims, tasks and standards of the project were explained and discussed from the beginning. Workers, salaried employees, engineers, technicians, economists and Socialist owners were drawn into every phase of preparation and realization of the automation project.

The working people were involved in planning and management by activating the democratically elected bodies, regular meetings of the production committees, innovators' councils and permanent

production consultations. Reports to and defence of projects before the workers by managers have proved valuable.

The education of the people to engage in conscious action, to have a feeling of responsibility for the whole—for the developed social system of Socialism, for the economy, the enterprise, the work-team—proved a powerful force in carrying out complicated tasks within a short time.

We organized the preparation and realization of the automation projects in unity with the political and ideological work of the party.

The lessons of the automation projects convincingly confirm that automation demands strengthening the leading role of the working class and its Marxist-Leninist party, the qualification of scientific management, political and ideological work, the growing influence of the state. It cannot be carried out by eliminating or decreasing the influence of the working class, its party and the state, or through "de-ideologization" or "self-regulation".

Automation can only be the work of large, Socialist work-teams of the entire personnel. Automation requires Socialist democracy and team work and can never be the sole affair of specialists or "technocrats".

Automation forces one to think in complexes. It requires an inseparable connection between the economic system, education and further qualification, the development of intellectual and cultural life and working and living conditions in accordance with scientific principles of work studies and work organization; automation is definitely not just a technical matter.

It is correct that the party organization in the factories and integrated works is concentrating on increasing the strength of the party when carrying out automation projects. It grew to the extent that an attitude of struggle was worked out in regard to the forecast to world comparisons, and thereby to the automation project. The strength of the party organization grew because it became possible to concentrate all forces on fulfilling this task, continually to generalize the best experiences and uncover backwardness and mediocrity unsparingly.

The ranks of the party were strengthened in this process through acceptance of new members. For example, in the Integrated Rostock Fish Works, 88 candidate members were gained, among them many young people, who were immediately involved in the automation. In the Film Factory in Wolfen 200 working people applied for membership in the party.

In connection with complex automation, the readiness of the workers to qualify also grew. For example, in the Integrated Textile Works in Cottbus, the women workers prepared thoroughly for work with the new technology in accordance with a long-term plan.

The experiences gained in party work and scientific party leadership through the preparation, management, organization and realization of automation projects are of great significance.

A good method proved to be the messages which the Central Committee—guided by the aims laid down at the Seventh Party Congress—sent to the workers, engineers, technicians and scientists in the structure-determining industries, calling for their creative cooperation.

A good method proved to be—particularly at the conferences of industrial branches—that the discussion was held with the most capable cadres, the proposals of the innovators and pacesetters considered and thus the road to pioneering and top performances opened up.

A good method proved to be that the leading cadres were schooled in central seminars and that a lively exchange developed in the press, in meetings of entire enterprises or work-teams or at smaller conferences.

A good method proved to be that the Political Bureau and the Secretariat of the Central Committee, county committees, the Council of Ministers and other state bodies regularly assessed the preparation and stage reached in automation, then generalized and summarized the important, new experiences.

A good method proved to be that the county and district committees concentrated on working with active party groups and helped the branches in the political and ideological preparation of enterprise work-teams.

In the branches of the integrated works and enterprises forms and methods of party work were developed further. Their activity was aimed at:

- raising the leading role and activity of the branches to ensure a unified political and ideological work inside the enterprise and integrated works together with the contractual cooperation partners;
- organizing Socialist team-work, orientating all social forces on completing the projects and informing them regularly;
- approaching the tasks in a complex manner in order to open up all intellectual, creative and material potentials and to guarantee the full co-responsibility of the working people and the individual

responsibility of the leading cadres of the enterprises involved in the project;

—broadening the influence of the party in research and development.

Some of our friends from abroad after visits here, ask: How was it possible to make such progress in social development in a short time as is shown in Socialist automation?

We were able to achieve this success because we began by raising the leading role and responsibility of the party, schooling and preparing the party cadres in accordance with the new requirements. The first thing we did was to provide the prerequisites within the party to solve the new problems.

We achieved success because we combined political and ideological work still more intensively with the tasks in each field of work, concentrated on them and learned to carry them out creatively with new, more effective means.

Our mass media—press, radio, television—have done much to contribute to this political and ideological process of education.

Such public discussions as took place in Neues Deutschland under the slogan "Prepared for the Future" or over the radio under the slogan "Clear Heads—Warm Hearts", have mobilized many of our people. They helped to stamp the new thinking and attitudes of people in our Socialist society. Our German Television did good mass political work with a whole number of plays.

Particularly the TV play by Benito Wogatzki "Die Zeichen der Ersten" (The Sign of the First) depicted the struggles, conflicts and achievements of the revolutionaries of our day in pushing through Socialist rationalization and automation.

In line with the emulation being held for the 100th anniversary of the birth of Lenin and the 25th anniversary of the liberation from fascism, Neues Deutschland opened important discussions on problems of social development in the GDR. The discussion begun by comrade Harder, party group organizer at the Neptun Shipyard, on the Leninist style of work that has great significance for the whole of our party work. This discussion aims to create the fighting atmosphere which will help us to solve the new tasks of the 1970s through the creative and conscious cooperation of all working people.

Within two weeks 1,300 party members and others expressed their opinions on the questions thrown up in Neues Deutschland or the county newspapers.

The new activity of press, radio and TV is expressed by such

important and interesting discussions as "Learning, Teaching and Educating in the Spirit of Lenin" or "Equipped as Citizen for the 1970s".

With the decision of the Secretariat of the Central Committee on measures to raise the effectiveness of party political and ideological work through the use of modern illustrative material, party propaganda has become more varied, differentiated and effective.

Lectures with slides, tape recorded documentations, exhibitions, records and films provide new possibilities for making ideological work in the party more lively and interesting. Marxist-Leninist knowledge and basic questions on organizing the developed Socialist system are imparted with modern illustrative material. Examples are the slide lecture "We and the economic system of Socialism" or "Consciously Mastering the New Life", the illustrative material to study the political economy of Socialism and the economic system of Socialism in industry and agriculture.

Tape recorded documentations give the party organizations good opportunities convincingly to explain the problems discussed at the Moscow Conference of Communist and Workers' Parties.

On the basis of the decision of the Secretariat, conditions were created to improve the scientific, methodological and educational quality of the party's ideological work.

It is now important that the county and district committees use this illustrative material in a differentiated way. This applies particularly to preparations for the 100th anniversary of the birth of Lenin and the 25th anniversary of the German people's liberation from fascism.

We can look back with pride on the successful work for the comprehensive strengthening of our republic done under the leadership of our party at the head of the people during the period covered by the report.

With confidence in victory and optimism we will continue on the road to the developed social system of Socialism pointed out by the Seventh Party Congress on the threshold to the third decade of our republic based on the unity and cohesion of our party tested in struggle.

Problems of the 1970 National Economic Plan of the GDR

From the Speech of Comrade Günter Mittag,
Member of the Political Bureau and Secretary of the
Central Committee of the SED

I. Plan for the Further All-Round Strengthening of the GDR

In implementing the 1970 national economic plan we continue the successful realization of the guiding decisions of our Seventh Party Congress. We tackle the new tasks by further advancing from what has already been achieved and in staunch friendship as well as the closest cooperation with the Soviet Union and the other Socialist countries with which we are fraternally allied. The yardsticks for the new stage of developments in our republic after its 20th anniversary were set forth in the speech of comrade Walter Ulbricht. Please permit me to explain the main tasks contained in the 1970 plan on the basis of these yardsticks and the resulting problems.

In a joint meeting of the Political Bureau and the Council of Ministers on the basic concept of this annual plan we have been guided mainly by the fact that the 1970 plan will effect the further all-round strengthening of the GDR, thus making our contribution in the class conflict with imperialism.

This 1970 plan is a further step on the road of shaping the developed social system of Socialism in the GDR, on the road to

the creative application of Marxism-Leninism by our party. The fact that we are able to set ourselves high tasks in this plan is new proof of the great experience and abilities of the working class of the GDR, of the cooperative farmers and all working strata under the conditions of our Socialist society, in which all our activities are directed at improving the life of man.

Comrade Walter Ulbricht explained at this session of the Central Committee that the scientific and technological revolution is mastered in two ways.

First, by attaining pioneering and top performances and the organically related automation of systems. This requires the concentration of forces on certain highly effective fields important in our policy on the structure of the national economy by means of the Socialist organization of science.

Second, by complex Socialist rationalization, making it possible for all enterprises and industrial combines to lead the struggle for higher labour productivity in the whole social reproduction process according to scientific methods by developing the creativity of the working masses. It comprises the purposeful design of products and arrangement of production techniques and the organization of production, starting with research, and including the employment of new means of organization and mechanization as well as automatic devices.

It was stressed at the joint meeting of the Political Bureau and the Council of Ministers that the material safeguarding of this important objective requires particular attention. The basic direction consists in overcoming the difficulties which arose for the national economy from the effects of last winter and the drought period by greater efforts. The expanded reproduction of the national economy is to be continued on a higher level in spite of these complications whose effects extend into the year 1970. At the same time a continuous development of the living standard of the working people is to be guaranteed.

Measures were taken to safeguard the supply of the national economy and the population by additional imports valued at several hundred million clearing marks. The means required for this purpose must be additionally obtained by good management in 1970.

These are also the reasons why particular demands have to be put on the contents of the 1970 plan. They are demands which emanate from the prognostic knowledge about the main starting points for attaining pioneering and top performances in fields

determining the structure of the national economy, from the tasks which are to guarantee a high effectiveness of the whole national economy—both at present and in the future—and from the task of continuously improving the working and living conditions of the working class and all other working people.

The efforts to fulfil the tasks set by the plan have an extraordinarily great political significance under these conditions. The Council of Ministers was instructed at the joint meeting to further enlarge on the plan tasks of the power and fuel industry, the building industry, of transport, agriculture, and metallurgy as well as questions relating to the living standard from the standpoint of safeguarding the plan and mastering the new problems.

This work was started on by the Council of Ministers. It was possible to clarify part of the problems. But great efforts are necessary immediately and also in the course of the implementation of the plan in order to meet the increased demand for electric power, rolled steel, building material, special plastics and fibres and some other high-quality raw materials. It would be too simple and even incorrect to consider these tasks solely to be problems of open items in plan accounting. The maximum increase in the manufacture of such products and also the raising of transport capacity and the systematic supply of the population with meat and other products require the active cooperation of broad sections of the population in all spheres of society.

The problem is to fulfil and surpass the plan goals in these items and the economic use of raw materials as well as electric power and fuel.

The problem is to exploit all reserves of productivity in the national economy, as, for example, a substantial increase in the production of building materials and all local raw materials for fuel and power supply which are available in the counties.

Although a substantial improvement can be noted with regard to many commodities for the supply of the population, it is a fact that in some fields there exists no satisfactory supply of goods. Children's shoes, children's clothing, certain textiles like underwear, tights and other commodities are for instance lacking.

What are the special characteristics of the 1970 national economic plan?

1. It is intended to increase the labour productivity in the sphere of industry on the basis of self-earned investments by 9.4 per cent and industrial commodity production by 8.5 per cent. Proceeding from the generally positive development of the national economy

in 1969 it is intended to achieve an increase of 6.3 per cent in produced national income.

The development initiated during the past year, particularly in the building industry and important branches of the investment goods industry, created the prerequisites for envisaging a growth in the rate of accumulation from 21 per cent in 1969 to about 23.6 per cent in 1970.

2. By means of the 1970 national economic plan, the economic system of Socialism will be further perfected and made more effective on the basis of the system arrangements for 1969–70 decided upon by the Council of State.

Above all, this is characterized in the 1970 plan by the further concentration of forces on the decisive complexes in the structural policy, on a higher speed in the struggle to increase labour productivity as well as to improve working and living conditions.

The main task is to combine the struggle for pioneering and top performances for products and technologies with complex Socialist automation.

—A large number of automation projects will be carried out under central supervision in order to attain pioneering and top performances in the main fields of scientific and technological as well as economic development.

—In order to speed up the chemicalization of the national economy the investments in the chemical industry are to be increased from 2,600 million marks in 1969 to 3,900 million marks in 1970.

In connection with the development of the chemical industry it is intended to intensify the output and utilization of natural gas from our own resources.

These plan figures show that step by step in conjunction with geological exploration the discovery and output of natural gas is becoming a branch determining the structure of our national economy.

—In order to achieve pioneering and top performances in the field of electrical engineering and electronics and thus to create as a result prerequisites for automation as well as the improvement of working and living conditions efforts are concentrated jointly with the USSR on developing the uniform system of electronics and instrument production (ESEG) and of creating prerequisites for the automation of the technological preparation of production (AUTEVO).

—For the priority solution of the tasks determining the structure of the national economy we shall concentrate the scientific and

technological potential of industry mainly on 12 large-scale research projects and for this purpose we shall establish 16 large-scale research centres up the end of 1970.

The main part of the means planned for research and technology will be employed for this purpose. These means rise by more than 1,000 million marks, from 3,800 million marks to 4,900 million marks.

The share of the means employed for the solution of the decisive tasks in the chemical industry, in electrical engineering and electronics, in processing machine building as well as in the building industry will amount to almost 80 per cent of the total expenditure for science and technology in the sphere of industry. —In order to safeguard the tasks of our structural policy it is necessary, above all, to concentrate investments consistently and purposefully.

Whereas a rate of increase of 12.6 per cent is envisaged for investments in the national economy as a whole, it is to amount to more than 20 per cent in industry including even 40 to 50 per cent for the chemical industry, geology, and electrical engineering and electronics. The solution of the structural policy tasks requires concentrating 70 per cent of the investments within the chemical industry, 76 per cent within electrical engineering and electronics, 62 per cent within processing machine building and vehicle building and 61 per cent within the building industry on these tasks.

In order to carry out these investments high demands are for instance put on the development on light-weight metal construction. It is necessary to build the investment projects according to the latest production techniques and to guarantee that when these new capacities are put into operation they also work according to the latest production techniques.

3. In order to meet these tasks in the process of shaping the developed Socialist society, which serves man, and in order to create the necessary prerequisites for fulfilling the tasks of the future long-term plan, the plan provides for a substantial increase in educational tasks.

— Investments for college and technical training are to almost double, from 200 to 383 million marks. On this basis the quota of matriculations in universities and technical schools can be further increased. In the field of natural sciences and technology the increase will be 19.5 per cent. This proves that the workers' and farmers' power gives young people every opportunity to become highly educated Socialist personalities. No less than 36 per cent

of the young people eligible on account of their age will study at a university or technical school in 1970. This raises a number of new problems, which have to be tackled from the standpoint of qualifying and extending the teaching staff, of accommodating the students, and from the standpoint of the most systematic utilization of all teaching and research capacities. These problems are in part not yet solved and they require the greatest efforts on the part of all party, state and economic bodies.

– This is also very much true for the development of public education, for the consistent fulfilment of the school construction program. Investments are to be increased from 170 million marks in 1969 to 230 million marks in 1970. The solution of these important tasks also requires an exact supervision of their implementation.

Therefore, extraordinary efforts have to be undertaken in the fields of university and technical training as well as in public education, which can only show results by concentrating and coordinating the work of all state and economic bodies.

– At the same time, the systematic further education of all working people is of the greatest significance. In Socialist society it is not only the right and the task of young people to learn. Our Socialist educational system enables all our citizens to learn throughout their lives, to become universally educated Socialist personalities and, at the same time, to open up important potentialities for economic growth. Today, education once gained is no longer sufficient for meeting the growing demands in vocation and society. The developed Socialist society requires a well thought-out system of adult education. The 1970 plan provides for extensive measures serving the systematic further education of the working people in order for them to become politically and vocationally highly qualified citizens—measures meeting the growing educational requirements of our Socialist life. The Socialist enterprises and industrial combines have a particular responsibility for consistently implementing both the decision on the principles of vocational training and the decision on the systematic further education of the working people.

4. The 1970 plan is to continue the process of systematic improvement of the working and living conditions of the working people. Further steps are to be taken with regard to organizing life with particular consideration to developments in the specific regions. It is intended that, in accordance with the concentration provided in the plan this development takes place particularly in the centres

where industry is concentrated. These problems of working and living conditions require measures for better services in the field of culture, sports, recreation and supply. They are to be organized according to modern scientific aspects.

– Following up the high level already attained in 1969, the part of the national income employed for consumption will be increased by a further 3.8 per cent, the amount being about 3,000 million marks more. Sales of commodities are to increase by 2,300 million marks, which is equivalent to 3.8 per cent. However, we have to point out that a number of enterprises have not yet safeguarded supplies in accordance with requirements in assortment and quality. Measures are being taken at present to obtain an improvement in supplies in some important fields. However, great efforts will still be necessary in 1970 in order to be able to meet the requirements of the population better, particularly in high quality durable goods, in textiles, children's clothing and other products.

– The plan tasks of agriculture and the foodstuffs industry aim at safeguarding a stable supply of foodstuffs for the population. The particular task is a sufficient supply of vegetables, fruit and potatoes, and in proper assortment. Alone on account of the extensive deficits in agriculture in 1969, which were caused by the long winter and the drought, additional imports of grain, potatoes, etc., will be necessary in 1970 amounting to approximately 350 million clearing marks. These are more than 10 per cent of total imports from capitalist countries.

– However, the living conditions will not only improve in the field of supply of the population and the tasks of the educational system I already mentioned, but also in various other fields of social life.

The further uninterrupted construction of important city centres is proof of this. As a result of the construction of new buildings and the reconstruction of existing buildings 77,000 flats are to be handed over to the population in 1970. In this connection it has to be stressed that the partly unsolved problem of the provision of sufficient bath-tubs, water heaters and convectors must be solved, in order to guarantee that the flats are handed over on schedule. The same is true of the number of places in kindergartens and crèches called for in the plan. They are to be increased by some 48,000 in 1970.

The implementation of the measures in the field of culture, sports, the health and recreation system which are to serve the

establishment of a system safeguarding the health of the working people as mentioned in the speech of comrade Walter Ulbricht will meet particular attention.

In this connection attention is drawn to the further development of the holiday service and the recreation system by means of a step-by-step construction of complete recreation complexes. Thus, among others, an example will be created in Oberhof. The whole organization, arrangement and equipment in the recreational centres, which are to serve both the inhabitants in the local area and also holidaymakers from other parts of the country, must be adapted to the new working conditions.

Art and culture will make an active contribution to shaping the developed social system of Socialism. The task consists in shaping the Socialist image of man convincingly and in all its variety, in promoting the rise and maturity of the new Socialist relations and in making a worthy contribution to the development of the Socialist national culture.

All these measures for developing Socialist living conditions aim at integrating all-round education, physical culture and sports activities, active recreation, healthful nutrition, as well as prophylactic and medical care. The substantial means envisaged are to be concentrated above all on the further improvement of working and living conditions in the industrial centres.

The 1970 National Economic Plan sets high targets in every respect, that is, for our national economy as a whole.

– It demands a substantial growth in labour productivity and the national income, above all, by means of complex Socialist automation and rationalization.

– It aims at attaining pioneering and top performances in the fields determining the structure of our national economy and at laying the scientific and technical as well as educational groundwork for safeguarding its future effectiveness.

– Based on these growth factors, it contains the measures for a gradual development of such working and living conditions for the working people which correspond to the developed social system of Socialism.

– Therefore, it is a national economic plan which is in conformity with the interests of the citizens of our GDR. It corresponds to the implementation of the decision of the Seventh Party Congress.

In this sense the plan creates new objective conditions for shaping the social system of Socialism, for developing intellectual life and for promoting Socialist consciousness.

As a result of the further concentration of production, its direct link with science and the integrated processes of implementing the plan, there arise still closer interrelations between the working class and the intelligentsia. At the same time, therefore, there is a growth in the responsibility of the working class and our party to see that an ever increasing number of working people recognize and solve their tasks in fulfilling the plan on their own initiative, on the basis of their Marxist-Leninist knowledge. The social role of the working class as educator grows so that the scientific and technological as well as economic demands contained in the plan are put into practice with a high ideological maturity and expert ability, as well as by means of a militant struggle with outdated ways of thinking and working methods. The task is to ensure that the ideas and proposals of all industrial and office workers, cooperative farmers and scientists about the fulfilment of the plan are utilized.

In this respect our party acts according to the teaching of Engels that everything which sets people in action must first pass through their minds. It is our task to take care in our politico-ideological work that, above all, all leading officials always take this elementary truth into consideration and make Socialist joint work with the working people their own cause. The factory meeting are a suitable occasion to discuss the tasks of the 1970 plan and the ways and means to their solution. Under Socialist conditions it cannot be permitted that some managers only occupy themselves with material or financial problems or only consider the technical aspect of automation and neglect the problems of the people.

Therefore, we want to stress that behind each figure in the plan, behind the goals of national economic development are always the working people, their political, material, cultural and intellectual interests.

The significant achievements of the working people on the occasion of the 20th anniversary of the GDR have again confirmed the confidence and certainty that high and realistic plan targets can also be set for 1970. We place confidence against confidence, because this has helped us to make successful progress in Socialist joint work and because we thus also best guarantee the high tempo of the development of our national economy and the further improvement in working and living conditions in 1970.

It now depends decisively on the scientific direction by the party, state and economic bodies, the committees of the Con-

federation of Free German Trade Unions (FDGB) to mobilize all working people on the basis of this conformity of interests for a proper start of the plan and a continuous fulfilment of the tasks, for high achievements in Socialist emulation in honour of the 100th anniversary of the birth of Vladimir Ilyich Lenin as Comrade Walter Ulbricht comprehensively established in his speech.

II. By Means of a Socialist Organization of Science to Pioneering and Top Performances

The national economic plan for the coming year (1970) will start up a breakthrough to pioneering and top performances in decisive fields on the basis of a clear conception. Managing the economy in a Socialist manner in the spirit of Lenin—requires in the first instant ideological clarity.

Therefore, it will be the task of political leadership in implementing the 1970 national economic plan to show constructive solutions for working according to the new yardsticks.

The 1970 plan is arranged in such a way on the basis of the decisions of the Political Bureau on the modern Socialist organization of science that it requires, already from its contents, the taking of new roads towards its realization and the overcoming of hampering views and practices making progress. The demands on the projects of large-scale Socialist research are also derived from the task of making a breakthrough to pioneering and top performances as well as their connection with the automation of systems. (For an explanation of system automation see the speech by Walter Ulbricht.—Translator.) These twelve large-scale research projects of our national economy are connected with the establishments of 16 large-scale research centres of important industrial combines in 1970.

The economic effectiveness of scientific and technological work is largely determined by the fact that these large-scale research centres are given such tasks and targets for the large-scale research projects which they are to work on which give us the best possible guarantee for achieving pioneering and top performances by the scheduled dates.

The comrades in the Ministry of Electrical Engineering and Electronics have tackled the elaboration of the tasks for the

uniform system of electronics and instrument manufacture with this sense of responsibility.

They involved the most experienced scientists in the work. On the basis of forecasts and a clear goal for the national economy the ideas and creative imagination of scientists, engineers and technologists were utilized on this basis for an exact determination of scientific and technological tasks oriented on high performances.

We expect all other ministries to work in the same manner and overcome the existing lack of clarity about the scientific and technological objectives for some large-scale research projects as well as about the application of the Socialist organization of science for the establishment of large-scale research centres within a short period of time.

In connection with the preparation of the 1970 national economic plan we have checked the working methods of the large-scale research centres of the industrial combines of VEB Leuna-Werke "Walter Ulbricht", VEB Carl Zeiss Jena, VEB Robotron, VEB Erdölverarbeitungswerk Schwedt and others.

What are the principle results of these inspections?

In most of the inspected industrial combines and their large-scale research centres there is not sufficient clarity on how the principles of Socialist organization of science should be applied so that intellectual and creative work is organized in the most rational and effective manner.

These results show a serious neglect in the work of the Ministry of Science and Technology.

It is necessary to issue a directive for the solution of such important and complicated tasks, as was the case on the part of the Political Bureau and the Council of Ministers with regard, for instance, to the tasks of the offices of consultant engineers in the associations of nationally-owned enterprises, the automation departments, and automation enterprises as well as the groups of engineer-economists for the rationalization of the manufacture of specific products in enterprises and industrial combines.

Such a directive makes it possible to generalize the best experience and guarantees joint action by all ministries, enterprises and industrial combines in realizing the respective tasks.

The elaboration of such a directive for the establishment of the large-scale research centres, and also for other important tasks within the framework of the application of the Socialist organization of science, as, for instance, the formation and management

of large-scale research associations, would have been the task of the Ministry of Science and Technology.

According to the decision on the Socialist organization of science, the Minister of the Chemical Industry is fully responsible for strictly directing the scientific and technological work in his sphere with precise instructions and state directions. This requires ensuring just as consistently that the general managers of the industrial combines fully meet their personal responsibility for directing scientific and technological work within the framework of the reproduction process of the industrial combine and create such working conditions and prerequisites in organizing Socialist large-scale research which are absolutely necessary for highly efficient, creative scientific and technological work.

New standards have been set by the decision about the organization of science in the chemical industry and new roads have been shown in the struggle for pioneering and top performances. They already determine to a high degree the content of the 1970 plan. The principles contained in this decision are of general validity for our national economy. They are not just special problems of the chemical industry, it is a question of the application of the Marxist-Leninist science of organization to a certain sphere of the social reproduction process.

On this basis the Council of Ministers has already taken decisions in order to work out the organization of science in selected, decisive spheres in accordance with the basic findings of the decision of the Political Bureau on the organization of science in the chemical industry.

The relevant ministers are responsible for the preparation of these basic documents. Their elaboration is taking place at present. This is of decisive significance for guaranteeing that we can start with the implementation of the 1970 plan according to the required new quality and thus create good prerequisites for the 1971-75 long-term plan.

In this connection we want to draw the attention of all party organizations on intensifying political and ideological work for the implementation of the decisions of the party and government and of directing it on to the development of high party and state discipline.

The higher demands on the political and technical qualification of the leading officials on all levels can also be derived from this task.

What characterizes the new situation and, accordingly, on

which problems must the qualification of leading officials be concentrated?

—The new situation is characterized by the constant application of operational research, starting with the system prognosis, the elaboration of the principles of accounting and the presentation of the uniform system in a model up to system automation.

—The new situation consists in linking research and automation from the first step and in the resulting inclusion of system automation in the modern Socialist organization of science.

—The new situation consists in the working out of the uniform system as the basis for the organization of science.

—The new situation consists further in the application of operational research and systematic heuristics for the more rational arrangement of intellectual and creative work.

What are the basic lessons and conclusions arising out of the results of the inspections carried out in the large-scale research centres of the combines?

In the establishment of large-scale research centres within the framework of the development of large-scale Socialist research the central problem consists in the exact determination of the scientific and technical objectives derived from national economic requirements for obtaining pioneering and top performances in structure-determining fields. Only with the clarification and decision about such objectives are the prerequisites given for determining the concentration of forces and means necessary for adhering to the objectives derived from the forecast.

In other words, the capacity, the internal structure, the organization of research and the material and technical equipment are dependent on the scientific and technological objectives and the time intervals for obtaining top performances.

It is necessary to establish clarity on how the large-scale research centres are to be arranged from the point of view of substance, structure, materially and technically so that they fully correspond to the dynamics of the scientific and technological revolution with regard to the development of the Socialist organization of science and research technology and so that the highest rationality and productivity of intellectual and creative work is guaranteed not only today but also in the coming years.

In his speech Comrade Walter Ulbricht therefore especially emphasized the employment of systematic heuristics. With its employment it is possible to scientifically penetrate the creative

process of research work proper and organize it in the most rational way.

Working groups for the development and application of systematic heuristics are to be formed in a short period in the large-scale research centres of the integrated works VEB Erdölverarbeitungswerk Schwedt, VEB Leuna-Werke "Walter Ulbricht", VEB Robotron and the VEB Werkzeugmaschinenkombinat "Fritz Heckert" in Karl Marx Stadt, and their results and experiences made available to other scientific and technical establishments.

The following demands arise out of all this:

First, it is necessary for the Ministry of Science and Technology with a group of experienced scientific organizers from research and practice to work out a directive for the construction of large-scale research centres. This directive must contain the principles and models for the scientific and organizational arrangement and the material and technical equipment which serve as the foundation for the construction of large-scale research centres. In the same way a directive on the formation, construction and mode of work of large-scale research association should be worked out and submitted to the Council of Ministers for confirmation.

Secondly, it is necessary for the ministers competent for sections of industry to work out clear national economic objectives in connection with the preparation of the 1970 national economic plan for the large-scale research centres under their responsibility and to defend the scientific and technological tasks derived therefrom before the Minister of Science and Technology with the inclusion of members of the Research Council.

Thirdly, the ministers of the sections of industry, the Minister of Science and Technology and the Ministry of Higher Education are to ensure that the construction of large-scale research centres corresponds to the confirmed conceptions by making available the required college and technical school cadres and by the appropriate material and technical equipment in accordance with the tasks fixed in the plan.

All that requires a thorough preparation by the responsible bodies. It is envisaged that the Presidium of the Council of Ministers will pass a comprehensive decision on this complex of tasks in mid-January.

Socialist Complex Automation—With the People, For the People

A central problem is the organic connection of the struggle for pioneering and top performances in products and production techniques with automation. With the modern Socialist organization of science it is precisely a question of conceiving and carrying out research projects for material production in such a way right from the first step that general fully automated flow process lines are the result.

This must be the determining aspect for how, with the 1970 plan, we set the tasks for pioneering and top performances in inseparable connection with automation as a uniform complex and organize its implementation.

With the automation projects contained in the 1970 plan we continue the road begun in 1969 on a higher level of purposefully carrying through economically important automation projects under central state and party control. From the very beginning the Secretariat of the Central Committee gave the orientation to carry through these automation projects as a political task.

Comrade Erich Honecker pointed this out in the discussion with the first secretaries of the county committees. This political approach was also decisive for the successes obtained. At the same time it has proved correct that automation should not be posed globally and generally as a task, but it should be organized on the basis of concrete objects. This also includes employing the financial means fixed in the plan, including clearing marks for imports based on the object and not using them for other purposes. The necessary control measures in this direction were also fixed by the banks, also with regard to credit.

These tasks decisive for the increase in labour productivity on the national economic level must largely determine the content of the structural policy and central state planning.

With its solution an important step on the road of the struggle for high labour productivity is undoubtedly taken. At the same time—and therein lies an essential feature of our Socialist social system—the questions of working and living conditions are included in the plans for automation projects from the very outset and solved in the process of implementing them.

We consciously speak of Socialist complex automation. Just the Socialist ways and means of this process of mastering the scientific and technological revolution includes not considering it primarily a technical and organizational problem but an

inseparable unity of the development of Socialist ideology and democracy, economy, technology and the entirety of the working and living conditions of the working people. This involves taking social changes into consideration from the very beginning, to pay attention that the entire life rhythm of people considerably changes through automation, that new conditions come into existence for their participation in planning and management, political and technical further training, social work in the enterprise and residential district, the arrangement of family life and the education of children. The establishment of new automated production centres creates many problems of supply, transport, the material conditions for culture, sports and recreation as well as the provision of the necessary housing.

It is one of the great advantages of Socialist planned economy that we are in a position deliberately to allow for these connections as a part of the plan.

We proceed in this from the idea that, for example, the meaningful organization of leisure time through recreation, Marxist-Leninist and special technical further training, through cultural and sports activities raises the intellectual and cultural level and the creative abilities of people, that—as Karl Marx formulated it—leisure time is used for the full development of the individual, "which itself again reacts as the greatest productive force on the productive force of labour".¹

It is clear to us that this set of tasks contained in Comrade Walter Ulbricht's speech is implemented step by step, according to focal points, but that with the 1970 plan it must be started on in important fields. If that is not possible in all fields at the same time it is nevertheless decisive for all fields even today to exhibit this basic attitude and not allow ourselves to be guided by departmental considerations, that we proceed from the entire process of the developed social system of Socialism.

This concentration of forces corresponds to the requirements of the economic laws. But to carry it out with the highest degree of efficiency requires winning the people for these new tasks. Therefore, in the preparation and implementation of the tasks of Socialist complex automation it is important to carry out political and ideological work in such a way that we win not only the pace-setters for it, but the entire team. Thus it is a question of solving these tasks with the people and making it evident to them

¹ Karl Marx, *Grundrisse der Kritik der politischen Ökonomie*, Dietz Verlag, 1953, p. 89.

at the same time that all efforts are in the final analysis made for the people, for their happy life under Socialism.

Particularly the timely attention to all system connections linked with a concentration on specific significant projects, especially those concerning the territory, increasingly determine the result.

These questions must be solved with the same purposefulness, must be subject to the same strict management as the implementation of the production targets themselves. It is therefore not enough just to work out the network plan for the automation project.

It is now necessary to prepare an entire network plan which also includes important territorial questions, that is, the totality of the people's living conditions which are linked with the erection of such fundamental projects. Contract managers are to be employed for the individual objects. That has proven to be good practice. To guarantee the system connections it is necessary to employ a general contractor for the management of the entire complex, who works according to the network plan.

One third of all automation projects envisages for 1970 an increase in labour productivity of more than 100 per cent in comparison with 1969. They are the foundation for a high rate of growth in labour productivity as a whole.

All these and the further projects decided upon by the Political Bureau in connection with the document on the organization of science in the chemical industry rest on a qualitatively higher stage of chemical engineering.

They proceed from the elaboration of the calculations based on specific materials and chemical engineering and the resulting mathematical modelling of the process, that is, the employment of operational research. The required experiments are as a rule carried out as large experiments with the aid of pilot installations which are themselves fully automated and controlled by process computers. These pilot installations at the same time also serve as teaching and training installations. On this basis the optimum results and the findings about the laws inherent to the process are applied to the large installation which is to be reconstructed or newly built.

The application must especially be distinguished by the fact that the tasks for operational research are derived from the tasks to be solved in order to obtain pioneering and top performances. Operational research will increasingly orient on the optimization of future reproduction processes in place of the optimization of already operating production processes. Of great importance is

the use of operational research already during forecast work, especially from the point of view of working out system forecasts. The elaboration of uniform systems is also quite naturally an object for the use of operational research, without which it is not conceivable.

That is also the way,—corresponding to the proposals submitted by Professor Thiessen—to arrive at qualitatively new perceptions and information about products and processes by linking research, mathematical modelling and the implementation of automated processes in the shortest time, and to work with the highest productivity.

It is rightly pointed out that most of our installations are characterized by the utilization of large quantities of steel, a high expenditure of energy, a low degree of applied arithmetics and automatic operation and low labour productivity. Comparisons with world standards show in contrast that the most modern production installations of the international chemical industry (including Soviet production installations for nuclear engineering, missile fuels and the like) are characterized by the use of little steel, by a high degree of efficiency of the energy employed, a great deal of applied arithmetics, a very high degree of control and counter-control technology with a totally higher labour productivity.

The way we are now solving these problems with the 1970 plan in the Fritz Heckert Combine, the Ruhla combine and in other enterprises by consistent concentration is therefore of great economic importance for the entire growth of our national income.

The Concentration of Forces and Means Demand Higher Efficiency

We are quite openly arguing against the views of people who believe we could make better progress with an "equal" distribution of forces and means, who assume that everything is normal and proportional only when the same rate of growth is possible in their enterprise every year, especially with regard to investments.

It is precisely a decisive advantage of the 1970 plan that proportionality today and in the future are guaranteed in it by way of a higher dynamics through concentration. Marxist-Leninist theory and also practice in 1969 show that the concentration on focal points and their complex solution leads to greater successes.

The main share of the growth in labour productivity arises precisely out of the concentrated carrying out of automation projects. Only in that way was it possible to envisage a high rate of accumulation.

It is of course clear that the concentration of means and forces is linked with serious consequences—they create the obligation of higher effectiveness!

Society consciously orients itself on opening up the sources of future effectiveness with automation projects, and employs considerable means for this purpose. Our people therefore rightly expect that here work will be done most exemplarily.

Particularly where society concentrates its forces and means, work must be done with special political clarity and foresight, with the highest sense of responsibility and with the concrete goal of obtaining pioneering and top performances.

That is primarily true of the chemical industry which receives a main share of the increase in the accumulation of the national economy, but also of the other enterprises and branches on which resources are concentrated. That means and requires that these projects be prepared and carried out with the greatest intensity.

The first question must be: How are the means obtained, that is, what is expended, what annual savings are obtained and when will the investments be paid back? Some projects at present still show a return payment period of more than ten years, for example, the semi-conductor works in Frankfurt-on-Oder, the radio works in Erfurt or the Rüdersdorf cement works.

These projects cannot be confirmed with such an economic objective, since it can be seen from international developments that, for example, the prices of electronic modules will decrease in the coming years.

It is therefore necessary to aim right from the planning stage at obtaining the highest gains with the lowest expenditure. The yardstick must be the highest world standard in technology and economics. For this the most modern building technologies, the most productive processing techniques and the shortest realization times are to be envisaged from the very outset.

Our Socialist society sets itself bold projects with the automation schemes. Their realization will not be easy. But just for that reason it is necessary to employ daring and experienced cadres, the best people, for the preparation and realization of these projects, people who master these tasks directed at the future with their abilities and with Socialist spirit.

That also, above all, requires that the party organizations in the

ministries, associations of nationally-owned enterprises, integrated works and enterprises, and especially those in the automation projects, concentrate in their political and ideological leadership on the realization of projects according to plan and on schedule.

Already at the 11th Session of the Central Committee Comrade Walter Ulbricht showed how urgently necessary it is to create a system of automated preparation of production.

Tens of thousands of designers, technologists, process engineers and other highly qualified people are occupied in our national economy with tasks serving the preparation of the production process in the enterprises and integrated works. During a large part of their working time (some 80 to 90 per cent) they are busy with carrying out repetitive and therefore formalizeable mental processes, that is, to put it crudely, with routine work. With the AUTEVO system we are employing the lever to automate the formalizeable part of mental work.

With this, completely new conditions for the development of the creative work of people come into existence, especially in the preparation of production—namely, in the phase in which in the final analysis important decisions are made about labour productivity and the costs of future production processes.

The creation of a uniform system of automated production preparation thus serves to develop from the very outset fully automated and optimized processes and complete installations for the manufacture of final products by means of the consistent utilization of modern mathematical methods and electronic data processing in chemical, chemical engineering and technological development and in design and construction.

We can state that the overwhelming part of automation projects oriented on pioneering and top performances contained in the 1970 plan are based on the uniform systems being established. These systems represent a practical application of the Marxist-Leninist science of organization in decisive fields of the social reproduction process. They rest on forecasts concerning the development of complex product systems and their functions in satisfying national economic needs.

This kind of automation, namely system automation, is, under the conditions of the social system of Socialism, the method by which the working class in close alliance with the intelligentsia consciously and systematically masters the new stage in the development of the productive forces. It is the work of the creative labour of people in the economic system of Socialism. Its im-

plementation at the same time creates new possibilities for the further unfolding of the creative character of labour.

Further successes in the road taken of implementing the economic system as the heart of the developed social system of Socialism presuppose that the decisive processes are purposefully directed by the party and strictly organized by central state planning and management, that above all the potentialities of Socialist society are brought to full effectiveness through the development of the people's initiative and the responsibility of the enterprises and integrated works for the implementation of these processes is consistently realized on the basis of the plan.

A modern Socialist organization of science—that is shown by the first information from the chemical industry—is of great importance for a new upsurge in the creative initiative of the workers, engineers, chemists and scientists.

The reactions, especially of young workers and scientists, clearly show that this decision, so to say, hit the right nail on the head. The road has been opened for the solution of the basic new questions which have matured.

All this has a big principled political significance. On the road to the breakthrough to pioneering and top performances and automation we are creating new foundations for increasing labour productivity. With the decision on the organization of science in the chemical industry and with the application of its principles to other decisive spheres of the social reproduction process it is again demonstrated that the working class under the leadership of its party is in a position to master the most complicated processes of the scientific and technological revolution. It is in this position because, under the leadership of the party, in carrying out the decisions of the Seventh Party Congress, it relies consistently and unswervingly on the utilization of the advantages and driving forces of our Socialist social order. We advanced successfully on this road in the past years and we are adopting all measures in this direction for 1970.

This includes purposefully carrying out scientific, technical and economic collaboration with the Soviet Union in accordance with the decisions of the 11th session of the Central Committee.

The Systematic Development and Deepening of Scientific, Technical and Economic Collaboration with the Soviet Union

The agreement reached in negotiations by the party and government delegations of the GDR and the USSR last summer on the deepening of bilateral collaboration in research and development in the construction of new production systems and working out national economic managerial and information systems will be implemented in practice in 1970 step by step with concrete objects.

During the 20th anniversary the consistent implementation of this line was again specifically confirmed between Comrades Leonid Ilyich Brezhnev and Walter Ulbricht. Also in further talks between representatives of our two parties and states it was again emphasized that we intended to deal with decisive problems of social development, the elaboration and direction of new processes in science, technology, production and Socialist economic management together.

We therefore very much welcome the principled readiness of the CPSU and the government of the USSR to unite intellectual and material potentialities with us in order to advance more quickly together.

We also consider this road of the systematic development and deepening of collaboration with the Soviet Union to be an important contribution to the deepening of the Socialist integration of the countries of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance.

Naturally this readiness also obligates us to concentrate our knowledge and abilities, the skill of the scientists, experts and state officials on those facts which are decisive for scientific, technical and economic collaboration with the Soviet Union. The formation of efficient integrated works and large-scale research centres and the concentration of cadres and resources on structure-determining tasks are considered by us to be an important prerequisite for this.

It is our aim to make possible the joint elaboration of system solutions in the scientific sphere, in the science of organization and Socialist economic management with the best proposals and solutions for obtaining pioneering and top performances and a highly efficient potential in research and production.

A new important step will thus be taken in the Socialist organization of science with the 1970 plan. It is at the same time

an important step in implementing the economic system of Socialism as a whole.

It is at the same time a further step in collaboration between the GDR and the USSR on questions decisive for the future of the GDR.

The Struggle for Pioneering and Top Performances— Starting Point for the Entire Planning Process

The modern Socialist organization of science is inseparably linked with the implementation of the structure policy.

The consequences which arise from this fact for the planning system necessitate fundamental changes in the State Planning Commission's work. The State Planning Commission's main function consists in working out and presenting to the party and state leadership decision variants for the strategic structural and system development of the national economy. It must take dynamic proportioning in hand, and balance and coordinate the scientifically substantiated long-term and annual plans on the basis of the variants confirmed for reaching the goals of economic development and the scientific and technological tasks.

In the messages the Central Committee sent to greet the conferences conducted by the branches of industry, it outlined orientations regarding this specific problem, the contents of which were extremely important for the State Planning Commission and the ministries. These conferences drew from the forecasts that had been made for the most important spheres essential conclusions for the main trends of complex automation, large-scale research, national economic concentration, and for working out unified systems.

The State Planning Commission, however, made insufficient use of this knowledge for quite some time. The result was that substantial efforts had to be made in recent weeks to push through the basic line of the plan.

Hence, we need to stress the following for future work: Objectively, there is no longer any other way of drafting a plan that corresponds to the social development of Socialism in the GDR than linking the struggle for pioneering and top performances with automation projects and the highest degree of economic efficiency and making them the starting point for the entire planning process.

I would like to explain the main point at issue here with the help of an example.

We launched the production of numerically controlled machine tools some years ago in accordance with the orientation of the Central Committee and the Council of Ministers. These machines are of principal importance for putting system automation into effect in the metal-working industry.

What is the problem?

The problem lies in the nature of these highly productive machines, i.e., that they yield a high degree of efficiency only when their operation is concentrated, when they are installed in whole factory sections, and when electronic data processing is employed to make the technological preparations for production. That means that the factory, or at least whole sections of the factory must be reorganized. The use of these numerically controlled machine tools has to be planned and managed just as much as does the use of electronic data processing equipment.

The numerically controlled machine tools now in operation were distributed among many factories. On the average, a single machine is worth 150,000 to 250,000 marks. Some are even worth 500,000 to 800,000 marks. Practice has now proved that labour productivity can be increased by 300 per cent if these machines are concentrated in certain plants. Operated singly, a numerical machine will increase labour productivity by only a few per cent—indeed, such a mode of operation may even incur economic losses and disrupt the course of technological operations.

The old balancing methods are no longer of any use to us here. What we need is a type of planning that includes not only the quantitative output of structure-determining products, but also the organization of their most effective use. Efficiency will have to be proved in a complex way for each project. And that is what we want to achieve with project-bound planning.

The structure policy must not be allowed to end with the organization of the manufacture of a certain product because that is where it really begins. It has to go on to determining focal points for the concentrated use of highly productive machines and materials and organizing their application.

Of course, this entails a vast ideological process of rethinking in the State Planning Commission itself.

It undoubtedly bears the main share in the fact that the new quality of a systematic and concentrated organization of decisive

top performances and growth factors has already become evident in the goals set by the 1970 national economic plan.

It is now a question of making this new quality the chief content of the entire planning system.

It also entails overcoming the principal shortcomings that came to light in the process of working out the plan and, above all, in the preparations for the discussions of the plan by the Political Bureau. The main shortcoming was that no variants had been worked out for the decisive problems.

The Political Bureau therefore stipulated that the mode of work must be so changed that the plan proposals of the most important spheres and branches of the economy will first have to be studied thoroughly by the competent ministers, department heads in the Central Committee and the deputy chairmen of the State Planning Commission.

These working groups assess the plan by elaborating the following aspects above all:

- What new knowledge results from the forecast,
- the top world level in the decisive fields,
- how the measures stipulated by the plan result in pioneering and top performances, and
- what complex automation projects will have to be carried out and the territorial tasks that need to be fulfilled in this connection.

The chairman of the State Planning Commission will at the same time work out a complex plan proposal for the national economy. The Council of Ministers will debate this proposal before it is submitted to the Political Bureau. The working groups will work out variants for certain spheres and branches. This applies, for instance, to suggestions regarding the introduction of new processes that lend themselves to the more efficient and speedier attainment of certain plan goals, proposals regarding the use of new building materials and new materials in general, questions concerning the rational territorial concentration of investments, etc. In other words, the point at issue here is utilizing a precise analysis of world standards as the point of departure for making the entire fund of existing knowledge usable for the plan. The working groups' proposals will be presented to the Political Bureau along with the complex plan proposal.

This new mode of work will have to be applied already in our current preparations for the 1971-75 long-term plan. It will receive additional support in the form of the working group that has been set up in connection with the drafting of the long-term plan.

Headed by the chairman of the Council of Ministers, it will primarily ensure the clarification of close-knit structural complexes and the establishment of basic proportions between the most important branches of the national economy. It is important for the Political Bureau that it is in a position to decide on the most effective variant of the plan.

Consistently implementing project-bound planning and optimizing the planning process to an ever increasing degree by making complex use of economic and mathematical models is one of the chief ways of meeting the new requirements of the planning system.

Hence, the Political Bureau and the Council of Ministers instructed the chairman of the State Planning Commission during their joint session to submit to the Political Bureau before the end of December the network for the new measures in the planning field.

- The application of project-bound planning means that
- the main tasks are laid down for achieving a break-through to pioneering and top performances in the structure-determining spheres,
 - evidence is presented for the large-scale research projects which will have to be carried out in this connection,
 - in connection with pioneering and top performances evidence is simultaneously presented for automation projects,
 - over and above the immediate tasks of an automation project, the plan also contains all the essential territorial questions connected with the project, i.e., the totality of the working people's working and living conditions,
 - the inner connections of the national economic process of reproduction according to structural complexes become evident beyond the branch,
 - expenditure and result are calculated most accurately.

The fact that the decisive tasks and the structure policy which will have to be put into effect with regard to the most important integrated works and large-scale research centres will already emerge clearly at the Planning Commission level instead of merely cropping up in condensed magnitudes is one of the important features of project-bound planning. The State Planning Commission should be guided to a greater degree by the fact that the unified process of reproduction materializes primarily in large-

scale enterprises and integrated works. As far as projects that are decisive for the national economy go, social changes will also have to be laid down as objectives together with the plan in the future.

Reaching this higher quality in planning makes big demands at every level on the political and ideological development of people who work on the staffs of planning bodies. It is above all important to have a greater sense of responsibility for guaranteeing over-all social interests in all their consequences, and also having the courage to give thought to new solutions and then stubbornly organize their implementation when proof of their higher efficiency has been presented. This is not just a question of the necessary technical knowledge which every one of us simply has to broaden. It is, above all, a question of the attitude one has to our Socialist development, to our workers' and farmers' state. Being a planner means calculating with a cool head and fighting for our Socialist cause with a warm heart! Achieving such a fighting position throughout the country and carrying on the discussions this requires must be the priority task of the party branches and all state-appointed managers.

III. Struggle Everywhere for the Highest National Economic Gains

Implementing the big tasks set by the 1970 plan requires that the economic system of Socialism be so applied in the enterprises and integrated works that all the elements which go to make up the unified process of reproduction (from research and development to production and sales) are fully included and brought to their highest degree of economic efficiency.

The Political Bureau stressed in the decision it passed on the organization of science in the chemical industry that the main thing in the field of economic accounting is guaranteeing an application of the economic categories of prices, production fund levies, net gains payments, credits and interest that will have a complex effect on the entire process of reproduction.

This means that every enterprise and integrated works will have to apply the principles of Socialist industrial management comprehensively with the 1970 plan.

The system connection prevailing in the circulation of the material and financial funds between top research performances and

introducing them as quickly as possible into technology and production, between planning investments and putting them into effect more efficiently, between meeting the requirements of the national economy in high-grade means of production and consumer goods, and between gauging the market with vision and external economic activities will have to be made both visible and measurable in Socialist industrial management.

Today's yardstick for the performances of collective groups, of every individual worker, particularly every manager, is the way they set the objectively necessary pace and increase the effectiveness of this dynamic process. Where concrete tasks and projects are concerned, this will have to be reflected by higher labour productivity and lower costs, higher quality products and growing economic operating results.

Comrade Walter Ulbricht proved in his speech that waging the struggle for high labour productivity in accordance with scientific methods by developing the masses' creative power in every enterprise and integrated works, in every sphere of the social process of reproduction is the important issue that has to be tackled along with complex Socialist rationalization. Thus, complex Socialist rationalization extends over the most expedient designing of products, the most expedient organization of technologies and production, beginning with research and including the use of new means of organization and mechanization, as well as automatic devices.

Numerous enterprises already placed the state's high demands on effectiveness in the foreground of their efforts when they worked out their draft plans for 1970.

One of the current basic questions of civic discipline is that the state centrally-fixed tax rates and the scientifically-based indices of economic accounting have become binding for all with the 1970 national economic plan, and that every enterprise and integrated works will have to adhere strictly to them.

Our Socialist state sets up stringent yardsticks for improving the standards of scientific and technological performances, for enhancing the effectiveness of enterprise fund circulation with such scientifically-based indices as the production fund levy and net gains payment.

These scientifically-based indices must bring constant pressure to bear on reducing prime costs. At the same time, the binding scientifically-based indices of economic accounting contribute to the further stabilization of planning and plan implementation in

the enterprises and integrated works, and give a social orientation to the working people's initiative in Socialist emulation.

This puts high demands on every manager and, too, for the party branches and production committees. Meeting their responsibility in the presence of the entire society obligates them to investigate and combat all the phenomena and practices that go against the economic system.

Some enterprises and associations of nationally-owned enterprises (VVBs) ventured the unsuitable attempts in their 1970 plan proposal of reducing the state's scientifically-based indices. That means nothing less than wanting to evade the high demands that need to be fulfilled to obtain top performances, more rapidly increase labour productivity and reduce costs, and desiring to acquire financial funds without increasing one's own performance.

The process of working out the plan showed that some managers still have not grasped the fact that general cost-effectivity calculations are a most profoundly ideological task and an essential element of our economic system.

The Political Bureau and the Council of Ministers paid special attention to metal, fuels and electrical energy supplies in particular at their joint meeting because the fact had emerged that neither the effectiveness nor the rates of growth of these spheres of production harmonized with expenditures and investments since people had been insufficiently oriented on applying the most modern technology.

Investments have hitherto been high in metallurgy, but a corresponding increase in production has not been achieved.

This state of affairs was caused mainly by two things: the scientific groundwork has not been laid for operations research and the ministry insufficiently oriented on complex automation in the metallurgical combines. The development of new processes and technologies was neglected in consequence of the one-sided development of commodity-orientated research. The continuous casting plant at Riesa was automated and process-controlled only after it had been put into operation. And old, conventional technologies were employed in designing the newly-built and reconstructed electric furnaces in Riesa and Gröditz.

As to content, performances in ferrous metallurgy have not yet come up to the standards set by the party. With the exception of plasma smelting and a few other processes, the struggle to obtain pioneering and top performances has been only insufficiently developed in this field. Insufficient, too, is the degree of concen-

tration on processes which are very effective for GDR metallurgy, as, for example, vacuum deposition and powder metallurgy.

In metallurgy, too, it is necessary to arrive at automated high-capacity steel mills on the basis of the metallurgical combines by means of a modern organization of science and efficient large-scale research.

Generalizing existing experiences with productive technologies without delay is a priority requirement. The Stahl- und Walzwerk Hennigsdorf, for example, put a new smelting process into operation which enabled this steel and rolling mill to increase labour productivity by ten per cent. The management of the Stahl- und Walzwerk Brandenburg, however, refused to introduce this new technology even though the conventional processes this mill used to turn out crude steel had already caused it to be in plan arrears amounting to more than 40,000 tons of crude steel.

We are of the following opinion on this:

One of the basic principles of management is that one creatively and consistently helps everything that is progressive to become successful. The comrades ought to examine their work and alter it with this point of view in mind. But the struggle for top scientific and technological performances must not be left to spontaneity or to the personal views of individuals. The manager's job is keeping the factory personnel steadily informed about the highest scientific and technological standards, about the tasks of the plan and their implementation, about new experiences that are gained in the process of doing this, and about political and economic connections.

The discussions in the Political Bureau and the Council of Ministers caused the Minister of Ore Mining, Metallurgy and Potash to take up new automation processes and further measures designed to increase steel production in the 1970 plan. Thus, the correct road was taken to carry out effective and lasting changes in the coming years.

There are, however, two problems the national economic significance of which is still being underestimated. The one is the maximum procurement and utilization of scrap-metal, the other consists of organizing preparations for the use of chemical materials instead of metallurgical products.

As in all highly-industrialized countries, interaction between the growing demand for scrap-metal for steel production and higher scrap-metal yields—a result, in particular, of renewing plant and fixed assets—is making itself felt in the GDR economy. Too little

attention has hitherto been paid to the procurement of scrap-metal as a stimulating growth factor for crude steel output.

We want to say most urgently: The highest scientific and technological standard is also the objective standard for the economic use of materials.

The point at issue is not just saving materials and energy, but primarily reaching a higher degree of effectiveness by converting materials, utilizing new and highly productive technologies and appropriate designing.

The comprehensive utilization of technologies like precision forging, transversal laminating, cold extrusion, precision casting and new processes like injection moulding—all of which make possible a high degree of effectiveness—is still being organized only insufficiently. The output of transversal laminating machines, for example, is stagnating even though productivity could be increased by up to 200 per cent and materials saved to the tune of up to 30 per cent by putting the transversal laminating process into operation.

More attention will have to be paid to the questions of using materials economically in both ideological work and in planning and managerial activities. We think it necessary that the plan goals be carefully examined with a view to material input and use in both enterprises and integrated works, and that a consistent struggle be waged for the strictest economy, against wasting material.

The bodies responsible for standardization, technical inspection and quality assurance will also have to examine their work on principle in this respect.

There are at present several regulations and labour practices in this field which are in contradiction with the economic use of material.

We expect the competent heads of these bodies to make a high sense of social responsibility the prime standpoint for their future decisions. We also expect them to take economic efficiency as their point of departure when they take these decisions.

An influence can thereby already be exerted on the economically most expedient and thrifty use of material in the projecting stage.

Currently, the draft plan only envisages a 1.5 per cent reduction in the amount of material content, yet calculations by Soviet scientists have proved that measures which are aimed at attaining a more economical use of materials benefit the national economy far more than spending money on extending the raw materials basis.

Another urgent requirement is the introduction of measures for the better utilization of secondary raw materials, particularly salvage like waste paper, scrap plastic, etc., in the implementation of the economic plan.

The amount and type of material use influences the national economic labour productivity very decisively. Hence, the preparatory spheres of production, especially research and development, projection and design, as well as technology, will have to shoulder an increasing amount of responsibility for the development of the economy of materials as automation increases.

This growing responsibility applies just as much to the job of guaranteeing the quality of production.

A highly effective materials economy is inseparably linked with the struggle to attain the highest scientific and technological standards with regard to the quality of products and their manufacturing cost.

It is therefore a question of creating in the enterprises the political and ideological, managerial and organizational conditions required in production to turn out high-grade top products.

This system of effective quality work and control includes putting into practice the following fundamental principles:

1. Every worker checks at his place of work whether the quality of articles turned out during the previous stage of operation really comes up to quality standard.
2. Every working person is guided by the idea of not permitting errors in his own work and examining the results of his work responsibly.

This necessitates developing and encouraging such a sense of social responsibility in every working person that he represents the esteem in which our Socialist national economy is held and its efficiency in the quality of his own work.

Putting these principles into practice is instrumental in involving all the working people in the system of ensuring quality work and control.

Those spheres that produce raw materials have the following task: Not only fulfilling but, if possible, overfulfilling the production plans for rolled steel, briquettes, cement, plastic materials, fibres and other starting materials. They will thus greatly support the implementation of the structure policy tasks and tasks that concern and affect society as a whole.

The Political Bureau made one thing very plain when it discussed the problems of the plan: A plan can no longer be worked out and

put into practice today by arguing about lump sums and quantities that run into millions.

To call a spade a spade: Every manager will have to contend for the achievement of the highest degree of effectiveness in each concrete case and project instead of carrying on general debates about sums of money.

It is in this connection that each and every one of us must always take national economic efficiency as his point of departure in determining the pioneering performances that a certain expenditure on research may achieve. The same point of departure must also be taken in determining the degree to which automation is reached, the way in which available means are concentrated, and how one may attain the shortest construction and transfer times.

Mastering the tasks of the scientific and technological revolution laid down in the plan really effectively is only possible when we look into the economic processes as concretely as that.

The Chemiekombinat Bitterfeld, for example, is setting up an exact expenditure—use ratio between research and the economically measurable result for every job in accordance with the Political Bureau's decision on the organization of science in the chemical industry. This operation takes the objective circulation of the fund into account. Its goal is achieving the maximum growth in the national income.

Being in accord with the economic system of Socialism means achieving the highest degree of effectiveness in every investment project.

The 1970 national economic plan envisages, for instance, a substantial employment of material and financial means in the power economy and a further increase in the output of fuel and electric energy. This, too, calls for the consistent implementation of the economic system of Socialism in this important sphere of our national economy.

To put the problem plainly: The ideology of "drawing freely from lavish resources" must be stopped.

In many cases, disregard for the principles of the economic system is at the root of investment price increases. Disregard takes many shapes, primarily that of the customer and general contractor cooperating to an absolutely inadequate extent where laying down exact constructional engineering and technological capacities is concerned.

They do not conclude any binding price agreements. The investment carrier frequently does not check the prices quoted by the

general contractor to see whether they are correct. Controls showed that price violations amount to up to 20 per cent.

An ideological struggle will have to be launched against such violations of the economic system, such breaches of discipline regarding state prices. Strict controls will have to be carried out to prevent their occurrence. In addition, however, the Office of Prices and the Minister of Finance will both have to subject the financial and price regulations that apply to designing offices on the one hand and to both principal and chief contractors for investments on the other to a thorough examination and adjust them in such a way that they force down the cost and prices of such large-scale investment projects.

The employment of an enterprise's own earned funds and the granting of credits by banks should be made more dependent on the following conditions in so far as these moneys are used to finance investments:

- The customer and the contractor must work out basic decisions together. Along with these basic decisions, they must fix the range of value and its tolerances, the technological and economic parameters and the delivery deadlines in rough network schedules.
- The contractor must meet excess costs that are not accompanied by an increase in effectiveness. Additional charges or participation in the gains must be agreed on in the event of an increase in effectiveness.
- Enhancing the effectiveness of controls by the investment carriers requires a regulation which provides that if state control bodies discover that customers have paid excess charges without having checked them, these excess sums will have to be paid over to the state.

Consistently increasing the efficiency of the projecting offices is of prime importance for the consistent realization of the economic system in preparing investments and putting them into effect.

Reaching peak performances both in technology and the economy, as well as in the short-term execution of investment projects that are of priority importance to the national economy necessitates

- cooperation by the projecting offices in the working out of basic decisions for structure-determining projects, and that the required projecting capacities be given priority in the plan of the projecting enterprise,
- as well as the comprehensive use of electronic data processing in order that both projecting and design may be automated.

The Political Bureau's decision on the organization of science in the chemical industry clearly and unequivocally defines the new requirements in conducting the struggle to reduce costs and improve cost accounting. The validity of these requirements applies to all branches of the economy in the process of further shaping Socialist industrial management. The relevant points at issue are:

- setting binding objectives to reduce costs and industrial prices in connection with the long-term planning of structure-determining products;
- guaranteeing a strict system of management for overcoming arrears in cost accounting and setting cost norms;
- fixing new scientifically-based indices for material consumption, establishing cost norms, and establishing supra-enterprise indices;
- issuing binding cost information and reporting back at regular intervals to the working people in order that they may be kept better informed and
- employing production engineers in order that they may apply operational research methods in the field of cost accounting.

Thus, it is a question of tackling and solving the questions of reducing costs, of material economy and the most modern technology as a unified complex, as a complex in which each component conditions the others and is itself conditioned by them.

Special significance needs to be attached to the application of operational research methods to cost accounting, e.g., the time-cost optimization method.

This method is a specific form of network technique which not only determines the optimum amount of time needed to carry out a measure (as the other optimization calculations do), but also indicates the time optimum that ensures the lowest expenditure.

This is a particularly suitable method for executing research and development tasks and preparing investments.

So the point at issue with time-cost optimization is linking the organization of science and cost accounting effectively with the aim of stimulating a maximum growth of national income at minimum expense.

The use value-cost analysis is another necessary prerequisite for waging an effective struggle to reduce commodity prime costs and overhead costs in particular. Its application must become a binding method of Socialist industrial management. Using this method will enable us to penetrate, scientifically from the standpoint of costs, the links prevailing in commodity production from

research and development to sales, and evolve new solutions as regards use value properties, design, technology, the organization of production and the use of new materials.

Central Committee decisions and publications already set an orientation on this method some time ago, but I must say that considerable arrears in its applications were permitted in both economic research and working practice. In putting the 1970 plan into effect, every manager will have to make such scientific methods of Socialist industrial management part of his leadership activity.

The local councils also need to work consistently with exact expenditure-use indices. They form the foundation of scientific planning in the towns and communities, and in the districts and counties. The direct inclusion of the highest standards of effectiveness in the plan, and accomplishing strict plan and financial discipline on this basis must be ensured in this way.

The manifold possibilities that arise from the concentrated use of enterprise funds and funds belonging to the local bodies of state power to improve, as a complex, the working and living conditions of town and village dwellers must also be exhausted under the economic system of Socialism. Sports centres, cultural facilities, nearby recreation centres, repair stations and other amenities all bear witness to the enterprises' and local bodies' joint efforts to improve more effectively the conditions for developing the Socialist way of life and, thus, turn to full account within the economic system of Socialism the growth factors that exercise their effect on and in the territories. Decisive is that these complex tasks are a part of the plan and that check-ups are carried out to see that they are implemented.

The establishment and utilization of fund-based industrial prices for the purpose of reducing costs is of particular importance for the consistent realization of Socialist industrial management. Decreasing costs make reduced industrial prices possible, and in their turn falling industrial prices are an essential element for lowering costs as an expression of a reduction in the socially necessary expenditure of labour within the framework of economic interrelations.

Industrial prices were reduced substantially and according to plan in 1969, and the same thing will happen in 1970.

Reducing industrial prices according to plan creates new conditions for struggling even more successfully in every enterprise and integrated works to reach world standards in costs.

The main thing now is utilizing the economic effect of the new industrial prices in their main function to reduce costs even more.

Good results were achieved above all by those enterprises, combines, and VVBs, e.g., the Association of Nationally-Owned Shipbuilding Enterprises, which use industrial prices purposefully and with vision to work out fresh ideas for and more effective variants of cutting costs.

Yet both cost developments in 1969 and the preparations for the 1970 plan indicate that work in this field is still being aimed too one-sidedly at working out the new industrial prices. Conclusions regarding the content of reducing costs and improving the economical use of both funds and materials are insufficiently drawn.

The Office of Prices, the industrial ministries and the VVBs must step up considerably their analytical and organizational work to utilize fund-based industrial prices as a means of reducing costs.

The financial and banking organs must also exercise a stricter financial control on the development of expenditure and gains. We are bringing these important tasks to the attention of public control because important driving forces of the economic system of Socialism remain unused, because violations of the law of the economy of time occur in those places where people try to evade the higher demands being made on Socialist industrial management.

IV. For Greater Effectiveness in Agricultural Production

In Socialist agriculture we are further consistently putting into practice with the 1970 national economic plan the decisions both of the Seventh Party Congress and the Tenth Congress of German Farmers passed on the development of an efficient agriculture. Activities will focus on the further intensification of agricultural production by means of a steady improvement of soil fertility and the purposeful use of material funds. Further developing good cooperative work in every agricultural production cooperative (LPG) as well as their voluntary cooperation in groups of co-operating farms, and gradually switching over to industrial-type farming methods is the important thing.

With the working out and discussion of the plans in the LPGs

and nationally-owned farms (VEGs) it is important, starting from the basic organizations, to develop effective political and ideological work and explain the connections and tasks to the cooperative farmers and farm workers. The goal is to contribute to the further all-sided strengthening of the GDR by means of a high increase in the production of every LPG and every VEG.

Higher effectiveness in agricultural production will have to be fought for purposefully in the LPGs and VEGs. All cooperative farmers and agricultural workers have the task of systematically reducing costs per unit of production by better employing up-to-date farm machinery and production plant to capacity, organizing work rationally and overcoming ruthlessly all kinds of sub-marginal operations, and so making an even greater contribution toward increasing accumulation in the LPGs and VEGs. The Socialist cooperative farms must employ with a maximum degree of efficiency the substantial development funds made available to them by the state.

It is especially necessary to bring the backward LPGs up to the standards of production and effectiveness of the advanced cooperative farms by further unfolding cooperative democracy, improving managerial activities and developing voluntary joint work in groups of cooperating farms.

The 1970 national economic plan has set Socialist agriculture the task of raising its production of livestock for slaughter, milk and eggs for the market up to 1,650,000 tons, 6,640,000 tons and 3,150 million units, respectively.

Carrying out this job will create important conditions for a stable supply for our population.

High yields per hectare are the condition for this level of animal production. All LPGs and VEGs will have to struggle in Socialist emulation to surpass their hitherto highest crop production yields, guarantee that they proceed in continuity to the 1971-1975 long-term plan, and return the grain they borrowed from the state seed reserve fund.

The acreage of land put to potatoes and a planned assortment of vegetables must be increased to 670,000 hectares and 60,000 hectares respectively (one hectare = 2.47 acres) in order to improve potato supplies, and boost vegetable supplies to approximately 940,000 tons. Special attention will have to be paid to stepping up early vegetable production.

Big efforts will have to be made to increase fodder production in 1970 by increasing forage crop yields per hectare and green-

land yields in particular. Guaranteeing the most effective employment of every kind of fodder is important for every LPG and VEG so that their fodder stores last until the new crops are harvested or grazing begins.

The LPGs should support this effort by developing mutual assistance in this sphere.

Expanding livestock reproduction according to plan, particularly the expanded reproduction of sows and cows, is a prerequisite for fulfilling the 1970 plan and continuing to increase production from 1971 onward.

In 1970, material means will again be made available to Socialist agriculture in large if somewhat smaller quantities than in 1969 so that the foundations of agricultural production may be further expanded. We believe that the sagacious employment of these means will provide the possibility of achieving a growth in capacity similar to that attained in 1969.

This, however, presupposes sound preparations for every investment project, the guaranteeing of the highest effectiveness and securing, already in the projecting stage, the most rational employment of building materials.

One of the important lessons of 1969 is that we must concentrate the funds available to an even greater extent on measures which will improve soil yields.

Priority needs to be given to the accelerated implementation of drainage and irrigation measures (with simple, material-saving amelioration operations taking precedence over all others) and to the further enlargement of modern machine systems so that productive technologies may be applied.

At the same time it is important that both LPGs and groups of cooperating farms spend a growing proportion of their investment moneys on setting up high-capacity production plant in both crop and animal production. Just this task makes big demands on the LPGs' and VEGs' power of accumulation, and it is only right for them to make advance preparations for projects that will be carried out in years to come since this meets both their own interests and those of the national economy.

Investments that are made to reduce the high fodder and storage losses, primarily losses of potatoes, fruit and vegetables, are especially important.

In animal production, investments for improving the rearing of young stock and solving problems concerning social developments, particularly in the type I LPGs, need to take precedence

over all others. Both the county and district committees have the task of starting from the initiative of the members of the Lenin LPG in Marzahna to promote the initiative of all cooperative farmers as well as all the agricultural workers on the nationally-owned farms in increasing production in the Socialist emulation being carried out in honour of the 100th anniversary of the birth of Lenin and the 25th anniversary of the day our nation was liberated from fascism. The important thing is that they all know the share they have in fulfilling their LPG's or VEG's plans and the tasks they will have to carry out to fulfil them. It is the duty of every LPG executive and management committee to take careful heed of the suggestions of cooperative farmers, of their recommendations, to encourage their activity, and to carry out purposeful qualification measures which will equip them to an even better extent for the job of accomplishing the tasks they are assigned.

Making full use of the capacities available in the districts, of the cooperation academies that have been established in the associations of cooperating farms, is important above all in this connection.

Our progress we made in achieving joint action by all the forces in the village in the course of preparing the 20th anniversary of our republic needs to be extended. That is the way in which the tasks set by the national economic plan with regard to increasing production, beautifying the villages, and activating intellectual and cultural life will be carried out through the common effort of every citizen and social organization.

V. The All-Round Fulfilment of the Plan— Our Contribution in the Interests of Socialism, Peace and Security

The Political Bureau thinks that achieving fundamental clarity about the above problems is of special importance for the implementation of the 1970 national economic plan since solving these questions, particularly in industry, in the building industry, in agriculture, and in every sphere, is of the utmost significance for the further all-round strengthening of the GDR.

As a result of our continuous, principled Marxist-Leninist policy, and taking a firm foundation as our basis, we can go on carrying out all the new tasks at the high level we have already reached.

Yet the dialectics of this process also tell us that we will not be able to let every correct idea and wish materialize at once, that we are unable to do everything at the same time.

Under these conditions, efforts made to fulfil the tasks set by the plan carry an exceptionally heavy political weight. Everyone must feel responsible for the over-all plan. Putting the plan into effect calls for a high degree of civic discipline in every enterprise, combine and institution, in every state and economic body. It is a question of the concentrated, disciplined and unadulterated execution of the decisions of the party and the Socialist state power.

Our party devotes great care to promoting this Socialist attitude of giving one's best to society, of carrying greater responsibilities, of courageously and boldly taking on new tasks, because this militant spirit contributes decisively towards strengthening Socialism.

We are certain that this plan will contribute purposefully to the further strengthening of the workers' and farmers' power so that the Socialist perspective may be ensured as it was decided upon by the Seventh Party Congress.

The 1970 national economic plan sets high aims in the struggle for productivity and effectiveness. But it also sets big objectives for the further systematic improvement of working and living conditions in order that the entire social system of Socialism may be shaped consistently.

We are certain that the working class, the cooperative farmers, the intellectuals and, beyond them, all working people in our republic will employ their forces and creative abilities to achieve exemplary results in carrying out the plan in the Socialist emulation in honour of the 100th anniversary of the birth of Vladimir Ilych Lenin and the 25th anniversary of the German people's liberation from fascism.

We are certain that a decisive contribution will be made with this plan in the class confrontation with imperialism. In alliance with all the working strata of our population, the working class of the GDR will continue, also by struggling to fulfil the 1970 national economic plan, to do its historic class duty as the pioneer of the German future and strengthen the positions of peace and Socialism in Europe regardless of developments in West Germany. An economically strong GDR which is further flourishing in its Socialist development will be of decisive assistance to foreign countries in making for themselves a positive picture and assessment of the first German workers' and farmers' state. It is in this respect that our performances in carrying out the plan and the

results we achieve thereby constitute very weighty factors for the establishment in international law of relations by all states with the German Democratic Republic on a basis of equality and their recognition of the fact that the existing European frontiers, including the Oder-Neisse frontier, are definitive and inviolable. This is the contribution we are making in the interests of Socialism, peace and security.

We are certain that the growing strength of the GDR will further consolidate the community of Socialist states. We are creating new possibilities with the 1970 plan for expanding cooperation with the Soviet Union and the other member countries of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance in every field.

Our objective is to apply in an even better way in every sphere of social life the generally valid laws of Marxism-Leninism which govern Socialist revolution and the construction of a Socialist society so that we may contribute even more effectively within the ranks of the community of Socialist states, with unswerving partisanship and as an ever reliable partner, towards the consolidation of the world Communist movement.

Powerful International Echo in Favour of European Security

from the speech by Comrade Otto Winzer, Member of the Central
Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany

At the meeting of leading personalities of the fraternal Socialist countries it was stated with satisfaction in the Communiqué that the proposals for the preparation and holding of an all-European conference, jointly drafted by the Socialist states have met with a broad international response. It is in the common foreign policy interest of all member states of the Warsaw Treaty, that peace should be lastingly safeguarded, that European security should be guaranteed and that relations should be established with other states on the basis of peaceful coexistence and serving the fulfilment of the great internal aims of the Socialist states. This common foreign policy interest of the Socialist states is in full agreement with the desire of all European peoples for the guarantee of peace and security.

The proposals advanced by the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Treaty Organization in Budapest and their further consolidation by the foreign ministers of the member states of the Warsaw Treaty in Prague have called forth a very powerful response not only among the masses of the people, but also among many parliaments and governments of countries of Northern and Western Europe. The problem involved is the consistent application of the principles of the UN Charter to the coexistence of states with different social and political systems in Europe. It must be brought

about that the principles of the peaceful coexistence of all Socialist and capitalist states in Europe should be fully applied. It would, however, be an illusion to presume that in the present situation in Europe any immediate general settlement of all problems causing tensions and frictions between the states was possible. The agenda of a security conference and the proposals advanced in this connection by the member states of the Warsaw Treaty take into account the real situation as it is in Europe today. It is clear and indisputable that an all-European agreement on the renunciation of the use or threat of force in relations between states could be a first but decisive step towards the security of the peoples. Provided there is goodwill and readiness for understanding on the part of the states, it should be possible to bring about an all-European agreement on the renunciation of force of that kind. After two murderous and devastating world wars in our century, such an agreement could be of world-historic significance.

For a General European Agreement on the Renunciation of Force

As a result of revanchism and militarism in West Germany and of the NATO plans to use nuclear weapons, Europe is therefore still a centre of danger. This only emphasizes the significance of the struggle for a general European agreement on the renunciation of the use of force. This could create an atmosphere in which it would be possible to undertake concrete steps on the way towards the cessation of the armament race and to general and complete disarmament including atomic disarmament, as demanded by the communiqué on the meeting of leading personalities of the Socialist countries.

There are, however, other possibilities besides shifting from the confrontation of European states with different social systems as practised up to the present, to a policy of good neighbourliness and peaceful cooperation on a basis of equality. That is why the member states of the Warsaw Treaty proposed the extension of trade, economic, scientific and technical relations on an equal basis and their consolidation. With goodwill and readiness of the states for an understanding a basic agreement could be reached at a European security conference on that subject as well. It would have to exclude the discrimination which is today obstructing the economic, scientific, technical and cultural collaboration between the European peoples. This also includes

the radical ending of the misuse of economic relations for the exertion of political pressure, such as is practised by the West German Federal Republic. It is therefore underlined with full justification in the declaration of the foreign ministers of the Warsaw Treaty, that just this extension of equal economic and cultural relations will also pursue as its objective the development of political cooperation between European states.

This formulation of tasks for the preparation and holding of a European security conference is so clear and its usefulness so indisputable that it made a decisive contribution to the very powerful response called forth by the proposal of the Socialist countries among the peoples and states of Europe. The government of the Republic of Finland, as is known, offered to act as host of a European security conference and addressed a memorandum to 30 European states. According to the latest information from the Finnish government, 24 European states answered in the affirmative to the welcome initiative taken by the Finnish government. This is undoubtedly a notable success.

The efforts of the Soviet Union to guarantee European security go back to the years after the First World War, when the danger of a new world war appeared on the horizon with the rise of fascism, as a result of the aggressive policy of German imperialism. After the Second World War the Soviet Union, in fraternal alliance with other Socialist countries undertook new initiatives at a very early stage for the safeguarding of European security, yet at no time were the conditions for the implementation of the proposals of the Soviet Union and the Socialist countries for guaranteeing European security as favourable as at present.

This proves that the Socialist countries are giving constructive expression to the yearning and striving of the European peoples for a life in security and peace.

NATO Delaying Tactics

The extent to which this statement applies may be seen even from the meeting of the NATO Council of Ministers, which took place in Brussels on 4 and 5 December 1969. The international echo of the proposal for a European Security Conference and also the positive attitude of governments of countries of Western and Northern Europe towards it forced the NATO Council of Ministers

to place in the centre of their consultations the problems which arose from the proposals of the Socialist countries. Differences of opinion on questions concerning the concept of the European policy of NATO were more accentuated than at previous meetings of the Council. These differences were particularly manifest between the USA, Great Britain and West Germany on the one hand and the smaller NATO states as well as France, on the other hand. In view of this situation in Europe the NATO Council of Ministers did not dare to pronounce a clear rejection of the proposal for a security conference. However, the opponents of such a conference asserted themselves in as far as the NATO Council of Ministers drafted its own program for the discussion of European problems. The aim of that program consists in protracting the period of preparation of a European security conference and in trying from the very beginning to burden the agenda of such a conference with matters for the settlement of which the objective conditions do not exist, and which could therefore not be the subject of discussions at such a conference. That program is rather intended to torpedo a European security conference, NATO itself furnished the evidence for the correctness of this assertion, since its military committees have decided further measures on the intensification of the armament of NATO in Europe and on reducing the atomic threshold in military conflicts. In this connection the concerted action of the governments of the USA and the German Federal Republic in support of the global strategy and the consolidation of the special alliance of American and West German imperialism, conducted by the Social Democratic Bundeswehr minister became particularly evident. US Secretary of Defence Laird found the most active support for his attempts to give preference to the aggressive NATO policy over any efforts for relaxation from his West German colleague Helmut Schmidt, who could not make enough assertions to the effect that the present West German government as well would not only fulfil but even overfulfil all military obligations. According to the decisions of the NATO Council of Ministers, these decisions are the further acceleration of armament, the increase in troop contingents, the further development of the aggressive military strategy and the reduction of the atomic threshold, with the use of nuclear weapons envisaged already at the beginning stage of a conventional conflict. All this was described by Herr Schmidt as "the equilibrium of defence and relaxation". In the same breath the inventor of that strange "equilibrium" spoke about a

practical and carefully weighed basis for internal German relations between Bonn and Berlin. Such "internal German relations" in the shadow of the immediate use of atomic weapons would be the worst thing that could be imposed on the population of the German Democratic Republic and that of the German Federal Republic and on the peoples of all other European countries! Not only the interests of the Socialist German state, but also the safeguarding of peace and security in Europe demand that the GDR should decisively reject any such unreasonable demand and resolutely stand for the establishment of relations of peaceful coexistence between the two German states.

The Role of Bonn in NATO Global Strategy

In judging the work of the military committees of NATO, Herr Helmut Schmidt drew the conclusion that the military strength and the political unity of NATO are the decisive factors in its policy towards the Socialist countries. That orientation of course is in no way appropriate to promote the convocation of a European security conference, but increases the insecurity and the danger of conflicts in Europe. The so-called basic documents on the employment of nuclear weapons and other stipulations by the military committees of NATO reveal the demand of the NATO Council of Ministers for a so-called balanced troop reduction as being a transparent manoeuvre aimed at delaying and even torpedoing the preparation and holding of a European security conference. Even under the government of Social Democrats and Free Democrats with their allegiance to NATO the Federal Republic remains an advanced outpost of the global strategy of the major NATO powers.

This fact must under all circumstances be taken into account if the attempts by the Brandt/Scheel government at all costs to conclude bilateral agreements on the renunciation of force with the Soviet Union and other Socialist countries before any European security conference are to be judged correctly. In those endeavours Bonn also rejects now as before the conclusion of a legally valid and binding agreement on the renunciation of the use of force with the Federal Republic's immediate neighbour—the German Democratic Republic. The motives behind the rejection of such an agreement with the GDR were already expressed before the elections and before the formation of the present

government in the Bundestag in Bonn, in very plain terms. It was Kai Uwe von Hassel, elected Bundestag President with the votes of the Social Democrats and the Free Democrats, who stated in the Bundestag that recognition of the GDR had to be rejected, since that would mean that the Federal Republic "would have to respect the right of the GDR to non-interference in its internal affairs".

The rejection of a legally binding agreement on the renunciation of force therefore also served the purpose of retaining the right of West German revanchists of the most varied shades, including the neo-nazi infested Bundeswehr, to interfere in the internal affairs of the Socialist German state. Even after the admission by Federal Chancellor Brandt that two German states did in fact exist, such conclusions drawn from the refusal of an agreement binding in international law are still logical and justified. Finally, the attempt to interfere in the foreign policy, foreign trade and cultural relations of the GDR by means of the three service instructions issued to all foreign representations of the Foreign Office in Bonn, with a view to enforcing so-called internal German regulations, is only another aspect of the same kind of attempt to disregard the legal claim of the GDR to non-interference in its interior affairs.

According to the Principles of International Law

In this connection I should once again like to refer to the communiqué issued by the meeting of leading personalities of the Socialist countries. It was clearly stated there that the Socialist countries which participated in the meeting strove to develop and extend the relations between all states according to the principles of equality, non-interference in the internal affairs of other states, respect for each other's sovereignty, territorial integrity and of the inviolability of existing frontiers. The Socialist states expressly added to this, that they would develop relations with the other European states which are ready to collaborate on the basis of these principles. In the Bundestag debate on the Government Declaration Foreign Minister Scheel, replying to CDU deputy Birrenbach, repudiated these principles:

"You always say that we recognize the sovereignty of the GDR under international law. This is not stated in our Government Declaration. The contrary is stated."

As long as the Brandt/Scheel government continues to refuse to recognize the full equality of the GDR on the basis of international law in accordance with these principles set forth in the communiqué issued by the meeting of personalities from fraternal Socialist countries, that government cannot claim to be ready for cooperation in accordance with these principles. Furthermore, the fraternal Socialist countries reaffirmed their conception according to which the interests of peace and security demanded that all states should take up relations with the GDR based on equality and international law.

We are therefore acting in full agreement with all fraternal states in proposing to the Bonn government the establishment of relations on the basis of full equality and the principles of international law. This is the only basis, approved by all states of the Socialist community, on which negotiations between the governments of the two German states are possible. Evidence exists to show that relations of peaceful coexistence between states of different nations are possible and fruitful. There is no doubt that relations of peaceful coexistence could by all means be fruitful and of mutual advantage to the GDR and the German Federal Republic with their completely different, in fact antagonistic social structures. It now lies with the government of the West German Federal Republic to turn that possibility into reality.

The Mission of the GDR

A settlement of that kind could be of great all-European and international significance. The frontier between the two German states is not only the demarcation line between Socialism in the GDR and late capitalism in the Federal Republic; it is also the demarcation line between the Warsaw Treaty defence community and the NATO military alliance. Relations based on equality and the principles of international law between the German Democratic Republic and the German Federal Republic would therefore be of the utmost significance for peace and security in Europe and for the peoples of Europe, in view of the existing situation.

Comrades, in devoting all our strength to the promotion of the concept developed by the First Secretary of our party, Comrade Walter Ulbricht, at the 12th Plenum, we shall be fulfilling the national and European mission of the German Democratic Republic as a political party and as a state.

Bonn's military policy contradicts the interests of the peoples of Europe

from the speech by Comrade Heinz Hoffmann,
Member of the Central Committee
of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany

The report of the First Secretary, Comrade Walter Ulbricht, presents a comprehensive assessment of the character of the new West German government, of the essence and aims of its policy. I am convinced that not only the members of the Central Committee but also the comrades of the party organizations of the National People's Army will agree with that analysis without reservations as well as with the conclusions drawn. I should like to make a few observations on the assessments contained in the report and in the discussion, concerning West German military policy and the new war minister in Bonn.

Military policy is an infallible criterion of the true nature of the West German state and its government. The interests and aims of the policy of a government of an imperialist state are revealed in the sphere of military policy far more clearly than in many other spheres. Military policy is concerned with decisive foundations of the power of the monopoly bourgeoisie and thus with questions immediately touching the foundations of state monopoly rule in West Germany.

That is why the supreme command of the Bundeswehr has up to now always been entrusted to radically conservative leaders of the CDU/CSU—to mention only the names of Strauss, von Hassel and Schröder. Now that a Social Democrat for the first time stands at

the head of that revanchist army, one could have expected an outcry of indignation among the West German bourgeoisie and its generals. Yet nothing of the kind occurred. Whereas the CDU/CSU protested against some formulations in the Government Declaration, the new government's theses on military policy and the official policies of Herr Schmidt have not so far given rise to any serious criticism from that side. This in itself should suffice to put any upright Social Democrat in West Germany on the alert. What are the causes?

SPD/FDP Government Continues Policy of Expansion

Just the program of military policy of the new government reveals—despite all caution and reserve in formulations—that leaders such as Helmut Schmidt are striving in every possible way to preserve the “continuity” of the expansionist policy of the West German state along the lines previously followed by the CDU/CSU, whereas the “renewal” proclaimed by other SPD leaders is applied only to certain forms and methods of policy which promise to bring more success. This already became clear as soon as the new war minister in Bonn had assumed office. “In hardly any inaugural address of a minister”, the *Münchener Merkur* commented on 13 November 1969, “was the word ‘continuity’ used as frequently and significantly . . . and the merits of the ‘honourable predecessor in office’, the ‘esteemed colleague’ emphasized as unambiguously.” The same paper continued, stating that the West German NATO policy “would not change in the Brandt/Scheel government as compared to the past, as long as Helmut Schmidt has decisive authority. Nor will the Bundeswehr policy be ‘reversed’ by the new minister in the narrower sense of the word.”

October 1969 was no zero hour for the military policy of the SPD as the new leading government party. That date only marked a continuation of the course followed by the SPD during previous years, in unanimity with the CDU/CSU on basic problems of military policy regardless of whether as parliamentary opposition or as partner in the “grand coalition”.

It was the SPD leadership which stifled the mass movement against the atomic armament of the Bundeswehr, a movement that had developed among the West German population towards the end of the 1950s. It was the majority vote of the SPD parliamentary party which made possible the passing of the emergency

constitution by the Bundestag. And it was Erler, as chairman of the SPD parliamentary party who had actively participated in shaping Bonn military policy, who had personally promoted the development of the Bonn–Washington military axis and who had made every attempt to help impose the demands of the Bundeswehr leaders for more influence in NATO.

Helmut Schmidt's activity so far is symptomatic of that previous course of SPD military policy in conformity with the CDU/CSU. The *Münchener Merkur* stated of this first SPD Bundestag member who became a reserve officer in the Bundeswehr that—I quote:

“It was his soul massage, mixed with a good portion of the polemics which he did not disdain even in controversies inside his own party, which pointed the way to the SPD to its new position in military policy.”

When he took office, Schmidt promptly stressed that he had “from the start been closely associated with the Bundeswehr and its construction.”

Fundamental Agreement with the CDU/CSU

Brandt's Government Declaration and the conception of military policy held by Helmut Schmidt as well as his first activities upon taking office and since then in the war ministry in Bonn show that the SPD/FDP government was acting as the trustee of the state monopoly capitalist system also in military affairs, striving to defend the class interests of West German imperialism in the sphere of military policy even more effectively than the CDU/CSU.

There are dozens of proofs of the fundamental agreement in the military policy of the SPD-leaders and the monopoly bourgeoisie, the CDU/CSU and the Bundeswehr generals. In May 1969, in good time before the beginning of the election campaign, Helmut Schmidt called the attention of the West German ruling class to himself by a book in which he appeared as a competent expert on military policy and strategy, after he had already published a thick volume of political speeches and articles in 1967. The new book is entitled *Strategy of Equilibrium*. Herr Schmidt begins with the noteworthy observation that today in the Federal Republic a considerable measure of basic agreement on questions of military policy prevailed among such politicians as Brandt and Wehner, Kiesinger, Barzel, Strauss and Scheel.

That agreement was seen quite correctly by Schmidt in the drive

against the maintenance of the status quo. "Without our own initiative", he wrote, "the German question will hardly be moved"; in another place he concluded from the striven for incorporation of the GDR in the West German sphere of domination (coily described as 'reunification'): "We therefore cannot conduct a status quo policy."

In his 1967 book entitled *Contributions*, Schmidt expressed agreement with the CDU/CSU line even more openly. He quoted a statement by Schröder, with express agreement, which the latter had made at a CDU party congress, that the so-called reunification policy of West Germany was embedded "in the comprehensive concern of the free world of pushing back the sphere of Communist influence in Europe." Today, so Schröder and his successor in office, Schmidt, think, it has unfortunately "become more difficult" for West German policy to achieve that aim directly.

Without reserve Schmidt spoke of the West German state as a partner of the USA, who "wished to see the relations of power on German territory changed". And he said very ambiguously, that the present world political situation, particularly in the relation of forces between the USSR and the USA, had "on the other hand brought to the other states of Europe an expansion of their formerly shrunken room for action hardly conceivable a few years ago, even though limited."

In an interview with Spinger's *Bild* newspaper during the election campaign Schmidt proclaimed what would still have to be removed in order to expand West Germany's "room for political action": the partition of Germany, the Potsdam Agreement and the "Berlin situation". If these "obstacles to German freedom of action" were removed, Schmidt considered, the Federal Republic could play quite a different role in the further development of the EEC into the "United States of Europe".

Here and in other utterances by Schmidt it was revealed that this type of right-wing SPD leader was taking no other than the course of men such as Franz Josef Strauss.

It is striking that Schmidt has to a large extent adopted the strategic concept of the CDU/CSU as well as the corresponding vocabulary. To him as well, the nuclear weapon non-proliferation treaty, for instance, or the atomic weapon test stop treaty are considered to be "freezing the advantages of some partners and quite openly discriminating against other partners."

Course on Further Militarization

The new war minister misses no opportunity to emphasize clearly the adherence to the line already followed by the CDU/CSU. In his inaugural speech Schmidt flattered the generals and admirals of Hardhöhe in Bonn by stating that—I quote: "in this house many plans and conceptions have been discussed and launched, the effectiveness of which is not touched by changes at the top." He said he would "develop a program of modernization and reforms on the basis and performances of previous years . . . which will do justice to the needs of the next decade."

He thereby approved of the armament projects developed under his predecessor in office, Schröder, by the Bundeswehr generals in the Government Declaration of November 1968, in the White Book on Defence Policy and in numerous studies, memoranda and other publications. The main direction of this armament project, obviously taken up by Schmidt, may be reduced to a common denominator: opening up all manpower and material reserves, raising the conventional armaments of all parts of the Bundeswehr with the retention and modernization of atomic weapon carrier means and increased effectiveness in leadership. Schmidt in particular emphasized the need to increase the standard of combat morale among the Bundeswehr members; this he would like to ensure by means of a greater "combat strength", i.e., increase in the proportion of conscripts out of the total number of individual age groups and full substitute service by those unfit or so far exempted from conscription.

This aspect of Schmidt's intentions is meeting with particular applause on the part of those to whom the further militarization of West Germany is the foremost political and also profitable concern. In view of this course of increasing the combat strength and readiness for aggression it is no coincidence that just at this moment all generals in Bonn are coming forward with memoranda and proposals as to how the burden of "democratic camouflage" could be cast aside and the political and military leadership of the Bundeswehr could be caused "clearly and unambiguously to avow to the German soldiers' tradition". This is the literal wording of a memorandum by the inspector of the army, General Schnez, on "Internal Order", which Schmidt and his SPD State Secretary Berkhan are keeping secret even from Bundestag members because of its explosive character.

The ultra-conservative Herr von Studnitz, who became known for his book *Save the Bundeswehr*, described Helmut Schmidt as the "most suitable man for the office of Minister of Defence" long before the Bundestag elections, since, according to him—I quote: "a man who considers the renewal of the Bundeswehr to be his life-work, who is in a position to overcome the resignation among the higher ranking officers, who conducts a personnel policy that gives a chance to the non-conformists, who is able to convince Parliament that the future of this state is inseparably linked with the integrity of the Bundeswehr", is the right man for the job.

The generals, armament managers and war ideologists in Bonn thus with good reason expect of the Brandt/Scheel government and its war minister a more combatant spirit, more personnel, more arms, more money and more influence for the Bundeswehr. It is not surprising, therefore, that the nomination of Helmut Schmidt was endorsed with roaring applause by the aggressive circles of West Germany, including the Bundeswehr generals. The Inspector-General of the Bundeswehr, de Maiziere, even said: "For us there could be no better man." And the *Industriekurier*, the press organ of the West German monopolies, condescendingly observed that the SPD had received stacks of letters from the troops, demanding the nomination of Schmidt as new commander-in-chief of the Bundeswehr.

Influence in NATO To Be Increased

The fact that the West German monopolists and militarists have won a useful representative of their interests was also demonstrated by Schmidt's attitude at the NATO Nuclear Planning Group and the NATO Council in Brussels. He stated there that some measures of consolidation envisaged originally for 1971 or even later would be undertaken by the Bundeswehr already in 1970, and that a policy of military strength needed to be conducted towards the Soviet Union and the Warsaw Treaty states. A conference on European security on the other hand would only serve to promote the importance of the GDR in foreign policy and would for that reason alone be a sombre undertaking. Schmidt stated with great satisfaction that after all the difficulties in the NATO planning of nuclear war during the 1950s and 1960s there would now for the first time be "a concrete and unanimously accepted result of joint thinking in one sector".

The monopoly press in West Germany was particularly joyous about the fact that the atomic war documents drafted in Brussels with the participation of Schmidt would "accord a particular right of 'co-determination' to the Federal Republic as well, besides the United States and Great Britain" in regard to the time and manner of employment of tactical nuclear weapons on the European battlefield in "critical situations".

It was therefore reserved for a Social Democratic minister to achieve what the German monopolists and militarists had so far failed to achieve, namely, to come closer to control over nuclear weapons. The next task confronting the general staff officers of the Bundeswehr is to define the role and function of the armed forces stationed in Western Europe during strategic atomic attack.

The West German imperialists, as shown by the results of these recent meetings of NATO bodies, are unwilling, despite their signature on the nuclear weapon non-proliferation treaty, to abandon their strategical long-range objective of a "United Western Europe" with its own nuclear armed force and with a West German finger on the trigger of the mechanism to unleash an atomic war. This political and strategic concept of the West German government was also propagated once again by Helmut Schmidt at the recent meeting of parliamentarians of the "Western European Union". On that occasion he above all reaffirmed the loyalty to NATO, the firm determination of the Brandt/Scheel government to continue the previously conducted policy of consolidating NATO and the West German influence in that war alliance.

Mammoth Program of Armament Orders

The strategists in Bonn, inspired by Strauss and Schröder, consider two prerequisites inevitable and decisive for the success of the West German policy of hegemony and expansion: firstly, the closest interlacement of the Federal Republic with the total potential and the imperialist interests of the USA; secondly, the further integration of the imperialist states of Western Europe under the guardianship and hegemony of the big West German monopolies.

Even in the few weeks in office the Brandt/Scheel government has already made decisive moves in both these directions and—

as one must acknowledge without illusions—achieved success. This is evident not least from the fact that France has given in concerning negotiations on the admission of Great Britain to the EEC.

Schmidt justified this strategic concept of a "United Western Europe" developed by Strauss and the idea of the "Atlantic partnership" between the two great centres of imperialist power: the USA and Western Europe, and emphatically supported the stationing of further American troops in Europe. "During the 1970s", Schmidt said to the parliamentarians' meeting in Paris, "the fundamental asymmetry between East and West could only be equalized by a US presence in Europe". Nor did it signify a "gesture of revolt against America" if Western Europe comes closer together, "but rather the fulfilment of a historical mission."

Schmidt raised a number of demands in Paris concerning the Warsaw Treaty states, which the Soviet Union, the other Socialist states and in particular our republic would have to comply with before there could be any thought of participation in a Conference on European Security. Schmidt rejected all policies towards the East which were not based on a "firmly consolidated western community". During the forthcoming "era of manoeuvring" it would be important also to do the things "of military importance".

The armament monopolies are accustomed to react like a seismograph to such calls for accelerated armament. Wehr und Wirtschaft, the theoretical organ of the West German armament industry, noted in its economic forecast for 1970, which appeared after the formation of the new government in Bonn, that "war economy tendencies for 1970 provide favourable employment prospects through the continuation and launching of comprehensive programs. Practically all spheres of industry are involved . . . Bilateral agreements on community developments justify great expectations for series orders." So much for the profit forecast, in the telegraphic style of stockbrokers.

During the coming years a mammoth program of armament orders will be implemented under the sponsorship of Helmut Schmidt; it will range from improved Pershing missiles and nuclear arms carriers to phantom fighter-bombers, the latest types of fighting tanks, new rifle and anti-aircraft tanks and combat helicopters, missile ships and fast missile boats.

The introduction of new and improved types of arms will be accompanied by a restructuring of the services and a change in their location. The land forces are to receive an entirely new profile

after the fusion of the army and territorial defense. The tank and armoured rifle brigades are to be concentrated in suitable directions, above all in the north German plains. Cadre units known as "Home Guard Commands" are to be set up as a so-called "second wave", which may be transformed into fully operational large units within a few days in the event of war.

Call for the General Staff

It is not hard to recognize that these measures are clearly aimed at the further intensification of the readiness of the Bundeswehr for aggression, and above all at finding a solution which will allow the fast and as far as possible complete integration into the Bundeswehr of the contingents of reservists growing with every year, in the event of a conflict. This would lead to a considerable increase in the number of Bundeswehr units fit for military operations.

The new war minister is particularly concerned about the reorganization of top-ranking leadership, with a view of making possible the most efficient operation of the instrument of aggression of West German imperialism. One of his first measures included the institution of a department for basic planning, intended to work out long-term strategical analyses, alternative solutions of questions of the policy and organization within NATO taking into account the specific interests of Bonn, and to plan complex questions of the militarization of West Germany.

Along with this new institution, an office of another State Secretary for Armament and Procurement Questions was instituted, to which Herr Schmidt significantly appointed the former head of department in the Speer Ministry, the big industrialist Mommsen.

The intention of Schmidt to develop the leading staff of the armed forces into an instrument of military leadership of quick reaction and efficient functioning and with extended competencies is particularly instructive. According to Schmidt there are wide spheres of West German military policy which are not included by NATO planning and NATO staffs, for the control of which Bonn needs an efficient apparatus. This also includes a so-called national command authority which he does not necessarily want to call "general staff", but which in fact is only the continuation of Hitler's "Supreme Command of the Wehrmacht" or of the "Reich General Staff" planned at the time. The first Social Democratic

war minister of imperialist postwar Germany thus also stands up in favour of the revival of the German general staff convicted in Nuremberg. The monopoly press in no way conceals the reason why this task had been assigned to the representative of the generals and arms trusts in the SPD leadership. The paper *Christ und Welt* commented on 31 October 1969: "The best man to help the troops to adequate competencies for independent decisions is a Social Democrat, who is above suspicion, so far as his political background is concerned, of striving to create a state within the state . . . It now lies with him to help the leaders of the forces to obtain a machinery which will enable the Federal Republic to face crises more calmly than hitherto."

Schmidt as Executor of the Will of the Monopolies

There could hardly be a clearer characterization of the role of Bonn war minister Helmut Schmidt as executor of the will of the West German monopolies. Schmidt and his followers are at present making every endeavour to forge ahead even more effectively with West German armament and removing the bureaucratic sand from the gears of the West German war machinery.

All these things lead to the following conclusions:

The course of military policy pursued by Helmut Schmidt does not correspond to the demands and expectations of the majority of the West German population, who are interested in a genuine peace policy and in removing the old and new nazis from the Bundeswehr; the people are interested in the removal of the heavy armament burdens, in the dissolution of the military units, the repeal of the emergency constitution and elimination of the military penetration from all spheres of social life.

The course of military policy followed by Helmut Schmidt is in contradiction to the interests of all peoples of our continent striving for peace and security in Europe. The peoples of Europe are entirely justified in considering all activities for the consolidation of the military potential of the Federal Republic and for increasing the influence of West German militarism in NATO to be factors of increasing danger of war, which they stand up against.

Even under an SPD/FDP government and under the high command of a "Minister of Defence" who carries an SPD membership card in his pocket, the Bundeswehr remains that which it has been since its foundation—an aggressive imperialist armed force. As a

class instrument of West German monopoly capital it is being prepared now as before—materially and ideologically, in equipment and training—to function as a reactionary “factor of order” in the interior and as a means of imposing the revanchist and expansionist aims in regard to the GDR and the other Socialist states.

We do not disregard, on the other hand, that the aggressive military policy conducted by the SPD/FDP government is to an increasing extent being camouflaged by national, peace and defence demagogy, thereby becoming all the more dangerous.

If we had wanted to believe the many words, dripping and sweet as honey resounding from Bonn, there would have been no need to wait for a Minister Helmut Schmidt. In that case we would have years ago been caught in the nets of CDU/CSU humanity and brother-and-sister apostles. No, that is not what Marx and Lenin taught us. We were taught to look at the hands of those people, not at their lips, and to strike if those hands wanted to dip into our pockets.

Our Class Obligation: Reliably Safeguard Socialism Militarily

When in 1921 Lenin assessed the international situation at the Ninth All-Russian Soviet Congress after the defeat of the counter-revolution and intervention, he passionately turned against all endeavours to slacken in the defence potential because some foreign powers were trying to make approaches to the Soviet state—the Trotzkyites had even wanted to dissolve the Red Army because of this. Lenin warned that foreign representatives were approaching, “under the pretext of giving assistance, yet in fact helping to overthrow Soviet power”. Despite all the concentration of forces on the vital task of economic construction and despite all beginning economic cooperation with capitalist countries, Lenin stated in the same speech: “be on guard, protect the defence potential of our country and our Red Army like the apple of your eye, remember that we have no right to tolerate even for a second any weakening of our workers and peasants and of their achievements.”

As long as people like Schmidt only continue the old course of the CDU/CSU bankrupts under new signs, as long as any rapprochement on their part only means an open door to anti-Communism, NATO policy and revanchism; as long as this lasts, bridge-building must be understood to mean vicious attacks against the foundations of our Socialist structure. And as long

as this lasts, Comrades, there is only one reply to be given by the soldiers of the Socialist German state—namely, the Leninist reply: we watch over the Socialist state like the apple of our eye; we shall not for one second tolerate any weakening of the achievements of our workers and farmers or of our Socialist defence alliance.

This unequivocal class consistency must be made clear to the members of our armed forces. Everything else would be dangerous illusion, ideological disarmament. We consider that this task in the first place calls for a firm class point of view and political clarity, which also includes a correct class-conscious assessment of the new West German government.

We must convince even the last member of our armed forces that a man like Helmut Schmidt and his State Secretary Berkhan are only executive agents of the CDU/CSU, executive agents of that system of power which regards their main task, set by the ruling class, to consist only in increasing the fighting force and readiness for aggression of the Bundeswehr and the further militarization of West Germany.

However, we cannot and shall not look on passively. West German military policy gives rise to the need for us to continue to increase the combat force of the National People's Army, to ensure a high degree of operational efficiency of our troops and staffs at all times and further to develop the combat readiness and fitness of our entire people and constantly to consolidate their strength. We must do everything to educate our people, particularly the members of the armed forces in such a way that the reliable military safeguarding of socialism is understood as a national and international class obligation and that they should be vigilant and offensive in countering all imperialist attacks and onslaughts.

We assure the Central Committee that the members of the National People's Army are filled with militant determination to defeat the class enemy ideologically and, if need be, also militarily, that they pledge unshaken loyalty to the party of the working class and to our Soviet comrades-in-arms and that they will not be diverted from this by anything or anyone.

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World communism in the 20th
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